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## ABSTRACT

THE PRIMARY CONCERN OF THIS PAPER IS TO POINT OUT TO THE TEACHER DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE SOUND FEATURES AND THE GRAMMATICAL CATEGORIES OF ENGLISH AND PAPAGO. IN ADDITION, SOME SYNTACTIC PATTERNS ARE ALSO COMPARED, GENERALLY FROM THE POINT OF VIEW OF THE MEANINGS THEY CONVEY; THE LEXICAL STRUCTURES OF THE TWO LANGUAGES HAVE NOT BEEN INCLUDED. THE PURPOSE OF PROVIDING THE TEACHER WITH THIS INFORMATION IS TO MAKE HIM AWARE OF DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE TWO LANGUAGES WHICH MAY CAUSE DIFFICULTY FOR PAPAGOS LEARNING ENGLISH. "SUGGESTIONS FOR THE CLASSROOM," WHICH FOLLOW MOST OF THE SECTIONS IN THE PAPER, CONTAIN SAMPLES OF THE TYPE OF MATERIALS THAT MAY BE USED IN THE CLASS; OTHER EXAMPLES BASED ON THE SAME MODELS, OR SIMILAR MATERIAL, MAY BE FOUND IN THE REFERENCES LISTED IN THE APPENDED BIBLIOGRAPHY. THIS PAPER IS THE THIRD AND FINAL STUDY IN THE BUREAU OF INDIAN AFFAIRS' "CURRICULUM BULLETIN NUMBER 6," EDITED BY SIRARPI OHANNESSIAN AND WILLIAM W. GAGE OF THE CENTER FOR APPLIED LINGUISTICS. AN INTRODUCTORY SECTION BY THE EDITORS IS INCLUDED. SEE RELATED DOCUMENTS AL 002 289 AND AL 002 290. (AMM)

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# TEACHING ENGLISH TO SPEAKERS OF CHOCTAW, NAVAJO AND PAPAGO

A Contrastive Approach

[Part III, English for Speakers of Papago]



Edited by

SIRARPI OHANNESSIAN

and

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Prepared at the

CENTER FOR APPLIED LINGUISTICS

for the

BUREAU OF INDIAN AFFAIRS

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## A LETTER TO THE TEACHERS OF INDIAN CHILDREN

The Bureau of Indian Affairs is pleased to be able to make available the type of information that is contained in this Curriculum Bulletin. Teachers over the years have consistently asked for practical information about the language Indian children speak in the home. I believe the Center for Applied Linguistics has made a first vital step toward making it possible for us to respond to this request.

I would like to express my appreciation to Miss Sirarpi Ohannessian for her continued interest in the education of American Indian children. Her first effort, The Study of the Problems of Teaching English to American Indians, established a landmark in the study of language curriculum practices in Indian education. The contrastive articles which comprise this Bulletin resulted from a recommendation of the Study and represent another step the Bureau of Indian Affairs and Indian people have made to improve the education of Indian children.

May I encourage you to take an active interest in the articles and to use them as much as possible. If you have questions or comments about them, please feel free to write either to Miss Ohannessian or to me.

Charles N. Zellers  
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## FOREWORD

The present set of three articles\* is an attempt to make available to teachers some of the results of a comparison of English with three American Indian languages: Choctaw, Navajo, and Papago. These languages were decided on in consultation with, and based on needs indicated by, the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Navajo was selected as the language that had the largest number of speakers and Choctaw as one on which help was especially needed by teachers. The third language indicated by the Bureau was Eskimo, but it was found that a Teacher's Guide for Teaching English to Native Children of Alaska on lines similar to those contemplated for the present series had already been prepared by members of the Summer Institute of Linguistics and edited by Donald H. Webster and Elliott Canonge. Therefore Papago was chosen instead.

Each of the articles in the present volume is based on existing studies of the specific Indian language, and represents the contribution of a scholar who has been involved in such study of the language. The Choctaw-English article is by Thurston Dale Nicklas of the University of Kansas. The Navajo-English article was planned in consultation with Oswald Werner of Northwestern University and was written by Dorothy A. Pedtke of the Center for Applied Linguistics in collaboration with Dr. Werner, who provided parts of the article. The Papago-English article is based on a paper specially prepared by Madeleine Mathiot of the State University of New York at Buffalo and adapted by Sirarpi Ohannessian to make it more accessible to the teacher who may have no training in linguistics.

The project was organized and carried out by the English for Speakers of Other Languages Program of the Center for Applied Linguistics under contract with the Bureau of Indian Affairs of the United States Department of the Interior.

\*See also AL 002 289 and AL 002 290.

The Center wishes to express its thanks to the scholars that contributed to the volume and to the Bureau of Indian Affairs for its support of the project.

Sirarpi Ohannessian  
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## PREFACE

It is often easy to detect the native language of people from the way they speak English. Thus, when we hear people say "chop" instead of "shop"; "wreathing" instead of "reading"; when s's disappear at the ends of certain nouns that should be in the plural; and the difference between "ship" and "sheep" cannot be determined from the vowel sound used, we may guess that they probably are speakers of Spanish. These are only a few examples of the typical "mistakes" that Spanish speakers make, and it would be easy to draw up similar lists for speakers of such languages as French, German, and Navajo who have not yet learned to speak English well. Indeed, it is equally easy to draw up such a list for Americans who are learning to speak French, German, Navajo, and so on. These "mistakes" occur not only at the level of pronunciation, but also in grammar and vocabulary.

A major reason for these "mistakes" seems to be that in learning a new language we tend to transfer to it the habits of hearing, understanding and producing the sounds, grammatical patterns and vocabulary system of our own language or the languages we already speak. Such transfer is often referred to as "interference" and may present a serious problem in learning a new language. Linguists maintain that the best way to deal with the problem of interference is to pinpoint specific areas of potential difficulty through a contrastive analysis of the target language and the language (or languages) that the learner already speaks. The assumption behind such an analysis is that since teaching a new language is always a question of teaching it to speakers of a specific language (or languages), an understanding of likely interference will help to make teaching much more efficient and effective by making it possible to organize it in such a way that emphasis is laid on areas that need most attention.

However, it may not always be possible to predict all interference problems, or which of them will present the greatest difficulty. For this reason it is necessary to observe the language behavior of learners

in order to find out which are the more persistent problems. But when once these are isolated and matched with the predicted areas of potential trouble, the contrastive study can be of very great help to the teacher.

The articles in this volume are based on the work of linguists who have studied, compared and contrasted the structures of English with those of Choctaw, Navajo and Papago. They are not, however, based on extensive observation of student behavior and they are not intended as guidelines for teaching procedure, though some suggestions for presentation of material have been included. They are, rather, intended to point out, in language that the teacher can understand, the areas of potential interference for speakers of Choctaw, Papago and Navajo in learning English. Teachers, therefore, should first ascertain whether the problems isolated in the articles are indeed those that their students face. If they are, the articles should be of great assistance in providing useful information on the causes of these problems and in providing useful information on the causes of these problems and in providing examples of material for additional class work in overcoming them. It remains for the teacher, when he has determined which problems need most attention, to decide on the actual techniques of presenting the material.

It is important for the teacher to bear in mind, however, that an intellectual understanding on the part of the student of differences between English and his own language and the problems these cause him in learning English will not necessarily result in his learning to use the language. A great deal of work is needed in practicing it in order to establish new habits which will help him use it with ease and near-native ability.

At present there is a great deal of interest and research in the process through which a child learns his first language, but there is little work as yet on how he acquires his second or third language. However, experience seems to indicate that children learn more easily than adults, and that practice, mimicry and, in the words of William A. Moulton, "the ability to see patterns, to make analogies, to build new forms on the basis of old ones", are involved in all language learning.

A great deal more seems to be involved in second language learning than overcoming problems of interference from the mother tongue. For instance, if a child says "He bringed the book", he is obviously using the analogy of the more usual way of forming the past tense in English, and "interference" here is not attributable to his native language. The attitude of students towards the new language, that of their community, the immediate and future importance of English for purposes of communication and advancement may all have an effect on how students learn English. One very important factor is the attitude of the teacher towards his students, towards the language he is teaching, and his ability to arouse interest and enthusiasm. All this is, of course, in addition to his familiarity with modern approaches to language teaching and his skill in classroom techniques.

The editors of this volume regard it as essential that the student be provided with extensive practice in overcoming his difficulties, that grammatical explanations be restricted to the clarification of special problems, and that the student be helped to learn the English language rather than about it. It is suggested that where possible the learning process take place in realistic situations in which English is used for communication. Even where mimicry and repetition are used, it is recommended that the work be varied and incorporated into meaningful activity. Presentation of material will vary according to the age and background of the student. It is assumed that, though oral work will form a very important part of the initial stages in teaching, reading and writing will not be neglected in subsequent stages but will receive equally careful attention.

The bibliography at the end of this volume is intended as a guide for further reading. Teachers are urged to consult the section on "The Teacher's Bookshelf" in English for American Indians (prepared by the Center for Applied Linguistics and published by the Bureau of Indian Affairs) as well as the bibliography listed, for books on methodology and further material on the English language.

Sirarpi Ohannessian  
William W. Gage  
Center for Applied Linguistics  
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## ENGLISH FOR SPEAKERS OF PAPAGO

Based on material prepared by Madeleine Mathiot  
Adapted by Sirarpi Ohannessian

### 0. Introduction

Papago is a Uto-Aztecan language spoken by roughly 14,000 people in Southern Arizona and adjacent portions of the State of Sonora in Mexico. It is related to Pima to the extent that speakers of the two languages are able to understand each other. Among the better known other Uto-Aztecan languages are Hopi and Nahuatl (or Aztec).

The exact number of Papago dialects is not known. Scholars give six dialect groups: (1) Totoguañ (2) Kolóodi (3) Gigimai (4) Kohadk or Kuhadk (5) Hoho?ula or Hoho?ola and (6) Huhu?uvax or Hoho?ovax.

The Papago language described in this paper is the Totoguañ dialect of the Santa Rosa-Covered Wells area. The information is based on the analysis by Dr. Madeleine Mathiot who prepared a comparison of English and Papago to serve as the basis for the present paper. (The present paper has not always relied on the same sources for English as the original paper by Dr. Mathiot.)

The primary concern of this paper is to point out to the teacher differences between the sound features and the grammatical categories of the two languages. In addition, some syntactic patterns are also compared, generally from the point of view of the meanings they convey; the lexical (or vocabulary) structures of the two languages have not been included. The purpose of providing the teacher with this information is to make him aware of differences between the two languages which may cause difficulty for Papagos learning English. The likely problem areas which are pointed out, unfortunately, are not arrived at by actual observation of interference problems in Papago speakers. They are, therefore, informed guesses based on linguistic analysis and comparison, and the teacher will have to verify, by his own observation, that they are indeed areas of difficulty before devoting special time and attention to them.

The Suggestions for the Classroom that follow most of the sections in the paper contain samples of the type of material that may be used

in the class. The teacher can think of more examples based on the same models or find similar material in textbooks of English as a second language.

Teaching is likely to be more effective if it takes place in meaningful, realistic situations where language is used for communication. The teacher should try to work the suggestions and the linguistic material provided in this paper into classroom activity centered round real situations. Such activity can include dialogs, games, dramatization, the use of pictures, or other techniques. Teachers may find that, especially at the beginning, exercises involving imitation, repetition and substitution of various kinds may also be necessary. These types of exercises may form part of, or be used in conjunction with, the more free, situational work mentioned above. The gradual relaxing of control over the language used by students while learning English will be one of the most important aspects of teaching.

Teachers will also find that younger students are better at imitation and at internalizing the language than older ones who may need more direct help in understanding how to produce the sounds of English or how its grammar works. However, it is suggested that the teacher concentrate on teaching the language through abundant practice rather than talking about the language. Grammatical explanations will probably not be helpful unless they are kept to a minimum and only used when the teacher feels that the students need it because of some special problem. For detailed discussions on methodology teachers should consult the texts listed in the bibliography provided at the end of this volume.

#### 1. Sounds in English and Papago

There are a number of important differences between the sound systems of Papago and English. These differences are likely to cause problems of interference of varying degrees for Papago speakers.

In dealing with these problems the teacher is likely to need special help in information on the actual production of English sounds that Papago speakers find difficult. This is especially important for teaching sounds that occur in English but do not occur in Papago for at times it would be very useful to provide the Papago student with directions on how to produce them. But since, within the limits of this



These vowels do not necessarily occur in all varieties of standard American English.

(b) Complex vowels

/iy/, /ey/, /ay/, /oy/, /uw/, /ow/, /aw/

e.g.: /iy/ as in seat      /uw/ as in boot

      /ey/ as in late      /ow/ as in though

      /ay/ as in bite      /aw/ as in cow

      /oy/ as in boy

1.12 Papago vowels

	Voiced				Voiceless
	Front	Central	Back		Front
			Unrounded	Rounded	
High	i		ɯ	u	ï
Mid				o	
Low		a			

N.B. Any of the voiced vowels may be long.

1.13 Comparison of the two vowel systems

As can be seen from a comparison of the charts given above, Papago has predominantly simple vowels. English, on the other hand, has a very complicated vowel system, containing, in addition to simple vowels, a number of complex vowels made up of two or more elements in the same syllable. It should be noted that these vowels have a great range of variation in dialects spoken in various parts of the United States. An additional difference between Papago and English vowels is that Papago has a contrast between voiced and voiceless\* vowels which English does not have. The following are some specific differences between the vowel systems of the two languages.

(a) Papago lacks the following English vowels and they will have to be learned:

\*Voiceless sounds are pronounced without vibration of the vocal chords, whereas voiced sounds are produced with such vibration.

/e/ as in pet

/æ/ as in pat

/ɔ/ as in caught

/ə/ as in sofa

### Suggestions for the Classroom

It is suggested that students first be taught to distinguish between these vowels before they are asked to produce them. For instance, students should be able to first hear and then produce the difference between the following pairs:

/e/ - /æ/ as in pet - pat

/æ/ - /a/ as in gather - bother

/ɔ/ - /ɑ/\* as in stalk - stock

/ə/ - /a/ as in cut - cot

/ɔ/ - /ə/ as in cough - cuff

There are a number of techniques, often using pictures, objects, or acting, to find out whether students can hear the difference between words which have only one significant sound or phoneme keeping them apart. The same visual aids or other devices such as games can be used in teaching students to pronounce them.

The contrast in /e/ and /æ/ can be used in classroom activity in sentences like the following, where, because other parts of the sentence are kept constant, discrimination and production problems can be detected.

Give me a pen please.

Give me a pan please.

He saw the man.

He saw the men.

He is giving the child a pet.

He is giving the child a pat.

The contrast in /æ/ and /a/ can be used in such sentences as:

Dan has a blue shirt.

Don has a blue shirt.

---

\*Many Americans in the western U.S. (e.g., Utah) do not make any distinction between these.

The baby is near the cat.

The baby is near the cot.

There is a sack behind the chair.

There is a sock behind the chair.

It is suggested that the teacher prepare similar sentences for teaching the other contrasts discussed both above and in the following paragraphs if they prove troublesome.

(b) Papago has no complex vowels that are phonemic. That is, no syllable composed of more than one vowel is used in Papago to make a difference in meaning (though some Papago vowels are phonetically not entirely "pure").

#### Suggestions for the Classroom

Attention will be needed in teaching the following contrasts:

/iy/-/i/ and /ey/-/e/, as in the following examples:

<u>leap</u> - <u>lip</u>	<u>date</u> - <u>debt</u>
<u>meal</u> - <u>mill</u>	<u>pain</u> - <u>pen</u>
<u>feel</u> - <u>fill</u>	<u>fade</u> - <u>fed</u>
<u>seep</u> - <u>sip</u>	<u>shade</u> - <u>shed</u>
<u>seal</u> - <u>sill</u>	<u>cane</u> - <u>Ken</u>

Attention will also be needed in teaching the following complex vowel sounds since they are lacking in Papago:

/ay/ as in pie, light, buy, sky

/oy/ as in boy, toy, annoy, coin

/uw/ as in shoot, move, rule, boot

/ow/ as in boat, low, goal, wrote

/aw/ as in cow, bough, crown, down

It is possible that there may be confusion between /ow/ as in 'boat' and /o/ as in 'bought'.

(c) The following English vowels are very similar to their Papago counterparts, though the former are pronounced more laxly than the latter:

/i/ as in ship, lip, pink

/u/ as in put, foot, book

/o/ as in boy, toy, low

/a/ as in balm, bottle, Eob

## 1.2 Consonants

The consonants of English and Papago have striking differences. Below are two charts showing the consonant systems of the two languages.

### 1.21 The English consonant system

	Bilabial	Labio-dental	Dental or Alveolar	Palato-Alveolar	Palatal or Velar	Glottal
<b>Stops</b> Voiceless Voiced	p b		t d		k g	
<b>Affricates</b> Voiceless Voiced				č ǰ		
<b>Fricatives</b> Voiceless Voiced		f v	θ s ð z	ʃ ʒ		h
<b>Nasals</b> (Voiced)	m		n		ŋ	

The semi-consonants /w/ and /y/.

The liquids /r/ and /l/.

### 1.22 The Papago consonant system

	Bilabial	Apico-dental	Apico-alveolar	Apico-domal	Lamino-alveolar	Dorso-velar	Laryngeal
<b>Stops</b> Tense Lax	p b	t d	d ·		c j	k g	ʔ
<b>Fricatives</b>	φ		s	ʃ			h
<b>Nasals</b>	m	n			ɲ		
<b>Lateral flap</b>			ɾ				

The semi-consonant /y/ in loans from Spanish.

The spelling system for the Papago examples differs from the symbols presented in the phonological charts, as follows: vowel length is indicated by two identical vowel symbols. Example: kii 'house'. The high back unrounded /ü/ is spelled e; the bilabial fricative /ɸ/ is spelled v; the apico-domal fricative /š/ is spelled x; the apico-alveolar lateral flap /ʎ/ is spelled l. Finally, stress is indicated only if it does not fall on the first syllable of the theme.

### 1.23 Comparison of the two consonant systems

A comparison of the consonant systems of the two languages shows that:

(a) The following English consonants are lacking in Papago and will have to be learned:

/v/ as in voice

/θ/ as in think

/ð/ as in there

/z/ as in maze

/ž/ as in measure

/ŋ/ as in sing

/w/ as in wear

#### Suggestions for the Classroom

It is recommended that the teacher try to find out which contrasts are not easy for Papagos to distinguish and to produce. The following pairs might be tried out first.

/v/ and /f/ (Note Papago pronunciation of /ɸ/, given on page 112 below.)

veal feel

van fan

save safe

life live

/t/ and /θ/

tin thin

tree three

boat both

boot booth

/n/ and /ŋ/

son son sung sung

sin sin sing sing

gone gone gong gong

din din ding ding

/ð/ and /d/

then then den den

there there dare dare

breathe breathe breed breed

seethe seethe seed seed

After establishing the serious problem areas the teacher can provide further practice in those that need most attention.

(b) The following English consonants are somewhat similar to their counterparts in Papago but there are differences in their pronunciation. These differences are discussed below.

/p/ as in pin

/b/ as in bin

/t/ as in tin

/d/ as in din

/k/ as in cot

/g/ as in got

/č/ as in choke

/ǰ/ as in joke

These pairs are distinguished in English by voicing. That is, in /b/, /d/, /g/, and /ǰ/ the vocal chords vibrate during articulation.

In Papago these pairs are distinguished, among other features, through comparative tenseness of the speech organs as opposed to laxness in pronunciation. The fortis consonants /p, t, k, č/ are pronounced with tenseness and pre-aspiration or an 'h'-like sound preceding them; the lenis consonants /b, d, g, ǰ/ are marked with varying degrees of voicing.

The Papago speaker will probably be able to hear the difference between such English consonants as /p/ and /b/, and /k/ and /g/, but may not be able to produce them using voicing as the principal feature

that makes the difference. Although much more is involved in the production of the English consonants /b, d, g, ʃ/ than just voicing, it may be sufficient to stress this feature for purposes of teaching their production.

#### Suggestions for the Classroom

Special attention should be given to achieve correct pronunciation of these consonants. The following are additional pairs of contrasts that could be used in classroom activity.

/p/ - /b/

pig - big      cap - cab

pat - bat      sop - sob

pet - bet      cop - cob

/t/ - /d/

tip - dip      date - Dade

ton - done      bet - bed

tell - dell      seat - seed

/k/ - /g/

cap - gap      back - bag

crow - grow      sack - sag

clean - glean      lack - lag

/č/ - /ǰ/

cheap - jeep      batch - badge

chin - gin      match - Madge

cherry - Jerry      rich - ridge

(c) In English the two consonants /r/ as in 'right' and /l/ as in 'light' are separate phonemes. That is, they stand in contrast to each other to make a difference in the meaning of these words. Papago has only one phoneme similar to these. It is pronounced sometimes like English /r/ and sometimes like English /l/. Papago speakers will probably find it difficult to both hear and produce the difference between the two English consonants /r/ and /l/. Also, English /r/ and /l/ are pronounced in a variety of ways depending on their initial or final position in a word, and their nearness to different vowels. For instance, the /l/ sounds in 'luck', 'leap', and 'milk' are different from each other. The /r/ sounds in 'tree', 'bird', 'road' and 'bear' are also different.

### Suggestions for the Classroom

The teacher should first verify whether his students find it difficult to distinguish between English /l/ and /r/ and to produce them. If they do, it is suggested that pairs of words containing these sounds in contrast, as those given below, be incorporated into sentences and used in classroom activity. It is possible that a great deal of practice will be necessary in this area, especially with older students.

lead - read      wall - war  
load - road      file - fire  
leap - reap      feel - fear  
list - wrist      ball - bore

Once understanding of the contrast is established, it may not be necessary to confine work only to pairs of words that stand in contrast, as those above, but provide practice in these sounds within a situational framework.

(d) English /f/ as in 'fat' is voiceless and is produced by using the lower lip and the upper teeth. Papago has a sound, /ɸ/, that is similar to English /f/, but is produced with the two lips and may be voiced.

### Suggestions for the Classroom

It is suggested that the teacher provide practice in the production of /f/ in initial, medial and final positions. With older students, pointing out the differences in the production of the English and Papago varieties of this consonant may be useful, but imitation may be sufficient for younger students.

(e) English /ʃ/ as in 'shore' is pronounced with the tongue against the front palate, whereas its Papago counterpart is pronounced with retroflexion. That is, it is pronounced with the tip of the tongue being turned back towards the palate.

### Suggestions for the Classroom

An explanation of the difference in the manner of production of this sound in the two languages, accompanied by practice of English /ʃ/ in as many positions as possible, may be helpful.

(f) The following English consonants are pronounced roughly in the same manner as their Papago equivalents.

/s/ as in sat

/h/ as in hat

/m/ as in moat

/n/ as in note

#### 1.24 Consonant Clusters

In English clusters of consonants may occur at the beginning, middle and end of a word. There are limitations to the distribution and occurrence of such clusters but clusters of two or three consonants may occur initially and clusters of as many as four finally. The following are examples:

/k1-/ as in clock

/str-/ as in strange

/skr-/ as in screw

/spl-/ as in splash

/-st/ as in fast

/-rst/ as in worst

/-nθs/ as in thousandths

/-rstst/ as in bursts

In Papago, though a maximum of three consonants may occur together, they are broken up by inserted vowels. These vowels are voiced before a lenis consonant but voiceless before fortis ones.

#### Suggestions for the Classroom

It is probable, therefore, that there will be two kinds of interference problems in the pronunciation of English consonant clusters by Papago speakers: (1) they will be likely to insert vowels between the consonants in English clusters; and (2) their vowels will tend to be voiceless before voiceless English consonants.

A very useful list of English consonant clusters is provided in Fries (1945). It is suggested that the teacher observe Papago students to find out which consonant clusters are particularly troublesome and provide practice in their correct production.

#### 1.3 Intonation and Stress

Mastering the intonation and stress pattern of a language is one of the

most important factors in acquiring a native-like command of the language. Unfortunately not enough is known at present about the intonation of Papago to present a comparison of the two languages.

There is considerable disagreement about stress in English, but it is generally accepted that there are three degrees of stress that are phonemic. These are primary stress /'/, secondary stress /`/, and weak stress /˘/ (which is sometimes not marked at all in phonemic writing).

Papago has two degrees of stress, primary stress and weak stress. In most cases primary stress falls on the first syllable of the theme and may thus be predictable.

It is therefore possible that Papago speakers may have difficulty in hearing and producing contrasts in English in such expressions as the following:

permít	pérmit
impórt	íport
abstráct	ábstract

However, it is the role of stress and intonation in English sentences, rather than in the relatively short list of words, of which the above are examples, that has very important implications for teaching the language.

#### Suggestions for the Classroom

For material to add to class activity it is suggested that the teacher consult a reliable text on English as a foreign or second language which provides exercises on stress and intonation. Names of some such texts will be found in the Reference List of Materials for English as a Second Language, listed in the bibliography provided at the end of this article. Teachers should also consult past issues of English for American Indians (A Newsletter of the Office of The Assistant Commissioner for Education, Bureau of Indian Affairs, U.S. Department of the Interior) for suggestions on material to be used.

## 2. Grammar in English and Papago

From a grammatical point of view Papago differs from English in two main ways:

First, English has a far less complex inflectional\* system than Papago has. For example, various kinds of grammatical meanings in English are expressed by separate words such as auxiliaries like 'have' and 'be'; modals like 'may' and 'will'; and particles like the 'to' of the infinitive. In Papago, on the other hand, there is a very complex system of adding affixes to forms to express meaning similar to that conveyed by the above English words, much as English expresses the idea of "more than one" by the affix '-s' at the end of nouns.

Next, there are a number of grammatical categories in English, such as tense and gender that are lacking in Papago. On the other hand, Papago has grammatical categories (such as the verbal number category) which are lacking in English. For instance, except for '-s' in the third person singular of the present tense, it is not possible in English to tell number from the form of the verb. In 'he went', 'we went', and 'they went' the verbs all have the same form. In Papago an inflectional affix on the verb will show the idea of "more than one" person being involved in the action. There are a number of such meanings expressed by inflections in Papago which in English have to be expressed by the use of separate words.

There are a number of word classes and grammatical categories in both languages that are similar to one another. For instance English word classes such as verbs and nouns have counterparts in Papago. Also, grammatical categories such as those of number, person, voice, and mood in English have counterparts in Papago.

The following paragraphs will discuss only a few major points of difference between the grammatical categories of the two languages. The semantic content, or the meaning conveyed by the grammatical categories, will be stressed since this information may be useful for teaching the correct use of the grammatical patterns of English. Emphasis, however, will be on such points as are expressed by grammatical devices in English

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\* Inflection means the adding of certain affixes to the beginning or ending of words, or the change made within a word to show grammatical relationships and meaning. In English '-ed' for the past tense of verbs, '-s' for the plural of nouns, and '-er' for the comparative of adjectives are inflectional suffixes. The difference between 'mouse' and 'mice' is internal change denoting the type of meaning conveyed by the inflectional '-s' of the plural.

but not in Papago, and on those that have counterparts in both languages but work in a markedly different fashion in each, since it is likely that these may be the cause of problems of interference. Points that work in fairly similar ways in both languages will receive less emphasis.

## 2.1 Word Classes

A number of word classes (sometimes referred to as "parts of speech") have parallels in both Papago and English. They are: verbs, nouns, prepositions, pronouns, numerals, particles.

In other word classes certain distinctions in English are absent in Papago. For instance, the two word classes of adjectives and adverbs in English are included in one single word class, that of modifiers, in Papago.

One word class in Papago, that of the subject complex words, is absent in English, but is important for understanding the problems that Papago speakers may have in relation to the use of nouns, pronouns and verbs in English. Certain elements in the subject complex words may be translated into English as 'I', 'he', etc., but they combine with verb forms and particles to form verbal phrases which are like the compound verb forms in English, e.g.:

ntp o ñei. 'I might see him.'

nt o ñei. 'I want to see him.'

na?ans o ñei. 'I doubt whether I'll see him.'

## 2.2 Prepositions

One important difference between Papago and English is that while English prepositions must occur before the noun or noun phrase which they introduce, Papago prepositions can occur either before or after them, the most frequent occurrence being after the noun or noun phrase. Thus, they may be termed postpositions rather than prepositions. (Prepositions are discussed again in section 2.81 under Word Order.)

### Suggestions for the Classroom

It seems likely that word order will be a problem for Papagos learning the use of prepositions in English. The use of prepositions in general appears to be one of the most difficult aspects of learning English for non-English speakers. It is recommended that the teacher use pictures, actions and the blackboard in

teaching relationships conveyed by prepositions. Very often their use is idiomatic and will need special attention.

### 2.3 Pronouns

English pronouns differ from Papago pronouns by being more varied than their counterparts in Papago. Some English pronouns, e.g., 'I', correspond to a stem in the Papago subject complex words. Some English pronouns correspond to Papago affixes, e.g., 'my' and 'me' may be expressed in Papago by an affix to a noun, a verb, or a postposition, and not by a separate word, as in English. One type of Papago pronoun corresponds to English adverbs of place. These are the Papago locational pronouns indicating ideas expressed by such English adverbs as 'here' and 'there'.

(Personal and possessive pronouns are discussed again under section 2.7.)

### 2.4 Verbs

Both English and Papago have verbs, but verbs function in rather different ways in the two languages.

In English the verb may be associated with separate words such as nouns and pronouns acting as subjects and objects; with auxiliary verbs such as 'have', 'do', and 'be'; with modals such as 'can', 'may', and 'must'; and with the negative 'not'.

In Papago the verb is associated with the subject complex words which include as stems the equivalent of English subject personal pronouns as well as affixes to show aspect and mood. In addition, there are a few particles showing aspect, mood and negation that may be associated with the Papago verb. The affixes paralleling English object personal pronouns are added to the verb theme and are used as part of its inflectional system.

The Papago verb has a number of categories, some shown in the verb itself, and some in the affixes of the subject complex words. In the following paragraphs categories that are present only in English or have counterparts in the two languages will be discussed.

#### 2.41 Tense

One very important difference between the verb systems of the two

languages is that the English verb has tense, whereas no such category exists in the Papago verb.

In English the concept of the time of an action is expressed through this category of tense. An action may be expressed as having taken place in the past, taking place in the present or to take place in the future. It is not possible to do this in Papago without the use of such adverbs as 'yesterday', 'today', 'tomorrow'.

#### 2.42 Aspect

Verbs in both English and Papago may show aspect. Aspect is usually taken to mean the manner in which the action is shown to take place. For instance, in English the difference between "He plays" and "He is playing" is not a difference in time, but of manner of action since one shows duration of the action within a given period of time while the other does not indicate such duration. Both aspects, the continuous and the neutral (or non-continuous), can be expressed in the past, present and future in English.

	<u>Common aspect</u>	<u>Continuous aspect</u>
Present	writes	is writing
Past	wrote	was writing
Future	will write	will be writing

Papago has three kinds of aspect of which only one, that of extensionality, has a partial counterpart in English. This category indicates the duration of action or condition referred to by the verb. It is therefore similar to the continuous aspect in English, but only in part. The Papago aspect of extensionality may show:

- a durative action, that is, one that is extended, expressed by the suffix '-d', e.g.:

himad 'being walking'

- an immediative action which indicates a closely following action, e.g.:

himka?i! 'Go on, don't stop walking!'

However, there is no equivalent in Papago to the simple, neutral aspect in English, since its Papago equivalent is definitely marked for non-continuity.

### Suggestions for the Classroom

It is therefore possible that Papago speakers will have some difficulty in distinguishing between time and aspect as expressed in English verbs. It is suggested that the teacher pay particular attention to first ascertaining whether the distinction between time of action and manner of action is clearly understood.

For example, Papago speakers may find it difficult to understand the differences in meaning between the following pairs of sentences:

He is listening to the teacher.

He listens to the teacher.

He listens to the teacher.

He listened to the teacher.

He will water the garden when they arrive.

He will be watering the garden when they arrive.

He opened the door when she came.

He was opening the door when she came.

He sang loudly.

He will sing loudly.

Probably the best way to teach these differences is in situations that demonstrate their meaning. The teacher can prepare dialogs to be acted in class, but should also observe usage by students in everyday situations and point out correct usage when this is necessary. It is strongly recommended that the teacher not rely only on explanation and an apparent understanding by students of the difference between the continuous and non-continuous tenses, but make certain that students can use them meaningfully.

#### 2.43 Correlation

Another type of information conveyed by the English verb system is that of the relation of the time of an action to that of another action in some moment of time. This is expressed by the difference between the perfect and non-perfect tenses and may be called the category of correlation. The perfect tense indicates that the action precedes some moment in time but the non-perfect is neutral and does not indicate such

precedence. It is unmarked. For instance, "He broke his pencil" is in the past but is not related to any special moment of time in the past, but "He had broken his pencil when trying to sharpen it" is.

The perfect tense in English is expressed by the auxiliary 'have' with the past participle. The following chart shows instances of the category of correlation in the three tenses and two aspects in English.

		ASPECT		ASPECT	
		<u>common</u>	<u>continuous</u>	<u>common</u>	<u>continuous</u>
TENSE	<u>present</u>	writes	is writing	has written	has been writing
	<u>past</u>	wrote	was writing	had written	had been writing
	<u>future</u>	will write	will be writing	will have written	will have been writing
		nonperfect		perfect	
CORRELATION					

There is a category in the Papago verb which indicates the way in which one action (or condition) expressed by the verb is related to another. This category has two sub-categories only one of which roughly parallels the perfect tense in English. This sub-category, called the correlative, is expressed by the suffix -k attached to the verb theme, and indicates the logical priority of one action or condition over another. In the following example overeating is followed by sickness.

?id ?o mumku cum si ?egegusidk. 'He is sick from having overeaten.'

The English perfect tense therefore has a very rough counterpart in the Papago correlative, but with the important difference that in Papago one is dealing with the logical precedence of an action over another whereas in English only precedence in time is implied.

#### Suggestions for the Classroom

It is possible therefore that Papago speakers may confuse the time relationship between the perfect and non-perfect tenses in English with the relationship of the logical sequence of events that their language is capable of expressing.

It is therefore suggested that the teacher provide considerable practice in class on the use of the perfect tenses. The use of 'since' and 'ago' in relation to the perfect and non-perfect tenses may prove to be especially troublesome. Most texts on

English as a second language provide material on the perfect tenses, and the teacher should be able to find sufficient examples to supplement the class text if this is necessary.

#### 2.44 Mood

There are three moods in English: the indicative, the subjunctive and the imperative.

The indicative mood indicates that the speaker represents an action as real, e.g.:

The man went to work.

The subjunctive mood indicates that the action is hypothetical, e.g.:

If he knew he would tell you.

I suggest that he go.

The imperative indicates that the speaker represents the action as either an order or a request, e.g.:

Stand up.

The Papago category of mood is concerned with the type of statement which is made by the sentence of which the verb is the predicate. There are three moods: the imperative and hortative (which indicate two types of command) on the one hand, and the so-called indicative on the other. The imperative and hortative in Papago are somewhat parallel to the imperative in English.

The Papago imperative mood is expressed by a suffix -ñ, attached to the verb theme, e.g.:

himiñ! '(You [singular]) go!'

The hortative is formed by the particle 'g' preceding the verb, e.g.:

pi g him! '(You [sing.]) don't go!'

In Papago the indicative mood, like that in English, is neutral as to command, but stresses the manner in which the information given by the statement is attested. That is, the various Papago categories included in the indicative mood provide information as to whether the action is based on evidence, is quoted, is potential, or whether the speaker is ignorant with respect to the action or condition referred to in the statement. It does not seem likely that these distinctions in Papago will pose serious problems of interference in the use of the indicative in the English verb which is not concerned with problems of attestation.

### Suggestions for the Classroom

Papago does not have an equivalent to the subjunctive mood in English, and to render it into Papago it is necessary to use various particles. It may, therefore, be necessary to teach the subjunctive, but its function is so limited in present-day English that actual instruction in its use might be postponed to advanced stages in the learning of English by Papagos.

It seems evident that the imperative and hortative moods in Papago closely parallel the English imperative mood which should present few problems to Papago learners. It might, however, be helpful for the teacher to remember that a variety of devices such as questions beginning with "Will you...", "Would you...", "Could you...", "Would you like to...", etc., serve as requests or commands in English, e.g.:

Shut the door.

Will you shut the door, please?

Would you mind shutting the door?

Could you shut the door?

Tom, may we have the door shut, please?, etc.

#### 2.45 Voice

Voice in the English verb expresses the relation between the subject and the verb or the relation between the subject and the object of the action.

In English the category of voice has two members: the active voice and the passive voice. The active voice generally indicates that the subject of the verb performs the action, is the doer, e.g.:

Mary sang beautifully.

Mary sang a song.

The passive voice indicates that the subject of the verb is not the doer, but the goal of the action, e.g.:

A beautiful song was sung by Mary.

The food was eaten quickly.

Examples of the category of voice in the present and past tenses together with the other verbal categories are presented in the table below.

	<u>active voice</u>	<u>passive voice</u>	
<u>present tense</u>	<u>common aspect</u> invites	is invited	} <u>indicative mood</u>
	<u>continuous aspect</u> is inviting	is being invited	
<u>past tense</u>	<u>nonperfect correlation</u> invited	was invited	
	<u>perfect correlation</u> has invited	has been invited	

English voice has no real counterpart in Papago. There are in Papago two categories that Dr. Mathiot refers to as voice -- the stative and the active. Differences between these do not appear to correspond to the difference between the active and passive in English but to that between a state or condition on the one hand and an action or occurrence on the other.

#### Suggestions for the Classroom

The difference between the active and passive voice in English may not be clearly understood and may need a considerable amount of attention. The teacher may be able to devise short dialogs round situations using such sentences as the following, and help students use their own in similar situations:

Mary, please give this book to John.

What did Mary do?

Mary gave the book to John.

What happened to the book?

The book was given to John by Mary.

#### 2.46 Interrogation and Emphasis

In English a sentence may be interrogative or not, that is, a sentence is either a question or it is not. It may also be an emphatic sentence or not. Sentences that are not questions and are not emphatic are unmarked, whereas those that are questions or emphatic are marked in some way to show this.

In Papago there is a category of statement mode in which a sentence may be interrogative, i.e., a question sentence; it may be assertive, i.e., a sentence indicating emphatic assertion; or promptive, which indicates that the statement constitutes a way of prompting. The category of statement mode is expressed by prefixes in the subject complex words. It indicates the mode of the statement of which the compound verb containing the subject complex word is predicate.

(a) Interrogation

In English questions may be formed by:

-question words, e.g.:

What is that?

-the auxiliary 'do', e.g.:

Does he know the answer?

-change in word order, e.g.:

Is he a doctor?

-change in intonation, e.g.:

He is a doctor?

In Papago questions are expressed by the prefix n-, na?a-, e.g.:

napt o hii? 'Will you [do you want to] go?'

(b) Emphasis

In English emphasis may be expressed by:

-the auxiliary 'do', e.g.:

He does speak English.

-stress and intonation, e.g.:

He reads English.

In Papago the assertive which denotes strong emphasis is formed by the prefix v-, e.g.:

vant o hii. 'I will [definitely] go.'

The promptive in Papago, which has no exact equivalent in English, may be the cause of some interference as it appears to take the form of a question in prompting an action. It is formed by the prefix ñee-, e.g.:

ñeapt o ñei g maakai! 'Why don't you see a doctor?'

(i.e., 'You should see a doctor!')

Suggestions for the Classroom

As the above discussion of the meanings of English and Papago show, there are equivalents in Papago to both question and emphatic

sentences. However, in each case English appears to have more than one way of forming these sentences. It is therefore recommended that the teacher provide practice in the formation and use of both interrogative and emphatic sentences. Such sentences lend themselves particularly well to practice in dialog form.

#### 2.47 Negation

In both English and Papago a sentence may be a negative or an affirmative.

In English the negative is marked by 'do not' or 'not':

<u>Affirmative</u>	<u>Negative</u>
takes	does not take
take!	do not take!
took	did not take
has taken	has not taken
must take	must not take

In Papago there is a category of assertion which may be affirmative or negative. The negative is expressed by the particle 'pi':

<u>Affirmative</u>	<u>Negative</u>
skegaj 'is beautiful'	pi kegaj 'is not beautiful'
him 'is walking'	pi him 'is not walking'

The meanings of affirmative and negative in Papago and English, therefore, seem to have close counterparts and the use of the English negative may not present serious problems to Papago speakers.

#### 2.48 Person

In English the suffix -s, as in 'he works', indicates four things about the verb. It shows that it is in the third person; it is singular; it is in the present tense; and it is in the indicative mood. (First and second person, as well as number other than for the third person, are indicated by pronouns and context in English.)

In Papago person and number (in addition to some other categories) are shown in the object personal affixes to the verb theme. These show first, second and third person, all of which may be singular or plural. (As we saw above, the Papago verb shows no tense.)

#### Suggestions for the Classroom

The English -s ending in the verb, therefore, is only partially analogous to the Papago personal affixes, since it only shows the

third person singular subject (in the present tense) while the Papago [object] affixes show person and number for first, second and third persons.

It is therefore possible that a great deal of practice will be needed to ensure the correct use of the third person singular -s in English. Teachers are urged to consult texts in English as a second language for exercises on this.

Papago has an exact counterpart to the singular versus plural contrast as shown in 'he workss' and 'they work' by the suffix -s. But in English such contrast for the first and second persons is shown by pronouns and context and not by the verb form. The use of pronouns and context in relation to verbs in the English sentence may need careful attention by the teacher.

## 2.5 Nouns

Nouns occur in both English and Papago.

The noun in English is associated with the article (definite, indefinite, i.e., 'the', 'a', 'an', and absence of article) and the possessive pronouns (e.g., 'my').

The noun in Papago is associated with the particle 'g' which is called a noun marker. The presence of this noun marker indicates that the word associated with it is a noun. The equivalents of English object personal pronouns are affixed to the noun in Papago and form part of its inflection.

In English nouns there are two inflectional categories: number (singular, and plural) and case (common, or unmarked, case and genitive, or possessive, case, e.g., 'John', 'John's').

In Papago nouns there are more inflectional categories than in English. However, Papago inflection does include number, and a category called alienability, which is partially parallel to case in English.

The functions of both case and number in the two languages are dependent on sub-classes of nouns. These will be discussed below.

### 2.51 The English Articles

As pointed out above, the English noun may be associated with the definite article, the indefinite article, the absence of an article, and the possessive pronoun:

the definite article	<u>the</u> school
the indefinite article	<u>a</u> school
absence of an article	school
possessive pronoun	<u>our</u> school

The absence of an article with a plural noun corresponds to a singular noun with the indefinite article.

	<u>Singular</u>	<u>Plural</u>
	a book	books
	a girl	girls
(But:	the girl	the girls
	the book	the books)

The absence of an article with a singular count noun\* stands apart and does not correspond to anything in the plural (e.g., 'going to school' and 'going to the school').

In Papago there is no distinction which corresponds to the distinction between the use of the definite article, the indefinite article and the absence of an article with nouns in English. (The noun marker does not correspond to these, and apparently may be translated by any of the three.)

#### Suggestions for the Classroom

It seems likely that Papago students will need a great deal of help in the use of the article in English. Since within the limits of this paper it is not possible to provide sufficient information on its distribution and use, the teacher is urged to use his own native competence in English in detecting misuse of the article, and to correct it where possible by providing extensive practice in its correct use. For particular information on the article in English the following references may be useful: Zandvoort (1957); Roberts (1964); Sledd (1959); Fries (1952). The teacher may wish to consult other texts provided in the bibliography listed at the end of this volume.

#### 2.52 Number in English and Papago Nouns

In English the noun may be singular or plural, but it is marked only for the plural:

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\*See page 128 for count nouns.

<u>Singular</u>	<u>Plural</u>
book	books
dog	dogs
baby	babies
mouse	mice
woman	women

In Papago the noun, as in English, is inflected for number, but the inflection also indicates the location of the entities inflected. There are three nominal numbers in Papago: singular, plural, and distributive. The singular shows a single entity or object in a single location; the plural indicates several entities and a single location; the distributive is more complex and may indicate several entities or several locations with a single or several entities.

The plural in Papago is expressed by reduplication of the first syllable of the stem. The distributive is expressed by double reduplication, e.g.:

daikud	'a single chair from a single location' (such as a house)
dadaikud	'several chairs from a single location'
daddaikud	'several chairs from several locations'

The idea of plurality, therefore, will be familiar to Papago students. Since English has only a difference between singular and plural the more complex system of number in Papago may not present a serious interference problem. However, the use of the plural in various noun sub-classes in English may need attention. Discussion of these follows.

### 2.53 Noun Sub-Classes in English and Papago

English nouns may be divided into two large categories, count nouns and mass nouns, in addition to a few minor categories.

Count nouns, or countable nouns, occur in both singular and plural, e.g.:

dog	dog s
book	books
crisis	crises
county	counties
man	men
ox	oxen

Mass nouns only occur in the singular, e.g.:

milk

iron

flour

peace

knowledge

thrift

Examples of minor categories of English nouns are:

- nouns that occur only in the plural, e.g.: 'scissors', 'outskirts', 'measles'

- nouns that have different meanings in their singular and plural forms, e.g.: 'air' - 'airs', 'custom' - 'customs', 'order' - 'orders', 'spirit' - 'spirits'

- nouns that do not change their singular form for a plural meaning, e.g.: 'deer', 'sheep', 'buffalo'

In Papago there are five sub-classes of nouns which affect the use of number. However, they are very complex and perhaps not essential to describe here.

A comparison of the meanings of noun sub-classes in Papago with those of English shows that English count nouns and mass nouns have partial counterparts in Papago. However, although there is some general correspondence as far as these categories are concerned, it does not mean that particular instances of nouns denoting the same thing fall into similar categories in the two languages. Thus in some cases English count nouns correspond to Papago mass nouns. For instance, Papago uses a mass noun ceevagi - which we might more literally translate as 'cloudiness' - where English has a count noun 'cloud'.

#### Suggestions for the Classroom

Just as the idea of a singular and plural is not unfamiliar to Papagos, the concept of certain noun classes requiring different usage from others as far as number is concerned will also not be unfamiliar. But since the actual nouns in various classes in English and Papago do not altogether coincide, the teacher may find that it will be necessary to give a great deal of practice in the use of specific singular versus plural nouns. It is suggested that

the work be carried out in actual sentences, and worked into classroom activities rather than presented in lists of nouns.

For specific information on the use of number in English nouns the teacher may consult one of the reference grammars listed in the bibliography.

#### 2.54 English Category of Case and Papago Category of Alienability

In English it is generally accepted that nouns have two case forms: common case, which does not show possession, and genitive (or possessive) case, which does. The genitive case is expressed with the suffix -s after the noun in written form, e.g.:

John	John's
dog	dog's

It should be noted that in general usage not all nouns in English are inflected for the genitive case. Possession is sometimes indicated by the preposition 'of' (e.g., 'the cream of the crop', 'the back of his hand', 'the windows of the building').

In Papago there is a category known as that of alienability which indicates whether an association between entities is one of genuine ownership or not. It has two forms: inalienable status, which, like the English common case, is unmarked, and alienable status which is expressed by the suffix -ga, e.g.:

hiañ kii	'tarantula's burrow' (for inalienable status)
kelibad vo?oga	'Dead Old Man's Pond [a place name]' (for alienable status)

There is therefore some correspondence between the English genitive case and the Papago category of alienability, but only to the extent to which the idea of possession corresponds in the two languages. The use of the possessive in English, especially since usage restricts it to certain sub-classes of nouns, may need attention.

#### 2.6 Adjectives and Adverbs

In English as well as in Papago adjectives and adverbs are associated with particles indicating different degrees such as "more than" and "the most". This may be called the category of comparison.

Some English adjectives and adverbs are inflected for the category of comparison, which has three members: the unmarked or common form; the

comparative, formed with the suffix -er; and the superlative, formed with the suffix -est, e.g.:

large, larger, largest  
early, earlier, earliest

In other English adjectives and adverbs the category of comparison is expressed by the use of particles, e.g.:

beautiful, more beautiful, most beautiful  
quickly, more quickly, most quickly

In Papago all forms of grading of adjectives and adverbs are expressed by the use of particles.

#### Suggestions for the Classroom

The idea of comparison, therefore, may not be unfamiliar to Papago students, but they may need practice in the use of both inflectional suffixes and particles indicating comparison of English adjectives and adverbs.

### 2.7 Personal Pronouns and Possessive Pronouns

In English pronouns may be divided into three categories:

#### - simple personal pronouns

These may occur as the subject of a verb or the object of a verb or a preposition, e.g., "I want to go"; "He saw me"; "He came with me".

#### - reflexive personal pronouns

These occur as objects of verbs or prepositions, e.g., "I blamed myself"; "I speak for myself".

#### - emphatic personal pronouns

These stand in apposition to nouns or pronouns, e.g., "I met John himself"; "I myself saw it".

In Papago there are forms that can be translated into English as personal pronouns, subject personals and object personals, but, as we saw, they do not all stand as "words", as English personal pronouns do.

Papago personal pronouns denote emphasis. They occur either in apposition to nouns or in apposition to the subject personals or the object personals, e.g.:

?aacim ?o?odham 'we Papagos'  
?aapi?i m-ñei 'saw you in person'  
?aapi?i m-vui 'with you in person'  
?aapi?i m-kii 'your own house'

Papago subject personal are stems of the subject complex words explained above (see p. 116-17above), e.g.:

?a<sub>ñ</sub> 'I'  
?apt 'you' (sing.)

Papago object personal are affixed to verbs, nouns and postpositions (see p. 117above), e.g.:

ñ-ñei 'saw me'  
ñkii 'my house'  
ñvui 'with me'

In both English and Papago, forms that indicate pronouns show various categories. The categories of Papago pronoun forms are more complex than those of English, and perhaps it is not essential to describe them in detail here. However, a brief comparison of the pronominal categories in the two languages shows that:

English has two categories, case and gender, that are absent in Papago.

Papago has a number of categories such as humanness, definiteness, specificity, which are absent in English. Of these only humanness has a partial counterpart shown in the opposition of the neuter 'it' versus the non-neuter 'he' and 'she' in English. However, it does not involve the opposition of feminine versus masculine which exists in English pronouns.

The English category of number in pronouns has a counterpart in Papago.

The English category of person in pronouns has an exact counterpart in Papago. In English, as in Papago, the first person refers to the speaker or the group with which he is associated (i.e., 'I', 'we'); the second person refers to the entity or entities spoken to (i.e., 'you', 'you-all'); the third person refers to the entity or entities spoken about (i.e., 'he' or 'them').

#### Suggestions for the Classroom

It seems therefore that the Papago speaker may have problems with the following aspects of the English pronoun which may need special attention:

The differing forms of the subject and object pronouns inflected for case:

I	me
he	him
she	her
we	us
they	them

The differing forms of the masculine, feminine and neuter forms of the third person in personal and possessive pronouns:

he, him, himself, his
she, her, herself, hers
it, itself, its

Attention to the use of gender in the third person - 'he', 'she', 'it' - is particularly recommended. In addition to formal class work on pronouns it would be advisable, throughout the English course, to be alert to detect misuse of these pronouns, correct them where possible, and provide practice in their correct use. (It should be noted that the use of 'he' and 'she' is not solely reserved to persons, and that animals, and such objects as ships may be referred to as 'she' and, conversely, a baby may be referred to as 'it'.)

Since pronouns have antecedents and often stand for nouns mentioned before, it is also suggested that exercises involving their use in stretches of prose be given attention.

## 2.8 Syntactic Patterns

Only three aspects of the syntax of English and Papago will be briefly mentioned: word order, embedding, and the formation of analytic versus synthetic constructions.

### 2.81 Word Order

In English, important syntactic relations such as those of subject and verb, object and verb, and preposition and noun are expressed by the position of words in a sentence. For instance, "The missionary killed the lion" and "The lion killed the missionary" have opposite meanings solely because of the order in which words are strung together in the sentence.

In Papago syntactic relations are expressed through agreement of inflections. Thus, verbs that are inflected for the category of object number agree in number with the nominal object, somewhat as in the Latin

sentence "Venātōrēs vīdit leō", "The lion saw the hunters." The singular verb 'vīdit' agrees with the singular subject 'leō', not with the plural noun 'venātōrēs'. It is therefore possible to put the words in this Latin sentence in a variety of orders without confusion as to which word is the subject, and which the object, though one of them would be the preferred order.

In Papago as in Latin, there is a preferred word order, but flexibility of word order is possible because of inflections, whereas in English it is not. Thus, in Papago it is common to have constructions on the pattern of:

object	predicate	subject
predicate	object	subject

whereas in English this is not possible.

When the subject is a subject complex word in Papago the preferred construction in short sentences is the following:

hii ?at                    'he left'  
 ?ii ?at g xuudagi   'he drank (the) water'

Papago postpositions can occur either before or after the noun phrase which they introduce, the latter being the preferred order. Thus, although the following construction is possible: daam g do?ag 'above the mountain', the preferred construction is: do?ag daam 'above the mountain'.

In English the preposition would normally precede the noun phrase it introduces, e.g.:

behind the door  
 under the table  
 beside the cottage

(However, it is possible to say "What did he write with?")

## 2.82 Embedding

Embedding is the inclusion of a sentence-like fragment within a sentence or phrase, e.g.:

The man who said that is a liar.  
 This is the house that Jack built.

In Papago sentence-like fragments may also be embedded in sentences, but whereas the embedded fragment in English occurs to the right of the word it modifies, in Papago it occurs to its left, e.g.:

?id ?atkī ?ab si kauva maagina ?ab kuit?ab -

'This car bumped hard against a tree.'

(literally, 'This bumped hard car tree against.')

## 2.83 Analytic Versus Synthetic Structuring

English is made up of more analytic constructions than Papago. In English grammatical relations are carried by independent words, whereas in Papago they are carried by "bound" morphemes, or grammatical units such as affixes, which cannot stand alone. This point was made on page 115 above, but should be noted here as a characteristic difference between Papago and English syntax.

The Papago constructions given below and their English equivalents help to illustrate this:

skegaj	'to be beautiful'
kega	'to get to be beautiful'
?o?ohonas	'to be written'
?e-?o?ohon	'to get to be written'

### Suggestions for the Classroom

Learning the patterns of English sentences, their word order and the embedding of various parts within sentences and phrases will form a very important part of the process of acquiring English for the Papago speaker. Prepositions may need special attention. In general, however, work with all patterns of the language helps to establish word order and various kinds of patterning in the habits of the learner. It seems important for the teacher to realize the necessity for providing sufficient practice in the language at all stages of learning so that these habits may be well established in order that the Papago learner may use English with as little conscious effort as those that speak it as a native language.

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