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LANGUAGE TRANSFER OF NAVAJO AND WESTERN APACHE SPEAKERS IN WRITING ENGLISH

The University of Arizona PH.D. 1980

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LANGUAGE TRANSFER OF NAVAJO AND WESTERN APACHE SPEAKERS IN WRITING ENGLISH

by

Hans Guillermo Bartelt

A Dissertation Submitted to the Faculty of the
COMMITTEE ON LINGUISTICS (GRADUATE)
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For the Degree of
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
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1980

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The University of Arizona
Graduate College

As members of the Final Examination Committee, we certify that we have read the dissertation prepared by Hans Guillermo Bartelt entitled Language Transfer of Navajo and Western Apache Speakers in Writing English and recommend that it be accepted as fulfilling the dissertation requirement for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Final approval and acceptance of this dissertation is contingent upon the candidate's submission of the final copy of the dissertation to the Graduate College.

I hereby certify that I have read this dissertation prepared under my direction and recommend that it be accepted as fulfilling the dissertation requirement.

Dissertation Director

Date
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SIGNED: [Signature]

[Signature]
To my parents, Johannes Bartelt and Guillermima Barrales de Bartelt, who gave me the first opportunity to experience bilingualism.
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The work for this dissertation was inspired by a long and highly personal association with Native American people in Arizona. Without the many friendships that I have developed with Navajo and Apache people over the years very little of the research necessary for this dissertation could have taken place. Therefore, I would like to express my sincere appreciation to my Navajo and Apache friends and students who have added so much to my life.

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ABSTRACT

Written texts of Navajo and Western Apache speakers in English revealed rhetorical patterns which seem to be tied to the native languages. The theoretical framework of interlanguage is used to analyze language transfer of two rhetorical features at the discourse level: (1) rhetorical redundancy and (2) narrative technique. Both features can be viewed as fossilizations of discourse which are forced upon the surface of written Navajo and Western Apache English interlanguage by the process of language transfer.

Rhetorical redundancy exists in Navajo and Western Apache for emphasis and is transferred to English discourse as emphasis by the repetition of lexical items, syntactic strings and sentential paraphrases. The purposes for rhetorical redundancy in Navajo and Western Apache English interlanguage include the emphasis of emotional concerns, clarifications, and conventions of courtesy. A discourse rule is suggested which summarizes rhetorical redundancy transfer.

Narrative technique in Navajo and Western Apache English interlanguage involves idiosyncratic tense shifting patterns at the discourse level. Navajo and Western
Apache speakers seem to transfer the semantics of Navajo and Western Apache modes and aspects to English tenses. It is suggested that Navajo and Western Apache speakers find standard English tense usage inadequate for their underlying narrative discourse motivations. The Navajo and Western Apache usitative mode, imperfective mode, and continuative aspect are expressed through the English present tense. The Navajo and Western Apache perfective mode is realized in English through the past tense. The Navajo and Western Apache progressive mode, optative mode, iterative mode, and repetitive aspect surface in English as two possible nonstandard forms of the progressive aspect. A set of three mode and aspect transfer rules at the narrative discourse level is suggested.
CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

In this study I attempt to identify patterns and sources of language transfer features in writing samples of Navajo and Western Apache speakers. The focus of the study digresses somewhat from past language transfer studies and studies of first language interference in that it concentrates not on the levels of phonology, morphology, or syntax but on the level of discourse. Discourse is generally understood in linguistics as the textual context in which particular utterances occur. In other words, the focus of analysis extends beyond the isolated sentence in order to include its surrounding rhetorical environment.

The purpose of this study is to demonstrate that language transfer is a possible explanation for Navajo and Western Apache speakers' rhetorical use of particular features of English speech to accomplish particular kinds of meanings. It is suggested that Navajo and Western Apache speakers manipulate certain English structures in order to express Navajo and Western Apache rhetorical techniques with which English is not equipped.
Chapter 2 contains a survey of previous major studies on Southwestern Native American English. These contributions have concentrated on the phonological, morphological, and syntactic levels of Native American English. This section also includes a discussion of the interlanguage concept in which language transfer plays a crucial role.

Chapter 3 reviews Kaplan's paper on "Cultural Thought Patterns in Intercultural Education," which was one of the first studies of language transfer at the written discourse level.

Chapter 4 is a description of the corpus for the present study. Included is information regarding the number of samples, the number of individuals, the proportions according to language groups, the age range, and the collection period of the data.

Chapters 5 and 6 outline the main rhetorical language transfer features of the corpus. Chapter 5 deals with the repetitive nature of written English discourse of Navajo and Western Apache speakers. Chapter 6 concerns the manipulation of English tenses and aspects in written English discourse of Navajo and Western Apache speakers. Chapter 7 consists of a formal analysis of the findings in Chapter 6.
Chapter 8 concludes this study and suggests areas for further research.
CHAPTER 2
SURVEY OF PEDAGOGICAL, SOCIO- AND PSYCHOLINGUISTIC PERSPECTIVES OF NATIVE AMERICAN ENGLISH

The study of Native American English varieties has become part of the recent emergence of nonstandard dialects as a major focus in sociolinguistic research. However, the interest in the English speech patterns of Native Americans also comes from educational circles. Since Native American children have not fared well in the traditional majority educational system, the study of Native American English has been, in part, an effort to build strategies for teaching standard English to Native Americans.

One of the first manifestations of that effort can be found in Cook and Sharp (1966) and in Cook (1973). Both papers are lists of predictable problems that English teachers can expect in teaching Native American students. The second paper, however, takes a different position from the first within the framework of contrastive analysis. Cook found in the writings in English speakers from a number of Southwestern Native American language backgrounds
a commonality of errors. Furthermore, her samples contained "no errors unique to speakers of any language background nor any not found in the writings of speakers of all of these language backgrounds" (Cook 1973:242). The paper implies an areal linguistic phenomenon on the written level which could be termed "Southwestern Native American English." Quoting the late Dr. Edward P. Dozier, Cook points out the fact that Southwestern Indian languages share many linguistic features. The commonality of phonologically-based, morphological and syntactic errors in written English probably reflects this fact, Cook feels.

On the phonological level, Penfield (1976) claims, however, that language interference is not reliable enough for the analysis of Southwestern Native American English. In comparing the spoken English of Mohave, Navajo, and Hopi speakers, she was unable to explain phonological features entirely on the basis of contrastive analysis. Therefore, she postulates that any variety of Native American English must be viewed as a self-contained system independent from interference in some of its features. Stout (1976) elaborates further on this claim in an analysis of Keresan English spoken at Santa Ana, New Mexico. He also attempts to identify phonological features which are not traceable either to English or to Keres. Yet, neither Penfield nor Stout deny that language transfer
(interference) from the native language plays an important role in the type of English spoken by Southwestern Native Americans. Consequently, the evidence listed in Cook (1973) concerning possible phonological interference from native Southwestern languages must be considered a major input into the varieties of English spoken by Native Americans in the Southwest. Nevertheless, Stout (1976) suggests that the acquisition of English in Southwestern Native American communities in general should be viewed as involving both native language constraints as well as reanalysis.

Another statement concerning the possible constraints native languages might have on the type of spoken English of Native Americans can be found in Leap (1973). This paper suggests that Isletan English is shaped by phonological and syntactic properties of Tiwa. Leap even goes as far as suggesting that Isletan English be considered a variety of Isletan Tiwa. For that reason, Leap indicates that Isletans are not bilingual in the sense that they control two separate linguistic systems. Instead, they control only two separate lexical systems which are brought together under a single system of phonological and syntactic rules. From a universal perspective, Leap sees this phenomenon as a response of speakers on their own terms to a situation of language contact. However,
Leap does not see the kind of areal characteristics in spoken English of Native Americans analyzed by Cook in written English of Native Americans in the Southwest. Instead, Leap (1974b) views a particular variety of spoken Native American English as a relexified form of a community's first or native language. Persons from neighboring communities where a different native language is spoken can supposedly be identified solely by the way they speak English (Leap 1974a:54). This implies that there could conceivably be as many varieties of Native American English as there are Native American languages spoken in North America. Nevertheless, Leap (1974a) does explore the possibility of a leveling of various Native American English varieties into a single pan-tribal code in the light of militant political movements in the early 1970's. However, in Leap (1976a:15) he notes:

most traces of the conscious side of the "Red English" movement seem to have all but vanished. An Indian parallel to the use of Black English vernacular as a literary vehicle has not emerged on any apparent scale.

In addition, Leap (1974b:10) qualifies his earlier claim (Leap, 1973) about underlying Tiwa grammatical constraints as input into Isletan English. As a result, Isletan English is now interpreted as a possible combination of the following:
1. Isletan Tiwa grammatical processes;
2. Grammatical processes common to other alternative English varieties;
3. Alternative English grammatical processes employed in contrast to standard language conventions;
4. Isletan Tiwa grammatical processes employed in contrast to standard language conventions; and finally, where not otherwise precluded by the above:
5. Standard English grammatical conventions.

In linguistic analysis, according to Leap (1976a:10), the description of a particular Native American English variety should include as many of the above outlined sources of input as possible. Therefore, the various inputs which are postulated by Leap to make up a Native American English variety such as Isletan English are placed in a broader perspective.

This need for a broader interpretation suggests, according to Leap (1976a:11), the application of pidginization and creolization models to Native American English. In Bickerton (1973) a basilect- (original pidgin/creole) acrolect (standard dialect) continuum with the appearance of a mesolect (intermediate form) represents the main points of reference for such a model. Bickerton describes a decreolization process in which the original basilect gradually moves toward the standard acrolect for prestige reasons while at the same time creating a mesolect in order to bridge the gap. The similarities between Caribbean creoles and Black English are often mentioned as evidence
for the uniformity of post-creole speech communities. Leap suggests that Native American English could also be viewed in terms of mesolectal characteristics. However, Drechsel (1976) questions any frequent creolization of Native American pidgins. Native American groups in North America have generally remained isolated and have continued the use of their native autonomous languages, Drechsel notes. Hence, there seems to have been a lack of motivation for the creolization of pidgins, Drechsel points out. Therefore, Drechsel summarizes, since creolization of Native American pidgins has not been the case, it is difficult to apply decreolization models, such as in Bickerton, to varieties of Native American English.

In more specific terms, Native American English, according to Leap (1976a:10), demonstrates the ability of a speaker to come to terms with the demands of two co-existing linguistic systems in a somewhat idiosyncratic manner. In such cases the native language rules do not necessarily take precedence over second language conventions. Leap notes, for example, that Native American English contrasts with some standard English constraints. In a paper on Isletan English syntax (Leap, 1976b), he describes the usage of double negatives in Isletan English as an extension of standard English grammar instead of transfer from the native language. At the same time,
however, he postulates cognate object constructions which parallel the form of standard English expression to be input from Isletan Tiwa. He offers grammatical congruence as a possible explanation. Furthermore, Leap points out in the same paper that second language nonstandard conventions such as the double negative do not always conform to the often assumed uniformity of nonstandard speech. In case of the double negation, for instance, Leap discovered semantic contrasts with single negation. This has not been suggested for the Black English negative concord. Therefore, Leap maintains that an investigation of surface forms is not sufficient to discover such differences, but the total communicative competence of the speaker must be analyzed as well. Such analyses have become the focus in sociolinguistics (Hymes 1972).

Another case of Isletan English syntax which does not seem to have any input from Isletan Tiwa is the use of uninflected BE much as in Black English. Leap (1976c) dismisses any claims of historical contact with Black plantation creole in the Southwest. Instead, he proposes the view that any language learned through a natural fashion will exhibit certain similarities regardless of native or first language input. In other words, there are certain natural properties in English, or any other language, which particular speech communities make use of in
different ways. In Isletan English the use of uninflected BE marks a distributive sense often in iterative contexts. Leap (1976c:98) explains this case under the principle of natural English properties:

The principle requires the use of an a-temporal verb in deep structure, which is why a consistent agreement in its tense-aspect properties does not emerge under formal assessment . . . The "natural English" argument implies, of course, that any speaker of English could, save for the interference of standard English constraints, use a distributive be principle in conversational reference.

In addition, Leap points out that even standard English speakers use distributive BE when referring to an iterative semantic implication as in: "If you don't be quiet, I'm going to spank you!" (Leap 1976c:98). In short, natural English properties constitute a kind of inter-speech community overlap. These general constraints are in turn controlled by speakers in terms of their idiosyncratic linguistic backgrounds. Stout and Erting (1976:119) also suggest that

there are general nonstandard features which operate across ethnic and geographic boundaries --features which may be reflections of universal language properties. These "universals" then interact with specific features from the native languages and with what Leap (1974) has called natural English language potential to yield varieties of nonstandard English. These varieties then become associated with ethnically identifiable communities of speakers through a separate process.
The use of the term "universal" indicates, of course, that natural properties which extend across speech community boundaries are not necessarily restricted to the nonstandard English situation.

The fact that some constraints reappear in diverse speech communities does not, however, justify automatic interpretations based on the analogy of other nonstandard varieties. In a paper on subject-verb "mis-agreement" in Isletan English, Leap (1976d:127) attempts to demonstrate that underlying motivations of speakers may differ across speech communities even though nonstandard surface structures may appear to be similar. In Isletan English, for example, pluralized subjects occur with singular verbs while singular subjects consistently appear with pluralized verbs. Leap interprets this phenomenon as an attempt to extend standard English rules for number marking on nouns to number marking on verbs as well. In other words, wherever the subject is marked with $Z_1$, the verb is likewise marked for "agreement." Leap (1976d:123) gives the following examples:

(1) There are some parties that goes on over there.
(2) Some peoples from the outside comes in.
(3) Maybe the governor go to these parents' homes.
(4) About a dollar a day serve out your term.
The patterns illustrated in the sentences above were interpreted on the basis of language transfer in Leap (1974b); however, in Leap (1976d) this type of "misagreement" was analyzed by appealing to a naturalness of marking principles in Isletan English syntax. Leap postulates that Isletan speakers have in a sense reanalyzed standard English syntax in order to make it conform to their underlying syntactic motivations.

These motivations, Leap argues, generally result in a tendency to prefer natural rules among language hybrids. Natural rules are based on the principles of markedness. Leap (1976d:125) represents number concord in standard English and Isletan English in the following manner:

\[ \text{(5) } [\alpha M]_{NP} \rightarrow [-\alpha M]_{Vb} \]
\[ \text{(6) } [\alpha M]_{NP} \rightarrow [\alpha M]_{Vb} \]

According to the principles of markedness, (6) would be considered more "natural" than (5). Interestingly enough, pidgins and creoles also prefer natural rules in their inventories (Leap 1976d:126). These usage patterns also emerge among second language learners and so called immigrant varieties of English. Leap concludes his discussion by reemphasizing the differing underlying motivations which, he feels, are responsible for what appear to be identical nonstandard surface structures across dialects.
Therefore, Leap notes, careful attention must be paid to details of Native American English in its own right.

This sociolinguistic point of view stresses the autonomy and vitality of any nonstandard form of English. In order to ensure that autonomy in linguistic analysis, the utilization of grammatical rule instead of treatment as a sub-set of a standard grammatical pattern seems to have surfaced.

One psycholinguistic perspective places Native American English into what Selinker (1969; 1972) has called "interlanguage." This concept refers to the psycholinguistic structures and processes underlying attempted meaningful performance in a second language. For example, interlanguage occurs when a Native American attempts to express meanings in English (his second language) which he already has in his first (Native American) language. These attempts often reveal the second language speaker's transitional competence, which is characterized as a system that is distinct from both the native and the second language. This transitional competence or interlanguage has been accepted by some researchers such as Selinker in its own right as an autonomous system for synchronic study.

In Selinker (1972) the construction of a framework for the isolation of psychologically relevant data
of second language learning is given. The sociolinguistic status of Native American English in the Southwest may place it in a different category from second language learning situations; however, from a psychological point of view the concept of interlanguage might shed light on the establishment of such vernaculars. It must also be reemphasized that Native American English in the Southwest receives continuous input from standard English as well as native languages, placing Native American English in an intermediary or interlingual position. The concept of transitional competence of interlanguage may be useful in the Native American context because it suggests a pragmatic acceptance of a local variety of English.

According to Selinker, a psychology of second language learning must explain the major features of the psychological structure of a speaker whenever he attempts in a non-native manner to understand or produce sentences in the second language. The existence of a separate interlanguage is postulated when a second language speaker produces an utterance in the target language different from that of a native speaker. Consequently, psychologically relevant data of second language performance must come from (1) utterances of the second language speaker in his native language, (2) in his interlanguage, and (3) in his target language.
Selinker emphasizes that the shape of utterances produced in interlanguage should be of primary concern for a theory of second language learning because it is here where fossilizations surface. Fossilizations are linguistic items, rules, and subsystems which speakers of a native language will tend to keep in interlanguage relative to a particular target language. These fossilizations, according to Selinker, reemerge especially in situations of anxiety or excitement, situations of extreme relaxation and others. Such backsliding usually occurs toward interlingual norms instead of native language norms.

Fossilizable structures are forced upon the interlanguage surface by five central processes: (1) language transfer occurs when fossilizable items, rules and subsystems can be traced to the native language; (2) overgeneralization of rules occurs in situations such as an English interlanguage in which the past morpheme -ed is extended to an environment requiring an irregular form of the verb; (3) transfer of training is the result of identifiable items in language instruction procedures (textbooks, instructors, methods, and so on) reflecting the artificiality of drills; (4) individual strategies of second language communication can be seen in cases in which second language speakers stop learning the target language because they feel they have learned enough in order to
communicate in the target language; (5) a *strategy of second language learning* is evident in situations where second language speakers attempt to reduce the target language to a simpler system. Selinker (1972:220) mentions specifically examples such as the tendency to avoid grammatical formatives like articles, plural forms, past tense forms, and so on. Furthermore, Selinker points out that combinations of these processes may produce entirely fossilized interlanguage competencies which may result in the emergence of new dialects such as the variety of English spoken in India. As previously mentioned, a parallel to Native American English cannot be ruled out.

Selinker feels that detailed descriptions of interlanguages are necessary in order to predict where second language speakers begin and where they will tend to end up. For such a description the discovery of fossilizable items, rules and subsystems must be related to one of the five processes mentioned above. In addition, Selinker makes the interesting observation that the concept of interlanguage does not fit the ideal speaker model presumed in generative grammar. Consequently, underlying linguistic representations of interlanguages might require an eclectic model. More generally, Selinker (1972:225) states that "there is no necessary connection between relevant units of linguistic theory and linguistically
relevant units of a psychology of second language learning." An interlingual unit must be one which can be described simultaneously in the native language, the inter language, as well as the target language.

One such unit was described in Selinker (1969) when examining interlanguages of Israeli Hebrew speakers. This unit was termed syntactic string and is roughly equivalent to a traditional direct object or adverbial of time, place, manner, or degree. These syntactic strings were found to be transferred from the native language to the interlanguage in consistent concatenations after the verb. Also, Brière (1968) found at the phonological level that the taxonomic phoneme may at times be appropriate as an interlingual unit. Examining the English interlanguages of native speakers of French, Arabic, and Vietnamese, Brière (1968:73) identified the phonemes /ɔ/ and /ŋ/ interlingually across the native language, target language and interlanguage. The taxonomic phoneme as a unit was described distributionally within the syllable as opposed to within the word. For other sounds interlingual identifications must be based on less well known phonetic parameters. Selinker postulates that these psycholinguistic units become available to a second language speaker when attempting to produce sentences in the target language.
In summary, Selinker proposes a framework of a descriptive nature for the systematic collection of relevant data of second language acquisition. These data can be organized with the help of theoretical constructs such as interlingual identifications, native language, target language, interlanguage, fossilization, syntactic string, taxonomic phoneme, and phonetic feature. The surface structure of interlanguage sentences are relevant for theoretical predictions, and each prediction should be made, if possible, relative to one of the five central processes (language transfer, overgeneralization, transfer of training, strategies of second language communication, and strategies of second language learning). Finally, native language, interlanguage, as well as target language are united by interlingual identifications which focus on the norms of the target language.

As a concluding remark, it is perhaps worth noting that Selinker postulates the existence of a latent psychological structure which is activated whenever an adult attempts to produce meanings in a second language which he is learning. The five central processes as well as interlingual identifications supposedly exist in this manner.

There seems to be a consensus in recent studies of Native American English as well as other nonstandard dialects that vernaculars must be looked at as autonomous
self-contained systems. This sociolinguistic view seems to coincide, at least in part, with the psycholinguistic concept of interlanguage. Both perspectives also emphasize the complexity of inputs of such a linguistic system. For example, Leap (1974b) interprets Isletan English as the result of (1) Tiwa grammatical processes, (2) processes common to other nonstandard English varieties, (3) alternative nonstandard English forms in contrast with standard English forms, (4) Tiwa grammatical processes in contrast with standard English forms, and (5) standard English language constraints. Selinker analyzes interlanguages as resulting primarily from five central processes: (1) language transfer, (2) overgeneralization, (3) transfer of training, (4) strategies of communication, and (5) strategies of learning. Both perspectives also indicate that fruitful results might be obtained if descriptions of such linguistic systems take combinations of these processes into account.

While Leap suggests the utilization of grammatical rules in the generative tradition, Selinker points out that eclectic models may be more suitable. Intermediate languages, according to Selinker, do not seem to be analyzable in terms of the Chomskian ideal speaker concept. Interestingly, students of pidginization and creolization (Bickerton 1973) also consider the concept of an ideal
speaker in a completely homogeneous speech community ill-adapted to handle a continuum situation. Even though interlanguages can be defined as autonomous systems, they receive constant input from other interacting linguistic systems. Consequently, Selinker insists that interlingual units, such as syntactic strings or phonemes, must be described simultaneously in the native language, interlanguage as well as the target language. If the analyst chooses an eclectic model, however, some utilization of grammatical rules, as suggested in Leap (1976a), cannot be ruled out.

The sociolinguistic and psycholinguistic perspectives seem to agree on the notion of simplification as a characteristic in intermediate linguistic systems. Selinker mentions that in the process of strategies of second language learning, adult learners often reduce the target language to a simpler system by avoiding grammatical formatives among other examples. Leap (1976d) demonstrated on the basis of the principles of markedness that language hybrids like Isletan English prefer natural or simpler rules. Further support for this notion comes from hypotheses formulated in Ferguson (1971) about the notion of simplicity in "normal speech, baby talk, foreigner talk, and pidgins." Ferguson suggests that the absence of copula in many types of "foreigner talk" may be
responsible for the same case in pidgins. If "foreigner talk" is viewed as an incipient pidgin, then it is implied that a pidgin is a systematic simplification if the source language which occurs in the "foreigner talk" register of its speakers. Selinker also points out that interlanguage competencies may become entirely fossilized and result in the emergence of new dialects such as the English spoken in India. Even though the pidginization and creolization of languages seem to be identical, in part, to concepts like Selinker's interlanguage and Leap's natural English, it must be reemphasized that entire models for pidgins and creoles do not seem to fit the Southwestern Native American situation. As Drechsel (1976) has pointed out, Native American groups in North America generally maintained their native languages as first languages; therefore, the creolization of pidgins that may have existed as trade languages was generally prevented. This, however, does not rule out the possibility of similar (universal?) processes reappearing in various hybrid linguistic systems.

Finally, the sociolinguistic as well as the psycholinguistic perspectives make an appeal to the notion of reanalysis of a target language by second language speakers. Leap has postulated that Isletan speakers reanalyze standard English in order to make it conform to their underlying linguistic motivations which generally
result in a tendency to prefer natural rules. Selinker refers to the same phenomenon when discussing the process of overgeneralization in which second language speakers reanalyze the target language to often simplify that system.
CHAPTER 3

A PREVIOUS STUDY OF LANGUAGE TRANSFER
AT THE WRITTEN DISCOURSE LEVEL

In this chapter previous observations on language transfer at the written discourse level are outlined. Kaplan (1966) points out that rhetorical organizational styles which show up in writing samples of non-native English speakers can be traced to native languages. His introductory remarks on written standard English discourse are also included.

A written discourse in standard English, whether it is a paragraph, a chapter, or a book, has a great deal of unity, coherence, and logical progression. However, this rhetorical logic, according to Kaplan, is tied to culturally conditioned modes of thinking. Consequently, rhetorical logic represents a kind of informal logic which reflects the thought patterns or progressions acceptable in a particular culture. Oliver (1965:ix) defines rhetoric as a mode of thinking . . . Accordingly, rhetoric concerns itself basically with what goes on in the mind rather than with what comes out
of the mouth . . . Rhetoric is concerned with factors of analysis . . . What we notice in the environment and how we notice it are both predetermined to a significant degree by how we are prepared to notice this particular type of object . . . Cultural Anthropologists point out that given acts and objects appear vastly different in different cultures, depending on the values attached to them.

Rhetoric which is based on informal logic is not universal but varies from culture to culture and probably from time to time even within a given culture.

Dufrenne (1963:35) commenting on the diversity of human languages and thought patterns states that

language represents a kind of destiny as far as human thought is concerned . . . As Peirce said, if Aristotle had been Mexican, his logic would have been different; perhaps, by the same token, the whole of our philosophy and our science would have been different.

We can, therefore, assume that thought patterns found in written standard English are tied to the culturally acceptable modes of Anglo-Saxon thought or informal logic. Since written language is based on spoken language, we can also assume that the way facts are arranged, interpreted and synthesized in written discourse reflects the arrangement of facts in spoken discourse.

Concerning the nature of written standard English discourse, Kaplan (1966:4) points out that

the thought patterns which speakers and readers of English appear to expect as an integral
part of their communication is a sequence that is dominantly linear in its development.

Commonly a topic sentence or statement is at the beginning of an English expository paragraph. Following the topic sentence, one typically finds a series of subdivisions illustrated by specific examples. The main idea expressed in the topic sentence is then related to the central idea of the entire discourse. A written English paragraph is "considered unified when it contains nothing superfluous, and it omits nothing essential to the achievement of its purpose" (Hughes and Duhamel 1962:19).

While the paragraph structure outlined above represents a common type, the reverse procedure may be applied. In other words, a series of subdivisions with examples may be presented at the beginning of the paragraph and then related to a general statement at the end. These two types of development are popularly known as inductive and deductive logic.

In any case, the linear order for achieving coherence is always maintained. Emphasis is placed on a "sense of movement or flow, a going forward and building on what has been said before" (Bander 1978:4). One of the chief methods of insuring a paragraph's coherence
is to add transitions, as illustrated in the following selection cited by White (1977:275):

(1) In 1850, Dr. Heinrich Barth traveled south from Tripoli to Agades. He stayed there for a long time. Then, from Agades, Barth continued on his way south. After some time, he reached Lake Chad. Next, from Lake Chad, Barth moved south to the town of Kuka in the Sultinate of Bornu. He lived there for several years, exploring the area. After this, he visited Timbuktu. Finally, Barth returned to Tripoli by Kuka and Mourrzouk.

One can easily detect the transition words that contribute to the coherence of this text. Each transition seems to continue the forward movement of the ideas presented in the sentence. Such markers signal the chronological sequence of events in order to maintain a linear organization.

Another important means of achieving coherence associated especially with narratives such as the one above is tense usage. In English, tense plays a necessary part in the description of a sequence of events. In the simplest kinds of narratives, a form of the past is used. George (1967) made a verb form count based on a sample of written narrative discourse material. The past form of verbs in its narrative function topped the frequency list with 156.4 per 1000 verb occurrences.
Also, in non-narrative types of written discourse, a consistent relationship between tenses is usually evident.

Native speakers of other languages who speak and write English as a second language often transfer their native methods of organizing facts for rhetorical purposes to written English. This often becomes apparent when non-native English speakers write essays for English teachers in educational institutions. To the native English-speaking teacher, the papers written by non-native English speakers sometimes seem somewhat out of focus, difficult to follow, or just simply "unorganized." In reality the non-native English speaker is merely using his own native sequence of thought which violates the rhetorical expectations of the native English-speaking teacher.

Kaplan (1966), by contrasting typical English paragraph development with development in other linguistic systems, illustrated that each language and each culture has a logical system unique to itself. For that purpose, Kaplan examined six hundred foreign-student compositions representing the following three language groups: (1) Arabic, Hebrew; (2) Chinese, Cambodian, Indochinese, Japanese, Korean, Laotian, Malaysian, Thai, Vietnamese; (3) Spanish, Portuguese, French, Italian. He
found several interesting consistencies in each of the language groups.

In the Semitic group, for example, the compositions revealed a series of parallel constructions. Kaplan (1966:7) demonstrated these parallel constructions by referring to the King James version of the Old Testament. Since that book is a translation from Hebrew, an ancient Semitic language, he was able to construct the following typology for parallel constructions:

**Synonymous Parallelism:** The balancing of the thought and phrasing of the first part of a statement or idea by the second part. In such cases, the two parts are often connected by a coordinating conjunction. Example: His descendants will be mighty in the land and the generation of the upright will be blessed.

**Synthetic Parallelism:** The completion of the idea or thought of the first part in the second part. A conjunctive adverb is often stated or implied. Example: Because he inclined his ear to me therefore I will call on him as long as I live.

**Antithetic Parallelism:** The idea stated in the first part is emphasized by the expression of a contrasting idea in the second part. The contrast is expressed not only in thought but often in phrasing as well. Example: For the Lord knoweth the way of the righteous: But the way of the wicked shall perish.

**Climatic Parallelism:** The idea of the passage is not completed until the very end of the passage. This form is similar to the modern periodic sentence in which the subject is postponed to the very end of the sentence. Example: Give unto the Lord, o ye sons of the mighty, Give unto the Lord, glory and strength.
This same tendency for parallel constructions was also discovered in the compositions written by Arab students. Kaplan (1966:8) gives the following example of a composition written by an Arabic-speaking student at an American university:

(2) The contemporary Bedouins, who live in the deserts of Saudi Arabia, are the successors of the old bedouin tribes, the tribes that was fascinated with Mohammed's message, and on their shoulders Islam built its empire. I had lived among those contemporary Bedouins for a short time, and I learned lots of things about them. I found out that they have retained most of their ancestor's characteristics in spite of the hundreds of years that separate them.

They are famous of many praiseworthy characteristics, but they are considered to be the symbol of generosity, bravery, and self-esteem. Like most wandering peoples a stranger is an undesirable person among them. But, once they trust him as a friend, he will be most welcome. However, their trust is a hard thing to gain. And the heroism of many famous figures, who ventured in the Arabian desert like T. E. Lawrence, is based on their ability to acquire this dear trust! Romance is an important part in their life. And love is an important subject in their verses and their tales.

Nevertheless, they are criticized of many things. The worst of all is that they are extremists in all the ways of their lives. It is there extremism that changes sometimes their generosity into squandering, their bravery into brutality, and their self-esteem into haughtiness. But in any
case I have been, and will continue to be greatly interested in this old, fascinating group of people.

In analyzing this composition, Kaplan detected an occurrence of synonymous parallelism in the last element of the first sentence, as well as in the two clauses of the second sentence. An example of antithetic parallelism is evident, according to Kaplan, in the first sentence of the second paragraph. Furthermore, Kaplan points out that English lacks the necessary flexibility to achieve the kind of intricate parallelism attempted by the Arab student. In the fourteen sentences of his composition, twelve conjunctions and connectors are used to coordinately link ideas. Subordination is almost totally absent.

In the Oriental language group Kaplan found a kind of circular arrangement of facts. This approach by indirection examines the central idea from a variety of tangential views; however, the subject or central idea is never looked at directly. Kaplan (1966:10) cites the following example of a composition written by a native speaker of Korean:

(3) Definition of a College Education. College is an institution of an higher learning that gives degrees. All of us needed culture and education in life, if no education to us, we should to go living hell. One of the greatest causes that while other
animals have remained as they first man along has made such rapid progress as has learned about civilization. The improvement of the highest civilization is in order to education up-to-date. So college education is very important which we don't need mention about it.

As demonstrated in this text written by a Korean speaker, the sentences appear to shoot off in a totally different direction. Instead of defining the topic, the student seems to be expanding it. Kaplan (1966:10) compares this kind of development to the "turning and turning in a widening gyre." Also, Kaplan (1966:10) notes that "things are developed in terms of what they are not, rather than in terms of what they are."

In the Romance language group, it was discovered that complex digressions from the central idea were frequent. Kaplan says that the freedom to introduce extraneous material is much greater in the Romance languages than in English. Kaplan (1966:12) illustrates this observation by citing a writing sample from the work of a native speaker of Latin American Spanish:

(4) In America, the American children are brought differently from the rest of the children in other countries. In their childhood, from the first day they are born, the parents give their children love and attention they need. They teach their children the meaning of Religion among the family and to have respect and obedience for their parents. I am Spanish and I was brought up differently than the
children in America. My parents are stricter and they taught me discipline and not to interrupt when someone was talking.

While the central idea, American children, is dealt with in the first portion of the text, the student feels the need to digress in the second portion by inserting comments about his own childhood. In Spanish such interesting digressions are quite acceptable; however, in English such material is not considered as contributing significantly to the basic thought or central idea of the discourse.

Selinker's concept of interlanguage (specifically the process of language transfer) can be applied to these examples at the written discourse level. Kaplan has suggested that these rhetorical features can be traced to languages other than English. There seems to be no reason why fossilization cannot extend beyond the phonological, morphological and syntactic levels. Furthermore, it is interesting to note that the rhetorical features or modes of organization transferred to English interlanguage seem to be traceable to entire language groups rather than just individual languages.
CHAPTER 4

DESCRIPTION OF THE CORPUS

For the following analysis of written English discourse of Navajo and Western Apache speakers, I make use of Kaplan's approach and Selinker's interlanguage concept. Major studies on the writing problems of Native American students in the Southwest (see Chapter 2) have concentrated on phonological, morphological, and syntactic features (Cook and Sharp 1966; Cook 1973). However, transfer from the native languages seems to occur also at the written discourse level in Native American English. It is, therefore, postulated that language transfer contributes to a Native American English interlanguage (in Selinker's sense) at the written discourse level (in Kaplan's sense).

For the purposes of identifying such language transfer, a corpus of 745 letters and compositions written by Navajo and Western Apache speakers was used. Most of the samples consist of approximately one page; however, some samples contain up to five pages. These particular data were gathered over a period of five years (1974-1979) by Marcia Marsh (ESL Instructor) and me at Yavapai College.
in Prescott, Arizona. Seventeen letters were obtained from Dr. Keith Basso (Professor), Department of Anthropology, University of Arizona, Tucson, Arizona in December, 1978. The texts were written by a total of 140 individuals. Of this total number twenty-three are speakers of Western Apache (White Mountain) and 117 are speakers of Navajo. The ages range from seventeen to forty.

Navajo and Western Apache are part of a Southwestern language group called Southern Athapascan or Apachean which also includes the Jicarilla, Lipan, Kiowa Apache, Mescalero, and Chiricahua languages (Basso 1969:7). The Navajo represent a fairly uniform cultural group; however, the Western Apache recognize five social divisions or sub-tribal groups: Northern Tonto, Southern Tonto, San Carlos, Cibecue, and White Mountain (Basso 1969:10).

The compositions as well as the letters used for this study can be classified as free compositions. No samples of controlled compositions are included. While it is true that composition assignments tend to demand a more formal writing style than personal letters, the samples for this study reflect free-composition styles with little regard for conventions of standard usage. The writers of these particular compositions had been encouraged to concentrate on content and organization rather than on the
particulars of standard usage. In addition, the writers were not imitating a specific composition model but were writing on individually chosen topics. Consequently, the samples generally reveal quite informal writing styles not unlike those found in personal letters.
CHAPTER 5

RHETORICAL REDUNDANCY IN NAVAJO
AND WESTERN APACHE ENGLISH

Introduction

A discourse feature that was quite evident in the texts used for this study was the repetitive or redundant quality of the discourse. At first one might be tempted to regard this feature merely as redundancy of the kind found among native English speakers when "running out of things to say" or "trying to fill up the page." However, a closer look reveals that redundancy as implemented by Navajo and Apache speakers seems to serve specific rhetorical purposes.

One such type of redundancy is used for emphasis. Keith Basso (personal communication, 1979) has pointed out to me that Western Apache speakers utilize redundancy for emphasis in their native language. Such a rhetorical device is especially appropriate for the expression of emotions such as grief as well as for intellectual purposes such as persuasion, according to Basso. In addition, I have been informed by two college trained native
speakers of Western Apache that redundancy can be found when repeating main ideas of children's stories, repeating punchlines of jokes, and eulogies.

Rhetorical Redundancy for Emotional Concerns

The following text written by a Navajo speaker illustrates this type of rhetorical redundancy for the purpose of emotional emphasis:

(1) Carson invaded the Canyon De Chelly to destroyed Navajos crops and livestocks and capture or kill all the Navajos, so they burned all their crops and bring all their livestock. Finally when the Navajos found they have destroyed all their crops and livestock they shoot down . . .

In this text the lexical items crops and livestock are repeated for a special rhetorical effect. The text is part of a narrative about the "Long Walk of the Navajo." This historical event is viewed by the Navajos very much as the atrocities of Nazi Germany are viewed by Jews or as Sherman's march through Georgia is recalled by Southerners. In addition, crops and livestock still play a central role in Navajo life. Destruction of this part of Navajo material culture represents an ethnocidal threat to Navajo existence. Therefore, the emotional
involvement of this Navajo speaker, as evidenced by the rhetorical redundancy, is quite understandable.

To further point out the use of redundancy for emotional emphasis, consider the following text written by a Western Apache speaker:

(2) Sunday night Late Albert Lupe's old house burned down to the ground. The following nite, late Leon Beatty old house and Roy Nickson old house burned too at the same time. And not too long ago the same thing happened to Hoke Jossy's old house which is located across Calvert Tessey. I sure wish they would catch who ever burning down houses.

Clearly, the phrases old house and burned down are repeated to an extent which might not be stylistically acceptable to a native English speaker even at the non-standard level of discourse. However, this Western Apache speaker seems to be repeating these key phrases in order to express his deep concern about arson in his community.

Consider also the following text written by the same person who wrote (1). In this case the text is part of a composition about favorite movies:

(3) Burt Reynolds is the best actor in the movies that seeing. Charles Bronson is another one is my favorite actor in the movies, and it goes with the way he act in the movies or the acting.
The repetitive use of the lexical items actor, act, and acting are again clear examples of emphasis. The deep impression that these film stars have made is being expressed in this manner. Apparently, music in movies seems also to impress this Navajo speaker:

(4) The music are the most exciting music in the movies that go with the movies. The rock music goes with the acting in the music in Car Wash. While the people washing the car the music playing. The music really goes with the acting in the movies.

Obviously this Navajo speaker is again attempting to emphasize a strong emotional response on her part, to rock music in this case.

Rhetorical Redundancy for Clarification

Another type of redundancy different from emotional concerns can be seen in the following texts:

(5) Ralph told her mother it was broken that's why he couldn't use it. Ralph's mother think that was a lied. She beat him up because she think he done something wrong, which he didn't do anything wrong.

(6) Another time she went over there, she was just looking through things and walked out from the store. Suddenly a boy grabbed her by the arm and accused of her stealing, which she didn't do steel anything or never did stolen anything in her life.

In both texts, the examples of redundancy function as an emphasis for clarification. The protagonist in the two narratives are accused of either lying or stealing, and
the Navajo speakers want to clear them of the charges. An attempt is made to clarify the circumstances by repeating key lexical items and phrases such as think, (some) anything wrong in the first text and steal (stolen) anything in the second text.

The same kind of concern for clarification can be detected in this text taken from an expository paragraph about Navajo ceremonies:

(7) Curing ceremony is diagnosis the illness and prescribes the ceremony or sing designed to cure the patient. Singer is request to perform ceremony. Curring the disease and sickness from the sick person.

The repetition of key lexical items such as ceremony, curing and illness (disease, sickness) is again responsible for the redundant quality of this text. This Navajo speaker clearly intended to clarify the purpose of a Navajo curing rite. The repetition of the lexical items mentioned above is the rhetorical device which accomplishes the emphasis on the desired clarification.

Consider also the following text which is part of a composition about the importance of a college education written by a Navajo speaker:

(8) Another thing is the cost of education, College education is cost money to go. I think its worth, when one get out of college and get more money.
In this text, the lexical items cost and money are repeated to make very clear the fact that going to college puts a tremendous financial strain on the student and his family but that those expenses are recoverable. This repetition of key lexical items for the clarification or emphasis of a point parallels rhetorical redundancy for the emphasis of emotions.

The following text contains similar examples of redundancy:

(9) When studying for an exam, it is more helpfully to read the underlined sentence than read the whole book again, especially during an exam. Read the main clause can tell you what the story is about, so you can foretell what story is all about.

The purpose of explanation or advice-giving is evident in this text. Again, this Navajo speaker would like to clarify certain points in order to make his explanation more effective. For this purpose the rhetorical device of redundancy is utilized. The key lexical items in this case are exam and "story is (all) about." Notice also that repetition can occur on both the lexeme as well as the phrase level (syntactic string).

Another form of clarification found in the data uses repetition in form of a paraphrase. For example, the following text was written by a Navajo speaker:
A person would get drunk on how fast it gets to intestine. The more alcohol taken in the longer a person would stay drunk because only a small amount is burned every hour. That means that it would take a person a long time before he becomes sober.

The last sentence of this text is a paraphrase of the previous sentence. The same idea is repeated in different words but nevertheless in a redundant manner characteristic of Navajo/Western Apache English. This example also indicates that rhetorical redundancy occurs at the sentential level.

Consider also these texts written by Navajo speakers:

(11) The cost of living is rising so high today that a single can't afford to live by himself and alone.

(12) Everybody must rapidly bring the world population under control, reducing the growth rate to zero or making it go down.

In the last sentence of both of these texts, redundant paraphrases can be detected. Clearly, this kind of repetition is used for emphasis rather than the definition of a concept.

This redundant rhetorical style for emphasis or clarification of ideas gives the decoder a ready clue to the controlling thought or the central purpose of the
discourse. For example, there is no doubt in the following text about the main theme of the text:

(13) I will be a Health Administrator at a P.H.S. or Indian Hospital. Since getting their I have to take a lot of business courses and Health too. When I get their I will be making a lot of money; on the other hand, it'll be a high paying job too. By money I will travel everywhere I want to go and pick up some women and have fun.

Obviously, this young Navajo speaker has decided that money ("high paying job") is the key that will unlock a world of limitless pleasure. The redundancy in this text reveals what a job as a health administrator really means to this aspiring Navajo college student.

Rhetorical Redundancy for Conventions of Courtesy

Redundancy for the emphasis of appreciation, compliment or apology was especially evident in letters written by Western Apache speakers. The following texts are taken from those sources:

(14) I received your x-mas card and twenty-five dollars safe and sound just in time, too. I was very glad to used the money and it really did help me out a lot. So I say to you, thanks very much for sending me that. You have done helped me out a lot already and here you are doing the same thing yet. But I appreciate your help very much.

(15) Oh! yes! I've been getting so many compliment on what you wrote on a back of my New
Album. I think people buy the record just for what you wrote—you just think the way I think, but you are more intelligent than me.

(16) At last, I'm in the mood of writing. I'm sorry for delaying an answer to your delightful letter which I received while back.

I was very glad to hear from you once again. It was really enjoyable letter you had written, but I'm so mad at myself for not writing you a letter. Forgive me if I disappointed you some way.

In each of the three texts above, key words and phrases used for repetition can be identified. In (14) the lexical item help is repeated several times in order to emphasize appreciation. In (15) the lexical item think is repeated for the emphasis of compliment and/or friendship.

In standard English discourse (as well as native English-speaking nonstandard varieties), a constraint would require the deletion of the second occurrence of think and an insertion of the auxiliary do in "you just think the way I think" (do). In (16) the idea of apology is not repeated with one particular lexical item but with paraphrases of "I am sorry for delaying an answer to your delightful letter." Nevertheless, the redundancy expressed by these paraphrases violates native English-speaking discourse constraints.

Rhetorical redundancy for the emphasis of appreciation, compliment and apology can be collectively
thought of as conventions of courtesy in Navajo/Western Apache English discourse. In (14), (15), and (16) sincerity is emphasized, and this emphasis is achieved by the very carefully chosen repetition of lexical items and paraphrases.

**Rhetorical Redundancy for Persuasion**

Significant occurrences of rhetorical redundancy also surface when Navajo and Western Apache speakers attempt to persuade the decoder. Native speakers of Navajo and Western Apache have informed me that Navajo and Apache politicians often use redundancy when trying to persuade community members to support a particular policy. This feature of rhetorical redundancy for persuasion is, of course, also a likely part of the discourse resources available to most Navajo and Western Apache speakers.

Consider, for example, the following text written by a Navajo speaker:

(17) The worst that could happen to a person is to have a family. It is the worst problem a man or a woman could have, on the other hand an unprepared person will have a hard time supporting a family. The worst problem a man could have is to have a family. There will be no more freedom to go anywhere.

There is no doubt in this young man's mind about the glories of bachelorhood. Furthermore, he is very serious
about convincing his readership of the evils of matri­mony. The repetition of the phrase "the worst (problem) . . ." underlines the attempt to persuade the decoder.

For a view from the other camp, here is a text, also written by a Navajo speaker but of the opposite sex:

(18) To have a family is a great thing that could happen to a woman . . . She will also be loved and respected by her children when they all grow up and when she gets old. She won't be alone all the time. They respect her with great pride for raising them and she will not be neglected. She will not suffer of loneliness . . . The woman will be in great need of someone who really loves her. She will be neglected by other people and will be left alone with things and hard work, that she can't do by herself. She will want somebody to turn to for help. The hard work will make her ill and put her in a bad health condition, if she do the hard work or if it worries her. She will be in great need of some one who loves her.

This Navajo speaker is attempting to persuade the decoder that marriage is a very vital part of human experience. By repeating key lexical items such as love, respect, neglect, alone (loneliness), she rhetorically strengthens her argumentation for the institution of marriage and family.

The following text written by a Navajo speaker is related in topic to (18).
(19) Dirty old man need Loving too, just like young people. Still, he need someone to care for them, but, some just go to Rest-home and spend their life there; other hand they may spending their life at home. But dirty old man need girl friends; yet need a girlfriend or woman to make them happy. Also one should have respect for old people, yet today young people don't care for old people; on the hand, they just make fun of them. Although, he need to have fun, just like other people, don't let them sit back. Just because he is old man, think as normal person. They want to be happy and to be loved by someone.

Notice again the repetition of key lexical items in this argumentative discourse for the emotional rights of the elderly. In this case, the lexical items need, happy, love facilitate the rhetorical redundancy.

The persuasive manner of this text is also clearly indicated by the repetition of key lexical items:

(20) You have to get an education and to learn how to speak and write in standard english first, before you go into business or when you get a job. You just can't go into business when you do not know how to speak or write. Then you don't know what to do or what to say or write.

This Navajo speaker is trying to argue for the need of being able to speak (say) and write in standard English in order to pursue a career in business. The device of rhetorical redundancy acts again as a vehicle for the facilitation of persuasion.
Finally, consider this last example in which repetition of particular lexemes or phrases is not as obvious but rhetorical redundancy is nevertheless evident:

(21) He is dishonest man with his land and other people didn't care about other people, just care about himself, like making money from the tourists and want to have big money all the time, let tourist come by and watch him make silversmith his wife weaving while the tourist are watching her weaving. Make a sign said See Inside a Real Navajo Home for 25¢. The tourist will be taking picture while their doing these thing.

This text is part of a narrative about a Navajo short story known as Chee's Daughter. The character Old Man Fat described in (21) symbolizes abandonment of traditional Navajo values. Consequently, this Navajo speaker is concerned about giving examples in order to explain the symbolic meaning of the character. In addition, he wants to persuade the decoder that there is a negative aspect to acculturation. The somewhat sarcastic repetition of the money and tourist context underlines that implicit argument. Also, the repetition of the lexical item weaving adds to the redundant quality of the discourse.
Concluding Remarks

It has been pointed out that rhetorical redundancy is a major discourse feature which is evident in written English of Navajo and Western Apache speakers. This feature seems to be the result of language transfer of a similar rhetorical device which exists in Navajo and Western Apache. In the data of written Navajo/Western Apache English discussed here, rhetorical redundancy occurred for the purposes of emphasizing emotional concerns, clarification, conventions of courtesy, and also persuasion. The surface structure manifestations which facilitate repetition in order to achieve redundancy include lexemes, phrases, sentences, and paraphrases.

I do not claim that each of the above mentioned purposes for redundancy in Navajo/Western Apache English must necessarily exist in Navajo and Western Apache as well. I maintain that it is only the general rhetorical device of redundancy which is transferred from Navajo and Western Apache to English. Specific purposes or contexts, such as conventions of courtesy, can be postulated as the result of standard English communicative constraints or rules. Leap (1974b) makes the claim that most varieties of Native American English are the result of both native and second language input. If this claim is valid, then redundancy for particular purposes in Navajo/Western
Apache English, if not directly traceable to Navajo and Western Apache, can be assumed to represent an interaction between language transfer of redundancy and English discourse constraints.

The transfer of rhetorical redundancy as a discourse device can be represented in the following rule:

(i) Redundancy Transfer

\[
\{\text{Discourse} \ + \ \text{emphasis}\} \rightarrow \{\text{Navajo/W. Apache}\}
\]

This rule describes a cognitive process of a semantic discourse input (+emphasis) yielding a surface structure output in Navajo/W. Apache English discourse in the form of redundancy, in the context of Navajo/W. Apache discourse redundancy. If it is assumed that Navajo/Western Apache English is a self-contained language system (Leap 1974b; Penfield 1976; Stout 1976), then the label "Navajo/W. Apache English" seems more accurate than "English" for rule (i). The formalism used for this rule follows conventions of generative phonology. The application of this formalism for levels other than phonology is not novel in this case. Hymes (1972) advocates the use of phonological rules, lexical features or syntactic phrase-structure rules for the description of
sociolinguistic rules of speaking. Also Labov (1972) gives examples of how conventional generative rules can be adapted to situations other than the phonological level.
CHAPTER 6

NARRATIVE TECHNIQUE IN NAVAJO
AND WESTERN APACHE ENGLISH

Introduction

In much of written Navajo/Western Apache English discourse, there appears to be an inconsistent use of English tenses and aspects in narrative passages. Although the context of the discourse may make the sequence of events clear, the application of English tenses and aspects often does not conform to native English-speaking patterns. In fact, what seems to be going on is a transfer of Navajo/Western Apache tense and aspect systems to written discourse in English. Especially in narrative, Navajo and Apache speakers attempt to manipulate English tenses and aspects in order to express Navajo/Western Apache mode and aspect patterns.

The rhetorical language function of narrative in English is generally associated with the preterite or a semantically appropriate tense sequence. Shifting of tenses in English involves a "logically" defined relationship of one tense to another. In other words, one tense or aspect serves as a constraint for a following tense or aspect within sentences. In the speaker's mind, the
time an action takes place depends on how it relates to the time of speaking. Events precede or succeed one another and are placed in their order of time. However, Hayden, Pilgrim and Haggard (1956:101) point out that in some situations the verb does not "logically" correspond to the concept of time, as in "I'll wait until he comes." Nevertheless, this sequence within a sentence is natural in English when a clause expressing present time modifies a verb expressing future activity. Consequently, it might be more appropriate to think of tense sequence within sentences and tense shifting within discourse in a particular language in terms of language specific naturalness instead of universal logic.

The fact that English tense shifting patterns in narrative discourse are consistently violated in written Navajo/Western Apache English discourse may suggest that English tenses and aspects are manipulated in order to express a different kind of naturalness. This non-English naturalness seems to be tied to Navajo and Western Apache mode and aspect patterns and is transferred to written Navajo/Western Apache English.

**Navajo and Western Apache Modes and Aspects**

The following is a brief summary of the Navajo and Western Apache modes and aspects. One of the best
Outlines of Navajo grammar is available in Young and Morgan (1976). First developed in the 1940's, this analysis is still one of the major authoritative statements on Navajo as well as Western Apache (Perry 1972:91). Young and Morgan (1976:42) distinguish the following modes and aspects:

- **Imperfective**, indicating that the action is incomplete, but is in the act of being accomplished, or about to be done.
- **Perfective**, indicating that the action is complete.
- **Progressive**, indicating that an action is in progress.
- **Iterative**, denotes repetition of an act.
- **Usitative**, denotes habituality in performing the act.
- **Optative**, expresses potentiality and desire.
- **Momentaneous**, action beginning and ending in an instant.
- **Repetitive**, action repeated.
- **Semelfactive**, action which occurs once, and is neither continued nor repeated.
- **Continuative**, action which is continued.

In addition to modes and aspects, Young and Morgan point out that the Navajo verb can also express present, past, and future time. Present time, according to Young and Morgan (1976:46),

is expressed principally in the imperfective and progressive mode forms, including neuter verbs. In general the imperfectives of the momentaneous aspect translate "in the act of", "about to", while the continuative and repetitive render a simple present.
The past, on the other hand, is generally expressed by the perfective mode. Three perfective prefixes (yí-, ni-, si-) describe respectively an act as being just completed, an act completed and resulting in a static condition, and an act completed while at the same time being durative and static. Young and Morgan (1976:82) give these examples:

- taah yí' á, I have (completed the act of) put(ing) it into water.
- naa ni' á, I have brought (given) it to you.
- sél'á, I keep it (cause it to set).

Future forms are formed by inserting di- inceptive into the progressive forms. Some verbs use the stem of the progressive for their future tense forms.

In regard to verb stem forms, Young and Morgan (1976:42) comment:

As many as four different aspects, and six different modes may be distinguished by alterations of the stem. It is rarely that a verb distinguishes more than five modes and one or two aspects at best by the use of distinct stem forms, although a few verbs have as many as eight different stem forms.

This situation is, of course, quite different from English in which the stem forms usually remain the same. An exception is irregular verb forms in English.

Navajo and Western Apache seem to have a mode and aspect system in which each component has access to the other one. This can especially be seen in the fact that Navajo and Western Apache modes and aspects are used as a
vehicle for the expression of the present, past, and future. In addition, Keith Basso (personal communication, 1979) has pointed out to me that some Western Apache speakers may use a mode such as the iterative and an aspect such as the repetitive interchangeably. The difference between the two is very subtle. The iterative mode is typically employed for a continuous repetitive action such as chopping wood; on the other hand, the repetitive aspect is more appropriate for an action that comes to an end and is repeated such as going to the store several times.

The following sentences listed by Young and Morgan (1976:47) illustrate the interaction between aspect and mode in the expression of time in Navajo:

*T'áá 'ífíídaá' hoł hweeshne'go 'índa yíníyá, I had already told him when you arrived (already I having told him then you arrived).

Kintahgéó diikah nisin át'géé' 'aho'niítá, I was wishing we could go to town, but it rained (to town we (pl) will go I want it rained).

Shąą' dibe bitsj' deeshgááñ nínízingo shighandi nánídaah ni', remember, whenever you used to want to eat mutton you used to come to my home (remember sheep its meat I shall eat it you wanting my home at you repeatedly come it was).

Yiskáago kwe'é naasháago shee naaki nááhai dooleéí, tomorrow I shall have been here two years (tomorrow here I walking about with me two years it will be).
'Ákóó nich'i' deesháál nt'égé' ndi shinaanish hólóogo biniinaa t'áadoo déyáá da, I would have gone to see you but I had work to do (there toward you I shall go it was but my work existing because of it without I started going).

Shá bígghah hahonishtáá nt'égé' ndi t'áadoo hak'inísháhí t'óó nánísdzá, I had looked for him all day, and not finding him I returned (sun proportionate to it I am searching for him it was but without I am the one who finds him merely I returned).

K'adéé dah diishááh nt'égé' níkíhóníltá, I was about to start off when it started to rain (almost off I am about to start it was it started to rain).

Bighandi yíníyáago yóó' 'íiyáá dooleél, he will have gone by the time you get to his place (his home at you having arrived away he has gone it will be).

Kintahgóó t'ah doo disháah da, I have never gone to town (to town still not I am in the act of starting to go).

T'áadoo nádáhí 'i'íí'áago biniinaa 'ííyáá', he hadn't returned at sundown so I ate (without he is the one in the act of returning it (sun) having moved in because of it I ate).

In English, there is generally a stress on the element of time. According to Kluckhohn (1946:205), in Navajo tense reflecting time is of less importance than the type of action, whether it is momentaneous, progressing, continuing, or customary. The aspects differentiate time completed as against incompleted. The fact that Navajo and Western Apache base their main verbal differentiations on modes and aspects may be a clue to the type
of narrative technique employed by Navajo and Western Apache speakers in written Navajo/Western Apache English discourse. In fact, what emerges is a pattern of language transfer of modes and aspects at the narrative discourse level.

Transfer of the Usitative Mode

Cook, in the previously mentioned study of the writings in English of speakers from a number of Southwestern Native American language backgrounds (1973), found a highly frequent lack of final (e)d in past tense verbs. She comments that "this undoubtedly reflects that Southwestern American Indian languages have verb systems based on aspect rather than tense, as in English . . ." (Cook 1973:246). In addition, Cook points out that the simple verb form of an irregular verb is used in describing past. The omission of ing was also a characteristic feature in Cook's data. Cook frequently found occurrences of was plus the simple form of the verb ("was go"). In most cases this form referred to the simple past. For that reason Cook postulates that was was perhaps being used as a past marker. Cook's data also revealed shifting between present and past forms of verbs in describing past time.

This shifting between past and present forms of verbs did not reveal any consistent patterns, according
to Cook. However, when one examines such shifting beyond the syntactic level, consistent patterns do emerge at the discourse level. It seems that Navajo and Western Apache speakers do in fact understand the semantics of English tenses and aspects as used by native English speakers; however, it can be postulated that Navajo and Western Apache speakers find the native English patterns of tense and aspect usage inadequate for their purposes.

Consider the following text written by a Navajo speaker:

(1) It sure rained last night, the water was just covered with the ground last night. The lightening was making a harmful noise and when the rain stop for a little while everything is so silent. Later the lightening strike the tree that was right next to the house and everybody in the house was screaming and shouting around, so finally they quieted down. The night they had rain.

Although this is a narrative text, it violates the purely linear order of a native English speaker's tense usage expectations. It seems that in the second sentence of the text, the Navajo speaker is not restricting himself to one particular time when referring to the silence after the rain fall. This is an habitual event, not something which happens only at one point in time. Therefore, the use of the English present tense in this case must be an extension or transfer of the Navajo usitative mode. This mode
indicates that a verbal action is performed habitually. In the third sentence of the text, the action of lightning striking is also expressed in the present tense. This seems to reflect a natural tendency to make a narrative passage more relevant and pertinent to the time of its telling. This nonstandard discourse constraint can also be found among native English speakers as well as nonstandard English speakers of varieties such as Black English. The omission of the past marker ed in "the rain stop" may be phonologically based, as has been pointed out by Cook (1973).

Notice that the other sentences follow more or less a native-English-speaking tense pattern. It must be assumed, consequently, that native English standard as well as nonstandard constraints play a role in the tense usage patterns of Navajo/Western Apache English narrative discourse. This is very much in agreement with Leap's (1976a:10) observation about Isletan English. Most Native American speech communities are in contact with both standard and nonstandard forms of English, and both are, therefore, part of the linguistic resources available to a speaker of Navajo/Western Apache English.

The following text is part of a narrative written by a Navajo speaker also making use of the English present tense in order to express the usitative mode:
(2) As I was a small baby. My mother used to feed me. My Grandmother is the main one that raise me. When they go somewhere they used to carry me around. Then when I got to be a year old then they take me to a hospital and I stayed in for a year. Finally they took me out of hospital and they took me home. There at home I get into everything. I used to make a big mess. And my mother used to get after me.

The first shift in tense occurs in the second sentence of this discourse. However, this shift is not necessarily due to a transfer of a Navajo/Western Apache mode or aspect. Instead, this seems to be an example of a nonstandard English constraint. In the mind of the speaker, the reference to present time in this sentence indicates that the grandmother is still alive and reference to past time might imply that she is dead. A native English speaker would, in fact, resort most likely to the same kind of nonstandard tense usage. However, the omission of *d* in "that raise me" seems to be phonologically based. Nevertheless, past time seems to be implied. The third sentence, on the other hand, is definitely of a non-native-English-speaking nature. The shift from present to past within the same sentence violates even conventions of nonstandard usage. The clause "When they go somewhere" has a present tense verb referring to an action which was performed habitually. The Navajo speaker is using the English simple present to express the Navajo usitative mode.
This same process can also be seen in the sentence "There at home I get into everything." The purpose of this shift in tense is again to separate this action from the others in the narrative order to emphasize the habitual performance of the action.

Notice a similar type of tense shifting from past to present in the following narrative text written by a Navajo speaker:

(3) I was working in the store this summer. While working in the store, I met many people; and for that I do not know that much. alway I have to put in gas for the people; also I have to stack things on the shelf. Every after work I have to sweep the floor, and clean the counter.

This narrative refers to past time (this summer) as indicated by the past tense forms of verbs in the first part of the text. However, the Navajo speaker chooses to shift to the present tense when describing the particular duties involved in working at the store. In the mind of the speaker, these actions must, therefore, involve an habitual performance. The usitative mode is again the appropriate vehicle to make that verbal differentiation clear. The English simple present tense functions as the transfer facilitator of the usitative mode.

Consider also the following text by another Navajo speaker about the same subject matter:
(4) Spended summer vacation means taken a break from school and spended the summer at home and earned some money working. For instance I worked at Kaibito School. My position was clerical typist. I used to go to work 8:am to 12:00 and 1:00 to 5:00. also I worked overtime sometime. and my duties is to do typing and doing some secretary work.

The shift from past to present tense in the last sentence of the text emphasizes the reference to an action performed habitually. The usitative mode is transferred under the guise or facilitation of the English present tense in this discourse. In addition, notice that the sentence "I used to go to work 8:am to 12:00 and 1:00 to 5:00" would under the present assumption also require the present tense for the expression of the usitative mode. There seem to be two alternative explanations for the occurrences of these "normal" tense uses. First, it has already been mentioned that forms of Native American English as well as other fossilized interlanguages are characterized by standard usage constraints (Leap 1976a:10) which alternate with nonstandard and native language constraints.

Second, it seems to me that the English past tense construction used to expresses an habitual action in the past and is, therefore, suitable for referring to the Navajo/Western Apache usitative mode. This standard form might function as an alternative to the present tense for the expression of the usitative mode.
In the following narrative text written by a Navajo speaker, the shifting from past to present tense for the expression of the usitative mode becomes clear again:

(5) She never wanted to get married, because it was a lot of problems, for them to stay together. Beside the problem they had was my dad drink a lot. when he comes home drunk. He always starts fighting with my mother. which we didn't like at all. He never comes back, when he goes to town. My dad stays out in town for a week or two weeks. We all get worried about him. Instead, he comes back all drunk which we don't like. And finally she couldn't put up with him. The reason why she gave up was because he was too mean to her. He didn't want my mother to spend time with us kids when we want something he doesn't buy it for us. The part that got mom really mad was when he didn't let her go to the store and get something to eat. he always hit us kids around for no reason. Probably we get on his nerves.

The overall temporal framework of this narrative (the fact that the speaker's parents separated) is past time. Particular examples that illustrate the reasons for the separation, however, are presented in the present tense. The sentence "when he comes home drunk," "he always starts fighting," "he never comes back, when he goes to town," and so on, represent habitual actions which occurred when the speaker's parents were not separated. The present tense forms in this text refer clearly to the usitative mode. In standard English, the simple present can be used for activities that existed in the past and extend into
the future (Clicker likes animals) as well as general
truths (the sun rises in the east). However, in this text
none of the actions refer to the present or future time.
Therefore, the occurrences of present tense forms are not
standard usage constraints but native language transfer
of the usitative mode.

Transfer of the Imperfective Mode

The English simple present tense seems also to
function as a facilitator for the transfer of the Navajo
and Western Apache imperfective mode. The following text
is part of a personal letter which was written by a West­
er Apache speaker on December 28, 1975--three days after
Christmas day:

(6) I hope you have a good Christmas out there.
As for our part, all of us families have
good Christmas. But no White Christmas
But there was snowed up to Whiteriver.

Conventions of standard English would require the past
tense in the entire text. It seems that in the mind of
this Western Apache speaker, however, the celebration of
Christmas was not quite over at the time of writing the
letter. Therefore, the present form of have could be an
extension of the imperfective mode. This mode is most
appropriate when an action is almost completed or in the
process of being completed. In addition, the imperfective
mode also serves as a vehicle for the present tense in Navajo and Western Apache. Consequently, it is not at all surprising to find the English present tense as a facilitator for the expression of the imperfective mode.

Notice, however, the reference to past time in the last sentence. Cook (1973) has pointed out that was seems to function as a past marker in varieties of Southwestern Native American English. This seems to be the case in this text as well. In addition, this Western Apache speaker has also added the past marker ed to the main verb. It is obviously not a standard language constraint. Instead, in this case the perfective mode is being referred to for the description of an act completed and resulting in a static condition. I shall return for more detailed analysis of the perfective mode transfer at a later time.

Returning to the present tense as a vehicle for the extension of the imperfective mode, consider the following text written by a Navajo speaker:

(7) Most maestros came to the US. during Mexico's last revolution and opened small shops. . . . Gonzalo Pereda was a maestro at racing fighting roosters. His rooster loses a fight and dies.

The shift from past to present tense in the last sentence of this sample indicates that the action is incomplete but is in the process of being completed. In Navajo narrative
the imperfective mode is used almost exclusively after the

time of of the story has been established. This same sit-
utation is certainly the case in the shift from past to
present in (7). Also, a literal translation of a Navajo
sentence containing a verbal action of the imperfective
type would yield a present tense in English:

Chidi baa nahashniih (car, to him, I trade it)
Hooghan ášdíé’éh (home, I make it)

The fact that literal translation of the imperfective mode
requires a present tense verb form in English is addition-
al support for the notion that the English present tense
is a facilitator for the transfer of the Navajo/Western
Apache imperfective mode.

A further example of the English present tense
functioning as the facilitator for the Navajo/Western Apa-
che imperfective mode is evident in the following text
written by a Western Apache speaker:

(8) Also just recently, a car ran off the road
at upper last curve west side of fork rab-
bit flat. The car hit the bottom of the
canyon into thick brush so nobody find it
until few days later. This boy was from
Whiteriver so I don't know his name. They
say he have a girl friend here in Cibecue
so there is no doubt he was coming down to
visit his girl. How sad it is.

Some of the shifting from past to present in this text is
also characteristic of native English speakers. However,
the use of a present tense form in "nobody find it until
a few days later" seems also to be an extension of the imperfective mode. In this case, the action of finding the car has just been completed in the mind of the speaker. Notice that the imperfective mode is here, too, deferred until after the time of the narrative (past time) has clearly been established, and that the usage parallels that in (7).

Transfer of the Continuative Aspect

In (8) a second occurrence of shifting from past to present exists in the sentence "they say he have a girl friend here in Cibecue . . ." This seems to be an expression of the continuative aspect. The Western Apache speaker might view the relationship between lovers as being continued, even though the boy has died. The English present tense must also be used when literally translating a sentence containing a continuative verbal expression:

Kinlánídi íínishta' (house many, the one at, I read)--I am going to school at Flagstaff.

In the above sentence the reading (studying) or going to school continues for some time. Notice that the word by word translation requires an English present tense verb form. This is additional support for the notion that the English present tense form serves as a facilitator for the Navajo/Western Apache continuative aspect as well.
Consider also the following text written by a Western Apache speaker:

(9) I got in last night about mid night at your home. but there was no answer. So we left for motel. and again we tried to reach you, but still you are not home.

The use of the present tense is an attempt on the part of this Western Apache speaker to express the continuative nature of the absence of the addressee of this letter. Therefore, the application of the Navajo/Western Apache continuative aspect is most appropriate in this discourse.

Another good example of shifting from past to present tense for the expression of the continuative aspect can be seen in the following text written by a Navajo speaker:

(10) Linda was kick out from P.E. class so many time because they had to do dancing in the class which she didn't like it and they had to wear dresses and a long heal shoe, and another reason was she couldn't do what the teacher say Linda was send to the principal so many time. She was not obeying the teacher and she told the principal she didn't like what they are doing in P.E. class.

The lack of ed in "was kick out" is of minor importance for this analysis. Since was is clearly a past tense form, the omission of ed in this case may be due to what Cook (1973:246) describes as a lack of or infrequent occurrence of final consonants and consonant clusters in native languages of the Southwest. However, the shifts
from past to present forms in "she couldn't do what
the teacher say . . ." and "she didn't like what they
are doing in P. E. class" indicate a continuation of a
condition without particular reference to a point in time.
In other words, in the mind of the Navajo speaker the
teachers at schools are continuing to require the same
standards, and activities in P. E. classes continue to be
of the same nature. Here again are examples of actions
for which the expression of an aspect is more crucial
than tense.

The following text also contains an action
expressing the continuation or perpetuation of a condi­
tion in the mind of this Navajo speaker:

(11) Willie knew that his family needed the
money; nevertheless, alcohol was the main
problem Willie had. So he spends his
money on it all the time. Alcohol had
destroyed many workers tradition culture,
because it made them to forget the culture.

The third person singular marker in the sentence "so he
spends his money on it all the time" is clearly under­
stood by this Navajo speaker as the marker for the
English present tense. I postulate that the shift from
past to present in this text is another example of the
attempt to manipulate an English tense in order to
express or transfer a Navajo/Western Apache mode or
aspect. The condition of the protagonist's spending
money on alcohol is of a continuing nature and, consequently, requires the application of the continuative aspect.

The preference for expressing aspect rather than tense becomes also evident in the following narrative about probably the most emotional event in Navajo history—the Long Walk:

(12) The Navajo leaders made treaties with the Americans. They were advised to live peace and keep their promises. But some wild young Navajos break the promises therefore the soldiers came and burned the hogan and killed many livestock that belong to the Navajos.

The insistence on using the present tense form of break is again an expression of the continuative aspect. This Navajo speaker is attempting to indicate that the promises to the Americans were not broken at just one point in time in the past. Instead, the continuing nature of the raids by the "wild young Navajos" is being underlined. In fact, the events which led up to the punitive Long Walk can be characterized as a continuation of a traditional pattern of war-like raiding of Hispanic settlements in New Mexico. In addition, the lack of the past tense marker ed in "... many livestock that belong to the Navajos" might also be postulated as an expression of the continuative aspect. In this text, the Navajo speaker
has marked other verbs with the past tense marker ed; therefore, Cook's (1973:246) suggestion of a lack of final consonants in Navajo as a source of interference may not be applicable in this case. Instead, it could be postulated that the ed marker may have been purposefully omitted in order to express the continuative aspect, when one considers that ownership of livestock is of a continuing nature. An alternative explanation of the omission of the past tense marker in (12) has been suggested to me by Mary Jane Cook (personal communication 1979). She feels that second language as well as native speakers often use correct and incorrect forms of the same item for no reason other than that total mastery of the point is not part of their performance. However, if it is assumed that all human language forms (including interlanguages) are rule governed, Dr. Cook's suggestion could explain only isolated and unsystematic occurrences of nonstandard usage in a particular corpus.

The following are two texts on similar topics written by two different Navajo speakers:

(13) When I first came to Flagstaff dormitory to register I went to the dorm where I checked in . . . All the Juniors were in the opposite side of my wing, they called it South Lower. The Seniors lived on the top floor of the Juniors, South upper. There is a large living room in the middle.
The T. V. is one side and pool and Candy machine on the other side. The laundry room is under the living room.

(14) One of the buildings had two floors. This building had a chapel on the first floor. On the second floor were the classrooms. The classrooms are small, and there are about 30 desks in each classroom, because there are not many students.

Both texts begin their spatial descriptions in the past tense, and both texts are characterized by shifts to the present tense in particular points of the narrative. In (13) the shift occurs when the description centers on locations and objects which continue to be unchanged. In other words, the speaker seems to expect the living room, television set, pool table, candy machine and laundry to continue to remain in the same locations. Therefore, the expression of the continuative aspect by means of the English present tense is called for. In (14) the shift between past and present tense does not seem to be quite as clear-cut. Actually all locations in that text should be considered by this Navajo speaker as being in a continuative state; however, the first part of the text appears in the past tense. It must again be pointed out that standard English constraints are part of a Navajo/Western Apache English speaker's narrative technique. Therefore, the first part of (14) contains standard English tense usage, whereas the remainder of the text
shows tense shifting from past to present for the expression of the continuative aspect, consistently with my postulation. Notice that the shift occurs at a point when the description moves from locations of buildings and rooms to conditions of size. Clearly, according to my deductions, the Navajo speaker decided at that time that the standard English past tense usage was not sufficient to express the continuing nature of those conditions. Hence, a shift to the present tense facilitated the expression of the Navajo/Western Apache continuative aspect.

**Transfer of the Perfective Mode**

At this time, I would like to return to the transfer of the Navajo/Western Apache perfective mode in (6). As noted, the perfective mode indicates that an action is completed. Three perfective prefixes differentiate the following meanings. The yi perfective form denotes that the action is merely completed, in a momentaneous sense, without implication of subsequent duration. For example:

Łeets'aa' beghan yįįishłaa. (clay basket, its home, I made it)

The ni perfective shows that the action of the verb is completed and in a subsequent durative state. For example:
Adááda' Kii shaa niyá. (yesterday, Kee, to me, he came)

In the si perfective the connotation is that the action of the verb, having been completed, is in a durative static state. For example:

Kóhoot'éédáá' adaah dah hosist'á. (when it was this way, alongside myself, up on, I caused a spatial it a "sorrow" to move)--I committed a crime last year.

Notice that in each of the literal translations of perfective mode actions, the English verb appears in the past tense. It is, therefore, not surprising that the Western Apache speaker's text in (6) shows the use of the past tense for the expression of the perfective mode.

Consider the following text written by a Navajo speaker:

(15) This is on of the religious ceremonies the Navahos mostly respects. There are four main clans of the Navahos. They are Bitter Water clan, Towering clan, Edge of Water clan and Big Water clan. These clans represented the way in which people descended from their ancestors.

While the past tense form of the verb descended is an example of a standard English constraint, the past tense form of the verb represented is an example of a non-native English-speaking constraint. In the mind of the Navajo speaker, the clans' representation of mythological ancestors seems to be of a durative static state.
Consequently, the use of the past tense reflects again the transfer of the perfective mode.

This is an additional example of the same type:

(16) Religion is a very important part of the Navaho ways which they respected very much. There are many types of religions which includes Sqaw dances, Fire dances, and Yeibe-Chi dances. In all types of ceremonies, there is faith and togetherness.

The shift from present to past in the first sentence of this text also seems to indicate the transfer of the perfective mode. The fact that Navajos respect religion is of a durative state. The narrative technique in this text is of the same type as in (15).

The following text written by a Navajo speaker also provides an instance of the use of the English past tense as a vehicle for the expression of the Navajo/Western Apache perfective mode:

(17) When you finished college and get a good job you start living good and have expensive things. Also when you go to college you learn more about the things around you and everywhere.

Notice the contrast between the use of the past tense in "When you finished college" and the use of the present tense in "Also when you go to college." In the first instance, the Navajo speaker is conveying the action as completed and, therefore, requiring the perfective mode in form of the English past tense. Yet, in the second
instance, the Navajo speaker's choice is dictated by a standard English constraint which requires the present tense for the expression of a general truth.

Consider also the following text written by a Navajo speaker:

(18) Dialogue is the way a group or a community used and speak their language which is the same or a language which alike and meaning the same thing.

It is interesting to note again the contrast between the use of the past tense in used and the present tense in speak. The two forms occur even very close to each other within the same sentence. This seems to be another example of the interaction between a native and second language constraint.

Furthermore, consider the following text written by a Navajo speaker:

(19) At the same, the movies the Dad gone Hunting and Cool Hand Luke, both the characters are trying faces their problems. But in Dad gone Hunting, the man try to getting back to his formal wife by kidnaped the baby and he was gave his formal wife a hard time.

The past tense marker ed in kidnaped seems to be an expression of the perfective mode. The action is completed in a temporary or momentaneous sense. No subsequent duration is implied. Also, the clause "he was gave his formal wife a hard time" can be postulated to
be an example of the same type of perfective mode. Cook (1973) has pointed out that *was* may be functioning as a past marker in Southwestern Native American English. In addition, the following verb form *gave* appears also in the past tense. Although this construction is rare in the written English of Navajo and Western Apache speakers, it represents an alternative for the expression of the perfective mode.

Transfer of the Progressive Mode

Notice also the *ing* progressive marker in "the man try to *getting*" in (19). It seems that Navajo and Western Apache speakers do in fact recognize the *ing* as a progressive marker in English and use it to express the progressive mode of their own native language. However, the placement of the *ing* progressive marker is not always in accordance with standard English constraints. This is certainly the case in the example above.

In Navajo and Western Apache the progressive mode expresses an action as being in progress. The progressive mode prefix is *ya*; however, it goes through a number of morphophonemic changes as other prefixes precede it:

Shicheii sání yileeł. (my maternal grandfather, old, he is becoming)

Shi k'ad násshdaáį̃. (I, now, I am returning)
Literal translations of progressive mode actions require the English progressive marker *ing*. Navajo and Western Apache speakers also recognize the *ing* progressive marker's being parallel to the Navajo/Western Apache progressive mode.

One of the most frequent ways Navajo and Western Apache speakers express the progressive mode in written English narrative discourse is by adding the progressive marker *ing* and omitting the auxiliary verb:

(20) The bumper sticker "Old Soldiers Never Die. Young Do" expresses an idea that young men are dying while the old soldier makes war. Although many young men are willing to defend their country, but the old soldier thinking they are still the hero. Not only did they thinking they are hero, but also they makes war.

It must be pointed out that in the first part of this text the present progressive forms do include auxiliary verbs and, therefore, these forms agree with standard English constraints. However, the progressive forms in "old soldier thinking" and "not only did they thinking" are examples of non-native English-speaking constraints. It is also interesting to note a consistency in that the non-native form of the progressive occurs both times with the same lexical item (*think*).

Consider the following text also written by a Navajo speaker:
(21) A person will look for a love that have meaning to him. Likewise, he can find the meaning of love in different ways. He might find it through the experience he had before. The experience might have being a bad one, or the experience might being a meaning to him.

In the last sentence of this text, the *ing* progressive marker appears in "might have being a bad one" and "might being a meaning" in a non-native English-speaking manner. The Navajo speaker is definitely referring to an action or state in progress. Notice again the consistency in the non-native English-speaking applications of the progressive marker *ing* to the same lexical item (*be*).

Here are two more texts which show the use of the progressive marker *ing* and the omission of the corresponding auxiliary verbs:

(22) Even the police are prejudiced against blacks and arrests are made even for little things. But the policemen considered themselves not prejudiced against blacks, still they admit that they hating Negroes.

(23) I live by the beliefs that coming from both the Navajo culture and Christianity. I was born with the belief of the Navajo culture. Later on, my parents accepted the Christian religion.

In (22) and (23) the progressive marker *ing* in "they hating Negroes" and "beliefs that coming" is again used for the expression of actions in progress. Since auxiliary verbs do not exist in Navajo and Western Apache,
this manipulation of the English progressive forms must surely represent a transfer of the Navajo/Western Apache progressive mode.

Another pattern, also quite frequent in the data, involves to + V-ing for the expression of the progressive mode. The following text written by a Navajo speaker illustrates this type of pattern:

(24) The past summer was great time for me in term of working. However, working was my main job, and teaching was my duty. Since kids were small, it was easy to getting along with them.

It seems clear that the progressive marker ing in "easy to getting along" has also been used by this Navajo speaker for an action in progress, and that this pattern represents another nonstandard alternative for the purposes of expressing the Apachean progressive mode. The fact that the standard English form of the progressive is understood by speakers of Navajo/Western Apache English indicates that nonstandard forms represent the Navajo/Western Apache progressive mode in a more satisfactory manner.

Transfer of the Repetitive Aspect and Interactive Mode

The progressive affix ing is also used, I believe, to express other Navajo/Western Apache modes and aspects.
Corresponding auxiliaries are sometimes deleted and sometimes included. Consider the following text from a letter written by a Western Apache speaker:

(25) I still haven't get that $50.00 yet. I mean for Headdressing sold at Sunrise. I talked to Mike all he told me was to write to her the address should be in new paper. Well I wrote twice using the new paper address but no answer. Now I even forgot her name Maggie Wilson I think. The Arizona Republic 120 E. Van Buren Phoenix, Ariz. I had been using this address but no answer.

In the last sentence in (25) the English past perfect progressive is used to refer to the two actions of writing. In this case the progressive form of the verb is used, it seems to me, to express the repetitive aspect. This aspect is especially appropriate for an action that is completed and is repeated at another time. Both the repetitive aspect and the iterative mode indicate repetition of an action. The difference between the two, as noted earlier, is very subtle. The ing progressive marker is the only available form in English that is even close to the functions of the repetitive aspect or iterative mode.

The iterative mode, besides indicating repetition, is also often employed to express the fact that an act is customarily done. For example:
Sisilí bíká ánáshwo'. (my mother, money, I repeatedly I beg her for it)--I am always asking my mother for money.

Notice that in the translation of that sentence an English progressive form is the most accurate way to preserve the original meaning.

Compare the use of the progressive form in the following text with the example above:

(26) Sometimes I leave Yavapai College to drive home. When I leaving from the dorm I have few things to take it back with me. Before driving out off the parking lot I have to get some gas and oil.

The progressive form without the corresponding auxiliary in "when I leaving from the dorm" indicates that this act is customarily done. In this use of the progressive form, I believe, the Navajo speaker wishes to express the iterative mode.

The same kind of customary action is expressed with the ing progressive marker in the following text written by a Navajo speaker:

(27) The house a person lives has a special meaning for him. My sister's home was where I stayed through out most of my high school years. When I return back from school in the evening. I usually coming in from the front door, which faces west.

The use of the nonstandard progressive form in "I usually coming in" again reflects the iterative mode.
Interestingly, the preceding sentence, "when I return back from school in the evening," reflects neither the iterative mode nor any standard usage constraint. I postulate that the choice in this case requires an expression of habituality which can be captured by the usitative mode and transferred to English through the present tense.

Consider also this portion of the same text from which (27) was taken:

(28) Coming into the kitchen is closeby shelf, there I and my young sister grab our treats, and sometime my sister leaving a pie or leaving a cake in there.

Although the progressive marker ing in "my sister leaving a pie or leaving a cake" does not refer to a customary action, it does indicate that an action was completed and at times repeated. The progressive form in this case, I postulate, expresses the repetitive aspect. Notice also the consistency in the two consecutive applications of the progressive ing affix to the lexical item leave without corresponding auxiliary verbs.

Here are two final examples of the ing progressive marker used for the expression of the repetitive aspect and the iterative mode:

(29) Jean Michael Vicent is the best looking person in the movies that I seeing . . .
I like his performance in the movies and he is the hands-on person in the movies that I seeing.

(30) There is a way of population is reduced so rapidly. Death is the worst way of control over-population by the nature. Death occurring among the people in certain form. when it happening it takes live of many people, who sometime do not a chance to survive.

In (29) the application of the progressive marker *ing* to the lexical item *see* refers to the repetition of a completed act (to see movies). Thus this nonstandard form of the English progressive seems clearly to represent a transfer of the repetitive aspect. In (30), on the other hand, the progressive affix in "death occurring among the people" and "when it happening it takes live" indicates, I believe, a customary event. Consequently, the English progressive form is used as a vehicle for the transfer of the iterative mode.

**Transfer of the Optative Mode**

I also postulate that the progressive *ing* marker also serves for the transfer of the optative mode. The optative mode denotes potentiality or desire, either negatively or positively. The following text written by a Navajo speaker illustrates this point:

(31) My future is to becoming a better person in wealth and have a higher degree of
position. Although becoming a better person taking many things, but working toward it with a better education can give you a chance. On the contrary, I will becoming a leader, for example, the people will be helping by me. Speaking will be mainly for my people. A leader who a rich person can helping people to earn a live.

The progressive *ing* marker as applied to the lexical items *become* and *help* seems to express positive desire for the future. In Navajo and Western Apache positive desire is expressed by *laanaa* (it be as I wish). Young and Morgan (1976:107) give the following example of positive desire as indicated by the optative mode:

Naakaitahdi hoostseel laanaa. (at among the Mexicans, that I might see the place, it be as I wish)--I wish I could see Mexico.

Also, the particle *yee* is used to express wish or desire with the future tense forms (Young and Morgan 1976:108):

Deesdoi nááhodoodleež.--It will get warm again.

Béeso shee hodooleel.--I shall come into possession of money.

The pattern of progressive forms in (31) resembles these sentences given by Young and Morgan. Since no marker equivalent to *laanaa* or *yee* exists in English, apparently the progressive *ing* affix is the most efficient manner in which the optative mode can be expressed.

Consider also the following text written by a Navajo speaker:
He will looking forward to the day when he will finish. A person may go to college at least over two years, so he prepares for the long struggle with school works. After he finish college, he might be offering a job in many fields.

The nonstandard progressive form in "he might be offering a job" is again, I believe, an expression of positive desire and a reference to the optative mode. Also, the progressive form in "he will looking forward" parallels the expression of a wish or desire in conjunction with the future tense in Navajo and Western Apache.

The following narrative seems to also demonstrate an example of the transfer of the optative mode:

Forget the culture made Indians worthless, therefore, they considered alcohol as theirs way of life, and the only way to enjoy the culture that they are now in, the whiteman's culture. Willie wanting to be accepts in whiteman's culture, so he tried to be friendly to Wheeler, the potatoe boss and Clyde never has thought of accept the whiteman's culture.

The use of the nonstandard form of the progressive affixing in "Willie wanting to be accepts" indicates a reference to desire. Thus, the optative mode would be an appropriate member of this pattern. Notice that the narrative technique in this text also shows a shift from present to past tense in "the culture that they are now in." Since this shift cannot be linked to the transfer
of a particular Navajo/Western Apache mode or aspect, it may be an example of a nonstandard native-English-speaking alternative of making a point in the story more relevant and pertinent to the time of its telling. These kinds of nonstandard constraints are also common among native speakers of standard (General American) as well as non-standard (Black) English.

As a final remark, I would like mention that not all non-native-English-speaking occurrences of the progressive marker *ing* can be regarded as a transfer from a Navajo/Western Apache mode or aspect. Mary Jane Cook (personal communication, 1979) has pointed out to me that confusion between present and past participle forms is a common feature among second language speakers, even when the grammar background is similar to that of English. However, when the narrative technique of a Navajo or Western Apache speaker reveals a rhetorical purpose or meaning which can be traced to the native language, the postulation of mode/aspect transfer seems a credible additional explanation.

Concluding Remarks

It has been pointed out that narrative technique in written English discourse of Navajo and Western Apache speakers conforms to a unique type of naturalness which
contrasts with standard English as well as native nonstandard English expectations of tense usage. This Navajo/Western Apache English narrative technique resorts, in part, to the transfer of Navajo/Western Apache modes and aspects and, in part, to standard English constraints and alternative native nonstandard constraints.

The transfer of certain Navajo/Western Apache modes and aspects surfaces in written English discourse through the manipulation of selected English tenses and aspects. The resulting nonstandard use of English tense forms and patterns represents the most satisfactory expression of Navajo/Western Apache modes and aspects which standard use of English tense forms is not equipped to handle in the view of Navajo and Western Apache speakers.

The momentaneous aspect (action beginning and ending in an instant) and the semelfactive aspect (action which occurs once, and is neither continued nor repeated) could not be identified in the data as being transferred to written English discourse. At least, no specific English tense or aspect could be singled out as being manipulated for the expression of either of these two Navajo/Western Apache aspects. Also Navajo/Western Apache
future tense forms are almost equivalents of the English future. Consequently, few alternatives of standard English forms appear in the data.
CHAPTER 7

FORMAL ANALYSIS OF NAVAJO/WESTERN APACHE MODE AND ASPECT TRANSFER

The transfer of Navajo/Western Apache modes and aspects to written English discourse, as discussed in Chapter 6, might be represented in the following rules:

(i) Mode/Aspect Transfer (first approximation)

a. \[
\begin{align*}
\text{Navajo/W Apache} &\quad \text{Usitative Mode} \\
\text{Navajo/W Apache} &\quad \text{Imperfective Mode} \\
\text{Navajo/W Apache} &\quad \text{Continuative Aspect}
\end{align*}
\] \[\rightarrow\]
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Navajo/W Apache} &\quad \text{English} \\
\text{present Tense} &\quad \text{Discourse} \\
\text{Narrative}
\end{align*}
\]

b. \[
\begin{align*}
\text{Navajo/W Apache} &\quad \text{Progressive Mode} \\
\text{Navajo/W Apache} &\quad \text{Optative Mode} \\
\text{Navajo/W Apache} &\quad \text{Iterative Mode} \\
\text{Navajo/W Apache} &\quad \text{Repetitive Aspect}
\end{align*}
\] \[\rightarrow\]
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Navajo/W Apache} &\quad \text{English} \\
\text{Progressive Aspect} &\quad \text{Discourse} \\
\text{Narrative}
\end{align*}
\]

c. \[
\begin{align*}
\text{Navajo/W Apache} &\quad \text{Perfective Mode}
\end{align*}
\] \[\rightarrow\]
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Navajo/W Apache} &\quad \text{English} \\
\text{Past Tense} &\quad \text{Discourse} \\
\text{Narrative}
\end{align*}
\]

These rules are not sequentially ordered, but they are intended to outline three separate cognitive processes.
Rule (i) a. suggests that the Navajo/Western Apache usitative mode, imperfective mode and continuative aspect are realized in Navajo/Western Apache English as the present tense in the context of narrative discourse. The brace notation indicates that each Navajo/Western Apache mode or aspect is an alternative in terms of input. The same holds true for rule (i) b., except that the alternatives for input consist of the Navajo/Western Apache progressive mode, optative mode, iterative mode, and repetitive aspect; and the output consists of the Navajo/Western Apache English progressive aspect. Rule (i) c., on the other hand, has only one input, the Navajo/Western Apache perfective mode, and the Navajo/Western Apache English past tense as output.

I have labeled the output in all three rules "Navajo/W Apache English" instead of "English." If the claim is correct that Native American varieties of English are autonomous systems (Leap 1974b; Penfield 1976; Stout 1976), then it must be assumed that the output in rules (i) a., b. and c. represent Navajo/Western Apache English. In fact, from a semantic point of view some uses of the English present tense, past tense, and progressive aspect in narrative discourse by Navajo and Western Apache speakers do not conform to native-English-speaking patterns; therefore, the output in rules (i) a., b. and c. cannot be labeled "English."
If it is theorized that Navajo/Western Apache English, like other interlanguages (Leap 1974b; Selinker 1972), receives input from both first and second languages, then it follows that (i) does not completely represent all major variables. It has been pointed out in Chapter 6 that native-English-speaking constraints also play a role in tense usage in Navajo/Western Apache English. The interaction between first and second language constraints in tense usage is evident throughout the data.

Therefore, a set of rules which attempts to describe the major types of input for tense and aspect usage in Navajo/Western Apache English must take into consideration native-English-speaking standard as well as nonstandard constraints. The following is a restatement of the rules in (i) to take this factor into account:

(ii) **Mode/Aspect/Tense Transfer** (second approximation)

\[ \text{(ii) Mode/Aspect/Tense Transfer (second approximation)} \]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Navajo/W Apache} & + \text{Usitative Mode} \\
\text{Navajo/W Apache} & + \text{Imperfective Mode} \\
\text{Navajo/W Apache} & + \text{Continuative Aspect} \\
\text{English} & + \text{Present Tense}
\end{align*}
\]

\[ + \begin{align*}
\text{Navajo/W Apache} & + \text{Present Tense} \\
\text{English} & + \text{Present Tense}
\end{align*} \]

Discourse + Narrative
The rules (ii) a., b. and c. represent each of the Navajo/Western Apache types of input as well as the English input as alternatives on an equal basis. The English input is meant to include both native-English-speaking standard and alternative nonstandard constraints.

Notice, however, that the rules in (ii) do not capture the fact that two separate codes are providing input. If it is assumed that Navajo/Western Apache English receives input from two distinct codes (language systems) for tense usage, then the rules in (ii) fail to represent this phenomenon accurately. The following is a restatement of (ii) in order to make a distinction between codes of input:

b. \[
\begin{align*}
&\text{Navajo/W Apache} \\
&\quad \text{+ Progressive Mode} \\
&\text{Navajo/W Apache} \\
&\quad \text{+ Optative Mode} \\
&\text{Navajo/W Apache} \\
&\quad \text{+ Iterative Mode} \\
&\text{Navajo/W Apache} \\
&\quad \text{+ Repetitive Aspect} \\
&\text{English} \\
&\quad \text{+ Progressive Aspect}
\end{align*}
\] → \[
\begin{align*}
&\text{Navajo/W Apache} \\
&\quad \text{English} \\
&\quad \text{+ Progressive Aspect} \\
\end{align*}
\]/ Discourse + Narrative

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{Navajo/W Apache} \\
&\quad \text{English} \\
&\quad \text{+ Past Tense}
\end{align*}
\]/ Discourse + Narrative

The rules (ii) a., b. and c. represent each of the Navajo/Western Apache types of input as well as the English input as alternatives on an equal basis. The English input is meant to include both native-English-speaking standard and alternative nonstandard constraints.
(iii) **Mode/Aspect/Tense Transfer** (third approximation)

a.\[
\left[\begin{array}{c}
\text{Navajo/W Apache} \\
\quad \{+ \text{Usitative Mode}\} \\
\quad \{+ \text{Imperfective Mode}\} \\
\quad \{+ \text{Continuative Aspect}\}
\end{array}\right]
\left[\begin{array}{c}
\text{English} \\
\quad \{+ \text{Present Tense}\}
\end{array}\right]
\quad + \quad \left[\begin{array}{c}
\text{Navajo/W Apache} \\
\quad \{+ \text{Perfective Mode}\}
\end{array}\right]
\left[\begin{array}{c}
\text{English} \\
\quad \{+ \text{Past Tense}\}
\end{array}\right]
\left[\begin{array}{c}
\text{Discourse} \\
\quad \{+ \text{Narrative}\}
\end{array}\right]
\]

b.\[
\left[\begin{array}{c}
\text{Navajo/W Apache} \\
\quad \{+ \text{Progressive Mode}\} \\
\quad \{+ \text{Optative Mode}\} \\
\quad \{+ \text{Iterative Mode}\} \\
\quad \{+ \text{Repetitive Aspect}\}
\end{array}\right]
\left[\begin{array}{c}
\text{English} \\
\quad \{+ \text{Progressive Aspect}\}
\end{array}\right]
\quad + \quad \left[\begin{array}{c}
\text{Navajo/W Apache} \\
\quad \{+ \text{Perfective Mode}\}
\end{array}\right]
\left[\begin{array}{c}
\text{English} \\
\quad \{+ \text{Past Tense}\}
\end{array}\right]
\left[\begin{array}{c}
\text{Discourse} \\
\quad \{+ \text{Narrative}\}
\end{array}\right]
\]

c.\[
\left[\begin{array}{c}
\text{Navajo/W Apache} \\
\quad \{+ \text{Perfective Mode}\}
\end{array}\right]
\left[\begin{array}{c}
\text{English} \\
\quad \{+ \text{Past Tense}\}
\end{array}\right]
\left[\begin{array}{c}
\text{Discourse} \\
\quad \{+ \text{Narrative}\}
\end{array}\right]
\]

The addition of brackets in (iii) treats various Navajo/Western Apache forms of input in each rule as a single unit (code) separate from English. The braces within the brackets still allow alternative types of input of various Navajo/Western Apache modes or aspects for a Navajo/Western Apache English tense or aspect output.

One final problem remains to be considered in regard to the rules in (iii). These rules, as they are now stated, assume no ordering of code constraints. In other
words, Navajo and Western Apache input is regarded equal in occurrence to English input. This is, of course, hardly ever the case. The input occurrence of each code differs in individual interlanguages. Some interlanguages are characterized by a dominance of Navajo/Western Apache input, while some others approach English norms. Also, individual interlanguage competencies themselves may change over a period of time to favor either one or the other codes of input.

The use of alpha notation can place an ordering relationship among the code constraints:

(iv) **Mode/Aspect/Tense Transfer** (final version)

\[a. \begin{align*}
\text{Navajo/W Apache} & \quad \{ + \text{Usitative Mode} \} \\
\{ + \text{Imperfective Mode} \} & \\
\{ + \text{Continuative Aspect} \} & \\
\text{English} & \quad \{ + \text{Present Tense} \} \\
\end{align*}\]

\[\Rightarrow \begin{align*}
\text{Navajo/W Apache} & \\
\text{English} & \quad \{ + \text{Narrative} \}
\end{align*}\]

\[b. \begin{align*}
\text{Navajo/W Apache} & \quad \{ + \text{Progressive Mode} \} \\
\{ + \text{Optative Mode} \} & \\
\{ + \text{Iterative Mode} \} & \\
\{ + \text{Repetitive Aspect} \} & \\
\text{English} & \quad \{ + \text{Progressive Aspect} \} \\
\end{align*}\]

\[\Rightarrow \begin{align*}
\text{Navajo/W Apache} & \quad \{ + \text{Progressive Aspect} \} \\
\text{English} & \quad \{ + \text{Narrative} \}
\end{align*}\]
As the rules are stated in (iv), more weight is placed on the Navajo/Western Apache mode/aspect constraint. However, for interlanguage competencies (in this case Navajo/Western Apache English) in which English tense/aspect constraints are dominant, the position of alpha and beta are reversed. Also, for individual interlanguage competencies which may change over time to favor one code constraint over another, the position of alpha and beta may also be reversed. Consequently, the notation represents both a synchronic and a diachronic phenomenon. A similar use of alpha notation is demonstrated in Labov (1972:220).

In conclusion, this analysis has attempted to put in a formal perspective the processes described in Chapter 6. Three approximations of possible rules in conventional generative terms were examined. A final version using alpha notation in Labovian terms seems to have resolved the problem of representing the non-static nature of code input into interlanguages such as Navajo/Western Apache English.
CHAPTER 8

CONCLUSION

This study has demonstrated that language transfer must be analyzed beyond the phonological, morphological, and syntactic levels. At the discourse level, features such as repetition and the manipulation of English tenses and aspects function as rules and subsystems which represent the informal logic (thought patterns) of Navajo/Western Apache acceptable discourse. Rhetorical redundancy, as well as narrative technique, provides examples of how Navajo and Western Apache speakers use English in an idiosyncratic manner in order to accomplish particular kinds of meanings. The conventions of standard English are clearly not capable of expressing these meanings.

In order to come to terms with the limitations of standard English and the demands of Navajo/Western Apache discourse types/features, Navajo and Western Apache speakers resort to language transfer as one of their available resources. The device of rhetorical redundancy is the result of language transfer of a similar device which exists in Navajo and Western Apache. Navajo and Western Apache speakers must feel that standard English discourse does
not provide them with sufficient features to express the kind of emphasis that their native languages make available. The purposes or contexts for rhetorical redundancy do not necessarily parallel those in Navajo or Western Apache; however, on the basis of the evidence, the general device of rhetorical redundancy for emphasis seems clearly the product of language transfer.

A second idiosyncratic discourse feature in written English of Navajo and Western speakers is tense and aspect usage for narrative technique. It has been pointed out that even in standard English sentences and discourse, tense sequences and usage do not always logically correspond to the concept of time involved. Instead, tense usage can be regarded in terms of language specific naturalness. Therefore, it can be assumed that the written English of Navajo and Western Apache speakers possesses a naturalness of its own in regard to narrative technique. Part of this naturalness can be traced to standard English constraints and nonstandard native-English-speaking constraints. However, a great part of the idiosyncratic nature of Navajo/Western Apache English narrative technique is a result of the manipulation of English tenses and aspects in order to express (transfer) a Navajo/Western Apache mode or aspect.
Navajo and Western Apache speakers seem to reanalyze English tenses and aspects for underlying narrative discourse motivations. In fact, based on the evidence presented in this study, I would like to make the claim that Navajo and Western Apache speakers understand the semantics of English tenses and aspects and that they attempt to equate selected English tenses and aspects with certain Navajo/Western Apache modes and aspects. Independent support for this claim comes from the observation that translations of Navajo sentences with verbal actions in selected modes and aspects yields the use of the same English tense and aspect equivalents indicated by the writing samples. Hence, I postulate that Navajo/Western Apache English narrative technique represents another discourse feature demonstrating the inadequacy of standard English discourse for the demands of Navajo/Western Apache English tense usage naturalness.

In regard to Selinker's (1972) concept of interlanguage, language transfer of discourse features must also be included as fossilizations traceable to the native language. Fossilizations are defined as linguistic items, rules, and subsystems which speakers of a native language will tend to keep in their interlanguage relative to a particular second language. The discovery of fossilized items, rules and subsystems must be related to one of the
following processes: language transfer, overgeneralization, transfer of training, strategies of second language communication, or strategies of second language learning.

Navajo/Western Apache English is a type of interlanguage, and its surface structure contains examples of fossilizations—rhetorical redundancy and narrative technique—at the discourse level. This study has made these examples of fossilizations in surface structure relevant to predictions relative to one of the five central processes: language transfer. These predictions are summarized by the rules for redundancy transfer (page 51 above) and mode/aspect/tense transfer (page 97 above). These rules represent fossilizations of discourse features which contribute to the nature of a Navajo/Western Apache interlanguage.

Suggestions for further research include primarily the analysis of other constraints besides first and second language input. Leap (1974b) has pointed out, for example, that some features of Isletan English cannot be traced to either the first or second language. Leap makes an appeal to alternative nonstandard non-native English constraints. It seems that this kind of a constraints would overlap with fossilization processes, such as overgeneralization, in Selinker's (1972) concept of interlanguage. Further study should reveal additional constraints which have not been discussed in the literature. The analysis of the
interaction of various types of input should contribute greatly to the understanding of the bilingual speaker's and bilingual community's ability to come to terms with the demands of two coexisting linguistic systems in an idiosyncratic manner.
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