Linguistic Vitality in Manitoba: A Survey of Knowledge, Use, and Attitudes in the Ojibwa Community of Poplar River First Nation

By

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Abstract

This work seeks to describe the vitality of the Ojibwe language in Poplar River First Nation, MB and, by re-envisioning the framework and methodology for doing so, represent the perspectives and voices of the community. Using a survey tool designed along a model of linguistic health adapted from the UNESCO LVE factors, this project explores intergenerational patterns in abilities, as well as in attitudes and beliefs toward Ojibwe in the community. Consistent with a language under endangered status, Ojibwe speakers in Poplar River disproportionately favour older generations. However, despite near universal belief across all age groups in the value of the language and expressed interest in its preservation, a distinct generational pattern also emerges in the perception of others' attitudes. As older respondents tend to believe younger people in the community do not value Ojibwe and lack interest in its preservation, intergenerational patterns in vitality extends to attitudes as well.

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Stephen Kesselman

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1 Introduction

The more than 60 indigenous languages spoken in Canada today run a spectrum of vitality and viability. From the foreseeably stable situations of Cree, Inuktitut, and Ojibwe of central Canada, to the critically endangered, as Michif in Manitoba and virtually all others in this country are classified, the unique character of different linguistic situations varies with their individual circumstances and environments (Delaine 2010; Department of Canadian Heritage 2005; FPCC 2014). Description of languages by vitality, health, or degree of endangerment, however, is an evaluative process whose methodologies and guiding frameworks are not universal, and depend on the scope and goals of a project. Assessment on a global scale, for instance, seeks to describe the state of the world's linguistic diversity and degree of global languages loss, whether for illustrative purposes, or for application in growing areas of language study, such as correlating regions of depleting linguistic diversity with loss of biological diversity (Harmon and Loh 2010; UNESCO 2008; Gorenflo et al 2012; Maffi 2014). More locally oriented vitality descriptions may be, among other reasons, for purposes of documentation, to inform revitalization and preservation efforts, or, more currently, for exploring relationships between cultural and public health in Indigenous communities (Hallet et al 2007; McIvor et al 2009).

The aim of the current work is twofold. First, we seek to re-envision the framework and methodology through which linguistic vitality is described in a community in an effort to better represent the voices and perspectives of those who live there, and second, describe language in a specific community along this approach. To this end, this project adapts a leading framework of linguistic vitality and applies it in the description of Ojibwe in Poplar River First Nation, Manitoba. The following will provide a brief description of the community of Poplar River (1.1), an overview of the background and theoretical underpinnings informing this survey (1.2), and an outline of this thesis (1.3).

1.1 Poplar River First Nation Community

Azaadiwi-ziibi Nitam-Anishinaabe (Poplar River First Nation) is a First Nation community located on the northeast shore of Lake Winnipeg at the mouth of its namesake Poplar River (figure 1.1). A signatory to Treaty 5, Poplar River is a majority Ojibwe[1], with some members identifying as Cree, Oji-Cree, or of the Metis Nation. Classified as belonging to the Northwestern dialect of Anishinaabemowin, the Ojibwe language spoken here exists toward the northwestern boundary of the continuum (figure 1.2). For this reason, Anishinaabemowin in Poplar River FN shows some Cree language influence from nearby Cree communities, notably Norway House at the north end of Lake Winnipeg (www.prfn.ca).

During the winter months, Poplar River is accessible by air or winter road built along the frozen Lake Winnipeg. During the summer months, it is accessible only by air or water. Poplar River is governed by their band council under the leadership of Chief Vera Mitchell. According to the Poplar River First Nation website, 1201 people live on reserve in the community, with approximately 384 off reserve (2016). The decision to invite Poplar River to participate in this survey project was made primarily because of the personal relationship the author has with the community, and with this study's primary contact there, Sophia Rabliauskas and her family.

[1] Community members in Poplar River identify as Ojibwe, Anishinaabe, or Saulteaux, and refer to their language as Ojibwe, Anishinaabemowin, or Saulteaux. These terms are used interchangeably throughout this work.

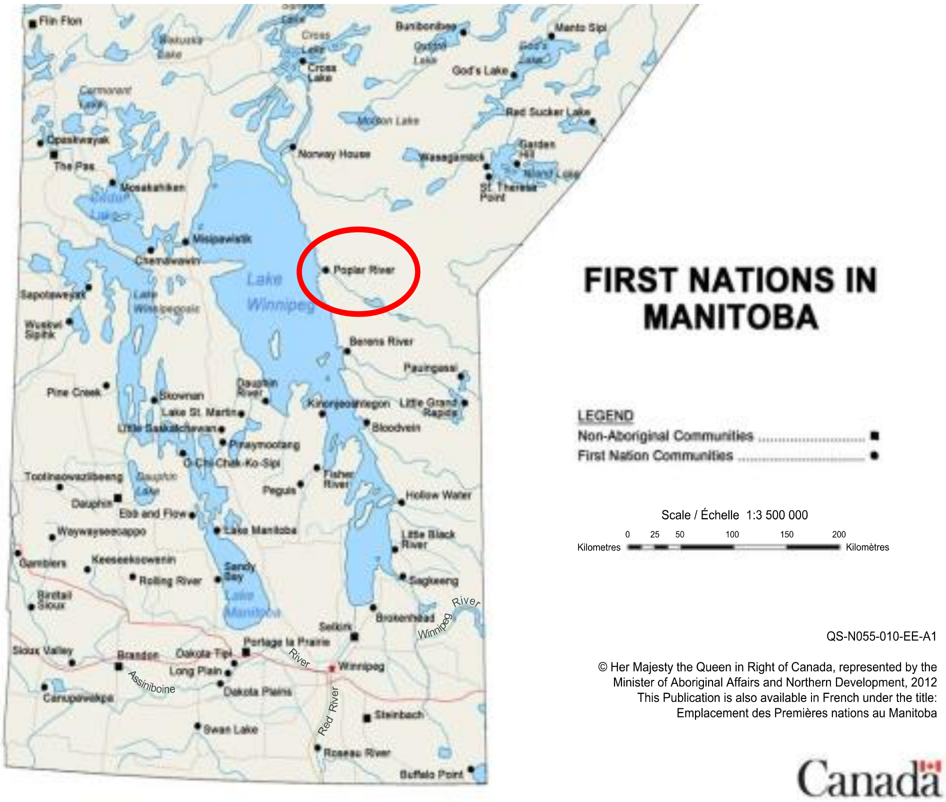

Figure 1.1 - Map of First Nations in Manitoba
(https://www.aadnc-aandc.gc.ca/eng/1100100020558/1100100020563)

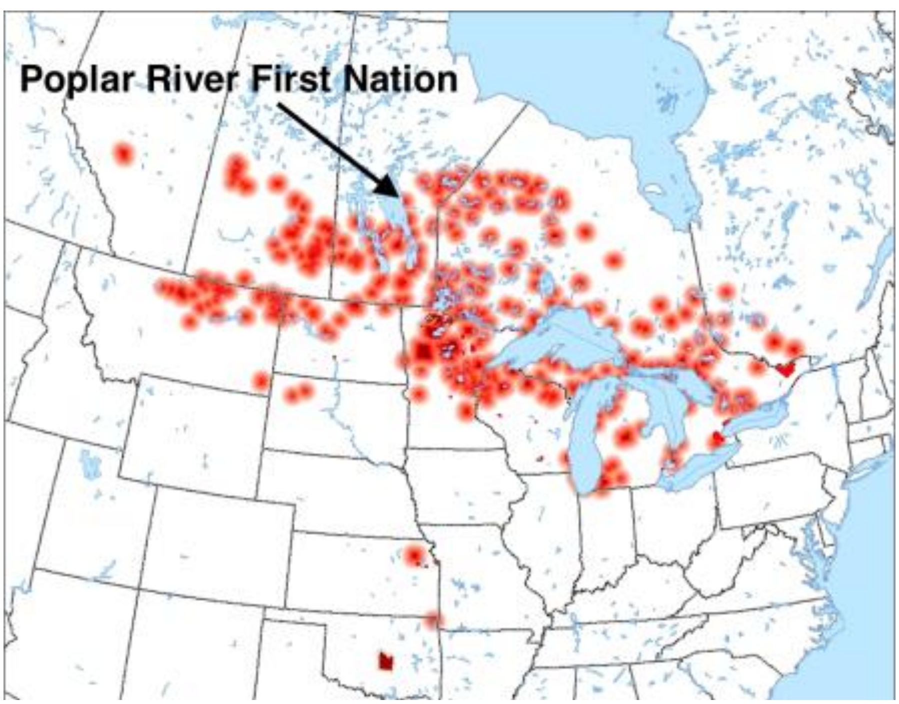

Figure 1.2 - Map of Anishinaabemowin speaking communities along the Ojibwe continuum
(https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/c/c1/Anishinaabewaki.jpg)

1.2 Theoretical Background

The dominant models in use today for describing linguistic health are built either around describing the intergenerational transmission of language (EGIDS), or the network of environmental factors impacting transmission (LVE). Each, in their application, effectively represent the extremes of perspective and approach to a description of language vitality. The former offers a simplified rating scheme for widespread application and comparison of the world's languages, suitable to its primary application in classifying the languages of Ethnologue (Lewis and Simons 2010; Obiero 2010). While this system benefits from the more objective perspective permitted by its 'top-down' researcher-consensus based approach, its inherently reductive descriptions lack the nuance of more local-level assessments permitted by LVE (Brenzinger et al 2003; Obiero 2010). Likewise, the detailed 'bottom-up' approach to community descriptions prescribed by LVE offers a more just representation of individual situations, yet does not produce results that are as easily comparable across languages.

The linguistic vitality, health, and endangerment of Anishinaabemowin in Canada has, to this date, been understood primarily by way of the Ethnologue EGIDS rating assigned to its dialects, ranging from *6b threatened* to *7 shifting,* and descriptions of speaker numbers derived from Census reports and National Household Surveys upon which such EGIDS ratings are largely based (Ethnologue; Norris 1998, 2007). The variety of Ojibwe spoken in Poplar River First Nation, for instance, has been assigned an EGIDS rating of 7 *shifting*. A decidedly more community-focused approach to describing Ojibwe vitality came from the 1999 Manitoba First Nations Languages Survey conducted by the Manitoba First Nations Education Resource Centre (MFNERC), which explored the use of Ojibwe in individual Manitoban communities, including

Poplar River First Nation (Okemaw 1999). While the more systematic approaches taken by Ethnologue and Censuses permit an overall picture of Ojibwe vitality appropriate for illustration in a global or national context, they do not represent how the Ojibwe language manifests in individual communities. Likewise, while the MFNERC project involved an investigation of elements found in the LVE and our adapted framework, including a brief look at the attitudes and experiences of individuals, produced community-specific descriptions, it was not motivated by a defined framework of vitality specifically targeting elements of linguistic health.

This project seeks to describe the linguistic environment of Poplar River First Nation using a survey designed to target specific factors of linguistic health. The adapted framework motivating this survey illustrates elements of vitality often obscured by generalized vitality ratings, or underexplored in descriptions by including factors concerning the attitudes, beliefs, experiences, and aspirations of community members toward their language, as well as a dedicated factor of language ability and proficiency. Our analysis, while providing an overview of all factors in the framework, focuses on the attitudes and beliefs of survey participants. By exploring the patterns across generations and language abilities in attitudes and beliefs regarding the value, preservation, and identity function of Anishinaabemowin in Poplar River we seek to illustrate the nuances of this factor's contribution to a picture of linguistic health. In this way, we aim to inform and expand on existing understandings of Ojibwe health in Manitoba, and describe an individual community's relationship to their language.

1.3 Outline of Thesis

This work begins with a review of the literature relevant to the description of linguistic environments, providing the historical and theoretical underpinnings to this description (2), followed by an outline of our adapted framework and methodological approach to applying it in a survey (3). Subsequent chapters summarize survey findings according the target factors of our framework (4), and discuss how these results are interpreted for a description of linguistic health (5). We conclude with how our results and interpretations thereof describe from the perspective of individual beliefs and experiences the life of Anishinaabemowin in Poplar River First Nation (6).

2 A Review of the Literature

There is an intuitive recognition that different languages, existing in different parts of the world, under different social, political, and environmental conditions, will not all be equal in their histories, levels of use, functions, numbers of speakers, or overall viabilities into the future. This difference in linguistic character is commonly referred to as the ‘health’, ‘vitality’, or ‘endangerment’ of a language (Hale 1992; Krauss 1992; Brenzinger et al 2003). However intuitive the idea of linguistic health might be, it is still one that is difficult to define. How can the health of one language objectively be measured against the health of another? How can we determine whether one language relative to another is more, or less likely to be lost? What are the conditions necessary for a language to thrive?

This chapter will review the literature of historical, recent, and ongoing importance in the assessment and description of linguistic environments. In so doing it seeks to give context to the theoretical underpinnings and approach taken by this description of Ojibwe vitality in a Manitoban First Nation community. The works discussed here are organized under three sections. The first describes early frameworks developed for the description of linguistic environments (2.1). These early systems of classification include the sociolinguistic profile approach (2.1.1), and the advent of viewing linguistic environments as an ecology of interacting factors (2.1.2). Following this is a description of more recent and currently applied frameworks for understanding linguistic situations (2.2), including the emergent focus on intergenerational language transmission (2.2.1), and the hierarchical systems of the UNESCO Language Vitality and Endangerment (LVE) factors and the Expanded Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (EGIDS) (2.2.2). Finally, this review will conclude by highlighting some practical applications of systems of assessment (2.3) in two essential scopes of description - the global scale (2.3.1) and the local scale (2.3.2).

2.1 The early models: frameworks and typologies for the early description of sociolinguistic environments

The purpose of this section is briefly to discuss the early development of classificatory methods and metrics for describing linguistic health, highlighting contributions both for how they are distinct from, lay the groundwork for, and eventually led to the community-level perspective adopted by more recent models and the framework used in this project. The discussion begins with the early approach of formulating 'sociolinguistic profiles' for groups of speakers (2.1.1), and follows with the development of the 'ecology of language' concept (2.1.2), realizing linguistic situations as networks of interacting variables.

2.1.1 Sociolinguistic Profiles

Early attempts at a formal typology for the description of minority language situations come from Ferguson (1962, 1966), Stewart (1962, 1968) and Kloss (1967) and their models for describing multilingual environments. While their frameworks were developed not with the express purpose of describing the health or threatened status of a language, but rather multilingualism more broadly on national scales, the factors and variables they identify as contributive to a strong living language set the precedent for and inform subsequent understandings of language vitality and endangerment (Edwards 1992:37).

A sociolinguistic profile is “a special summary description of the language situation based in part on a series of indices and classifications” (Ferguson 1966: 157). Under this description, it is not unlike contemporary models or the framework used in this project. Where it differs is in its scope and focus. Ferguson offers an early example of such indices and classifications, suggesting linguistic health can be characterized by the degrees to which a language is *Written*, and the degree to which it is *Standardized* (Haugen 1972; Ferguson 1962: 9). William Stewart elaborated on this binary to include indices related to political autonomy and regional history, supplemented with a set of specifications for a language’s primary function, to describe its official status, degree of inter-regional use, and institutional entrenchment (i.e. in education, religion, etc.) (Stewart 1962:23, 1968:534-36).

Although not explicit outlines of threats to vitality or viability, these early descriptions of languages in minority environments begin to suggest the attendant social and political pressures such a language may experience. While they acknowledge non-overtly linguistic elements of language status, informed as they are primarily by political standing of a language and its entrenchment in social institutions, they do little to describe the subtle factors impacting such political and institutional standing. It is these factors at the level of the speech community that are the concern of this project.

Among the earliest developers of guidelines for minority language description to adopt a more community and speaker-level scope is Heinz Kloss and his variables for multilingual communities (Kloss 1967). His inclusion of attitudes, perceived prestige, and personal relationships to the language alongside factors of official status and institutional support indicate a movement in the field toward understanding linguistic vitality as composed of important characteristics of the speech community and speakers themselves (135-145). His work marks a shift in the focus of minority language description from primarily political status, to the approach adopted by the present work - how individuals use and perceive the language in an environment, or ecology, of interdependent factors.

2.1.2 A Linguistic Ecology

Ferguson, even at the time of his contribution to sociolinguistic profiles, recognized that these systems do not adequately describe the nuances of linguistic situations, and fail to acknowledge important factors affecting vitality beyond the primary socio-political function of a language (Ferguson 1966:164). Recognizing this, many subsequent works adopt the 'ecological' approach first elaborated by Einar Ingvald Haugen in his 1972 work *The Ecology of Language*. This represents a shift from a macro-perspective of political and institutional interactions illustrated above, to the micro-perspective of individual beliefs and interactions taken by a project such as the present one.

Through the ecological lens, the language in a society and the individuals in a society are understood to exist in a reciprocal relationship, each impacting the other such that the identifiable factors of linguistic health cannot be understood to be independent of one another. In other words, the vitality or status of a language is a symptom of the environment and its interactions with it, not independent of it. A language "has no abstract existence" (Haarmann 196:5), and is linked only to an environment of sociological variables through groups and individual speakers.

With his inclusion of such considerations as domains of use, community attitudes, and demographics, Haugen introduced a distinctly more nuanced way to approach and describe the life and threats to a language, criticizing earlier approaches for their attempts to separate and compartmentalize variables of linguistic vitality (80). However, it was Harald Haarmann, in his 1986 book *Language in Ethnicity: A View of Basic Ecological Relations*, who most systematically attempt to expand the ecology motif in terms of diagnosing and describing language vitality (Edwards 1992:44). Haarmann offers highly detailed descriptions of what he calls ecological relations in a linguistic environment, including demographic, political, psychological, and interactional variables that operate in concert and impact one another (7-13). Just as no single factor of the Language Vitality and Endangerment (LVE) framework (2.2.2), nor ours (3.1.2) is sufficient in abstraction from the others for the description of a given linguistic situation, so do Haarmann's elements need to be described in terms of relations to one another (Brenzinger et al 2003:7)

His most relevant contribution though is his description of the conditions under which a speech community is liable to shift according to each range of ecological variables (105-107).

With this, he is among the earliest to overtly describe linguistic health in communities in terms of risk factors and characteristics indicating threat of shift. This description of conditions according to specific environmental factors is central to the development of the more contemporary models of linguistic vitality used today such as EGIDS, and LVE (discussed in 2.2.2), the latter forming the basis of the framework along which with this survey of Ojibwe in a Manitoban community is designed.

The last early framework worth mentioning under the ecology of language approach, is that of John Edwards (1992, 2006), for its suggestion of a hierarchical ranking in the factors impacting linguistic health. Edwards consolidates the ecological approaches of earlier authors (Haugen 1972; Haarmann 1986; Giles et al 1977; Bourhis et al 1981; Hyltenstam and Stroud 1996) into a framework that correlates two sets of categories, the intersections of which are meant to guide investigations of linguistic environments (Edwards 1992: 49). The first categorisation outlines three basic variables - Speakers, Language, and Setting - and is set against 11 functions, called “perspectives”, yielding a 33-cell table numbered by intersection of variable and perspective (49).

While not explicitly outlined in his description of the framework, the numbering of the intersections suggests a hierarchical organization of their importance to the threat or vitality of a language. This hierarchy of factors is central to the theory of LVE factors, as well as the stages of the EGIDS system. For instance, Edwards’ cell 10 *Speaker-Psychology*, is roughly analogous to *Attitudes* in the UNESCO LVE factors, or *Attitudes and Beliefs* in our framework. and is ranked higher than *cell 32 Language-Media*, roughly analogous to LVE *Materials* or *Domains*, or *Access to Language Materials* or *Domains* in our framework. The hierarchical organization of factors impacting linguistics health is central to more contemporary models of vitality, as well as the framework guiding this survey. It serves to illustrate that while a variety of factors in a community operate together and impact one another, certain factors are more determining of linguistic vitality than others.

2.2 The current models: Intergenerational transmission and a hierarchy of factors

We have so far discussed several early attempts to systematize the factors and variables of a linguistic environment, whether for ease of largescale comparison (Ferguson 1962, 66, Stewart 1962, 68), holistic description of interacting environmental factors (Haugen 1972, Haarmann 1986), or a comprehensive account of contributing elements (Edwards 1992, 2006). These works are valuable to the current survey project primarily for illustrating how the development of models for linguistic situations eventually arrived at the perspective taken here - a focus on characteristics of individual speakers and their communities. In practicality, however, the cluttered frameworks, and vagueness with which these early models direct investigations of linguistic environments mean none are used today exactly as they were designed, apart from how they set the precedent for the development modern vitality frameworks.

The following discussion will outline the major assessment systems used today and that influenced the design and approach taken by the current work. Discussed first is the emergence of intergenerational transmission as the primary measure of linguistic vitality for most current assessment systems and classificatory schemes (2.2.1). Following that, is a discussion of the LVE and EGIDS vitality frameworks, and the incorporation of intergenerational transmission within a hierarchy of factors, inspired from early language ecology approaches (2.2.2).

2.2.1 Focus on Intergenerational Transmission

Intergenerational transmission as an indicator of linguistic health is the defining factor for most assessment systems used currently. Among these are Norris' Index of Continuity, which compares numbers of mother tongue speakers against numbers of those who still speak it at home to illustrate degrees of erosion, and the first factor of the UNESCO Language Vitality and Endangerment (LVE) framework, discussed below (Norris 1998:10, 2007; Brenzinger et al. 2003).

Most notably, however, is Joshua Fishman's Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (GIDS), and Lewis and Simons' expansion thereof (EGIDS) (Fishman 1991; Lewis and Simons 2010). Fishman's landmark *Reversing Language Shift: theoretical and empirical foundations of assistance to threatened languages* (1991) outlines the conditions necessary for the robust transmission of language between generations, and consequently, the healthy existence of a language. The GIDS operates as a sort of eight-grade Richter Scale to measure the degree of 'disruption' from a hypothetical situation of ideal linguistic stability and consistent language transmission (Fishman 1991:87). The greater the GIDS rating, the "more severe or fundamental [the] threat to the prospects for the language to be handed on intergenerationally" (87) (See Fishman 1991:87-14 for outline and description of all stages). Along the Richter Scale analogy, higher grades imply all the lower grades and degrees of disruption (87). This means that the differences or intervals between the stages are not constant but compounded by all lower grades. The role of GIDS is as a diagnostic tool to determine where a language sits and work ‘down’ toward stage 1; as with the LVE factors transmission comes first, and only when that is established can maintenance be pursued.

Since Fishman’s introduction of the scale, most vitality models and classificatory schemes have followed his precedent of describing vitality by patterns in generational use, including the LVE, and the present framework. Michael Krauss’ contribution to a popular 1992 collection of essays[2] on the topic of language endangerment, “The World’s Languages in Crisis” (1992), offers one of the most widely cited taxonomies for classifying languages by vitality. His subsequent expansion (1997) and refinement (2007) of this scheme reflect a simplification of describing linguistic health to focus primarily on generational patterns in use (Krauss 2007:1).

Krauss’ labelling, from ‘safe’ to ‘extinct’, with degrees of ‘endangered’ in between, mirrors language used both in earlier and later taxonomies; Bauman presented a vitality categorisation spectrum ranging from *Flourishing* to *Extinct*, Kinkade developed a classification from *Viable* to *Already Extinct*, and until the 2010 introduction of EGIDS, Ethnologue operated under a system labelling languages from *Living* to *Extinct* (Bauman 1980:6; Kinkade 1991:160-163; Obiero 2010:206-207). Each of these classifications assign labels to languages based primarily on their raw numbers of speakers, while Krauss’ labels are informed by generational

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[2] Appearing in 1992 issue of *Language* and F=featuring contributions from Ken Hale, Michael Krauss, Lucille J. Watahomigie, Akira Y. Yamamoto, Colette Craig, LaVerne Masyesva Jeanne, and Nora C. England, it sought to convey the “reality of language loss and decline” (Hale 1992:2) in the modern world and some responses to it. Ultimately, the collection amounts to a sort of call to arms for the linguistic community to give attention to endangered languages as a field of study, and may bear some responsibility for bringing language endangerment as a topic of study to the academic fore.

use[3]. However, many vitality descriptions today are now moving away from labels implying stages of 'life' and 'death', for the alarmism they entail, impact on hope and esteem they risk, and lack of useful contribution to directing preservation efforts (FPCC 2014). For these reasons, the current work avoids this language as well.

The shift from numbers as a primary metric of vitality, to patterns in generational use marks an important change in understanding the factors of linguistic health. By recognizing that a large speaker base is insufficient without a robust transmission of the language between generations, researchers interested in defining factors of linguistic health refocussed their models to consider the factors that support the intergenerational transmission of language beyond numbers alone. The importance of intergenerational patterns is acknowledged in the framework applied in our community illustration of language albeit taken with a slightly different angle toward the factor. Described further in (3.4), our description will consider intergenerational patterns in use (as per Krauss' taxonomy), but instead of measuring transmission by the language's presence in various socio-political realms (as per Fishman's scale), we consider generational patterns in other factors of our framework, namely in the attitudes and beliefs of community members.

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[3] For discussion on the reliance, sense of necessity, or standard practice of using numbers, counting, enumeration, or other numerical methods and tools to describe minority or threatened language situations, particularly as a basis, support, or justification for sociolinguistic work see Moore et al (2010). Their essential criticism hinges on the notion that counting as a standard practice obscures the complexity, uniqueness, and nuance of individual communities, and is part of a wider problematic rhetoric of endangered language discourse that seeks to render language contained and artefactualised (Moore et al 2010: 21).

2.2.2 UNESCO's Language Vitality and Endangerment Factors and an Expansion of the GIDS

Much of the criticism leveraged against GIDS shares three essential observations: 1. The stages, defined by certain 'landmark achievements', are limited in their ability to describe all possible statuses of a language; 2. the role of domains other than the home and community (i.e. work, media, government) in impacting intergenerational transmission is unclear; 3. the stages at the upper end of the scale marking the greatest disruption to transmission (stages 6 to 8), particularly stage 6, are the least elaborated (Fishman 2001; Lewis and Simon 2010; Obiero 2010; Darquennes 2007; Strubell 2001; Hornberger and King 2001). Respecting the intergenerational focus that Fishman identified as most critical to linguistic health, both UNESCO's Language Vitality and Endangerment (LVE) factors and Lewis and Simons' 2010 expansion on the GIDS (appropriately dubbed the Expanded Graded Intergenerational Disruption scale or EGIDS) address these criticisms, the latter drawing largely on the work of the former, and in effect harmonizing the approaches of LVE and GIDS.

UNESCO Language Vitality and Endangerment (LVE)

The bulk of the theoretical motivations behind this community-focused survey of Ojibwe health follows in the insights provided by the LVE framework, and adaptations thereof. in While Fishman's scale considers those extra-linguistic language ecology factors such as the positions of government, media, education, other societal institutions, only insofar as they impact or stand as markers for the degree of intergenerational transmission, the factors identified by the UNESCO Expert Group separate and consider these things more independently. In this way, the LVE factors address those first two criticisms of GIDS: its descriptive limitations and the character of various domains. Compiled by a UNESCO ‘Expert Group on Endangered Languages’ composed of linguists, language planners, NGO members, and representatives from communities whose languages are under threat at a meeting in Paris, the LVE is comprised of 9 factors (UNESCO 2003:24-25). The factors proposed as elements of the vitality and level of a language endangerment, hierarchically organized, are:

1. Intergenerational transmission
2. Absolute number of speakers
3. Proportion of speakers within the total population
4. Trends in existing language domains
5. Response to new domains and media
6. Materials for language education and literacy
7. Governmental and institutional language attitudes and policies
8. Community members’ attitudes toward their own language
9. Amount and Quality of Documentation

(Brenzinger et al. 2003)

To operationalize this framework, each factor is assigned a score of 0-5 (point values have brief descriptions to guide assignment, except factor 2, which is expressed in real numbers) based on how dynamic or robust a community is judged to be in that area of linguistic vitality. However, a measurement of linguistic health under this framework cannot be realized as a simple summation of the assigned values for each factor. If this were the case, a single numerical score (ostensibly for comparative purposes) could be shared by communities whose component scores for different factors are radically different, the summation of factor values would obscure those differences. Therefore, the factors of LVE are ranked 1 to 9 in a hierarchy of importance to the vitality of a language; intergenerational transmission is more critical and representative of vitality than absolute numbers, responses to new domains more vital and representative than materials for literacy, etc.

The framework developed for this project, while based largely on these LVE factors, uses a numerical operationalization only for factors of speaker knowledge (3.4) along a method outlined by the National Indigenous Language Surveys in Australia (AIATSIS 2005, 2014). As discussed in 2.3 below, the assignment of values to individual factors of vitality in this framework can be useful for comparative purposes between linguistic situations and assessments, but not appropriate necessarily for description of a single community, particularly for complex and nuanced factors such as community and official attitudes. Rather than fully adopting the suggested method of applying LVE, this project takes these factors as suggestions on areas within speech communities to explore and describe in more qualitative manners. However, it retains the hierarchical character of the framework ranking factors by their relative impact.

Hierarchy of Factors

The hierarchy of factors is the first characteristic by which the LVE framework distinguishes itself from earlier sociolinguistic profile and language ecology approaches, to which it is very similar. It is important to recognize, however, that while the factors are hierarchically ranked in terms of their impact on a language's vitality (factor 1 is more critical than 2, 2 more critical than 3, etc.), the vitality, viability, or necessity for documentation cannot be evaluated on the basis of any single factor alone (7). Rather, taken together these factors can be helpful in "characterizing a language's overall sociolinguistic situation" (7).

The second way in which it is distinguished from early frameworks and the GIDS, and from which the focus of the current project is inspired, is its inclusion of two factors relating to attitudes and beliefs. While this is something that was peripherally hinted at in early frameworks (referred to as *ethnopsychological variables* in Haarmann's model, the *Psychology of Speaker, Language, or Setting* in Edwards' table, one of Kloss' variables, and a component of Haugen's *ethnolinguistic* questions) the attitudes of speech community members or official institutions were never explicitly outlined as a factor (Haarmann 1986; Edwards 1992; Kloss 1967; Haugen 1972). The closest anyone came to this was Bourhis et al.'s extension on the language ecology motif with their added factor of subjective or perceived vitality on the part of the speech community toward their language (Bourhis et al. 1981). They argue that objective measurements, such as speaker numbers, should be combined with more subjective perceptions, suggesting even that these subjective considerations may in fact be more important in predicting the behavior of a community and the future of their language (Edwards 1992:45, Bourhis et al 1981:145). They even proposed a 22-item questionnaire with which to measure the attitudes and perceived vitality of a speech community (Bourhis et al 1981). A number of such surveys have been conducted since (discussed briefly in 1.3 below), but this is one of the earliest examples specifically targeting the beliefs of speakers in a community in an assessment of linguistic health.

Since the publication of the 9 LVE factors, some groups have suggested expansions on it. An expert group from the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (CASS) proposed an additional 3 factors: 1. Distribution of the language community, 2. Degree of internal linguistic variation, 3. Distribution of languages transnationally (UNESCO 2001:11). Additionally, this project follows in the precedent set by the AIATSIS surveys, incorporating a tenth factor of *Programs*, into their LVE inspired framework of vitality indicators in their National Indigenous Language Surveys (NILS 1 and 2) (AIATSIS 2005, 2014).

Intergenerational Transmission in the LVE

The UNESCO expert group balances the importance of intergenerational transmission as a target for understanding vitality and predicting viability of a language with the need to consider environmental conditions by placing transmission at the top of their hierarchy of factors. The message they convey is that transmission is the ultimate determiner of a language's viability, but that supportive environmental factors impact and determine the degree of transmission. Figure 2.1 below illustrates Factor 1 in the LVE.

Degree of Endangerment	**Grade**	**Speaker Population**
safe	5	The language is used by all ages, from children up.
unsafe	4	The language is used by some children in all domains; it is used by all children in limited domains.
definitively endangered	3	The language is used mostly by the parental generation and up.
severely endangered	2	The language is used mostly by the grandparental generation and up.
critically endangered	1	The language is used mostly by very few speakers, of great-grandparental generation.
extinct	0	There exists no speaker.

Figure 2.1 - Factor 1 of LVE: Intergenerational Language Transmission (Brenzinger et al. 2003:8)

UNESCO's description of the intergenerational transmission factor is nearly identical to that of Krauss' (2007) framework of vitality. They differ only slightly in their labelling, with the LVE factor not subdividing the level of 'endangered' as Krauss does, and coding degrees with a 0-5 point grade instead of using letters, so as to be consistent with the rest of the factors. This factor was elucidated in their framework to respond to the under-elaboration of stage 6 on the GIDS, and is taken up as an adjustment by Lewis and Simons in the EGIDS.

An Expanded Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale

In their expansion of Fishman's scale, Lewis and Simons seek to harmonize the GIDS with the language transmission factor of the LVE (Lewis and Simons 2010; Obiero 2010). Their modifications retain the theory and design of the GIDS, with higher levels representing increasing disruption to intergenerational transmission, but responds to those concerns cited earlier - namely that the scale is not descriptively flexible enough to account for the diversity of linguistic situations, and that the levels indicating the greatest disruption are not elaborated enough. They address this by expanding the scale to 13 levels, adding a 0, 9, and 10 level, and elaborating stages 6 and 8 into 6a/6b and 8a/8b respectively, as illustrated in figure 2.2 below.

Level	Label	Description	UNESCO factor 1
0	International	Widely used between nations in trade, knowledge exchange, policy	Safe
1	National	Used in education, work, mass media, national government	Safe
2	Provincial	Used in education, work, mass media, governments of national subdivisions	Safe
3	Wider Communication	Used in work and mass media without official status across a region	Safe
4	Educational	In vigorous use, standardized, with literature and institutionally support education	Safe
5	Developing	In vigorous use, literature in standardized form, not widespread or institutionally supported	Safe
6a	Vigorous	Used for face-to-face communication by all generations, situation is sustainable	Safe
6b	Threatened	Used for face-to-face communication within all generations, but losing users	Vulnerable
7	Shifting	Child-bearing generation can use the language, not transmitted to children	Definitively Endangered
8a	Moribund	Only remaining active users are of grandparent generation and older	Severely Endangered
8b	Nearly Extinct	Only remaining users are grandparent generation and older who have little opportunity to speak	Critically Endangered
9	Dormant	Language serves as reminder of heritage identity, no one has more than symbolic proficiency	Extinct
10	Extinct	Language no longer used, no one retains a sense of identity associated with the language	Extinct

Figure 2.2 - Lewis and Simon's Expanded Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale

(Ethnologue, Lewis and Simons 2010:110)

The scale works in the same hierarchical manner as the GIDS in that each level entails all lower levels (Lewis and Simons 2010). For instance, a language cannot be characterized as level 5, if it cannot also be characterized as level 6a; even if there exists literature in standardized form, unless all generations use the language it cannot be said to have achieved that level (Ethnologue).

In expanding the scale, Lewis and Simon seek to improve its utility and harmonize it with LVE factors in three essential ways. First, they correlate their expanded scale with the measure of intergenerational transmission outline by UNESCO LVE factor 1. This is particularly relevant for the lower end of the scale, where levels 0 to 6a are correlated with the UNESCO rating of *safe*. This “layering of ‘safe’ languages” (Obiero 2010:211), represents a move toward illustrating the diversity of linguistic situations that, while not necessarily optimal, are still *safe* in terms of their viability and sustainability into the future. Second, there is an expansion of labels for languages below *safe*, namely a division of 6 into 6a and 6b, and 8 into 8a and 8b, corresponding again with the UNESCO groups labelling. This is in response to the perceived inadequacy of level 6 in the original GIDS to represent the importance of generational trends in use. Lastly, the news EGIDS stages roughly correspond to major factors of the LVE frameworks; EGIDS levels 0 to 5 concern major domains of use (LVE factors 4 and 5), levels 6 to 8 concern intergenerational transmission (LVE factor 1), and the identity function is the main consideration of EGIDS 9 and 10, largely analogous to LVE factors 7 and 8.

This harmonization of frameworks, including increasing the levels to 13 and adding new descriptive labels, increases the practicality of the grid in describing the world’s languages in a simple readily comparable system (Obiero 2010:211). For this reason, the EGIDS scale has been adopted into the Ethnologue catalogue of the languages of the world, and is widely used to compare languages of the world by vitality. However, the application of these most currently popular systems, both LVE and EGIDS, should be viewed as performing different roles and applied with different functions in mind. The following section will address the application of such frameworks in actual linguistic situations, and the methods by which those vitality measurements have been carried out.

2.3 Language Vitality Assessment in Practice

Ultimately, these two most commonly cited frameworks for the description of linguistic vitality and endangerment – Lewis and Simons' Expanded Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale, and the UNESCO group's Language Vitality and Endangerment Factors – are systems with distinct and non-mutually-exclusive functions. As can be gleaned from the above discussion, the EGIDS scale places a language or speech community along a continuum of generational disruption, with a final rating and label for degree of endangerment. This makes it a useful system for easy comparison across large numbers of ratings, but is ultimately reductive and not particularly descriptive or representative of the unique character of the language community in question. LVE, on the other hand, is much more beneficial as a nuanced outline of the factors of language vitality and endangerment. In this way, it is valuable for a detailed community specific illustration of linguistic health, and can help inform where a language may sit on a scale such as EGIDS, but is likewise limited by its practical inadequacy in comparing languages on a large scale.

It would therefore be prudent to recognize that the evaluation of language vitality and endangerment occurs broadly on two scales - the global, and the local. The application of a framework then will be particular and appropriate to the context and scope of the research. The following section will outline some applications of language vitality frameworks, namely

EGIDS and LVE, both in the global assessment of language endangerment (2.3.1), and the local description of linguistic vitality (2.3.2).

2.3.1 Assessing Vitality and Endangerment on a Global Scale

Much of the current understanding of a given language's vitality status is thanks to global scale endeavors to classify large numbers of languages or linguistic regions for illustrative or comparative purposes. Databases of languages, such as Ethnologue, or the Endangered Languages Catalogue (ELCat), are such initiatives that seek to provide a vitality rating for each of the languages in their catalogue. The dialects of Ojibwe listed in Ethnologue, for instance range from ratings of 6b *Threatened* to 7 *Shifting.* This type of classification is done for a variety of purposes, namely to the end that illustrating regional patterns in the endangerment or relative vitality of the world's languages can help to highlight the scope of the global threat to language, and where it is happening.

A language's vitality rating, along a (more or less) standardized rating system within a database, ideally entail and represent certain characteristics, according to its rating and according to the system of classification used. This allows it to easily be compared to another language within that database, coded under the same system of classification. Naturally, there are complications to this ideal of reliable wide scale illustration and comparison, largely stemming from the inadequacies of the classification system itself. Information might come from different researchers, be informed largely by inference and impressions, and be cursory and little informed by detailed research - but it can still offer some comparative information. To this end, a system that lends itself to simple and readily comparable labels or ratings is valuable. Discussed here are attempts to use the LVE system to categorize the world's languages and the eventual implementation of EGIDS for Ethnologue ratings.

LVE on a Global Scale

One of the first attempts to systematize a classification of the world's language by relative vitality was made by M. Paul Lewis (one of the contributors to the EGIDS). He applied the UNESCO group's LVE factors to 100 of the world's languages, selected from the Ethnologue (14^{th} edition, Grimes 2000) catalogue (Lewis 2005). Languages were selected for regional diversity, most minority languages, and without consideration given to the vitality classification assigned to them at the time (the 5-level Ethnologue scale) (6).

This was the first attempt to test the LVE framework, under the factor by factor analysis it guides, on a large number of languages for comparative purposes (Obiero 2010:208). Sourcing some of his data from Ethnologue databases, but supplementing it largely with data from the Linguistlist database, the SIL Bibliography, Rosetta Project, UNESCO Redbook on Endangered Languages, and other sources, Lewis was able to create a table listing each language and how they scored on the 9 factors outlined in the LVE (Lewis 2005:16-22). While Lewis remarks that the LVE factors "provide…a clear framework for assessment" (28) and "delineates a useful research agenda", he concludes that his results cannot be considered an accurate and reliable assessment of the state of the world's languages, or even his selection thereof (23).

Two main concerns contribute to the problems with his results. First, the 5-point scale is too arbitrary and not definitive enough to confidently assign a point grade to any factors, particularly those as complex as deciding what constitutes a speaker (factor 3), the attitudes of a community (factor 8), the synchronic picture of domains (factor 4) among others (Obiero 2010:208, Lewis 2005:25-27). Second, the paucity of readily available data meant that many factors were left unscored and unaddressed for many languages. Lewis notes this is as much a comment on the availability of information as it is the LVE framework in that it is asking questions too new for any research to have yet addressed (23).

Much interpretation is therefore involved in the application of LVE in this manner. Without available data on official or government attitudes, for instance, Lewis might infer that the presence of language in school curriculums is indicative of positive institutional attitudes, which is not necessarily an accurate inference. And from that extrapolation from incomplete information, another impressionistic judgment is made by assigning it a grade point out of 5. Therefore, Lewis' conclusions for such a framework to be applied in a global sense is that the LVE provides an excellent guideline of what to look for in the world's languages, but we need both to adjust the evaluative schemes so as to require less impressionistic judgments, and encourage the research and reporting of data that corresponds to the factors of vitality (28).

Emergence of EGIDS

Before the development of the EGIDS scale, the classification used by Ethnologue was a 5-level evaluative system (similar to Krauss', mentioned in 1.2.1) (Obiero 2010:206-207). Eventually, and not in small part due to the development of the LVE and the manner in which its questions began to influence research priorities, this scale came to be seen as inadequate (as well as somewhat insensitive with the notions of only 'life' and 'death' these labels imply) for categorizing the diversity of the world's linguistic situations (207). Therefore, from the groundwork of the GIDS and the LVE, this system was replaced by EGIDS as the evaluative framework for the vitality ratings of the languages in the Ethnologue catalogue.

To facilitate the assignment of an EGIDS rating, Lewis and Simons propose the Diagnostic Decision Tree (Lewis and Simons 2010:113-114). The tree is comprised of a series of questions, the answers to which guide the process of evaluating a language along the EGIDS scale. Each question itself may entail a fair amount of research, but they are designed to focus and guide the type of data to be collected, and type of information to be considered. Where data and descriptions are insufficient to answer the diagnostic questions or confidently assign a rating, the default for that language is set to 6a *Vigorous* (Ethnologue). Therefore, while the Ethnologue is an important example of a theoretical framework for diagnosing and describing linguistic vitality on a global scale put into action, its necessarily reductive character, propensity for ratings to be based on consensus of researcher impressions, often with limited data, and little informed by nuanced qualitative work, means it should be interpreted still with a degree of skepticism.

2.3.2 Assessing Vitality and Endangerment on a Local Scale

The current study on Ojibwe language in the community of Poplar River First Nation, MB, operating along a framework based on insights from the LVE, follows in the work of researchers similarly informed by this model of vitality. Three such studies explicitly acknowledging the LVE as the parameter for their descriptions include Legere's work with the Vidunda language of Tanzania, El Kirat's assessment of the Moroccan language of Beni Iznassen Amazigh, and

Villalon’s comparative study on the Venezuelan languages of Mapoyo, Kari’na, and Sanima (Legere 2007; UNESCO 2011; Brenzinger et al 2003).

Each of these works, however, bases their assessments along the LVE framework solely on impressions derived from existing work or familiarity with the languages and communities, in effect fitting available data into a model. The current work operates by informing the design of the research and survey tool used along the parameters of the framework, so as to specifically target factors of vitality and cater new data to this model (3.3). By this approach, along with our focus on the attitudes and beliefs factor of the LVE framework, this project follows in the wake of the National Indigenous Language Surveys (NILS) conducted by the Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies, basing part of its questionnaire design, and methodology of analysis on theirs (3.4) (AIATSIS 2005, 2014).

The first NILS survey (2005) adopted the factors of the LVE in their entirety, calling them instead “indicators of endangerment”, and followed the prescribed method of assigning a value out of 5 to each. The addition of a factor of *Programs* to our framework follows this NILS 1 innovation, included to add an element of dynamics to the model, and allow for vitality assessments to consider activities of support, preservation, and education in progress.

Additionally, this project’s highlighting of attitudes and beliefs in our targeted framework is in large part inspired by the NILS 2 (2014) survey. This survey, while seeking to provide a cursory update to the indicators of the decade old NILS 1, had as its focus the attitudes and activities of speech communities (AIATSIS 2014). The NILS 2 Attitudes survey represents a focused attempt to consider the vitality of a language by looking in a detailed, nuanced way, at the perspective, thoughts, feelings, and beliefs of a community of speakers.

Aspects of this project's questionnaire design, and methods of analysis borrows from this work (3.3.1, 3.4.1).

While not strictly following frameworks based on or related to LVE, this work follows in important descriptions of linguistic health in Manitoba and Canada, namely The Manitoba First Nations Languages Survey, which included community specific results for Poplar River First Nation (Okemaw 1999), and more attitudinally focused investigations of Haida in British Columbia, and Cree of Fisher River, MB (Sachdev and Hanlon 2001).

The issue of language endangerment is complex, multifaceted, and multidisciplinary. While there are many areas of the language endangerment issue intimately related to our topic and critical to furthering the discussion, the scope of this project and literature review is limited. Certain important issues not covered here include: specific strategies and intervention methods for revitalizing or preserving language (apart from the early step of diagnosis and describing vitality), rationale for the revitalization of languages and the value of linguistic health and diversity in an individual, community, or global sense, or the specific causes of language endangerment in Canada.

3 Research Methodology

The approach taken by this project differs from previous vitality assessments conducted within Canada in several important ways, including the theory, scale, design, and focus of investigation. The following will describe the theoretical underpinnings informing the design of this survey (3.1), our participating community of Poplar River First Nation (3.2), the questionnaire design and distribution (3.3), and our method of result interpretation and presentation (3.4).

3.1 Design and Theoretical Basis

No universally accepted system for measuring linguistic health yet exists, nor is it ever likely to. Different projects with different scopes and aims demand different approaches. A broad, externally informed, consensus-based assessment, such as Ethnologue's global lens on language endangerment, may offer a more disinterested, objective outlook on a linguistic situation. However, a decidedly more local project with a mandate to ascertain factors of linguistic health such as attitudes and beliefs requires the nuance of a community-level perspective (Brown 2001; Paulhus and Vazire 2007). On the other hand, while surveys and other community-level methods allow the needed perspective, they are liable to suffer from the biases and inaccuracies inherent to self-reporting methods (Brown 2001; Paulhus and Vazire 2007).

The following will outline the rationale for using a survey in the collection of our data (3.1.1), and the theoretical basis upon which this project and questionnaire is designed (3.1.2). The demands and circumstances of the study as illustrated will justify why the survey method is preferable for our purposes as opposed to other methods commonly employed to this end (such as direct interviewing), and why a framework modified from the LVE was appropriate to our research objectives.

3.1.1 The Survey Method

The decision to use the survey method for our research as opposed to other methods of community-level elicitation (such as interviews) was for the distinct advantages it offers, the efficiency with which it can be conducted, and the precedent set by similar earlier attitude-oriented surveys. These are elaborated on in this section.

Exploiting the Advantages

The use of a survey questionnaire in an investigation of linguistic health entails a host of advantages and disadvantages regarding the data it returns. The task when employing a survey is to design it in such a way that makes the most of the advantages while minimizing as much as possible the disadvantages. The first advantage of the survey is that the information we receive comes directly from members of the community. The responses therefore ostensibly reflect their views and perspectives. Since this survey is focussed on the beliefs and attitudes of community members toward their language, it is important that we choose a method that elicits information in a way that represent the voices of the community as directly as possible.

This leads to the second advantage of the survey method; by sourcing data directly from individuals we reduce the need for interpretation and inference on the part of the researcher (as compared to the Ethnologue EGIDS methodology). This means that rather than inferring the nature of such factors as community attitudes indirectly from peripherally related information (such as by domains of use, the existence of language programs, etc.), regardless of how accurate such an impression may be, a questionnaire can target factors in a more intentional way. By designing questions to elicit information related to a specific factor and therefore constraining possible responses, the information received is more easily manageable, measureable, and comparable across respondents (Brown 2001; Paulhus and Vazire 2007).

A further major advantage of this method concerns the ease, anonymity, and privacy of participation. In comparison to other direct methods such as interviews, where the participant's identity and responses are known at least to the interviewer, the survey method offers participants anonymity (as far as matching their identity to responses). It grants them an environment where there is less pressure to respond (as might be felt in an one-on-one interview), and where they have time and space to respond to the questions they choose, and at the pace they desire. This characteristic of the survey is important given that the topic, which requests a degree of critical self-reflection on experiences, abilities, and beliefs toward language use, may involve information or disclosures that are highly personal.

Minimizing the Disadvantages

Each of these advantages however is not without disadvantages, the mitigation of which comes with the design of the questionnaire. Despite the benefit of the individual and community-level perspective gained, a direct-source method such as a survey is liable to suffer from the biases and inaccuracies in self-representation common to self-reporting methods. This is the phenomenon, in this case as it pertains to self-reported linguistic ability, to either under-estimate, overestimate, or otherwise inaccurately represent one's own abilities or experiences (Ayers 2010, Prince et al 2008, Delgado et al 1999). National censuses or household survey reports should, for this reason, be read with a degree of skepticism. This survey attempts to mitigate this by incorporating questions that directly address linguistic ability or proficiency, to correlate with questions on self-reporting ability.

While the design of the questionnaire allows us to specifically target factors of linguistic health as outlined by our framework (see 3.2.2), and more easily operationalize the responses, survey questions by their nature can constrain and limit possible responses. For instance, our survey instrument (further discussed in 3.4.1 below) is formatted with questions of multiple choice, short answer, tables, and 5-item Likert-scale styles. Each of these styles constrains the type of answer a respondent can give whether by offering responses, limiting space, or limiting full elaboration of their thoughts and contexts (as may be permitted in an interview format). These question types are called 'closed' questions (Agheyisi and Fishman 1970). The questionnaire attempts to minimize this limitation by offering frequent opportunities, after each section, to elaborate on answers or give additional thoughts and comments (see survey instrument in appendix). These are called 'open' questions (Agheyisi and Fishman 1970). Using both 'open' and 'closed' question types we seek to achieve a balance between the benefit of targeting specific factors, and avoid limiting or constraining too much the voice of our participants.

Efficiency of Survey Tool

An important consideration beyond how our chosen method would impact participants and the type of data we receive, is how convenient, feasible, and efficient different approaches would be. Given the accessibility of Poplar River First Nation, our limited time frame, and the number of responses needed to approach a representative sample of the community's population (see

3.2 for characteristics of the community and population), the survey method is the most appropriate approach.

The remote nature of Poplar River First Nation, its relatively dispersed local population, and the limited availabilities of my contacts within the communities meant that work in the field was limited to a five-day period in May 2017, the bulk of it occurring during the Poplar River Community Language Forum (see 3.3). Therefore, a method able to reach a large number of people, over a limited time frame, and in a focussed way would prove an ideal approach. That condition, combined with the relatively small sample size needed to approach representation of the approximately 1200 person population of Poplar River lent confidence to the survey method as the appropriate means.

Attitude Survey Precedent

This work is following in the precedent set by the use of surveys in sociolinguistic work and language vitality investigations. Of note among these are the National Indigenous Language Surveys (NILS 1 and 2) of the Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies (AIATSIS), particularly the Attitude Survey of NILS 2 from which this project borrows aspects of its questionnaire design and methods of analysis (see 3.3) (AIATSIS 2005, 2014).

3.1.2 Framework of Research

The theoretical underpinning of this work is a framework of factors, outlining the elements of linguistic vitality we seek to address in the survey. Its purpose is to illustrate the priorities of our investigation and so inform the design of our survey tool. The framework informing this project is an adaptation of the Language Vitality and Endangerment (LVE) factors developed by the UNESCO experts group (described in (2.2)). The nine-factor framework they outline has been adapted proportionately to suit the priorities of this project; this means emphasizing the factors within our focus while maintaining those factors needed for contextual and illustrative purposes in a more secondary or supportive role. Consequently, this resulted in the removal, consolidation, addition, redefinition, and re-ordering of certain factors from the original LVE.

The framework described here is not a proposal for a new model of linguistic vitality, nor a replacement to the LVE. Rather it is inspired by the LVE, adapted to suit to the scale of our description and highlight the priorities of this project. The seven-factor framework informing this study is listed in table 3.1 below.

Table 3.1 - Adapted Framework of Language Vitality Factors for Poplar River First Nation Language Survey

	Vitality Factor	**Description**
1	**Attitudes and Beliefs**	Thoughts, feelings, perceptions toward language use and endangerment in the community
2	**Domains and Functions**	Where, with whom, and for what purpose is Ojibwe used
3	**Knowledge**	What is the speaker's ability or proficiency in Ojibwe
4	**Intergenerationality**	To what degree is Ojibwe represented across generations What are the patterns in use and beliefs across generations
5	**Speakers**	Absolute and Proportional numbers of speakers Measure of non, partial, and fluent speakers
6	**Programs**	Both existing and planned programs of education, revival, preservation
7	**Access to Materials**	What materials of literacy and education are available in the community, and to what degree are people aware of them

This framework, while clearly inspired by the LVE factors, distinguishes itself from that model in several salient ways.

Documentation, as a factor of vitality is removed since its relevance is primarily academic and has little direct impact on how community members experience their language[4]. *Speakers* are here treated as one consolidated factor considering the small size of the community and the addition of a more nuanced factor of knowledge to inform speaker counts. Additionally, this factor describes speakers not in a dichotomized way, but as non, partial, and fluent speakers by a calculation outlined in (3.4). Factors of domains (LVE 'existing', and 'response to new domains') are merged into a single factor looking at all domains and functions of Ojibwe in the community. Both traditional domains and new (such as online, in text messaging) are considered in this factor, their merging is merely for simplification of the framework. *Materials* (LVE factor 6) is redefined as not just the existence of materials for education and literacy, but the awareness of and access to these materials. Finally, two factors are added to this model; a factor of *Langue Knowledge* is included to inform self-reported abilities, and, following the precedent set by the AIATSIS NILS 1 and 2 surveys, a factor of *Programs*, both ongoing and planned is included.

Since we are concerned primarily with the perspectives of individuals in the community, the LVE factors dividing attitudes into community and official (factors 7 and 8) are consolidated into one factor of *Attitudes and Beliefs.* This factor addresses the attitudes, beliefs, and

[4] The UNESCO group distinguishes within the factors those directly related to vitality and endangerment (1-6), those related to attitudes (7-8), and the urgency for documentation (9) (Brenzinger et al 2003:7). In their reflections on the framework, they highlight that documentation in itself cannot be contributive to vitality, as it depends on whether documentation is actively being used in preservation or revitalization (UNESCO 2011:11).

perceptions of community members toward their language and toward official and institutional language policies. As this is the most nuanced and complicated factor of the framework, and the primary focus of this project, it is further divided into three sub-factors, outlined in table 3.2.

Table 3.2 - Component sub-factors of *Attitudes and Beliefs*

***Attitudes and Beliefs* sub-factors**	**Description**
Value, Prestige, and Practicality	Perceived worth and usefulness of Ojibwe today
Identity and Self-Esteem	Impact of language on identity and perceived self-worth
Obstacles and Supports	Perspectives on threats to and support for Ojibwe

Attitudes and Beliefs cannot be considered or measured monolithically in the same way as speaker counts or descriptions of programs. As this is something comprised of as many perspectives, thoughts, and feelings as there are individuals in a community, even this three factor sub-categorization may be overly simplistic. However, it does seek to add some nuance and illustrate the complexity of this factor.

The framework we have outlined is illustrative primarily of the priorities for this project. It is not intended as a proposal for a new framework of linguistic vitality, nor does it suggest a new hierarchy in the factors contributive to linguistic health. It is still operating within the theory of the LVE (i.e. the hierarchy of factors and importance of intergenerational transmission), but illustrates the lens and focal point within the scope of this project - Attitudes and Beliefs (hence its position at the top of the framework). Furthermore, it should not be taken as sufficiently descriptive of linguistic health in a community, but rather a focussed and nuanced component of a larger picture.

3.2 Survey Participants, Recruitment, and Consent

Participants in this survey project are individuals from the community of Poplar River First Nation, Manitoba. The following will describe our group of participants and how they were recruited (3.2.1), and the important considerations of ethics and informed consent (3.2.2).

3.2.1 Participants and Recruitment

The opportunity to participate in this survey was extended to all members of Poplar River First Nation, regardless of age or whether they consider themselves speakers or non-speakers. Indeed, the participation of community members representing all age groups is important for insight regarding intergenerational trends in abilities, experiences, and attitudes toward traditional language use (see table 3.3 for number of respondents by age).

Recruitment to this end was facilitated with help of a number of community leaders, namely this study's main local contact, Sophia Rabliauaskas, an elder and leader in the community. Sophia's ongoing work in cultural and environmental advocacy, in addition to organizing local cultural and linguistic preservation programs, has as of late centered on the nomination of Pimachiowin Aki, the area east of Lake Winnipeg of which Poplar River is a part, to the UNESCO list of protected world heritage sites. Sophia organized and coordinated an Ojibwe Language Forum in Poplar River on May 6, 2017 – a public workshop on the endangerment of Anishinaabemowin discussing strategies to preserve and support the language. It was to this forum that the principal researcher was invited to speak on this project, and invite those attending to participate. For those who were interest surveys were completed between activities and returned by the end of the day-long workshop.

Table 3.3 - Number of Respondents by Age Group

Age Group (yrs)	Number of Respondents
10 - 19	5
20 - 39	26
40 - 59	13
60 +	4
Total	48

In addition to recruiting participants and conducting the survey at the Language Forum itself, an information poster describing the project was posted both before and after the Forum at the Band Office and Community Centre with the website address to the online version of the questionnaire. As an expression of gratitude for those who agreed to participate, each participant entered into a random prize draw for a gift card either to Amazon or iTunes. As table 3.3 above summarizes, in total 48 surveys were returned, the majority of them belonging to the 20-39 and 40-59 years age groups, with significantly less representation in the youngest and oldest age groups.

It is prudent to note here one potential source bias in our sample of participants. Since the majority of the surveys returned came from those who participated in the Language Forum, participants may disproportionately be speakers of Ojibwe as well as represent a particular set of beliefs and attitudes, likely tending to be supportive of Ojibwe language use and preservation. This possibility is further considered in the 5.4.

3.2.2 Ethics and Informed Consent

While our study is inclusive to all willing members of the community, two characteristics of this participant base require particular acknowledgement and consideration.

The first is that this study necessarily involves the participation of children and young people, given the need for a cross-generational look at attitudes, uses, and abilities in Ojibwe. As these participants are vulnerable peoples, permission to participate in the study is required from their parents or guardians, which is facilitated in part by the survey's incorporation into the community and family oriented event of the Language Forum. Secondly, we are grateful to our participants and all residents of Poplar River First Nation for welcoming us into their community. All due efforts are taken to acknowledge, be attentive to, and respect the living traditions and way of life in this community before, during, and after the survey. For these reasons a full ethics review was completed before conducting the surveys, the approval of which can be found in the appendix.

Informed Consent forms were provided to all participants and required to be returned (signed by a parent or guardian if under the age of 18) along with the surveys. This consent form detailed the project overview, purpose, described of their participation, the potential risks benefits of the study, our policy toward their confidentiality and anonymity, and how we intend to disseminate results, and destroy information upon completion of the project. A copy of the Informed Consent form can be found in the appendix.

3.3 Instruments and Procedure

The following section outlines the design of our survey questionnaire (3.3.1), and the process of its distribution and return in Poplar River (3.3.2). When referring to specific survey questions, a shorthand indicating the section and question number of the questionnaire is used. For example, question 7 of Part 3 is written as Q3.7. Multiple questions from the same section will separate question numbers with a comma - e.g. question 1, 5, and 7 from part 2 are written as Q2.1, 5, 7.

3.3.1 Survey Questionnaire

The research instrument used in this study is a survey questionnaire comprised of 33 questions divided into four sections: 1. *Background* (12 questions), 2. *Attitudes and Beliefs* (12 questions), 3. *Ojibwe in the Community* (5 questions), 4. *Language Knowledge* (4 questions). Respectively, these sections address respondents' personal history with Anishinaabemowin (1), their beliefs and feelings toward the language today (2), their observations and thoughts on language use in the community (3), and a more linguistically motivated look at their knowledge of Ojibwe (4). Approximately 25 minutes are required to complete the survey.

The questions are written and included to address specific factors of our framework as outlined in (3.1.2). The factors are represented in the questions of the survey proportionately to the focus and scope of this project. Distribution of questions by the factor they address is summarized in table 3.4.

Table 3.4 - Distribution of factors by number of relevant survey questions

	Vitality Factor	**# of Relevant Questions**
1	Attitudes and Beliefs	12
2	Domains and Functions	7
3	Knowledge	7
4	Intergenerationality	7
5	Numbers of Speakers	5
6	Programs	4
7	Access to Materials	2

Each question is designed to address one or more specific factors of linguistic health. Since the numbers of questions in this table total more than 33 (the total number of questions in the survey), certain questions necessarily address more than one factor. This serves to highlight the interrelated nature of factors of linguistic health. An attempt to isolate component factors will inevitably be reductive and ignorant of these inextricable relations. For instance, Q3.4, and Q3.5 simultaneously elicit information on *Domains and Functions* of Anishinaabemowin as well as *Access to Materials* (see questionnaire in appendix).

As can be seen, individuals' attitudes and beliefs (factor 1), as well as experiences (factor 2) with Ojibwe in Poplar River receive the most attention in the questionnaire. This reflects the project's focus on looking at linguistic vitality in a community through the lens of individual experiences and attitudes, rather than suggesting that individual experience and attitudes are the critical factors of vitality. The survey questions related to these factors were further designed specifically to address the *Attitudes* sub-factors (see 3.1.2). For instance, the following Likert-type degree-of-agreement questions of Section 2:

Q2.5 *It is more important to speak English today than Ojibwe/Anishinaabemowin.*

Q2.3 *Speaking Anishinaabemowin is an important part of my identity.*

Q2.12 *What do you think are obstacles to speaking Ojibwe/Anishinaabemowin in Poplar River?*

Respectively, these address sub-factors of *Value, Prestige, and Practicality* (Q2.5), *Identity and Self-Esteem* (Q2.3), and *Obstacles and support* (Q2.12). Table 3.5 outlines the survey questions that target each sub-factor.

Table 3.5 - Relevant survey questions to *Attitudes and Beliefs* sub-factors

***Attitudes and Beliefs* sub-factor**	**Relevant Survey Questions**
Value, Prestige, and Practicality	Q2.1, 2, 5, 6, 9, 11
Identity and Self-Esteem	Q2.3, 4
Obstacles and Supports	Q2.7, 8, 10, 12

While the *Attitudes and Beliefs* factor is the most thoroughly addressed in the survey, the other factors are targeted in a similarly intentional way in order to elicit the contextual information needed for our analysis of attitudes and beliefs (see 3.4 for methodology of analysis).

To maintain interest in the survey, offset fatigue, and as a demand of the factors, the questionnaire uses several different question types. Question types include multiple choice, selection from a list of suggested responses, short written answer, five-degree Likert scale of agreement/disagreement with a given statement, table-based questions, and translation/comprehension.

In addition to questions that specifically target factors (and sub-factors), each section concludes with an opportunity to provide additional comments, unconstrained by any particular question - “open” as opposed to “closed” questions” (Agheyisi and Fishman 1970).

These are included to allow opportunities for individuals to have any additional thoughts heard, if the questions themselves prove too limiting to express them. It also leads to a mix of both more quantitative, easily manageable data, and more qualitative, less easily manageable data.

Several of the questions are inspired and adapted from existing linguistic health survey questionnaires used by UNESCO as well as the National Indigenous Language Surveys (NILS) 1 and 2 of the Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders Studies (AIATSIS 2005, 2014). Specifically, questions 3, 5, 8, and 9 of our Part 1 (*Background*) are adapted from NILS 2 *Language Attitude Survey* questions 29, 31, 28, and 32 respectively. Our Part 2 (*Attitudes*) questions are adapted from the NILS 2 questions 5-23, and Part 3 (*Ojibwe in the Community*) questions 1, 2, 4, and 5 are adapted from NILS 2 questions 33, 36, 34, and NILS 1 section D5 respectively. The age groups used follow in the precedent set by the NILS 2 *Language Attitude Survey*.

Prior to conducting the survey, the questionnaire went through several rounds of vetting for content, clarity, comprehension, and overall feasibility. It was given to Sophia Rabliauaskas (our local contact and organizer of the Poplar River Community Language Forum), Dr. Nicole Rosen (thesis advisor), and Chief Vera Mitchell of the Poplar River band council.

3.3.2 Survey Distribution and Return

The questionnaire was developed and submitted for ethics approval between the months of January and April 2017. It was designed in both a physical format, as a paper booklet, as well as in online format with the use of SurveyMonkey (www.surveymonkey.com). After reception of

Ethics Board approval (April 19, 2017), the principal researcher travelled to Poplar River First Nation on May 4th, 2017 for the Poplar River Community Language Forum.

At the Language Forum, to which approximately 100 residents of Poplar River FN attended, the researcher was given the opportunity to speak on the purpose of this project, and invite anyone who was interested to participate by contributing a survey. A table was set up with the questionnaires and consent forms, and the surveys were completed and submitted throughout the day-long workshop, with the researcher on hand to facilitate and answer any questions.

Over the 5-day period spent in Poplar River First Nation, from May 4th to May 9th, 44 questionnaires were returned during the workshop, and 2 returned the following the day. A further 2 surveys were returned online through SurveyMonkey the following week for a total of 48 responses.

3.4 Method of Results Interpretation

The presentation and analysis of our results first provides an overall picture of the information elicited by the questionnaire along the factors of the framework (3.4.1). With our focus on the attitudes, beliefs, and perspectives of individuals, included here are the measures by which attitudes are described (3.4.2), and the correlations between age groups, abilities, and sub-factors we present (3.4.3).

3.4.1 Overview of survey results according to factors

The first part of our results and description will be an overview of all factors as elicited by the survey, apart from *Attitudes and Beliefs*. This will provide an overview of the linguistic environment as well as some indication toward the ability of this survey to provide such a description. The factor of *Attitudes and Beliefs* will receive a more nuanced treatment in this analysis, the description of which is found in 3.4.2 and 3.4.3 below.

The following table outlines how each factor will be addressed in our results and analysis:

Table 3.6 - Vitality Factors for Poplar River Survey and the Scope of Description

Factor	**Scope of Description**
Attitudes and Beliefs	• See 3.5.2 and 3.5.3
Domains and Functions	• All responses indicating in what domains and functions Ojibwe exists in the community
Knowledge	• Correlation of self-reported abilities with Knowledge section of survey
Intergenerationality	• Speaker numbers by age group • Trends in with whom individuals speak in Ojibwe • Intergenerational picture of Attitudes and Beliefs
Numbers of Speakers	• Total • By age group (under Intergenerationality) • 'Speaker-score' - non, partial (low/high), fluent speakers
Programs	• What programs exist, are planned, are desired
Access to Materials	• What materials exist, whether individuals use them, whether individuals desire them

Discussion of each factor (apart from *Attitudes and Beliefs*) begins by listing the relevant questions from the survey and how the responses to those questions pattern according to the scopes outlined above. Based on those patterns a description of that factor will be made, along with how it correlates, corresponds, or is in other ways impacted by related factors.

In addition to describing these factors by patterns in survey question responses, all comments made by participants, relevant to these factors and otherwise, are included.

Determining Speakers

The *Knowledge*, and *Speaker Numbers* factors require additional note. Given the problematic nature of measuring speaker proficiency (see 5.2.2, 5.4.2 for more on this) including issues of dialect, the literacy bias, and potential impacts on self-esteem, any conclusions drawn should be interpreted with caution. Considering this, evaluation of the *Knowledge* section is made not in terms of absolute correct responses, translations, and comprehensions, but rather in relation to one another. Furthermore, it is not used in the correlation of speaker abilities with other factors (namely *Attitudes and Beliefs* and its sub-factors).

Instead, for the factors of *Speakers Numbers* and *Knowledge*, as well as in the correlation of abilities with *Attitudes and Beliefs*, a 'speaker-score' is assigned to respondents. This 'speaker score' is inspired by the AIATSIS method of determining speakers used in NILS surveys and describes respondents as non-speakers, partial-speakers, or fluent speakers based on self-reported abilities and frequency of use (AIATSIS 2005). It is calculated using the responses to Q1.8 and Q1.9, each of which are assigned a point value (tables 3.7 and 3.8) with the sum of the two responses describing the respondents' degree of ability.

Table 3.7 - Speaker score values of responses to Q1.8 "*How well do you think you speak Ojibwe / Anishinaabemowin / Saulteaux?*"

Responses to Q1.8	Points
Don't speak or understand	0
Understand some, speak some	1
Understand well, speak some	2
Understand well, speak fluently	3

Table 3.8 - Speaker score values of response to Q1.9 "*How often do you think you speak Ojibwe now?*"

Responses to Q1.9	Points
Not at all	0
Only on special occasions	1
A few times a week	2
A few words a day	3
Pretty often	4
Frequently and every day	5

As outlined by the NILS surveys, if someone has a combined score of 6 or above, they are considered a speaker (AIATSIS 2005). For our purposes of correlating abilities with Attitudes and its sub-factors, we group speakers by speaker score as follows (table 3.9).

Table 3.9 - Speaker-score classification scheme

'Speaker score' (pts)	Description
0	Non-speaker
1-2	Partial speaker (low)
3-5	Partial speaker (high)
6 +	Speaker

The term 'speaker score' is used with caution for the connotations of competition and achievement is entails. It is meant only as a simplified means by which to correlate abilities with other factors in the absence of a reliable means of doing so. See 5.2.2 and 5.4.2 for discussion on the problems of our Knowledge section, and correlating speaker scores with measured language knowledge.

3.4.2 Measuring Attitudes

Attitudes and Beliefs will be examined both in terms of overall patterns, and in terms of those component attitude 'sub-factors' described in 3.2.2 above. As we are not representing this factor under the impressionistic 5-point grading system UNESCO suggests, in order to explore correlations between *Attitude* sub-factors and other variables (namely age groups, and abilities) the responses to this section need to be 'scored' or 'operationalized' in some manner.

To this end, each question in the *Attitudes and Beliefs* section of the questionnaire is considered as having either 'more positive' or 'more negative' responses within the degrees of agreement or disagreement. The positivity or negativity of a response is interpreted as whether or not agreement or disagreement with a statement is interpreted as an attitude of support or empowerment for the language. Whether a given response is evaluated as positive or negative in its degree of agreement will depend on the framing of the question. For instance, consider the following two Attitudes and Beliefs questions:

Q2.1 "*Keeping Ojibwe/Anishinaabemowin alive as a spoken langue is important."*

Q2.5 "*It is more important to speak English today than Ojibwe/Anishinaabemowin"*

For Q2.1 a 'positive' answer is interpreted as one tending toward the 'agree' side of the scale, while for Q2.5, a 'positive' answer is interpreted as one tending toward the 'disagree' side.

Based on this positivity/negativity of responses, *Attitudes and Beliefs* (and their component sub-factors, by age groups and by speaker scores) are then described using two measures - 1. General evaluation of positivity/negativity of response, and 2. Weighted responses. For the first measure, all ‘positive responses’, (whether both ‘agree’ and ‘strongly agree’, or ‘disagree’ and ‘strongly disagree’), are measured against all ‘negative responses’, and ‘unsure’ responses. This is the same method of analysis used in the NILS 2 Attitudes survey and describes the general positivity, negativity, or unsureness of attitudes (AIATSIS 2014:29-39).

While this first measure provides a general impression of attitudes, whether overall or in terms of sub-factors, it smooths over the individual degrees of agreement or disagreement within the Likert-scale responses. Therefore, for the second measure, within our five-item Likert scale, responses are given a numerical value out of 5 (like the UNESCO method but on a question by question basis informed by actual responses, rather than imposed as an overall impression). More negatively evaluated responses (whether they are toward *agree* or toward *disagree*, depending on the question framing) are assigned a lower value (1 or 2), more positively evaluated responses a higher value (4 or 5), and ‘unsure’ is assigned a 3.

Responses to questions are then represented numerically as averages of weighted means and standard deviations. An average weighted mean approaching 5 or 1 indicates responses tending toward the extreme of positive or negative attitudes, 4 or 2 indicates less extreme responses, and 3 suggests either many ‘unsure’ responses, or a wide variation in responses (also indicated by a high standard deviation). In this way, a weighted mean approaching 3, or a high standard deviation for any given question indicates variation in a group’ responses (whether age group, speaker group, or all participants), and signals a need to look at that question closer.

Since evaluation is done on a question by question basis, both measures - general positivity/negativity of attitudes, and average weighted means - can be represented for the attitudes overall, or by attitude 'sub-category' simply by isolating the relevant questions (see 3.1.2 for sub-factors and their relevant questions).

The representation of attitudes by averages and standard deviations of Likert-scale responses, however, is not perfectly adequate as a method, nor does it give the truest reflection of a community's attitudes. This is for several important reasons. First, the questions themselves limit possible expressions of attitudes and beliefs, simply by virtue of what we have chosen to include, and second, the method assumes that our scaled responses are equal in their intervals of agreement. Altogether, this means the answers are obscured first by the limits imposed on the respondents' expression, and further by our interpretation of those responses (indeed, a concern for surveys more generally). We attempt to address the inadequacies of this method by expanding the Likert-scale scores with the additional comments provided by respondents to this section. This aims to help contextualize, qualify, and elaborate on the impressions derived from the calculated scores.

3.4.3 Attitudes, Sub-factors in correlation with age groups and abilities

The focus of analysis for this project is on two main correlations - attitudes in terms of age groups, and attitudes in terms of speaker abilities. Using the measures outlined in 2.5.2, we can describe Attitudes and Beliefs overall, by taking all questions together, attitude sub-factors, by isolating relevant questions, and correlate these with all responses or with different age groups and different speaker groups. Table 3.10 outlines the correlations possible by this method:

Table 3.10 - Possible correlations of respondent groups by Attitudes and Beliefs measures

Factor	Measure	Correlations
Attitudes and Beliefs overall	General + / - / unsure Weighted means	- All respondents - Age group - Speaker score
Value, Prestige, and Practicality	General + / - / unsure Weighted means	- All respondents - Age group - Speaker score
Identity and Self-Esteem	General + / - / unsure Weighted means	- All respondents - Age group - Speaker score
Obstacles and Supports	General + / - / unsure Weighted means	- All respondents - Age group - Speaker score

These correlations are further qualified and expanded by the comments made, and expansion on those questions with the greatest variation in responses.

The correlation of age groups and attitudes serves in a sense to expand on the *Intergenerationality* factor of our framework. By offering an intergenerational picture of attitudes we can gain insight into what impacts transmission from an angle that is not only speaker demographics or domains of use. Additionally, correlating measures of attitudes and beliefs by abilities and proficiency, may illustrate whether use and proficiency in the language has an impact on one's attitudes toward language use and preservation.

4 Results

The following is a selected summary of results returned by the Poplar River First Nation language survey. Provided here is an overview of factors 3, 4, and 5 regarding speaker counts, language abilities, and cross-generational patterns in both (4.1), and factors 2, 6, and 7, regarding the functions, programs, and language material in the community (4.2). Responses related factor 1, *Attitudes and* Beliefs, are treated in a more focussed manner (4.3), correlating measures with age groups and speaker abilities across the factor overall and in terms of its component sub-factors.

4.1 Speaker Numbers, Knowledge, and Intergenerationality - Factors 3, 4, and 5

The following section summarizes the diversity of languages spoken in Poplar River FN and the linguistic make-up of the community's speakers, according to survey results. Included are the numbers of speakers and their abilities both self-reported and in terms of responses to the *Language Knowledge* section (4.1.1), as well as an illustration of intergenerational patterns in ability and use (4.1.2). Each section will refer to the relevant question(s) upon which the summary results are based, which can be found on the survey questionnaire in the Appendix.

The numbers, counts, and percentages reported here are meant as preliminary illustrations of Ojibwe in Poplar River First Nation and are not reflective of the language's absolute vitality status (see Moore et al. 2010 for discussion on the limitations of counting and enumeration to describe linguistic environments). As with all elements of the survey, they are meant to be taken in conjunction with other factors reported.

4.1.1 Speaker Numbers and Language Knowledge

Table 4.1 and 4.2 below respectively outline the total responses received, overall and by age group, and summarize the responses to Q1.1[5] of the questionnaire, illustrating the diversity of languages spoken in Poplar River, according to survey respondents.

---

[5] Q1.1 *Do you speak any languages other than English? Which ones?*

Table 4.1 - Number of Respondents by Age Group

Age Group (yrs)	Number of Respondents
10 - 19	5
20 - 39	26
40 - 59	13
60 +	4
Total	48

Table 4.2 - Languages Spoken in Poplar River First Nation (total and by age groups) (Q1.1)

Language(s) Spoken	Number total (% of total)	10-19 yrs	20-39 yrs	40-59 yrs	60 + yrs
English only	24 (50%)	5	17	2	0
English, Ojibwe	23 (48%)	0	9	11	3
English, Ojibwe, Cree	6 (12.5%)	0	3	2	1
French	1 (2%)	0	0	0	1

Half of the respondents report bilingual abilities of varying degrees, majority of whom are Anishinaabemowin bilingual, and half report being exclusively English monolingual. All respondents report identifying as Anishinaabe / Ojibwa, apart from two - the lone French bilingual speaker identifies as Metis, and one of the Ojibwe-Cree bilingual speakers identifies as Cree (Q1.4).

While this provides some insight into the languages represented in Poplar River, it does little to show the degree of proficiency and use among speakers. The following tables (4.3 and 4.4) summarize the responses to Q1.8 and Q1.9[6] concerning self-reported abilities and frequency of Ojibwe language use.

[6] Q 1.8 *How well do you think you speak Ojibwe/Anishinaabemowin/Saulteaux?*
Q1.9 *How often do you think you speak Ojibwe now?*

Table 4.3 - Reported Ojibwe knowledge (responses to Q1.8)

Reported knowledge	Number of responses (tot. 48)	% of Respondents
Don't speak or understand	6	12.5 %
Understand some, speak some	25	52.1 %
Understand well, speak some	5	10.4 %
Understand well, speak fluently	12	25 %

Table 4.4 - Frequency of Ojibwe language use (responses to Q1.9)

Frequency of use	Number of responses (tot. 48)	% of Respondents
Not at all	14	29.2 %
On special occasions	4	8.3 %
A few times a week	3	6.25 %
A few words a day	11	22.9 %
Pretty often	6	12.5 %
Frequently, every day	10	20.8 %

Comparing the responses to abilities and frequencies of use summarized in these two previous tables to those of Q1.1, a more nuanced picture of multilingualism in Poplar River develops. While half of all respondents report only speaking English (English monolingual), only 12.5 % report that they do not speak or understand Ojibwe, and only 29.2 % report that they do not use it at all. This leaves 87.5 % of respondents with some degree of Ojibwe comprehension above 'don't speak or understand', and 70.8 % of respondents reporting some frequency of Ojibwe use.

To illustrate the speaker base of Poplar River according to these questions table 4.5 offers a count consolidating the self-reported abilities and frequencies of use according to the formula proposed by the AIATSIS NILS surveys, here called the 'speaker score' (see 3.4.1).

Table 4.5 - Consolidated "speaker score" from self-reported abilities and frequencies of use (Q1.8,9)

Consolidated speaker score		**Number of respondents (tot. 48)**	**% of respondents**
0 pts	**'non-speaker'**	6	12.5 %
1-2 pts	**'partial speaker' (low)**	12	25 %
3-5 pts	**'partial speaker' (high)**	14	29.2 %
6+ pts	**'speaker'**	16	33.3 %

According the AIATSIS consideration of what constitutes a "speaker" (a score of 6 or above), 16 of the survey respondents (33.3 %), can be considered fluent and active speakers of Ojibwe/Saulteaux/Anishinaabemowin. However, what these data illustrate is that the description of speakerhood in a community cannot be dichotomized into either mono- or multi-lingual. The scores reflected in table 4.4 show that while 12.5 % of respondents (6 respondents) indicate that Ojibwe has no active role in their language use, 25 % of respondents (12) show some interaction with the language (low partial speakers), and 29.2 % of respondents (14) can be considered high partial speakers. The roles and functions of language in the community will be further discussed in 4.2 below and will elaborate on the role of language in the community for those who or less fluent but still interact with Anishinaabemowin.

Language Knowledge

While the survey received fewer responses to this section relative to others (see 5.2.2, 5.4.2), the results are summarized here both in isolation (table 4.6), and in terms of how those respondents self-reported their abilities (table 4.7).

Table 4.6 - Number of respondents by Part 4 Knowledge Section responses

Response/Question #	**Q4.1a**	**Q4.1b**	**Q4.2a**	**Q4.2b**	**Q4.3a**
Do not understand	23	28	25	33	32
Understand, but prefer not to answer	6	10	2	2	7
Answer mostly correct	11	3	8	-	1
Answer somewhat correct	2	3	-	-	-
Answer not correct	4	-	-	3	-
Total	46	44	35	38	40

Looking exclusively at those respondents who attempted the translation and comprehension questions, we observe similar numbers on the surface to self-reported abilities. For instance, Q1a shows 13 out of 46 (28.3 %) participants give a mostly or somewhat correct answer, Q1b show 6 out of 44 (13.6 %) give mostly or somewhat correct responses, and 8 out of 35 (22.9 %) for Q2a. If the response "can answer, but prefer not to" is taken into account, those percentages rise to 50.0 %, 36.4 %, and 28.6 % for those three questions respectively.

It is worthwhile too to note the drop both in total responses to the Knowledge questions, as well as the decrease in translation and comprehension responses as the section progressed in favour of "cannot answer", "can answer, but prefer not to", or not answering at all. Possible reasons for this are discussed further in Discussion but may concern survey fatigue, issues of dialect, literacy, or self-esteem resulting in snap responses or no responses at all.

Further illustration of the Ojibwe language proficiencies of respondents, as well as the ability of different survey techniques to elicit it, can be found by comparing the measured *Knowledge* section to the consolidated “speaker-score”. In theory, this is a comparison of one ‘more objective’ measure, against the ‘more subjective’ self-reporting measure. Table 4.6 below illustrates the number of responses to the Knowledge section translation and comprehension questions, according to how those respondents self-reported their abilities (using the speaker score).

Table 4.7 - Knowledge section responses by speaker-score

Response/”speaker score”	**0 pts**	**1-2 pts**	**3-5 pts**	**6+ pts**
Do not understand	16	26	34	3
Understand, but prefer not to answer	0	4	2	17
Answer mostly correct	1	0	1	13
Answer somewhat correct	1	1	2	1
Answer not correct	1	0	0	3

By and large the speaker-score groups correspond with expected responses to the language knowledge questions. Participants in the 6+ group tended to answer mostly correct or prefer not to answer yet indicate comprehension, while those in the lower speaker score groups tended to answer ‘do not understand’. Each group did have its outliers, with 3 incorrect responses from the 6+ group, and 6 respondents between the lower score groups (including 2 from the non-speaker group) giving either somewhat or mostly correct responses. This appears to indicate some consistency between how respondents perceive and self-report their own abilities, and how those abilities measure in a ‘more objective’ way (5.2.2).

4.1.2 Intergenerationality

Intergenerationality will be considered by looking at three aspects of the factor covered in the survey - age groups of respondents along their reported abilities and use of Ojibwe, how and when individuals in Poplar River learned the language, and with whom they use it most today.

Table 4.8 below summarizes how the age groups of survey participants correlate with their "speaker score".

Table 4.8 - Age groups of respondents by speaker score (numbers and percentage of group)

Age group	**0 pts**		**1-2 pts**		**3-5 pts**		**6+ pts**	
10-19 yrs	0	0 %	4	80 %	1	20 %	0	0 %
20-39 yrs	6	23 %	7	27 %	9	35 %	4	15 %
40-59 yrs	0	0 %	1	8 %	3	23 %	9	69 %
60 + yrs	0	0 %	0	0 %	1	25 %	3	75 %

Much of this spread of abilities across age groups is not unexpected - the older age groups tend toward the more proficient side of the speaker score, while the younger age groups trend toward partial or non-speakers. Interestingly, no participants in the youngest age group (10-19 years), self-report as complete non-speakers. Possible reasons for this self-perspective (considering this age group tended not to respond correctly or at all to the Knowledge questions) are discussed in 5.2.d

Most surveys report English as the first language learned as a child (Q1.2). Among the 15 out of 47 surveys that report Ojibwe as the first language learned, 9 are from the 40-59 years age group (13 total), 4 from the 20-39 years age group (26 total), and 2 from the 60 and above age group (4 total). In response to a later question asking what language is used most often *currently* (Q1.6), most respondents who reported Anishinaabemowin as their first language, now report equal usage between Ojibwe and English today (apart from the two 60 + age group respondents who maintain Ojibwe as their primary language).

Figure 4.1 below shows how survey participants learned Ojibwe according to their age group (Q1.5).

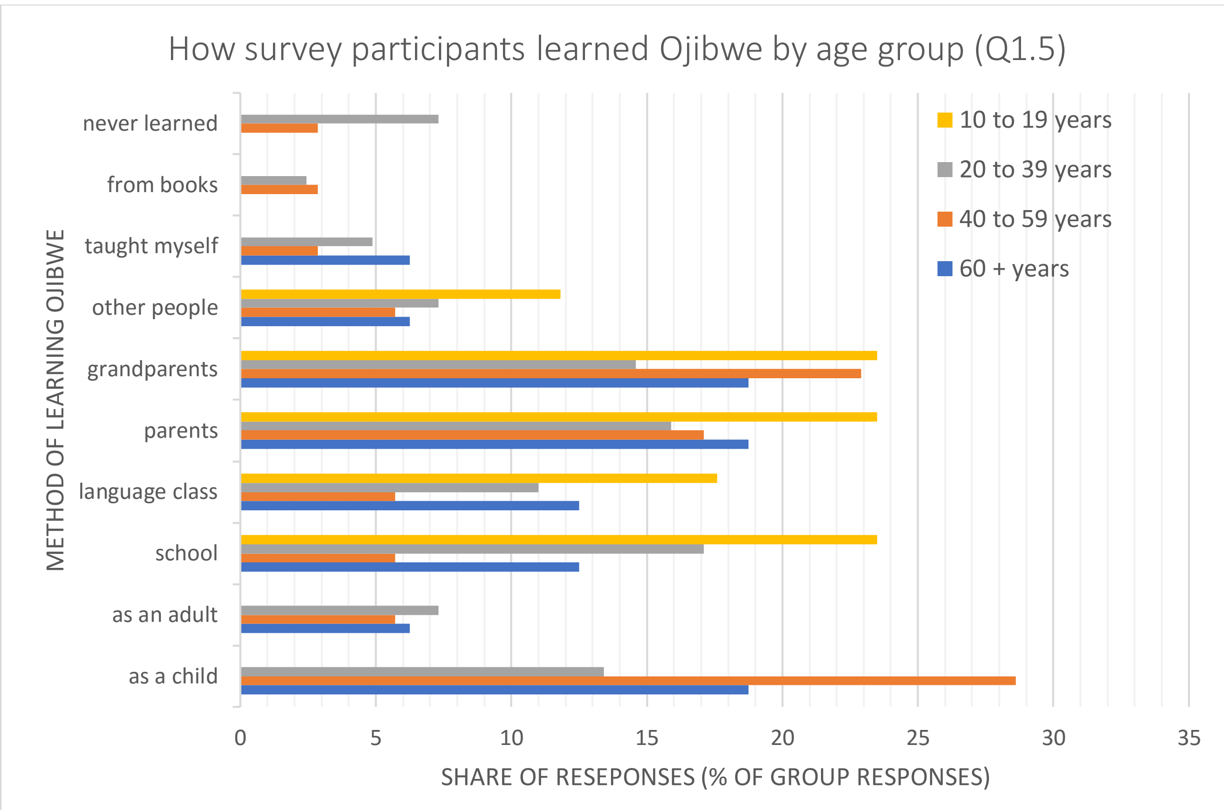

Figure 4.1 - How Survey participants learned Ojibwe by age group (Q1.5)

While all age groups in high proportions report learning Ojibwe from parents or grandparents, there is a generational divide when looking at secondary or other sources of their language education. Along with parents and grandparents, respondents report learning Ojibwe as a child in the top three age groups. While the 20-30 years old group also notes learning Ojibwe as a child in high numbers, the emergence of Ojibwe education in school and in language classes begins with them and with the 10-19 years old group.

The last aspect of this factor reported here is that of generational trends among who uses Ojibwe together. Q3.1 addresses this, asking with whom and how frequently the respondent uses the language. Responses to this question followed a generational pattern. Respondents in the 10-19 years age group indicate that Ojibwe is used sometimes or often with parents, grandparents, and elders, but rarely or never with friends, siblings or cousins. A very similar pattern of use is reported by the 20-39 years age group, adding children to the list of those rarely or never spoken with in Ojibwe. The 40 -59 years group note they sometimes, often, or always speak with parents, grandparents, and elders, but also spouses and friends, while rarely or never speaking with children. Likewise, the 60 and above age group report often or always speaking Anishinaabemowin with siblings, cousins, friends, elders, as well as children.

4.2 Domains, Programs and Materials - Factors 2, 6, and 7

This section of our results addresses factors 2, 6 and 7 of the vitality framework. The major domains and functions in which Anishinaabemowin is both heard and used by respondents are addressed first (4.2.1). Following that is a summary of Ojibwe language materials and educational programs present in Poplar River, and respondents' awareness of and interaction with them (4.2.2).

4.2.1 Domains of use and Functions

Q3.2, 3, 4 in the questionnaire elicited information regarding, respectively, where participants hear Ojibwe, use it themselves, and whether they are aware of services available in the language in Poplar River[7].

Table 4.9 summarizes the overall domains where Anishinaabemowin is found in the community, and the general frequency with which it is heard (from Q3.2).

Table 4.9 - Frequency with which the Ojibwe language is heard in various domains (Q3.2)

Domain	**Frequency (%)**					
	Always	Often	Sometimes	Rarely	Never	Don't Know
Home	34.9	25.6	23.3	11.6	4.7	0
School	8.1	2.7	29.8	45.9	8.1	5.4
Friends' homes	25.6	23.3	20.9	18.6	11.6	0
At work	12.2	14.6	39.0	24.4	4.9	4.9
Community Centres/Events	23.3	25.6	37.2	9.3	4.6	0
Grocery Store/shopping	28.6	19.1	26.2	21.4	4.8	0
During Ceremonies	44.2	34.9	14.0	7.0	0	0

The domains where participants most commonly reported 'always' hearing Ojibwe used are in their homes and during ceremonies. Other domains where a significant number of respondents noted 'always' hearing Ojibwe were at friends' homes and at the grocery store or out shopping. In these domains, however, a similar proportion noted that Ojibwe is only heard 'often', 'sometimes' or 'rarely' in these parts of the community.

[7] Q3.2 *Where and how often do you hear Ojibwe/Anishinaabemowin being spoken by other?*
Q3.3 *Where do you use Ojibwe/Anishinaabemowin?*
Q3.4 *Do you already have or want to have any of the following services provided in Ojibwe?*

Domains where Anishinaabemowin is most frequently reported to be heard 'sometimes' or 'rarely', were the school, at work, and at community centres or events. It is uncommon for participants to report never hearing Ojibwe anywhere in the community however, each domain did have a small percentage of participants report never hearing the language used – each listed domain received less than 5% 'never' responses, apart from at school (8.1%), and at friends' homes (11.6%).

Overall, those domains with the fewest responses of 'rarely' relative to the others, along with combined responses of 'often' and 'always' approaching or exceeding 50%, in order of where Ojibwe is most frequently heard are during ceremonies, at home, and at community events. However, many response show a relatively equally distributed spread between 'always', 'often' 'sometimes', and 'rarely', particularly friends' homes, shopping, and community centres/events. Possible reasons for this variability are discussed in (5.3).

Table 4.10 summarizes how survey participants responded when asked in what areas of life they use Ojibwe (Q3.3).

Table 4.10 - Domains where Ojibwe is used by survey participants (Q3.3)

Domains	**% (#) of responses**
Home	80.5 (33)
On the telephone	48.8 (20)
At work	41.5 (17)
School	39.0 (16)
Grocery Store / Shopping	34.2 (14)
On the computer	12.2 (5)
In text messages	9.8 (4)
In prayer / singing	9.8 (4)

In similar fashion, the overwhelmingly most common domain where language is used by respondents is in the home. Significant proportion of respondents also report using Ojibwe at work, shopping, at school, and on the telephone. This question also addressed the inclusion of Ojibwe in relatively new or non-standard domains such as in text-messages and on the computer. Both areas saw very few responses. Tied for the fewest responses with text messages was using Anishinaabemowin in prayer, singing, or ceremonial practices.

Responses to Q3.4 explores whether Ojibwe is used for certain services in Poplar River. Results from this question are summarized in figure 4.2.

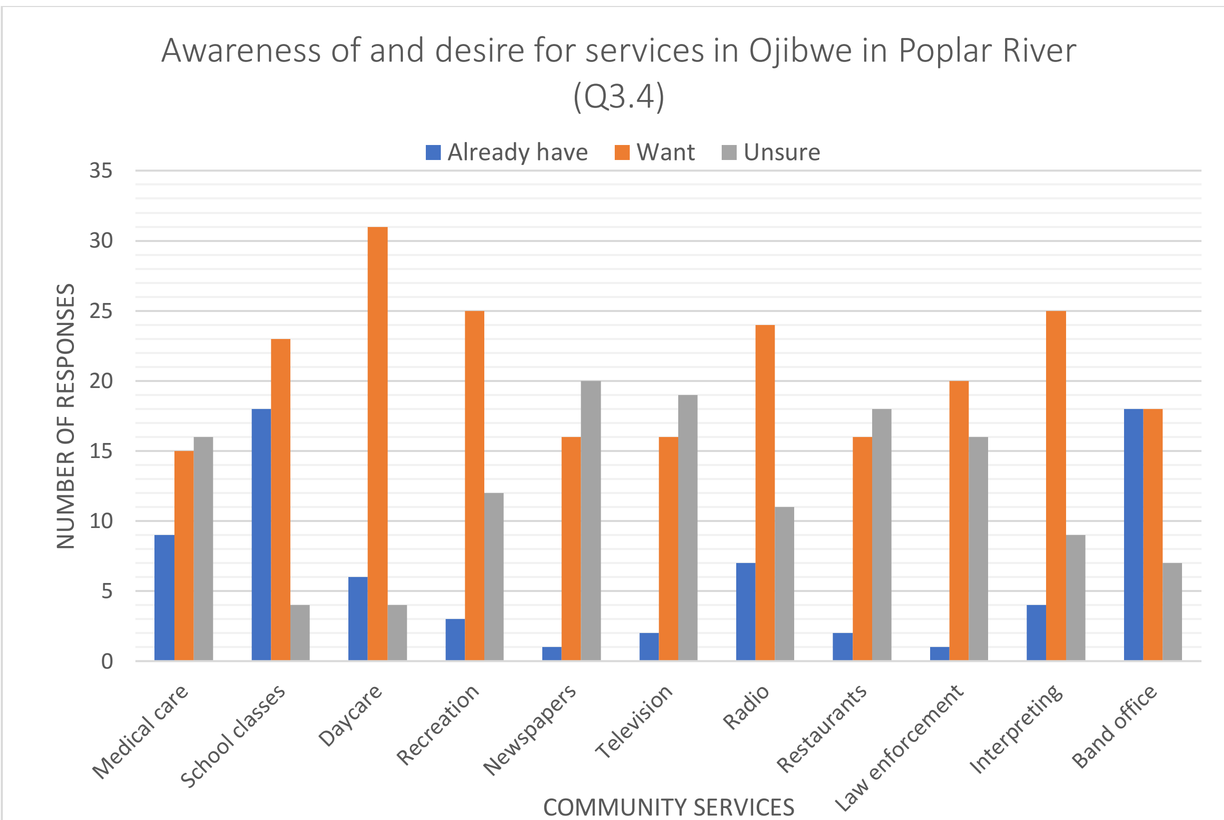

Figure 4.2 - Awareness of and desire for community services in Ojibwe (Q3.4)

Due to ambiguity in the question design and its possible responses, it is unclear whether responses of 'want' indicate an absence of that service in the community, or both its existence, and a desire for it. The difficulties this present in interpreting results is further discussed in 5.3.2. The main services that appear by these responses to be available in Ojibwe are medical care, school classes, and the band office. Furthermore, what these responses do seem to make clear is that there is strongly expressed desire for virtually all services suggested to be available in Ojibwe, particularly childcare, interpretation, and recreational activities. Additionally, survey participants noted in their comments desires to have Ojibwe language in Headstart programs, as well as in the signage of all businesses, buildings, and public areas within the community such as street signs.

4.2.2 Educational Programs and Materials

Figure 4.3 summarizes responses to Q3.5 of the questionnaire, asking participants what type and amount of materials they are aware of existing in Poplar River community.

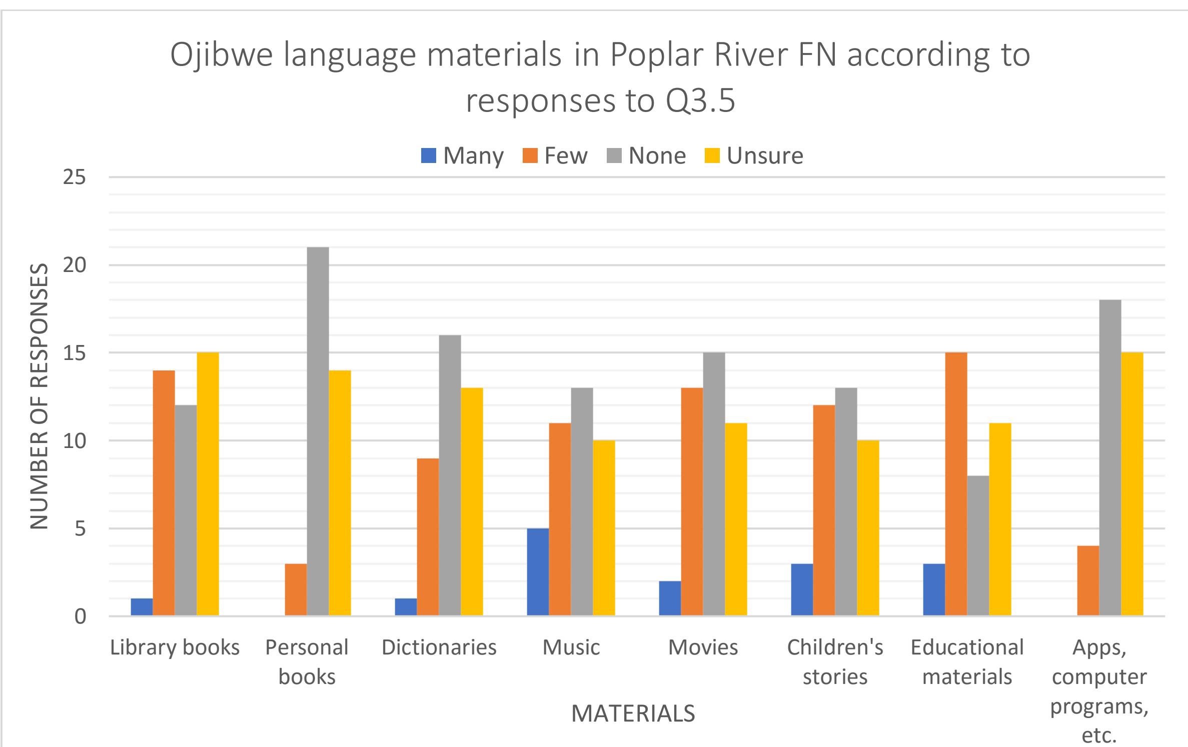

Figure 4.3 - Ojibwe language materials in Poplar River FN (Q3.5)

According to the responses, a number of materials in Ojibwe exist in Poplar River including literature, educational resources, music, movies, and phone or computer applications. Those materials most reported, whether as ‘many’ or ‘few’, are music, children’s stories and educational materials, followed also by movies and library books. Those materials most reported as not being available in Ojibwe are personal books and computer programs. Furthermore, as opposed to all other listed materials neither of these two had any responses ‘many’, and proportionately very few responses of ‘few’. While responses of ‘none’ outweighed all others for nearly every listed material (not library books or educational materials), each material (apart from personal books and computer apps) received significant and comparable responses of ‘few or ‘unsure’.

Programs of language education or preservation participants identified as currently present in Poplar River are classes at school, and more informal public classes some evenings. Much more elaborated responses came in the comments to this section of the survey, expressing desires for more language programming in the community, including expanded classes in the school, an immersion curriculum in the school, HeadStart (an early child development program for preschool aged children and their caregivers), as well as community activities such as language retreats and workshops.

4.3 Attitudes and Beliefs - Factor 1

The following sections summarize the results of the *Attitudes and Beliefs* portion of our questionnaire. Beginning with a general overall picture of the attitudes and beliefs of respondents (4.3.1), this summary of results moves into the more nuanced lenses of sub-factors

Value, Prestige and Practicality (4.3.2), *Identity and Self-Esteem* (4.3.3), and *Obstacles and Supports to Language Use* (4.3.4).

Each of these sections will view respondent results in terms of all responses, responses by age groups, and responses by speaker score, qualifying the statistics and numerical representations with additional comments provided by participants, and highlighting significant areas of agreement and disagreement.

4.3.1 Overall Attitudes and Beliefs

Figure 4.4 below illustrates the distribution of responses by general evaluation (see 3.4.2) - more 'language positive', more 'language negative', or 'unsure' - to all *Attitudes and Beliefs* questions. The chart shows how responses pattern among all respondents, and within the age groups.

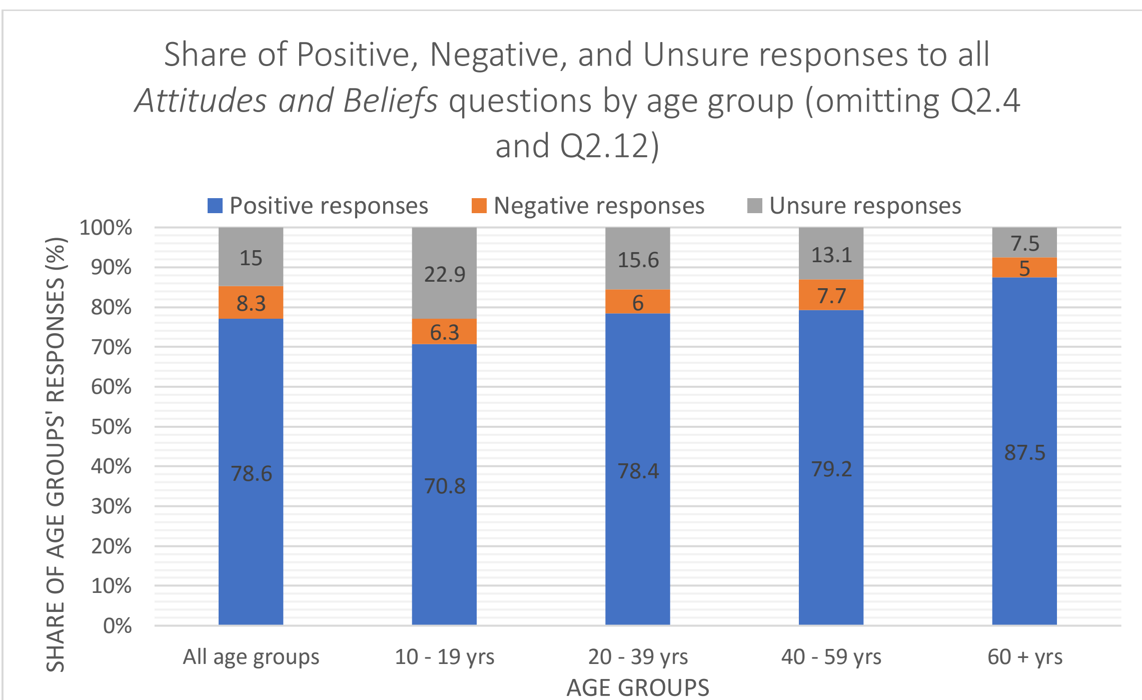

Figure 4.4 - Share of Positive, Negative, and Unsure responses to all Attitudes and Beliefs questions by age group (omitting Q2.4 and Q2.12)

Overall and across all age groups, a similar pattern in the share of responses, generally evaluated, emerges. A significantly larger proportion of responses reflect positive attitudes toward Anishinaabemowin (all above 70% of age cohort's responses), followed by responses of 'unsure', with negative attitudes representing the least share of responses (all below 9% of cohort's responses). Furthermore, as the age group of participants grows, the proportion of positively evaluated attitude responses grows, while the share of 'unsure' responses falls, (relative to one other). In other words, younger age groups tend proportionately to have slightly fewer responses reflecting positive attitudes and a greater share of 'unsure' responses than do older age groups. Proportionately, responses indicating negative attitudes toward language use appear consistently small across all age groups.

A similar illustration of the distribution of responses by general attitudes is summarized by figure 4.5, substituting 'age groups' for 'proficiency score' as the group of participants.

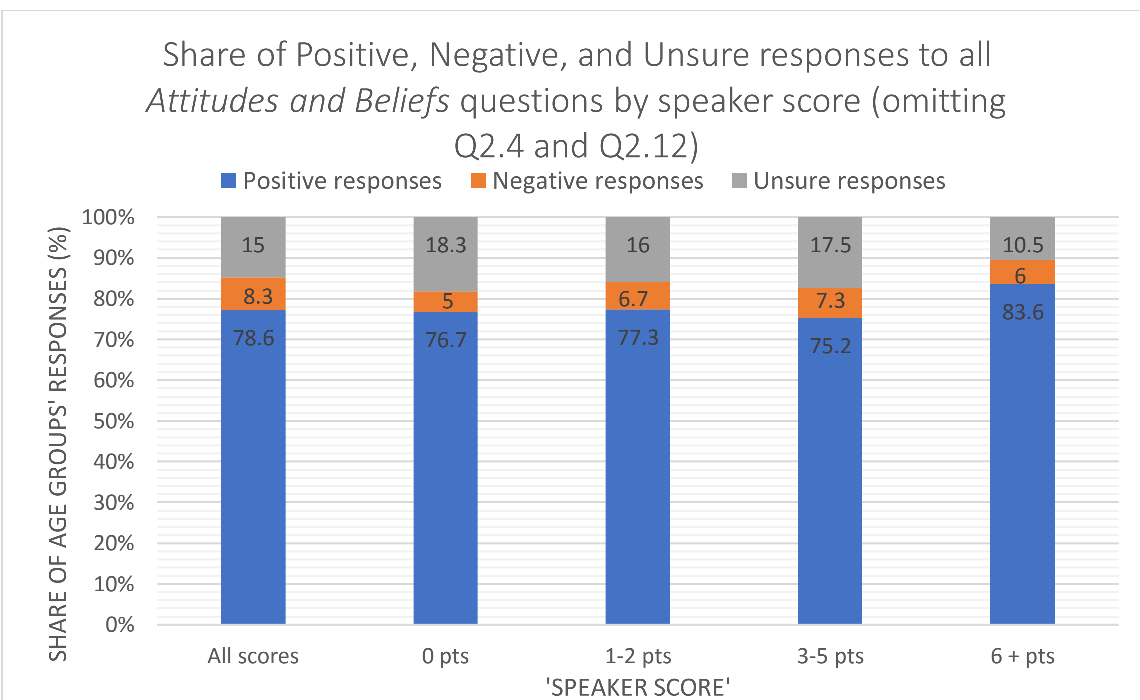

Figure 4.5 - Share of Positive, Negative, and Unsure responses to all Attitudes and Beliefs questions by speaker score (omitting Q2.4 and Q2.12)

A less obviously discernible pattern in overall attitudes appears across speaker score than across age groups. Across all speaker proficiency groups, similar proportions of general response types exist. Still, much like the age groups, those with a 'speaker score' of 6 or above showed the highest proportion of positive attitude responses (all above 75% of cohort's responses), and the lowest share of 'unsure' responses, relative to the other groups.

The above charts however, representing a general evaluation of language attitudes, do not incorporate the five degrees of the Likert scale responses, and so do not distinguish between stronger or more extreme agreement and disagreement. Comparing the averages of mean weighted responses to questions can shed some insight into how participants responded within those similar general patterns illustrated above. Tables 4.11 and 4.12 summarize the averages of the weighted response means to all *Attitudes and Beliefs* questions respectively by age groups and speaker score.

Table 4.11 - Average weighted means of responses to all *Attitudes and Beliefs* questions by age group

Age group	Avg. weighted mean (0-5)
All ages	4.07
10 - 19 yrs	3.86
20 - 39 yrs	4.10
40 - 59 yrs	4.01
60 + yrs	4.30

Table 4.12 - Average weighted means of responses to all *Attitudes and Beliefs* questions by 'proficiency score'

Speaker score	Avg. weighted means (0-5)
All scores	4.07
0 pts	4.08
1 - 2 pts	4.00
3 - 5 pts	3.98
6 + pts	4.20

The averages of weighted responses for the most part patterns with the general picture of positive, negative, and unsure attitude responses - similar across age groups and speaker scores with the 60 + age group and 6+ speaker score groups exhibiting the greatest tendency toward extreme positive responses. The lower weighted average for the 10-19 age group is a product of their higher share of 'unsure' responses, but overall these patterns point toward a tendency for most participants to positively evaluate the role and place of language in their community.

4.3.2 Value, Prestige, and Practicality - Attitudes and Beliefs sub-factor 1

Results for this sub-factor are compiled from questions Q2.1, 2, 5, 6, 9, 11[8]. Responses are evaluated as more positive or more negative based on whether they reflect an attitude that considers the use, support, and learning of Ojibwe to be valuable endeavours. The shares of positive, negative, and unsure responses by age group are summarized in figure 4.6.

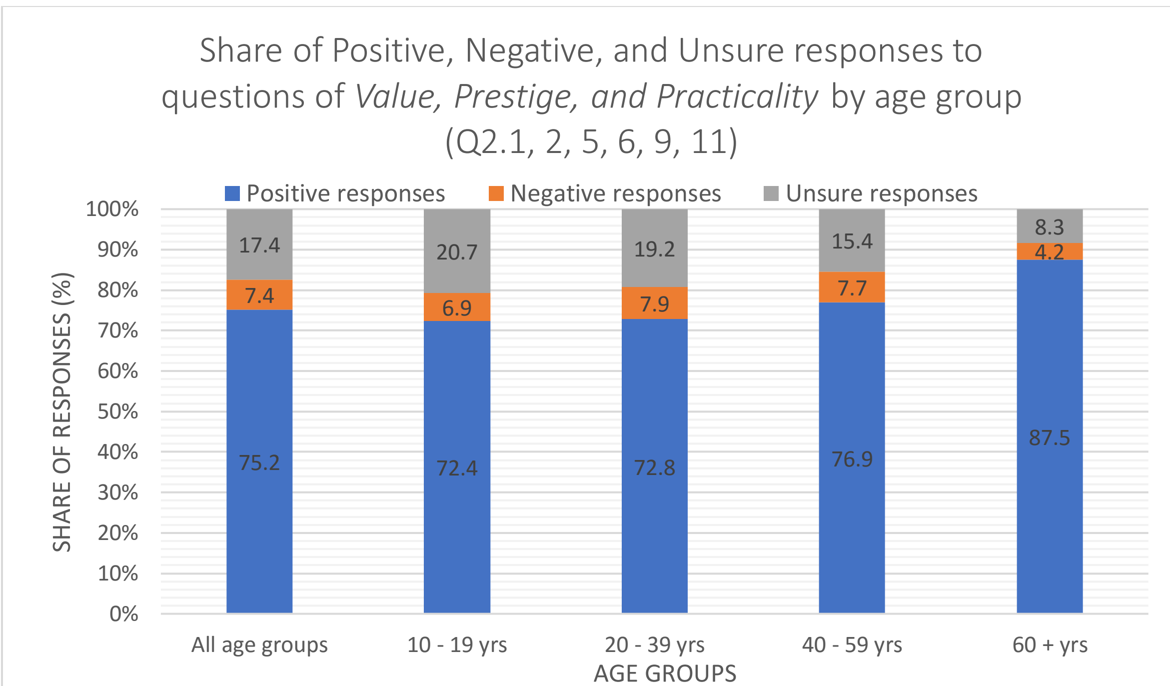

Figure 4.6 - Share of positive, negative, and unsure responses to questions of Value, Prestige, and Practicality by age group (Q2.1, 2, 5, 6, 9, 11)

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[8] Q2.1 *Keeping Ojibwe alive as a spoken language is important.*
Q2.2 *Traditional Culture can survive without the traditional language.*
Q2.5 *It is more important to speak English today than Ojibwe/Anishinaabemowin.*
Q2.6 *A healthy Ojibwe/Anishinaabemowin language important for the health and wellbeing of people in the community.*
Q2.9 *It is ok for people who are not Ojibwe to learn the Ojibwe language.*
Q2.11 *Most people in Poplar River are interested in keeping Ojibwe/Anishinaabemowin strong.*

The proportion of general attitudes to this sub-factor by age group is like that for all attitudes questions - a majority reflect positive attitudes and beliefs, followed by responses of ‘unsure’ and a comparably small proportion of negative evaluations. The main noticeable difference upon isolating this sub-factor is the less obvious gradual increase in positivity and assuredness as the age groups grow. Instead, the first three age groups show similar shares of responses with proportionately higher representations of ‘unsure’, as compared with the oldest age group, which has a significant jump in positive attitudes and drop in ‘unsure’ and negative attitudes. A similar pattern emerges when responses are grouped by speaker score, summarized in figure 4.7.

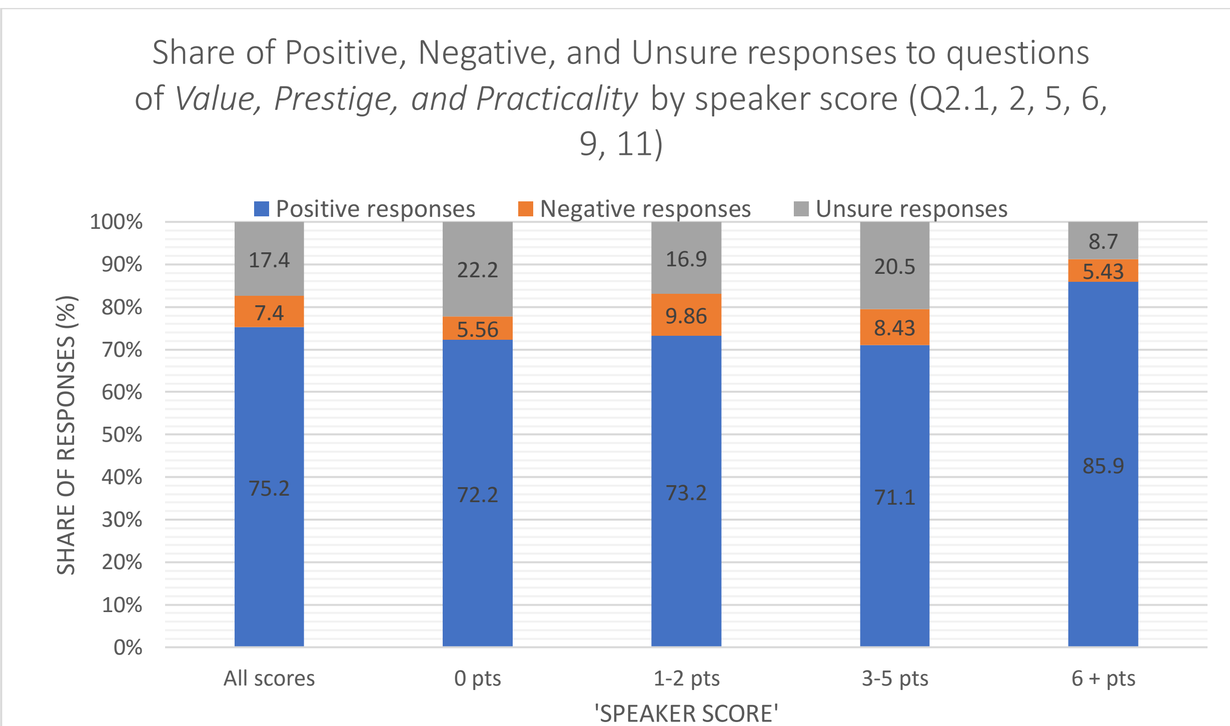

Figure 4.7 - Share of Positive, Negative, and Unsure responses to questions of Value, Prestige, and Practicality by 'proficiency score' (Q2.1, 2, 5, 6, 9, 11)

The ‘language positivity’ and apparent assuredness of responses is higher for the highest speaker score groups and relatively lower for the remaining three groups. Further, while the three lower groups show similarly high shares of ‘unsure’ responses, the middle two groups have a much higher proportion of negative attitude responses than the lowest speaker group.

Tables 4.13 and 4.14 summarize the averages of the questions’ weighted means, respectively by age group and speaker score.

Table 4.13 - Average weighted means of responses to *Value, Prestige, and Practicality* sub-factor by age group

Age group	**Avg weighted mean (0-5)**
All ages	3.95
10 - 19 yrs	3.77
20 - 39 yrs	3.96
40 - 59 yrs	3.92
60 + yrs	4.21

Table 4.14 - Average weighted means of responses to *Value, Prestige, and Practicality* sub-factor by speaker score

Speaker score	**Avg weighted mean (0-5)**
All scores	3.95
0 pts	4
1 - 2 pts	3.89
3 - 5 pts	3.83
6 + pts	4.09

Average weighted means by age group and by speaker score largely pattern with the corresponding charts - the lower three age groups and speaker groups exhibit similar mean weighted responses while the older groups and higher speaker proficiency groups show comparably higher response weights.

While this pattern is expected, the relatively low weighted averages for the youngest three age groups is in large part due to high variation within the responses and high numbers of ‘unsure’ responses to three of this sub- factor’s questions - Q2.2, 5, and 11 - illustrated in table 4.15.

Table 4.15 - Weighted means and standard deviations for significant questions (Q2.2,5,11) in the Value, Prestige, and Practicality sub-factor

	All ages		**10 - 19**		**20 - 39**		**40 - 59**		**60 +**	
	Wtd. mean	Std dev.	Wtd. mean	Std dev.	Wtd. mean	Std dev.	Wtd. mean	Std dev.	Wtd. mean	Std dev.
Q2.2	3.42	1.02	3.00	0.63	3.42	1.12	3.31	0.91	4.25	0.43
Q2.5	3.54	0.85	3.20	0.75	3.67	0.85	3.31	0.91	4.00	0.00
Q2.11	3.68	0.99	3.80	0.4	3.76	1.03	3.77	0.89	2.75	1.09

A high standard deviation for a given group and question is here taken only as an indicator of high variation in responses to that question, signalling either diverse beliefs or misinterpretations toward a given question. While less significant for the 10-19 years groups, the deviation in responses to these questions is large overall, and for the 20-39 years and 40-59 years group in particular. The nature of these questions and why they engendered such a spread of responses compared with the relative agreement seen among the other questions is further addressed in 5.1.2 and 5.4.2.

4.3.3 Identity and Self-Esteem - Attitudes and Beliefs sub-factor 2

The two questions (Q2.3, 4)[9] comprising this subcategory are summarized and analyzed separately. As previously mentioned, this is because Q2.4 cannot be considered as having one of either positive or negative responses. The general results for Q2.3 "*Speaking Ojibwe/Anishinaabemowin is an important part of my identity*" by age group and speaker score are summarized in figures 4.8 and 4.9 below.

[9] Q2.3 *Speaking Ojibwe/Anishinaabemowin is an important part of my identity.*
Q2.4 *I am satisfied with how well I can speak Ojibwe/Anishinaabemowin.*

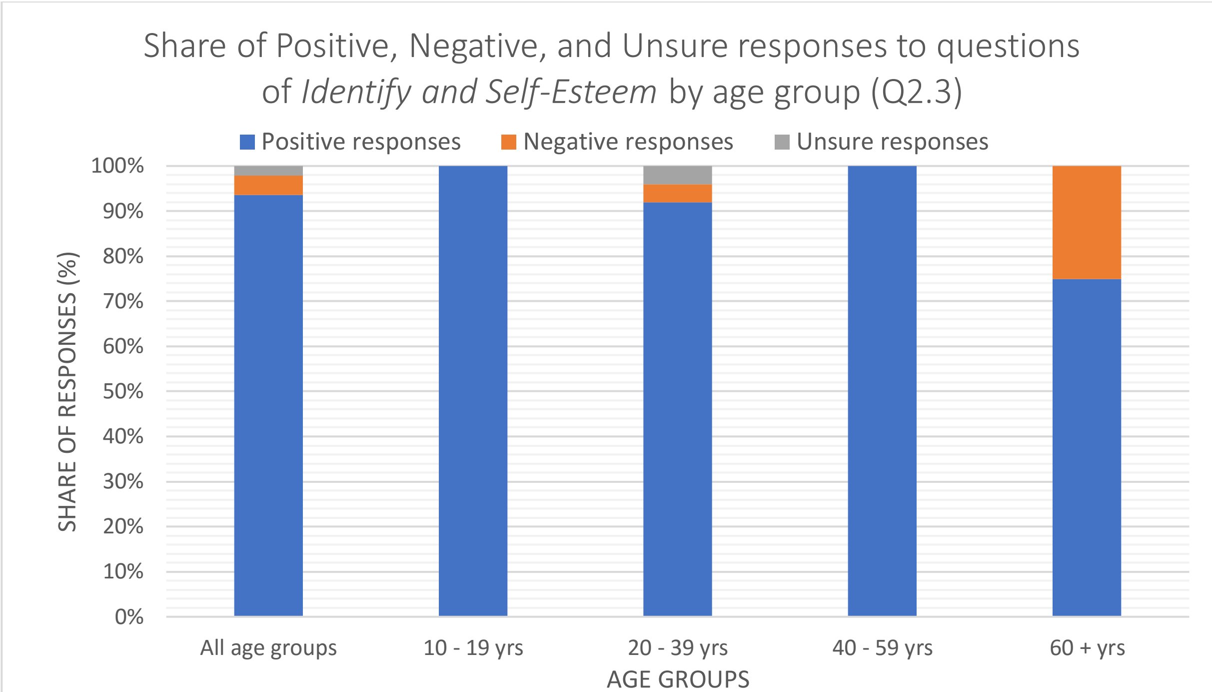

Figure 4.8 - Share of Positive, Negative, and Unsure responses to Q2.3 of Identify and Self-Esteem by age group

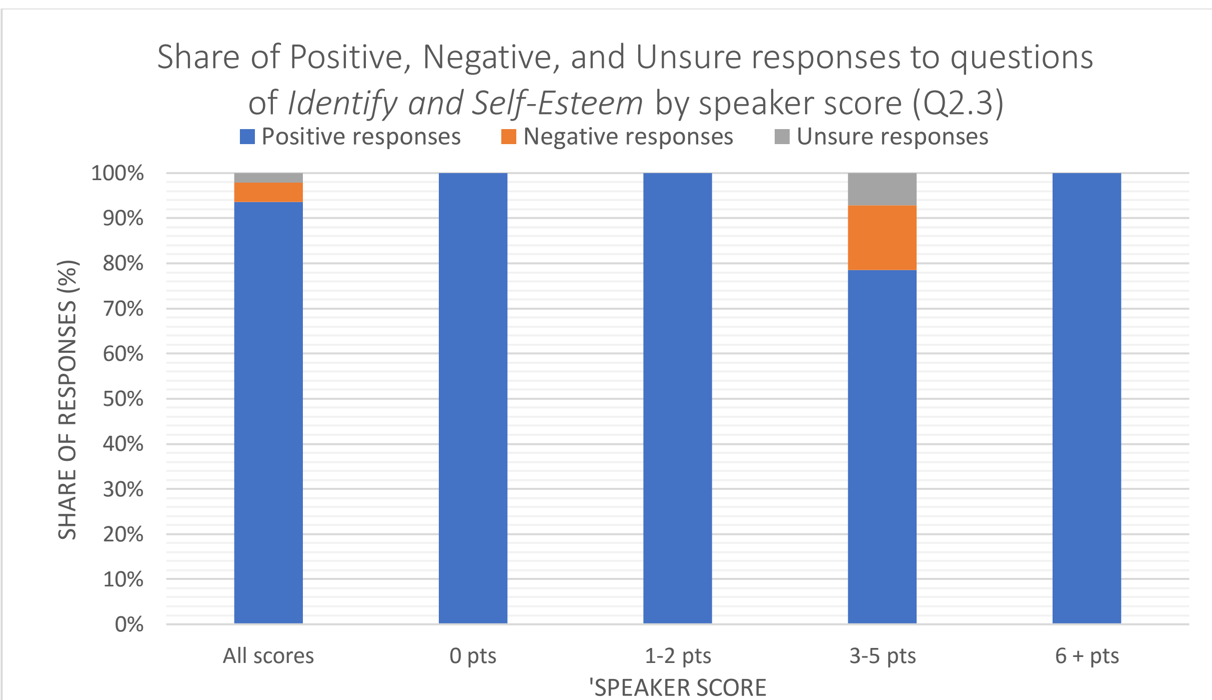

Figure 4.9 - Share of Positive, Negative, and Unsure responses to Q2.3 of Identify and Self-Esteem by speaker score

Virtually all respondents indicate speaking Ojibwe is an important part of their identity, regardless of age group or their proficiency in the language. The only responses in the negative to this question came from an individual in the 60 + age group who identifies as Metis and does not speak Anishinaabemowin, and in individual in the 20-39 group who is not a speaker either. Interesting, both of these respondents score as partial speakers of Ojibwe (3-5 pts).

Tables 4.16 and 4.17 show the degree to which respondents tended either to 'agree' or 'strongly agree' with the question of identification.

Table 4.16 - Average weighted means of responses to *Identity and Self-Esteem* sub-factor by age group (Q2.3)

Age group	Avg weighted mean (0-5)
All ages	4.34
10 - 19 yrs	4.4
20 - 39 yrs	4.28
40 - 59 yrs	4.46
60 + yrs	4.25

Table 4.17 - Average weighted means of responses to *Identity and Self-Esteem* sub-factor by speaker score (Q2.3)

Speaker score	Avg weighted mean (0-5)
All scores	4.34
0 pts	4.5
1 - 2 pts	4.25
3 - 5 pts	3.93
6 + pts	4.73

Since the average of weighted means by age group near 4.5, the responses to this question are approximately split between agreeing and strongly agreeing with this statement. If the Metis respondent for the 60+ group is not included (as this participant identifies more strongly with French and Michif than Ojibwe), this brings the weighted mean for this group up to 5. Similar results are observed for the speaker score groups - regardless of speaking ability, the tendency is toward strongly identifying oneself with the Ojibwe language (apart from the Metis participant).

The second question of this subcategory, Q2.4 "*I am satisfied with how well I can speak Ojibwe/Anishinaabemowin*" is analyzed separately. This question cannot be considered as having a positive or negative evaluation of language in the community since relative satisfaction may either indicate comfort with their level of fluency, a desire to keep learning regardless of fluency level, or no desire to speak the language. For this reason, this question had some of the widest deviation in responses. While not incorporated into our measure of overall attitudes, and not integrated with Q2.3 for the sub-factor of identity, the results for this question in isolation are summarized in figures 4.10 and 4.11.

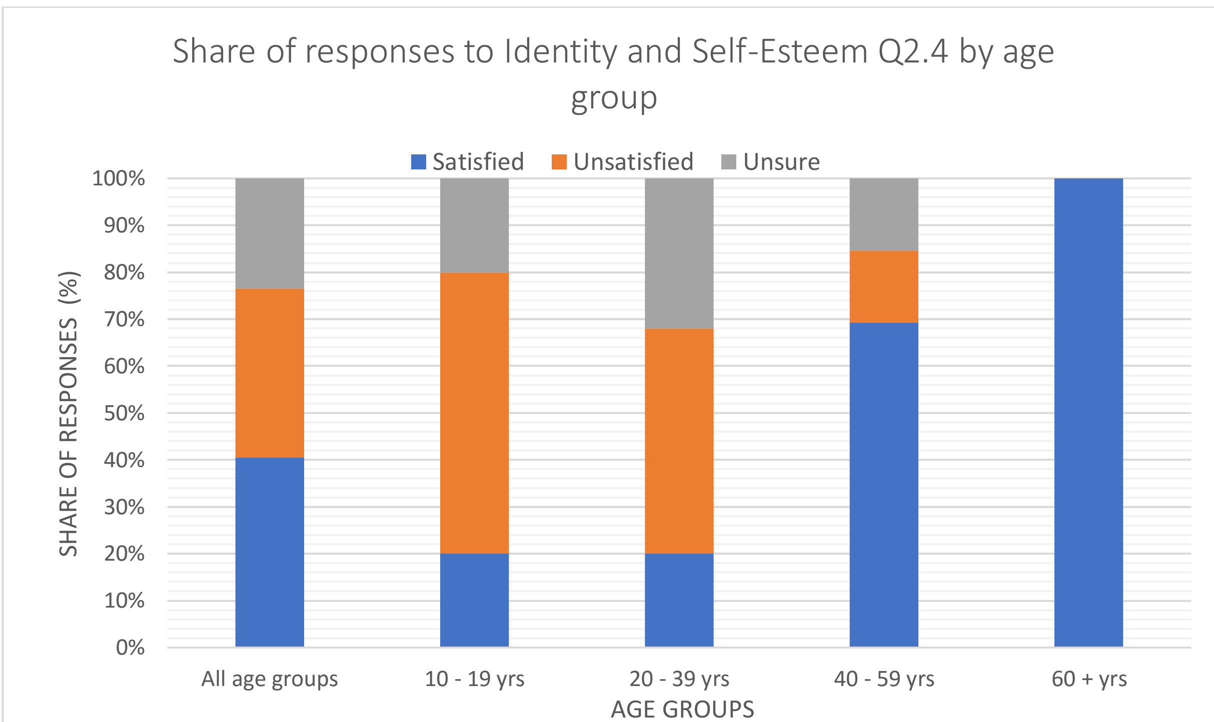

Figure 4.10 - Share of responses to Q2.4, Identity and Self-Esteem sub-factor by age group

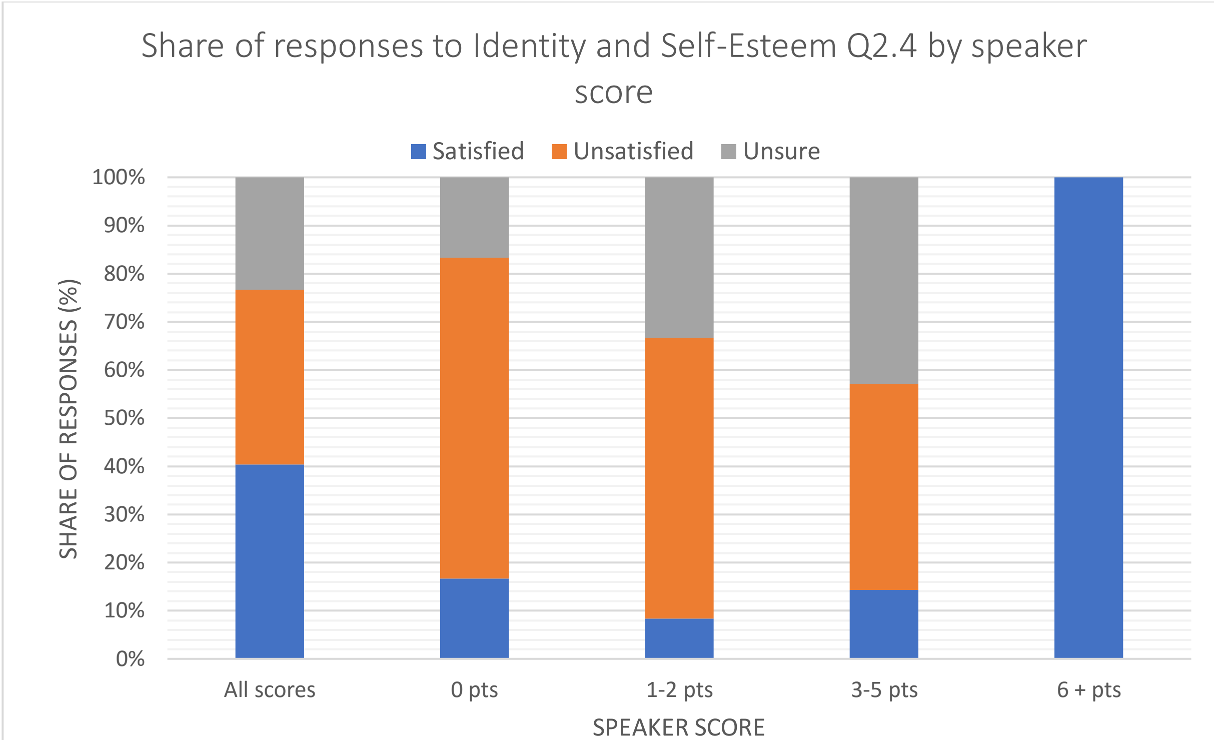

Figure 4.11 - Share of Positive, Negative, and Unsure responses to Q2.4, Identity and Self-Esteem sub-factor by speaker score

Satisfaction with Ojibwe speaking abilities is largely split down a generational line, with those in the 40-59 and 60+ age groups expressing high satisfaction with their abilities, and those in the younger two age groups expressing high dissatisfaction with their abilities. All fluent speakers (6+ pts) express satisfaction with their knowledge, while all others, partial speakers to non-speakers, show high degrees of dissatisfaction. However, within each of these groups, including those who do not speak at all, a minority responded with comfort at their level of Ojibwe knowledge.

4.3.4 *Obstacles and Supports - Attitudes and Beliefs sub-factor 3*

Questions Q2.7,8,10,12[10] comprise the *Obstacles and Supports* sub-factor of Attitudes. The first three are summarized in figures 4.12 and 4.13 below and Q2.12 is described separately. Responses to these questions are counted as positive if they are understood to be expressing an attitude supportive of Ojibwe language education and preservation.

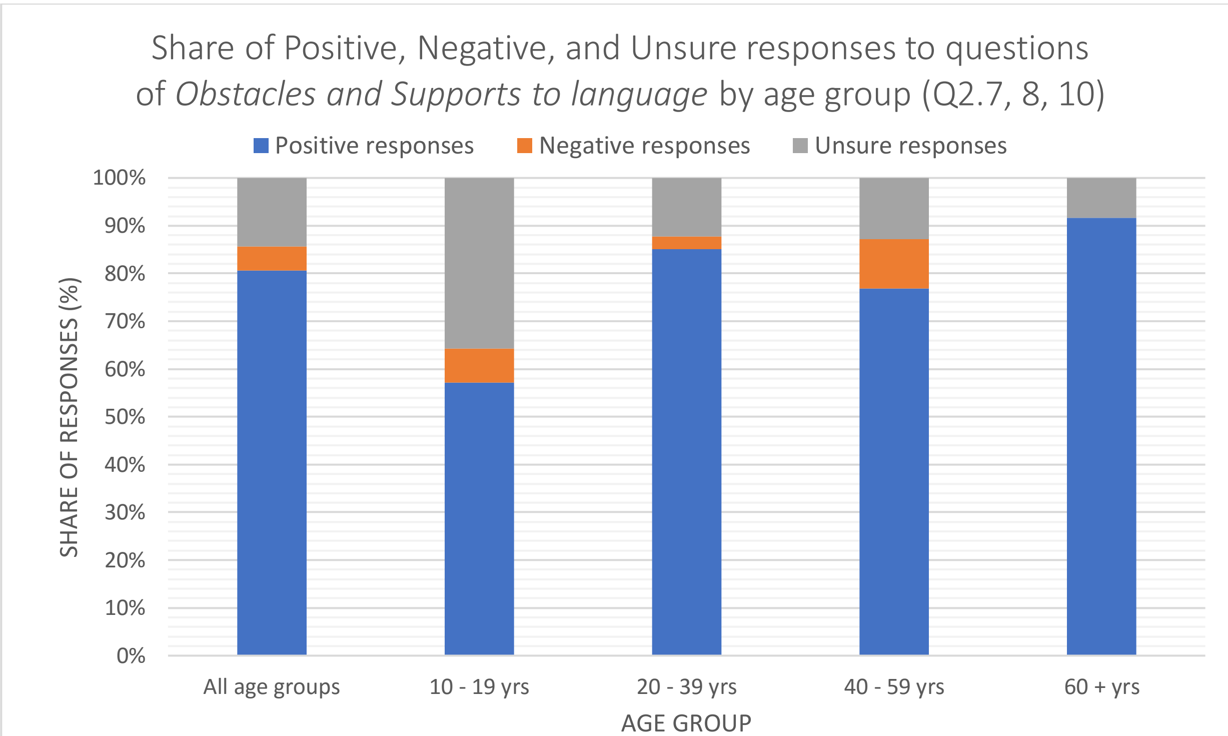

Figure 4.12 - Share of Positive, Negative, and Unsure responses to questions of Obstacles and Supports to language by age group (Q2.7,8,10)

The top three age groups show similar proportions of positive attitudes to questions concerning support for language in the community. The 10-19 years' group is the clear outlier in this comparison, showing a significantly smaller share of positive responses, and a much greater

[10] Q2.7 *Enough is being done to support Ojibwe/Anishinaabemowin language in Poplar River.*
Q2.8 *Ojibwe/Anishinaabemowin should be taught in school.*
Q2.10 *It is a responsibility for speakers to pass on their knowledge of Ojibwe/Anishinaabemowin*
Q2.12 *What do you think are obstacles to speaking or learning Ojibwe in Poplar River?*

share of ‘unsure’ responses. The question responsible for this, and responsible for most of the ‘unsure’ and negative responses in the remaining age groups, is Q2.7 “*Enough is being done to support Ojibwe / Anishinaabemowin in Poplar River*”. Overall, the weighted mean for this question was 3.60 (standard deviation of 0.98), with the 10-19 years age group at 2.80 (std dev 0.4), 20-39 years group at 3.84 (std dev. 0.92), 40-59 group at 3.31 (std dev. 1.07), and 60 + group at 4.00 (std dev. 0.71). These means are significantly lower, and deviations higher (particularly for the middle two age groups), than they are for the other questions of this sub-factor. It is possible that the current framing of the question may have caused some confusion, resulting in more responses of ‘unsure’ or unintentional negative attitude responses, particularly for the younger age groups. This is discussed further 5.4.2. Such a marked difference with one group, however, is not observed when correlating this sub-factor with speaker scores, illustrated in figure 4.13.

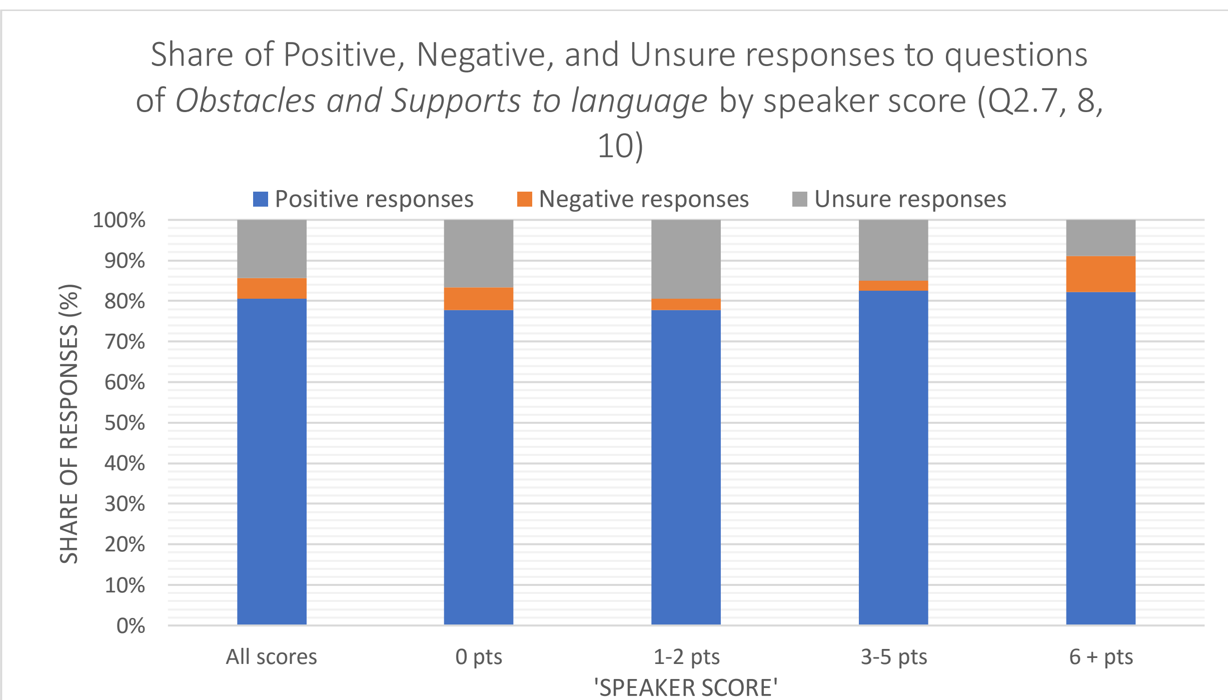

Figure 4.13 - Share of Positive, Negative, and Unsure responses to questions of Obstacles and Supports to language by speaker score (Q2.7, 8, 10)

Across various speaker abilities, from non-speaker, to partial, and fully fluent, positive attitudes of support and preservation are equally abundant. It would appear the differences by age, groups, largely due to Q2.7, are levelled out across proficiency groups, which seem equally to share the ‘unsure’ and negative responses this question elicited. Again, the relatively high proportion of ‘unsure’ responses across all groups supports the possibility that the question framing caused confusion, particularly for younger participants.

Average weights of responses for this sub-factor are outlined in tables 4.18 and 4.19.

Table 4.18 - Average weighted means of responses to *Obstacles and Supports* sub-factor by age group

Age group	Avg weighted mean (0-5)
All ages	4.21
10 - 19 yrs	3.85
20 - 39 yrs	4.33
40 - 59 yrs	4.03
60 + yrs	4.5

Table 4.19 - Average weighted means of responses to *Obstacles and Supports* sub-factor by speaker score (Q2.7,8,10)

Speaker score	Avg weighted mean (0-5)
All scores	4.21
0 pts	4.11
1 - 2 pts	4.14
3 - 5 pts	4.29
6 + pts	4.24

As the responses from the 60+ age group are not as variable and impacted by Q2.7, the weighted responses are higher and indicate a split between positive and strongly positive attitudes. The younger age groups too showed highly positive attitudes, with weights above 4.00 (i.e. responses of ‘agree’ or ‘strongly agree’) but the average is brought down by the amount of ‘unsure’ responses in Q2.7. While the shares of positive responses across speaker groups is very similar (figure 4.13), there is a slight increase in weights of responses as the speaker score increases.

The last part of this sub-category is a query of what participants feel are obstacles to their speaking or learning Ojibwe in Poplar River (Q2.12). Results for this question are summarized in figure 4.14.

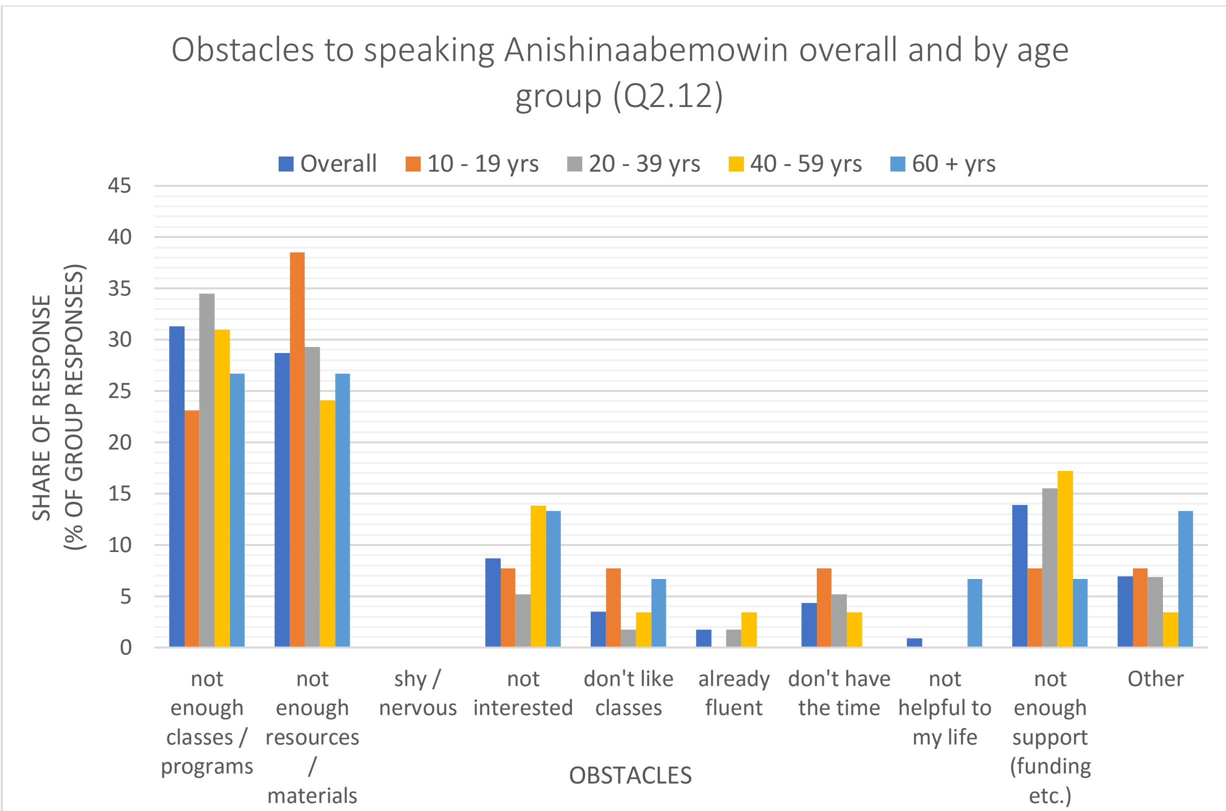

Figure 4.14 - Obstacles to speaking Anishinaabemowin in Poplar River, overall and by age group (Q2.12)

Overall, the main obstacles participants noted as impacting their and their community's use of Ojibwe, is the availability of language classes or programs, and a paucity of resources or materials in the language. In fact, across all age groups, these are seen as the top two hindrances. Following those, the issue of official support and funding, and lack of interest within the community are also seen as important obstacles.

Much of the commentary under the ‘other’ option expanded on these, namely the lack of interest or belief in the importance of speaking Anishinaabemowin, particularly within younger generations, and the paucity of educational resources, focussing particularly the responsibilities of the school. The comments received are as follows:

Interest:

> *“Young people have no interest. It is no help to their lives, they believe.”*
>
> (60+ years)
>
> *“People don't think it is important.”*
>
> (10-19 years)
>
> *“People in the younger age groups do not see the point in learning the languages. Don't know the history of their own people”*
>
> (60+ years)
>
> *“Many do not see the importance, and so this attitude is passed on.”*
>
> (20-39 years)

Resources and Education:

> *“The school should be immersion and half the day should be Anishinaabe. We have enough speakers to make that happen.”*
>
> (20-39 years)
>
> *“They should bring more resources, 2 times am & 2 times pm. On a daily basis and to use more of our language in the whole community. Should also form a Native Language Committee: 8-10 people sitting. Daycare, School, Headstart, Band office, Community Members, etc. to meet every 3 months or monthly, to keep track of how well it is being taught.”*
>
> (20-39 years)

One respondent noted the impact that disrupted families and childhood has on learning traditions and the language:

> *“I lived in CFS most of my life. I grew up with different foster mom and dads.”*

(20-39 years)

Despite the apparent perception that many, particularly of younger age groups, do not have an interest in, or do not see the practicality of speaking Ojibwe, the youngest age groups registered 'lack of interest' as an obstacle to the language among the fewest times, and virtually no participants listed 'not helpful to my life' as an obstacle.

5 Discussion / Interpretation of Results

The aim of this project is to build a description of linguistic vitality in Poplar River First Nation based on responses to a survey designed to elicit information along a framework of linguistic health. While these guidelines outline 7 factors of linguistic health in a speech community, this description focuses on the contribution of individuals' attitudes and beliefs toward the health of Anishinaabemowin in the community. In this way, we seek to explore the contribution of attitudes and beliefs to a description linguistic health, by looking at the factor in a more nuanced way – in terms of its component elements, and according to patterns across generations and language abilities.

The following chapter is organized along two essential discussion points – a description of Ojibwe language vitality in Poplar River First Nation along the parameters of our framework, and the design and process of conducting this project in the community. This first discussion point comprises the initial three sections of this chapter, beginning with interpretation of the attitudes and beliefs of respondents coming out of survey findings (5.1), following with the description of speaker numbers, knowledge, and intergenerational trends (5.2), and domains of use and functions including language programs and materials (5.3). The second discussion point is a critical reflection on certain characteristic of the survey process and questionnaire design (5.4).

5.1 Attitudes and Beliefs - factor 1

The following discusses the attitudes and beliefs of community members in Poplar River, as interpreted from patterns in survey findings across age groups and abilities, and in terms of the nuances of this factor. We seek here to describe how this factor contributes to the description of linguistic vitality in Poplar River First Nation. Discussed first is the picture gleaned from all responses to the Attitudes and Beliefs section (5.1.1), followed by discussion of its component sub-factors of Value, Prestige and Practicality (5.1.2), Identify and Self-Esteem (5.1.3), and Obstacles and Supports (5.1.4).

5.1.1 Attitudes and Beliefs Overall

Survey responses regarding the attitudes and beliefs of participants overall indicate overwhelmingly positive opinions on the value and worth of Anishinaabemowin, strong personal identification with the language, and a firm belief in support for preservation and revitalization. Indeed, if taken as a single indivisible factor of linguistic vitality in a community, the 78.6 % of respondents giving generally positive and supportive attitudes responses against the 8.3 % expressing generally negative responses, and the 15 % unsure of where they stand (see figure 4.4), indicate an overall healthy assessment in this factor.

Taken in correlation with age groups and abilities, the pattern in overall attitudes and beliefs responses suggests older generations and those most proficient in Ojibwe tend both to evaluate Ojibwe in the community more positively, and more strongly express those sentiments. However, while across age groups attitudes trend toward an increase in positive answers as the groups grow older (apart from the middle two age groups, who gave virtually the same shares of responses) (figure 4.4), only the most proficient speaker-score group shows a markedly more positive share of responses within their cohort. Differences are effectively neutralized across the other three ability groups (figure 4.5). Likewise, the middle two age groups show similar weighted averages for responses, with a wide gap between the oldest and youngest groups (table 4.11), while differences in weighted means for speaker-scores are slight for the lowest groups, with a large jump in the 6+ group (table 4.12).

All this is to suggest that both ability and age have an impact on one's attitude and valuation of the language. However, as shares of negative responses remain virtually the same throughout all age and ability groups, the difference in evaluative tendencies is not between giving *positive* or *negative* attitudes and beliefs, but between expressing positive opinions or being *unsure* of what position to take toward a given statement. In this light, differences in overall responses may be explained by a lack experience with language accompanying those of younger age groups and those having spent less time with the language (lower speaker score groups) resulting in less firmly held beliefs.

These trends in responses give some indication of distinct tendencies according to age and abilities within a general picture of attitudes and beliefs. Taking all responses together, however, smooths over differences in specific areas of attitudes among age groups and speaker abilities, as well as important additional and dissenting perspectives. For this, we look to the sub-factors of Attitudes and Beliefs.

5.1.2 Value, Prestige, and Practicality

On the surface, responses to the questions of this sub factor form a similar trend to that seen for all attitudes and beliefs questions – more positive evaluations (and toward the extreme of responses) and less expressions of uncertainty along this sub-factor come with increasing age and speaker proficiency. Notably, the oldest age group (60+) and the most proficient speaker group (6+ points), had significantly higher shares of positive responses and lower unsure responses than the other three groups of their cohort, each showing very similar shares of responses (figures 4.5, 4.6 and tables 4.12, 4.13).

Much of the commentary received by the survey echoes this pattern, and describes a self-perpetuating phenomenon; failure to recognize the value of language leads to poor education and use, and the inability to speak in turn leads to an inability to recognize the practical value of the language.

> *"Young people have no interest. It is no help to their lives, they believe."*
>
> (60+ years)
>
> *"If people spoke they would appreciate Anishinaabemowin, but they have no interest in learning."*
>
> (30-59 years)
>
> *"People in the younger age groups do not see the point in learning the languages. Don't know the history of their own people"*
>
> (60+ years)

Blame for continuing this harmful cycle seems to be directed at the younger people in the community. Having not grown up speaking the language nor experiencing the cultural and linguistic erasure that their grandparents did through residential school and destructive colonial policies, they do not necessarily have the same relationship with the language that older individuals in the community do. This is not to say they do not experience the pressures of modern day colonial attitudes and cultural erasure, but rather that modern pressures influence their valuation of language. The following comment expresses this succinctly:

> *"Colonization isn't over you know. Colonization tells our kids they shouldn't learn to speak."*
>
> (60+ years)

> *"When I go to Winnipeg, nobody speaks Ojibwe there."*
>
> (20-39 years)

> *"When I'm home I would like to speak if I could, but I don't spend all my time here. Outside of Poplar I would never have a chance to speak."*
>
> (40-59 years)

In this way, their definitions of practicality differ. While younger people may see learning and speaking Ojibwe as less pragmatic, for reasons mobility or benefits it affords beyond the community, older generations see learning and speaking as cultural preservation, the corollary benefits thereof, and of resistance to historical and ongoing colonial pressures. However, as is described in 5.1.4 below, despite possibly different valuations of language, and differences in how generations of speakers perceive *each other's* beliefs (older generations perceived younger generations and lacking interest, not recognizing value of language), interest in learning and speaking is virtually universal across all ages.

The three questions of this sub-factor most responsible for the pattern in group responses, and which further illustrate this generational divide in perceptions of value and practicality are Q2.2, 5, and 11. Much of the variation in responses, high shares of 'unsure' responses, and subsequent low weighted means of the bottom three age and ability groups relative to the older and more proficient is due to these questions (see table 4.15):

Q2.2 *Traditional culture can survive without the traditional language.*

Q2.5 *It is more important to speak English today than Ojibwe/Anishinaabemowin.*

Q2.11 *Most people in Poplar River are interested in keeping Ojibwe/Anishinaabemowin strong.*

According to response patterns for these questions, the youngest three age groups expressed greater variation and uncertainty in responses concerning the link between language and culture and the practical value of speaking Ojibwe (see 5.4.2 for discussion of impact of question framing on these responses, namely Q2.2). Consistent with many of the comments submitted, the oldest age group has a tendency to negatively evaluate the interest of the community as a whole in preserving Ojibwe (younger people particularly, as illustrated by additional comments, see above), while younger age groups tend positively to evaluate the community's interest. (Interestingly, and as is seen in 5.1.4, the youngest age groups register 'lack of interest' as an obstacle to speaking Ojibwe among the fewest times).

Overall, it appears that speaking ability and age, informed by generational differences in how people grew up with the language, act in concert in impacting how individuals evaluate the pragmatic use of using Ojibwe in Poplar River, yet all generally believe the language to be a valuable part of the community.

5.1.3 Identity and Self-Esteem

As virtually all respondents, regardless of age or speaking proficiency, either agree or strongly agree that Ojibwe language is an important part of their identity, this sub-factor is best elucidated by how those responses compare with responses to Q2.4, exploring individual satisfaction with language abilities, where the results are not nearly as unanimous.

Despite near universally strong association of the language with individual identity, only the oldest two age groups, and the most proficient speaker group (6+), express satisfaction with their own abilities, all others indicating strong dissatisfaction or uncertainty. In contrast to most other attitudes and beliefs questions, responses of 'unsure' decreased with decreasing age groups and lower speaker score groups. In other words, the youngest and least proficient respondents were the most certain of their dissatisfaction with their Ojibwe speaking abilities.

Considering this sub-factor alongside the previous one, we see a high association of the language with personal identity along with a generally high opinion of the value and practicality of learning Ojibwe, yet widely expressed dissatisfaction with current abilities. One way in which these apparently conflicting sentiments can be interpreted, is that this must cause a degree of psychological and emotional strife and frustration within the individual. Indeed, these are the feelings of many in the community and are expressed in certain comments received in the survey, as well as in personal interactions during the Language Workshop and my visits to Poplar River.

> *"I wish I could speak because I know how important it is to my grandparents"*
>
> (10-19 years)

> *"I want to be able to speak. I feel it is a part of me that I do not know, and I wish I could use the language better"*
>
> (10-19 years)

“Speaking Ojibwe is part of being Ojibwe, and if there were more classes I would like to take them.”

(20-39 years)

However, this pattern of strong identification with low personal satisfaction with abilities may also be interpreted as individuals in the community not taking language for granted. Since most individuals recognize its significance to their and their community’s history, and identify with it on a personal level, an expression of dissatisfaction with personal abilities may represent a desire for that part of themselves and their community to be improved upon and worked toward. If generally high satisfaction were observed for lower speaker abilities (there are respondents in each of the lower abilities groups expressing satisfaction with their level of proficiency, though they are a distinct minority), we could infer some degree of complacency, or indifference toward preserving and expanding use of Ojibwe. However, this is not the pattern that is observed.

Several comments received by the survey suggest a link between how others value or perceive language use, and their own self-esteem using Ojibwe:

“*I have been in Poplar for 23 years. When I first started speaking Saulteaux I was laughed at so I stopped trying. When I was in Oxford House and tried to speak Cree everybody helped me, nobody laughed. They encouraged me. Now I think that I don't need to learn Ojibway except to sing in ceremonies because Creator doesn't judge*.”

(60+ years)

“*Can't really speak it but sounds funny when I try. Good laughs though.”*

(20-39 years)

“Friends usually laugh when we try and speak in Ojibwe.”

(20-39 years)

Comments such as these highlight how the attitudes of others, especially for weak or partial speakers, have an impact on one's linguistic self-esteem, and impact language use. In the case of the first commenter, the comparatively less supportive environment found in Poplar River influenced this speaker to reconsider learning Ojibwe, and resign use of it solely to ceremonial purposes. While this did not arise in the survey as a major hindrance to Ojibwe use in Poplar River (5.1.4), for some the attitudes of others may too act as obstacles to speaking Ojibwe.

5.1.4 Obstacles and Supports

Questions Q2.7, 8, and 10 respectively explore whether respondents feel enough is being done to support Ojibwe in Poplar River, whether the language should be taught in school, and the responsibility of speakers to pass on their knowledge. Included in this sub-factor is a look at what individuals believe are obstacles to speaking and learning Ojibwe in the community (Q2.12, figure 4.14).

Overall, respondents expressed attitudes supportive of Ojibwe preservation in the community, and of calls for more to be done to this end. The differences observed across age groups to questions of this sub-factor (a greater share of 'unsure' responses in youngest group relative to others) (figure 4.12) are eliminated when the responses are considered in terms of speaker score groups (figure 4.13). This can largely be explained by the variation and high uncertainty in responses to Q2.7[11] for reasons discussed in 5.4.2 below concerning question framing. Despite the rhetorical influence of this question likely affecting younger age groups more than others, respondents still overwhelmingly respond with attitudes in favour of

[11] Q2.7 *Enough is being done to support Ojibwe/Anishinaabemowin in Poplar River*

institutional support for language (official services and integration of language in the school curriculum), an expansion of existing and addition of further programs of education and preservation, and agreement that much of this begins with the involvement of existing elder speakers in the community.

As illustrated by results to Q2.12 (figure 4.14) and additional commentary, obstacles to speaking and preservation of Anishinaabemowin centre on two essential themes – Resources, and Interest. The first, a lack of resources (including programs both in school and extracurricular, materials, dedicated government support, and funding) is rated the greatest obstacle across all age groups, and is emphasized in comments such as:

> *"The school should be immersion and half the day should be Anishinaabe. We have enough speakers to make that happen."*
>
> 20-39 years)

> *"They should bring more resources, 2 times am & 2 times pm. On a daily basis and to use more of our language in the whole community. Should also form a Native Language Committee: 8-10 people sitting. Daycare, School, Headstart, Band office, Community Members, etc. to meet every 3 months or monthly, to keep track of how well it is being taught."*
>
> (20-39 years)

These findings largely mirror those of the 1999 Manitoba First Nations Languages Survey for Poplar River, which similarly explored preferred methods for supporting language (Okemaw 1990:132). Both the 1999 survey, and ours note acknowledgement within the community of the critical part elders and existing fluent speakers need to play in supporting language revival. In addition to materials and incorporation of language in school curriculum, among the highest reported methods for language preservation in the 1999 survey also included writing workshops, investment in language teachers, oral history recordings, and a language immersion camp/retreat (132). While much of these same things were not elicited in the survey, they were discussed at length during the Poplar River Language Workshop.

The second major obstacle reported, community interest, comes out of the comments to this section of the questionnaire:

> *"Young people have no interest. It is no help to their lives, they believe."*
>
> (60+ years)

> *"People don't think it is important."*
>
> (10-19 years)

> *"People in the younger age groups do not see the point in learning the languages. Don't know the history of their own people"*
>
> (60+ years)

> *"Many do not see the importance, and so this attitude is passed on."*
>
> (20-39 years)

This last comment is particularly noteworthy as it shows recognition that attitudes may be passed on intergenerationally, as language is, and so the disinterest (perceived or real) of the younger generation does not rest on their shoulders alone.

Bearing the brunt of the blame for lacking interest in learning and preserving the language are the youngest people in the community, according to survey comments and discussed earlier in (5.1.2). However, responses from this age group suggest otherwise, as they rank 'not interested' among the fewest times as personal obstacles to learning or using Ojibwe (figure 4.14), and comments they made suggest widespread interest in learning.

> *"I'd like to learn to speak Ojibwe/Saulteaux"*
>
> (10-19 years)

“I’d like to speak, but I can’t speak well enough”

(10-19 years)

Furthermore, and discussed in greater detail in 5.2.3 below, no respondents of this youngest age group self-report zero abilities in the language, due to apparent willingness to incorporate Ojibwe in their lives where they can, primarily in ceremonial domains through drum circles and prayer.

Therefore, in addition to these obstacles identified by survey participants as hindrances to more widespread use of Ojibwe, the preceding discussion suggests generational differences in attitudes and beliefs, including perception of interest in learning, and valuation of the language among individuals (particularly of different ages) in the community, may be considered further obstacles to the revitalization of Anishinaabemowin in Poplar River as well.

5.2 Speaker Numbers, Knowledge, and Intergenerationality - Factors 3, 4, and 5

Discussed below is a description of the speech community in terms of the speaker score categorisation (5.2.1), how effectively our language knowledge section informs these self-reports (5.2.2), and the cross-generational patterns found in these survey responses (5.2.3). Further, we explore how our categorisation scheme expands on a simple dichotomization of the speech community, how these numbers compare to those of the 1999 Manitoba First Nations Languages Report (the last community-specific language survey in Poplar River), and possible amendments to address the challenges and limitations in the knowledge section of our questionnaire.

5.2.1 Speaker Numbers - factor 5

In contrast to the generally dichotomized description provided by larger scale surveys such as Censuses and National Household Surveys, the self-reported speaker counts given by this survey offer a more nuanced picture of the Ojibwe speaker base in Poplar River First Nation. The counts derived from our speaker score categorize the speakers of this community under a four-term scheme, and offer some insight into the limitations and misleading descriptions provided by counts bases solely on dividing a population into 'speakers' and 'non-speakers'. This method does not claim to be a comprehensive account of the variety of speakers in a community, but does begin to show how nuanced such descriptions can be.

The introduction of the speaker score, derived from Q1.8 and Q1.9 (3.4.1) describes the speaker base not by a dichotomization of ability (speaker/non-speaker), as Q1.1 accomplishes, but under a four-term categorisation: non-speaker, low partial speaker, high partial speaker, and full speaker. Compared to the description yielded by Q1.1, results from the speaker score categorisation yields three essential descriptive differences: first, the number of Ojibwe non-speakers (English monolinguals) decreases; second, the number of individuals self-reporting as Ojibwe speakers decreases; and third, the number of partial speakers is much higher relative to each of the others. Q1.1 describes the Poplar River speech community as 50% English monolinguals (24 responses), and 48% English and Ojibwe bilingual (23 responses, 6 among them speaking Cree as well). Results from the consolidated speaker score indicate non-speakers (0 pts) make up 12.5 % of survey participants (6 responses), 25% are 'low partial speakers' (12 responses), 29.2% are 'high partial speakers' (14 responses), and the percentage of fluent speakers by self-report drops to 33.3% of participants (16 responses) (see tables 4.2 and 4.5).

The benefit of this more nuanced categorisation is that it approaches a more just representation of the diversity of abilities in the speech community. It also permits more detailed correlations between abilities and other factors (namely, for this project, between abilities and attitudes (4.3), and for comparison with our language knowledge section 4.1.1)). It also appears to indicate a tendency for respondents either to under-estimate their linguistic abilities, err on the side of under-estimation to avoid misrepresenting themselves, or consider their limited comprehension and use not to constitute consideration as a speaker, when asked, in a dichotomization, whether they speak or not. This is a phenomenon common to the self-reporting of abilities, particularly when asked to respond to an absolute, such as whether you speak a language or not, when there are many degrees of nuance possible (Ayers 2010, Prince et al 2008, Delgado et al 1999, Paulhus and Vazire 2007).

In the Manitoba First Nations Languages Survey (Okemaw 1999). Okemaw offers a three-way system categorizing speakers as ‘understand’, ‘speak’, or ‘neither’ (in addition to whether participants are literate in roman orthography or syllabics). Compared to these 1999 results, and considering ‘understand’ as both high and low ‘partial speakers’ under our system, we can see that overall the proportion of full speakers in Poplar River First Nation has decreased – 56.7% in 1999 and 33.3% in our survey – non-speakers too has decreased – 32.8% in 1999, 12.5% here – and partial speakers has increased – 10.5% ‘understand’ in 1999, 54.2% ‘partial speakers high and low’, here.

Taken at face value, this seems to indicate some degree of shift in the speech community. However, given the methodological differences between these two projects – the sample sizes are significantly different and comprised of different proportions of age groups, the methods of self-reporting and assigning speaker categorisations differs, and the 1999 survey has a three-way categorisation while the current is four-way – insights toward specific degrees of shift over the 18 intervening years between surveys are difficult to determine. If, as exemplified by this survey, an increase in speaker categorisations results in a reduction on each end of the speaker spectrum (non-speaker and fluent speaker), and an increase in the middle, so-called partial speakers, it is possible the 1999 results would show a similar drop in full speakers, drop in non-speakers, and an increase in partial speaker measures under a four-term scheme. That report would then trend similarly to the speaker number results reported here.

5.2.2 Efficacy of Knowledge Section - Part 4 of questionnaire, factor 3

As responses to the Knowledge section questions by and large correspond as expected to the speaker score groups – participants in the 6+ group tended to give answers that were mostly correct or of 'understand but prefer not to answer', while lower score groups mostly could not respond, or gave somewhat correct answers – it appears that some consistency exists between how respondents perceive their own abilities, and how those abilities measure in a somewhat more objective way.

However, given the challenges and limitations of this section (outlined also in 5.4.2), including the written bias, issues of dialect, survey fatigue, and the fact that inclusion of the 'understand, but prefer not to answer' option effectively amounts to a self-report of translation and comprehension abilities, we cannot confidently maintain that the Knowledge section confirms the speaker score groupings. Considering those limitations and the results they gave, indicative or not of apparent speaker ability as they may be, we offer here a reflection on how to address those challenges for future surveys:

Written bias: Include an element of audio translation and comprehension, as this survey had initially intended to do. The inherent challenge to this is the need for participants to have reliable computer and internet access. This is a difficulty not only for the unreliability of internet in remote communities, and non-universal ownership of personal computers, but also the differing technological abilities of many participants, the resultant disincentive this may prove to be and the impossibility of having identical hard and electronic formats of the survey.

Survey fatigue: The solution to this may be either shorten the survey overall, or place the most demanding questions (such as the knowledge section) earlier on in the questionnaire, or dispersed throughout.

Dialect issues: A more comprehensive vetting process and a piloting of the survey may help to mitigate this risk. It is a difficult problem to avoid given the impossibility of accounting for all dialectal differences in a single standardized survey, as well as the dialectal variation of the community's population of speakers. Indeed, it is this notion of standardization that renders objectively measuring abilities highly problematic in a community of heterogeneous dialects and registers of speech.

Content of Knowledge questions: By designing the questions based on the translation or comprehension of certain predesigned passages, the opportunity to express one's knowledge of Ojibwe is immediately restricted to those specific passages. Therefore, more limited degrees of knowledge are not given opportunities to be expressed.

One approach which would address nearly all the above issues is instead of a dedicated section addressing language knowledge through translation and comprehension, the questionnaire could encourage participants to answer other survey questions, unrelated to specifically measuring abilities, in Ojibwe. This offers more freedom, less pressure to get a 'correct' answer for a random passage translation or reading comprehension, as well as could help address issues of fatigue (shortens the survey by removal of a dedicated knowledge section), issues of dialect (since no standard is being used), remove the self-report option of knowledge questions (as using Ojibwe over English is voluntary), and reduce the problem of restricting knowledge questions with specific content.

5.2.3 Intergenerational Patterns - factor 4

The generational patterns in language use and abilities given by the age groups of speaker scores effectively mirrors that described by the 1999 Poplar River language survey in the 1999 Manitoba First Nations Languages Survey. Furthermore, the patterns in use and abilities by age follows the intergenerational trends expected for a language in an endangered state. Endangerment as indicated by patterns in intergenerational abilities and use is further reinforced by survey responses showing changes in how language is learned and transmitted across generations, and a reliance on older speakers to maintain Anishinaabemowin in the community.

The pattern of abilities and use by age groups reported by this survey is indicative of a community largely dependent on older generations for the language's maintenance. The distribution of speakers by ability and use in Poplar River First Nation is disproportionately weighted toward older generations; the 10-19 years' group respondents have, in a majority, scores of 1-2 points, 20-39 years' group are spread across all abilities though most in the 1-6 points groups with outliers in 0 and 6+ points, 40-59 years are mostly in the 3-6+ points groups, and all Ojibwe respondents in the 60+ years group have scores of 6 points or more (see table 4.8).

Despite the different measures of ability used in the Poplar River language report of the Manitoba First Nations Languages Survey, the results reported here effectively parallel those of 1999. Like our results, the 1999 report shows a steady increase in the proportions of respondents reporting Anishinaabemowin ability as the age groups increase, from 23.7 % of respondents in the 0-15 age range, 83.2 % in 16-45, and 88% of those in the 46-65+ age group (Okemaw 1999:131). We cannot comment on the specific abilities of age groups in 1999 against those of the present, as the speaker score used in this project does not correspond directly to the responses of the 1999 report (see discussion on speaker numbers in 5.2.1).

Interestingly, none of the respondents from the 10-19 years' group in our survey self-report speaker scores of 0, despite overall inabilities to respond to the knowledge and comprehension questions of part 4 in the questionnaire. This contrasts with the responses of certain participants in the 20-39 group who self-report speaker scores of 0, yet indicate some degree of comprehension and vocabulary by their responses to certain language knowledge questions. While the limitations of the knowledge section of the questionnaire (outlined in 5.2.2 and 5.4.2) are in part responsible for this, further context for this pattern of responses from the youngest age group comes in the additional comments they provide. Despite not being able necessarily to *prove* knowledge of Ojibwe, several comments in the 10-19 years' group justify their self-report as low or high partial speakers because of their apparent *effort* to incorporate Ojibwe into their lives, mainly through prayer, drum circles, and learning songs.

> *"I use Ojibwe in prayer, drumming, and singing."*
>
> (10-19 years)
>
> *"I speak Ojibwe only really during singing, drumming."*
>
> (10-19 years)

Nearly every respondent from this age group also expressed desires to learn the language as well as recognition of the intergenerational importance in maintaining language.

> *"The kids should learn before it's too late, like from grandparents or Parents. Sometimes I hear my grandparents talking when I with them."*
>
> (10-19 years)

These comments serve to highlight a fundamental limitation of surveying populations for objective linguistic ability, namely that an effort to count, operationalize, or otherwise reduce a speech community to identifiable and easily manageable labels will necessarily fall short of capturing the diversity of relationships individuals have with their language, as well as their desires, aspirations, and efforts in progress.

Looking at trends in with whom individuals speak in Ojibwe, the general pattern leans heavily toward the use of Ojibwe in an upward generational fashion (see 4.1.2). In other words, most participants in younger and middle age groups use Ojibwe only with those older than them, and rarely with their contemporaries. Use of Ojibwe in the community appears dependent on the oldest generations, with little interaction between the middle and youngest generations in the language. Likewise, the pattern of responses to Q1.12 indicates younger and middle age groups (10-39 years) speak Ojibwe mainly with those older than them, while older age groups (40-60+), speak mainly with those the same age or older, but not always younger.

This appears correlated with how the responsibility of language education and transmission seems to have shifted across the generations. While older age groups report learning Ojibwe primarily or exclusive from parents and grandparents, the younger age groups (20-39 and 10-19), mark the generation where school classes and language programs emerge on par with family as the primary means by which the language is learned (figure 4.1). Combined with the expressed belief that support for language in community is largely a responsibility of formalized educational programs, this may suggest an increasing reliance on such institutions for transmission of the language.

Overall, these responses and patterns show an unequal distribution in linguistic ability across generations, a reliance on older generations for use and maintenance in the community, an upward directional trend in the dynamics of interpersonal communication in Ojibwe. Additionally, results indicate a shift in responsibility for language maintenance from the home and family toward the school and language programs. This seems to confirm earlier reported patterns from the 1999 Manitoba First Nations Languages Survey, and patterns well with the characteristics of EGIDS ratings between 6b and 7 given by Ethnologue to Ojibwe for the region overall (see 1.2.2, figure 1.4, and Lewis and Simons 2010).

5.3 Domains of use, Services, Materials, and Programs - Factors 2, 6, and 7.

This survey aimed not only to ascertain where Ojibwe is embedded within the community, but represent the variety of individual experiences with Ojibwe in the community. To maintain the perspective of individual experience, our methods depend on individual testimony, as opposed to more objective approaches of counting or observation. Here we consider, based on survey responses, where the language is used and heard (5.3.1), community services in Ojibwe both existing and desired (5.3.2), and the existence of language programs and materials (5.3.3).

5.3.1 Domains of use: Hearing and Using Ojibwe

Based on the patterns of responses to Q3.2 and Q3.3 (see table 4.9 and 4.10), Anishinaabemowin use in the community and the domains in which it is active is largely a matter of individual experience. In other words, the language itself does not seem to be inherent to or expected for any particular domain apart from the religious and ceremonial, but rather is something individuals bring to their experience in the community. This inference is informed by two essential observations in the responses: a high variation in responses to Q3.2 (where and how often individuals *hear* Ojibwe), and the responses to Q3.3 (where individuals *use* Ojibwe) indicating mostly interpersonal rather than public areas of life.

First, that Anishinaabemowin still has a strong position in the ceremonial domain is supported by the survey results showing 44.2% of participants ‘always’ here Ojibwe in ceremony and prayer, and 34.9% state ‘often’ hearing it in this context. No respondents reported ‘never’ hearing it in this domain and only 7% said ‘rarely’. However, only 4 responses report using Ojibwe for ceremonial purposes (interestingly, 2 from the youngest age group and 2 from the oldest). This is understandable considering the use of Ojibwe in ceremony and is generally limited to elders giving prayers, singers, and drummers (from comments) – comparably few people compared to the numbers of those who may be hearing the language in these contexts.

As far as where participants report both hearing and using Ojibwe in large proportions, *the home* is the most frequently cited (33 respondents speak here, 60.6% hear it either ‘always’ or ‘often’), along with *on the telephone* (20 responses) – both primarily non-public interpersonal domains. The next most popularly reported domains where participants speak Ojibwe were *at work* (17 responses), *at school* (16 responses), and *out shopping* (14 responses) – distinctly more public realms. This contrasts with the relative infrequency with which survey participants report hearing Anishinaabemowin in these domains. Considering that the ‘use’ question (Q3.3) addressed only speakers of Ojibwe, and the ‘hearing’ question (Q3.2) addresses non-speakers, partial speakers, and fluent speakers, this pattern is not unexpected, but further contributes to the conclusion that using Ojibwe is a largely individual endeavour, existing primarily in private domains and brought into but not a significant feature of public domains.

Further suggesting that language is the domain of the individual before any other, is the wide variation in responses to Q3.2 – where and with what frequency Ojibwe is heard in the community. For many community domains – namely grocery store/shopping, at work, friends’ homes, and to a slightly lesser degree community centres/events – the share of responses between ‘always’ and ‘never’ is similar. Based on these testimonials it is difficult to draw a conclusion on whether Ojibwe is used in any meaningful and widespread way in any of these domains. What it does suggest is that language is used by *some* in *many different* areas of the community; where one individual may never hear it used, another will always hear it used. This may suggest that experiencing Anishinaabemowin in Poplar River is tied to the individual, and not inherent to, or expected from any domain, apart from ceremonial contexts.

From this brief look at domains, in combination with results concerning with whom individuals interact in Ojibwe summarized in 4.1.2, the picture these responses paint is that the Ojibwe language is primarily embedded in the religious and ceremonial domain, fulfilling for most a primarily symbolic function. While still present in the home, mainly for interactions with older family members, it does not significantly exist beyond the home in the everyday community. Where it does, it is better explained in terms of the individual bringing the language there, rather than the domain expecting it.

5.3.2 Domains of use: Services

Abundantly clear by the responses to Q3.4, is that there is a strong desire for numerous services in the Ojibwe language in Poplar River, primarily in realms of family care and public spaces. However, a fault of the question design, it is unclear whether a response of ‘want’ necessarily implies a current absence of that service in the community, or both its existence and appreciation for it, since many surveys respond with ‘want’ alone, or a combination of both ‘want’ and ‘unsure’, or both ‘want’ and ‘already have’ for a single service. Consequently, there are many more responses of ‘want’ than either ‘already have’ or ‘unsure’, making it difficult to confidently determine whether certain services exist in the community or not.

Therefore, in interpreting these responses, we can reasonably assume a service exists in the community if responses of ‘already have’ are comparable to responses of ‘want’ for a given service. We can similarly assume that if responses of ‘want’ or ‘unsure’ significantly outweigh responses of ‘already have’ for a given service, then this service either may not exist in the community or is not engaged with in Ojibwe in a widespread manner. Like patterns noted in 5.3.1 above concerning domains of use, this may simply indicate different degrees of interaction with Ojibwe in the community on an individual level.

Considering this, and according to these patterns of responses, it appears the main services where Ojibwe exists and is engaged with in the community are in medical care, school classes, and in the Band Office. To a lesser degree, surveys reported availability of radio programming and daycare in Ojibwe as well. However, these two services, along with interpreting, recreational activities, law enforcement, and virtually every other option, had responses of ‘want’ and ‘unsure’ significantly outweighing responses of ‘already have’ (see figure 3.2).

Therefore, while it is difficult to confidently conclude by these responses alone whether these services do exist in Poplar River, what the results do tell us is that there is a strongly expressed desire for Anishinaabemowin in all listed services. Among those services where ‘already have’ is not reported in large proportions, these desires for services focus on family care (day care, recreational activities, and HeadStart program), media (television, radio, newspapers), and in more public places, through law enforcement, restaurants, as well as in the signage of all businesses, buildings, and public areas within the community such as street signs (from comments to Q3.4).

5.3.3 Programs and Materials

Most of the listed Ojibwe language materials in the survey each received responses of ‘many’, ‘few’, ‘none’, and ‘unsure’ (much like responses to Q3.2,3,4 concerning domains and services), often in similar proportions. This suggests that these materials are available or exist in the community, but the degree to which individuals interact with them differs greatly. Again, it appears less a concern of materials, than an issue of individuals and how they interact with the language (much like domains is less a concern of where language is expected to be used, than who is bringing the language to those realms). So, while examples of each of these materials do exist in Poplar River, most individuals are either not aware of them, or do not engage with them, the latter perhaps a consequence of the former.

Programs of language education or preservation participants identified as currently existing in Poplar River include classes at school and more informal public classes during some evenings. Much more elaborated responses came in the comments to this section of the survey, expressing desires for more language programming in the community. Those programs that came up the most frequently in comments reiterated many other comments in the survey concerning services and supports for Ojibwe, including expanded classes in the school, an immersion curriculum in the school, HeadStart program (an early child development program for preschool aged children and their caregivers), as well as community activities such as language retreats and workshops.

It is not unlikely that the language workshop setting in which this survey took place impacted responses to desires for programs, services, and materials (and indeed responses to many survey questions, see 5.4). This is because the workshop was essentially focussed on methods to preserve the language, including group sessions on what programs or activities community members would like to see. As this topic was on people's minds and being shared, it is not unlikely that shared responses made it into the questionnaire.

While not a part of our analysis for these factors, generational differences and speaker ability differences likely played a role in the response patterns observed for domains of use, and engagement with language materials. This is due to the nature of our sample (see 4.1, 5.2) not being equally proportional between age groups and speaker abilities. For instance, it is not unlikely that a greater proportion of 60+ age group respondents would report more widespread use, and engagement with materials. This is simply because a greater proportion of this age group are speakers and so are more likely to bring the language into the community with them, and interact with more Ojibwe materials. However, this section intends only to give an overview of these factors, and illustrate how participants report existence of and participation with Ojibwe in the community.

5.4 Survey Process and Questionnaire Design

This description of language use and attitudes in the community of Poplar River is largely constrained and informed by the tool used and the setting in which this project took place. The following discusses how certain characteristics of the Poplar River First Nation Language Forum

(5.4.1) and the design of the survey questionnaire tool (5.4.2) had the potential to influence participants and results.

5.4.1 Poplar River First Nation Language Forum

The decision to conduct the survey at the Poplar River First Nation Language Forum was beneficial to the project for numerous reasons, namely the efficiency with which this allowed to promote, discuss, recruit, and see immediate return of the questionnaires. However, localizing it at this workshop may also have introduced some biases impacting results, by the population sample it attracted, and by a 'priming' effect from the workshop content.

Considering the limited time frame of our visit to Poplar River as well as that of our hosts, and the relatively dispersed nature of the community, focussing the survey at a central location during a public event made for greater ease and efficiency in participant recruitment and survey return. Additionally, the researcher's presence at the workshop provided an opportunity to clearly communicate the goals of the survey, answer questions, as well as have a face to put to the project. Furthermore, as community members voluntarily participated in this Ojibwe preservation workshop, they were prepared at the outset to participate in discussions and activities related to the topic.

This 'priming' provided by the Language Forum, however, may also have impacted on survey respondents and the results they returned. It is possible that the nature of the Language Forum, its purpose being to educate on and discuss the endangerment of Anishinaabemowin as well as collaborate on strategies for preservation, influenced at the outset our sample of participants simply by their willingness to participate. In this way, we may have recruited a sample of the population more likely to believe positively in the revitalization of language, and hold a shared set of values and attitudes not necessarily representative of the entire community. Part 2 of our questionnaire, and our investigation into the attitudes and beliefs of participants, may therefore be influenced by this selection of the population, biasing our results in an overly positive way. However, as seen in sections 4.3 and 5.1 below, while a majority or responses reflect positive attitudes toward Ojibwe use and preservation, dissenting voices and disparate attitudes are still found within the sample.

Similarly, respondents may have been influenced by the activities of the workshop. Much of the workshop was focussed on group brainstorming sessions and presentations of methods, strategies, and what individuals would like to see developed for language education and preservation in the community. This may have influenced responses to similar questions in our survey (those concerned with services, materials, and programs desired in Ojibwe) more so than if these group exercises had not taken place.

Further shortcomings of localizing the survey for the most part on a single afternoon conference (as opposed to canvassing door to door in a more traditional recruitment style), is that those who could not attend the workshop were less likely to be reached. We attempted to mitigate this drawback by making the survey available online as well (through SurveyMonkey). This proved to be a less popular format as only two survey were returned online, thanks in part to limited, unreliable, inconvenient, or unavailable access to the Internet for many residents, or preference for the questionnaire in hard copy (particularly for older participants). This also limited the questionnaire from its original design which incorporated audio clips in the

Knowledge section for comprehension and translation questions to an exclusively written format (5.2.2 and 5.4.2).

To mitigate this risk of biasing our sample at the outset of the survey, future surveys can make more efforts to have the recruitment of participants be a more random process. This could involve door to door canvassing, or incorporating the survey into a public event that is not oriented toward the same topic of the survey. Given a less constrained timeline such different approaches to recruitment may be more appropriate. However, considering the conditions of this project (namely a limited time-frame and a geographically isolated and dispersed community) the advantages afforded us by recruiting and conducting the survey as we did, including maximizing the number of surveys returned and working with a motivated group of participants, outweigh the potential downsides outlined above.

5.4.2 Reflecting on Questionnaire Design

While the survey questionnaire proved the most appropriate method for eliciting linguistic vitality information along our framework, for the ease, efficiency, and precedent set in sociolinguistic studies, it is not without its limitations. The issues in the questionnaire design, much of which were discovered throughout the process of conducting the survey, primarily concern the *Language Knowledge* section (Part 4), and the phrasing of certain *Attitudes and Beliefs questions* (Part 2). The following will describe the concerns with the survey design. How these concerns can be addressed in similar future surveys is considered in 5.2.2.

Language Knowledge - Part 4 of questionnaire

The Language Knowledge section received the fewest responses of any part of the questionnaire, yet also elicited numerous comments providing insight into why responses rates were so low for these questions. These comments centered on three essential themes: issues of dialect, the written bias, and survey fatigue. Further aspects of this section in need of reflection and revision for future surveys include the self-report option, and the content of the knowledge passages.

First, despite our efforts to design the Part 4 questions according to the dialect of Ojibwe spoken in Poplar River (basing questions on literature and educational materials in Northwestern Ojibwe, and vetting the passages with speakers from Poplar River), many participants noted having difficulty understanding many of the passages.

> *"The translations are a different dialect from Pauingassi."*
>
> (20-39 years)
>
> *"Can't really read your translation to the language. It sounds too different than I understand."*
>
> (40-59 years)

Many of these comments came from fluent speakers who, having either grown up, or spent significant time in Pauingassi or Berens River (the nearest Ojibwe communities to Poplar River), find the Poplar River dialect and the language used in the questionnaire unfamiliar enough as to cause confusion and difficulty in comprehension. For many, this proved frustrating since, despite knowing themselves to be fluent speakers, the design of the knowledge section did not allow them to communicate their abilities.

An unfortunate condition of including a section exploring specific language knowledge in a written survey, is that the questions are necessarily in a written, literate format. This written bias renders these questions very difficult for those who cannot read, whether in English, or the Ojibwe double vowel roman orthography transcriptions. During the survey, many participants mediated this issue by asking someone to read aloud the comprehension and translation questions. For others, they simply did not answer, and indicated their reasons. We had initially attempted to mitigate this problem by having audio versions of the knowledge questions in the online survey, accessible on a computer at the language forum. However, technical difficulties prevented this from being an option at the time of the forum. Again, this proved an added burden and disincentive to participating in this section.

A further issue that came up in survey comments was the problem of fatigue. Being the last section of an already lengthy questionnaire, and containing questions fairly demanding of one's attention and energies, several participants report being too mentally fatigued either to attempt the knowledge sections, or put sufficient effort toward them. This too may have contributed to the relatively low response rate for this section, as well as the frequency with which participants opted to self-report by responding with the option of "understand, but prefer not to answer". This option was added to reduce the sense of obligation on the part of respondents, given the risk of fatigue impacting a full speaker's willingness to respond to knowledge sections. However, it also effectively amounts to a self-report of the kind done in part 1 of questionnaire, rather than what it is meant to be, a more objective, linguistically motivated section to correlate with self-reports.

Possible ways in which to address the issues with the survey design identified and described here are discussed in 5.2.2.

Question Framing in Part 2 - Attitudes and Beliefs

While questions in the Attitudes and Beliefs (Part 2) section of the questionnaire are designed to elicit specific feelings and opinions (essentially toward one of two extremes), the framing of certain questions in this section of the survey may have impacted responses in inadvertent ways. This is likely true for questions Q2.2 and Q2.7 given the wide variation in responses and substantial 'unsure' responses each received (see 4.3.2 and 3.3.4).

Q2.2 *Traditional culture can survive without the traditional language*

Q2.7 *Enough is being done to support Ojibwe / Anishinaabemowin in Poplar River*

The current framing of the questions may have caused some confusion, resulting in more responses of 'unsure' or unintentional negative attitude responses, particularly for the younger age groups. For instance, a response toward 'agree/strongly agree' for Q2.2 may not necessarily indicate the respondent feels language is not important to the survival of culture, but rather that they believe the culture is not dependent on it, and will continue to exist regardless. The following comment expresses the complexity of this question and how a response can not necessarily be expressed as toward one of two extremes:

> *"For language and culture questions, you can learn both independently, but you do need the two together. So, culture could survive, but language is sort of empty without it, and vice versa."*
>
> (20-39 years)

Similarly, responses of 'agree/strongly agree' to Q2.7 do not necessarily indicate the respondent believes no more should be done to support language, but rather that what is being done so far is effective. Confusion caused by either of these questions and a desire for responses not to be misinterpreted may have also contributed to the greater number of 'unsure' responses relative to other Part 2 questions.

It is possible that if the question were framed differently, the pattern of responses would have differed. For instance, Q2.7 could have been frames as "*More should be done to support Ojibwe/Anishinaabemowin in Poplar River*" (Q2.7), and it is likely the pattern of responses would be significantly more positive, given the overall positivity of similar attitudes questions. Likewise, if Q2.7 were phrased as "*Traditional language is/is not important for the survival of traditional culture*", there may have been more consensus in responses and less uncertainty. Such rhetorical influence on respondents is one of the central criticisms of the survey and Likert-type method of assessing attitudes and critiques.

Finally, with the privilege of hindsight, a final addition to the questionnaire may have helped address our issues of age representation (few participants in the youngest and oldest age groups compared to middle two age groups). By adding the question "*Do you think this is representative of your age group and peers?*" with regard both to abilities and use, or attitudes and beliefs, we can generalize to some degree the responses of these insufficiently sampled groups.

6 Summary of Findings and Concluding Remarks

The preceding work presents a description of the life of Anishinaabemowin in Poplar River First Nation, MB, along a framework of factors adapted from the UNESCO LVE system for assessing linguistic vitality. This framework guides a description according to seven characteristics of language in a community. For the scope and focus of this description, our analysis organizes these factors into three groups. Summarized here are the major findings for each grouping of factors, what this tells us about the picture of linguistic health in this community, and where we can go from here.

The first factor of our framework, Attitudes and Beliefs, received the most nuanced descriptive treatment. For this, we extended the factor of Knowledge, and Intergenerationality to the exploration of community attitude and beliefs in terms of how respondents value the language, personally identify with it, and their beliefs toward the preservation of Ojibwe or obstacles hindering it.

Overall, survey results show mostly positive attitudes toward the value of Ojibwe and support for its maintenance in the community. In fact, the pattern of responses is characterized less by ratios of positive evaluations against negative evaluations, than it is by positive responses against responses of 'unsure'. This was the first generational pattern observed; older generations tended to be more certain in their expressed attitudes and beliefs (less responses of 'unsure'), while younger generations tended to express more uncertainty (more responses of 'unsure'). This initial indication of generational differences within attitudes manifested most prominently when respondents were asked about the value and practicality of Ojibwe today. Despite near universally positive evaluations of the worth of Ojibwe across all age groups, there may be some generational differences in defining its practicality – linguistic and cultural preservation against practical value outside Poplar River. For oldest respondents, this difference manifests as a perception of uninterest toward learning and speaking within the younger generations. However, this contrasts with responses from the younger generations, who rank lack of interest among the least important obstacle to speaking, and whose comments express strong desires to learn and speak. Furthermore, while all respondents report strongly identifying personally with Anishinaabemowin, those of the youngest, and least proficient groups, express the most dissatisfaction and least uncertainty in doing so about their own abilities. Were the perceptions of older respondents to these younger individuals accurate, the expectation for younger peoples to this question of satisfaction would be one more of ambivalence and complacency, however it is not.

The first grouping of factors looks at speaker numbers, language knowledge, and intergenerational patterns in use (factors 3, 4, and 5). Overall, our findings show that while nearly two thirds (63%) of respondents report as high-partial, or fully fluent speakers in our four-way classification scheme based on a self-reported 'speaker-score', the numbers are disproportionately weighted toward older members of the community. These self-reported abilities, and intergenerational patterns found therein are mostly supported by the knowledge section of the questionnaire, though its limitations and practical challenges including biases of literacy and dialect, mean its results cannot be considered entirely confirming. While the knowledge section may have proven not perfectly adequate in allowing respondents opportunities to express their Ojibwe abilities, the four-term system used based on ability and frequency of speaking at least permitted a more nuanced classification of speaker than a simple dichotomization.

Our second grouping involves the domains and functions of Ojibwe in the community, including educational programs and language materials (factors 2, 6, and 7). Coming out of survey responses, our findings indicate that, apart from the ceremonial function, where even the youngest in the community participate in Ojibwe, the language does not appear to be inherent to any particular domain or function. The wide spread in responses to where and with what frequency Ojibwe is spoken in the community suggest the *individual* is the primary domain of the language, and it use in the community is better understood as people bringing language to various domains and functions, rather than language being expected from those domains and function themselves. Where wide agreement was found is in respondents' aspirations and desires for certain services, programs and practices to greater encourage Ojibwe use and prevalence, including incorporation into school curriculum, language programs, retreats, and workshops for the whole community, and increased efforts to make Ojibwe visible in the community, such as in public signage, buildings, and law enforcement.

There are a number of ways in which this work can be refined and further expanded. First, if future surveys aspiring to the same community-level description as this one aim to incorporate a dedicated factor of language knowledge beyond self-reporting methods, the challenges and limitations outline above should be considered. Such refinements to this type of section may allow for more confident illustrations of self-reports against more objective measures of linguistic ability.

Whether such a language knowledge section is used or not, a valuable expansion of this work would be to perform similar description with other communities of the same EGIDS rating. This type of exploration can provide insight into whether individual communities, whether neighbouring and linguistically related (such as Pauingassi or Berens River), or distinct and not related, whose languages have the same general vitality rating, show similar or diverse descriptions under the more focused lens of a framework such as that used here. This would further illustrate, as we have attempted to begin here, the limitations of such rating systems to account for the nuances of individual community relationship to language.

A further valuable avenue to take research on the vitality, endangerment, and preservation of language in this province is in the realm of public health. Following in the work of researchers working in British Columbia and Alberta, who explore links between cultural and linguistic health and continuity, and various measures of public health, including rates of suicide and diabetes, similar studies can incorporate more nuanced pictures of linguistic health in communities to look at related elements of linguistic and community health (Oster et al 2014; Hallet et al 2007).

These findings and the picture of vitality they describe largely parallel results of the 1999 Manitoba First Nations Languages Survey for Poplar River, in terms of the intergenerationality of the speaker base, and expressed aspirations for more language support through programs, education, etc. Furthermore, it appears to fit with the general EGIDS rating of 7 *shifting*, as there is little transmission to children, and language maintenance in the community relies heavily on the oldest generation of community members. Our results expand on these understandings of Ojibwe vitality by looking not only how a generalized rating compares to an individual community within its umbrella, but in our contribution that intergenerational patterns in language may extend to attitudes toward language as well.

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Appendix 1 - Survey Questionnaire

Poplar River First Nation Anishinaabemowin Language Survey

Hello! Boozhoo!

My name is Stephen Kesselman, I am a graduate student at the University of Manitoba, and I would like to invite you to take part in a project looking at the Ojibwe / Anishinaabemowin / Saulteaux language in Poplar River First Nation.
The Ojibwe language and its dialects is one of more than 60 indigenous languages still spoken in Canada today. Along with Cree and Inuktitut, it is also one of the only languages expected to survive beyond the next generation or two. Still, fewer and fewer people across the country are speaking and learning it. I am interested in asking why this is. Why are languages lost in Canada? How did Canada's destructive colonial history impact languages. How does that threat continue to this day? How do you describe a community's unique relationship with their language?
With that last question in mind, this project aims to look at the Ojibwe language in Poplar River from the eyes of those who live here. This means looking at language as more than just numbers of how many people speak it (Censuses and surveys already do that), but listening to your thoughts, experiences, and relationship with language in the community. In this way I hope to get a picture of language in Poplar River that represents the voices of the community.

If you would like to participate, you can fill out the following questionnaire. It has about 40 questions and is divided into 4 sections:

1. **Your Background**
    - What language(s) you speak, your background with Anishinaabemowin
2. **Attitudes and Beliefs**
    - Your thoughts and feelings toward the language and speaking Ojibwe today
3. **Ojibwe in the Community**
    - Your observations on language use in the community
4. **Language Knowledge**
    - Brief look at your knowledge of Ojibwe

This should take about 20-30 minutes to complete, but please take as much or as little time as you like. You can do it all at once, or over a few days. Also, while we encourage you to answer all of the questions, only answer as many as you like.

Please be sure to read and understand the *Informed Consent* form accompanying this survey. It outlines the purpose, risks, and benefits of the project, and may help to answer any questions or concerns you have. Also, you will be entered into a random prize draw for a gift card to Amazon or iTunes!

If you have any further questions or concerns, please get in touch with us and we will do our best to help. Contact information can be found on the back of the survey.

Megwetch! Thank you! We hope you enjoy!

PART 1 – Your Background

1 – Do you speak any languages other than English? Which ones?

- o Yes, I also speak ______________ ________________ ________________
- o No, I only speak English

2 – What was the first language(s) you learned as a child? ________________

3 – Do you use this language more often, less often, or the same as when you were a child?

- o More often
- o Less often
- o Same
- o Unsure

4 – Do you identify as Ojibwe/Anishinaabe?

- o Yes
- o No, I identify as _______________

5 - When and how did you learn to speak Ojibwe/Anishinaabemowin/Saulteaux? *Check all that apply*

- ☐ as a child
- ☐ as an adult
- ☐ in school
- ☐ in language class or program
- ☐ from my parents
- ☐ from my grandparents
- ☐ from speakers outside my family
- ☐ I taught myself
- ☐ from books
- ☐ I never learned Ojibwe
- ☐ Other_______________

6 – What is the language you speak most often now? ________________

7 – What is the language(s) you hear most often in the community? ________________

8 – How well do you think you speak Ojibwe/Anishinaabemowin/Saulteaux?

- o Don't speak or understand
- o Understand some, speak some
- o Understand well, speak some
- o Understand well, speak fluently

9 – How often do you think you speak Ojibwe now?
- o Not at all
- o Only on special occasions - ceremonies, prayer, etc.
- o A few times a week
- o A few words a day
- o Pretty often
- o Frequently and every day

10 – What age group do you belong to?
- o 10-19 years
- o 20-39 years
- o 40-59 years
- o 60 + years

11 – How many people do you think speak Ojibwe in Poplar River?
- o Most
- o More than half
- o Less than half
- o Very few
- o Other _____________.

12 – When you speak Ojibwe/Anishinaabemowin/Saulteaux, do you mostly speak with people older than you, younger than you, the same age, or all ages?
- o Older
- o Younger
- o Same age
- o All ages

Comments?

____
____
____

PART 2 – Attitudes and Beliefs

1 - Keeping Ojibwe/Anishinaabemowin alive as a spoken language is important.

☐ *strongly agree* ☐ *agree* ☐ *unsure* ☐ *disagree* ☐ *strongly disagree*

2 - Traditional culture can survive without the traditional language.

☐ *strongly agree* ☐ *agree* ☐ *unsure* ☐ *disagree* ☐ *strongly disagree*

3 - Speaking Ojibwe/Anishinaabemowin is an important part of my identity.

☐ *strongly agree* ☐ *agree* ☐ *unsure* ☐ *disagree* ☐ *strongly disagree*

4 – I am satisfied with how well I can speak Ojibwe/Anishinaabemowin.
 strongly agree *agree* *unsure* *disagree* *strongly disagree*

5 – It is more important to speak English today than Ojibwe/Anishinaabemowin.
 strongly agree *agree* *unsure* *disagree* *strongly disagree*

6 – A healthy Ojibwe/Anishinaabemowin language is important for the health and wellbeing of people in the community.
 strongly agree *agree* *unsure* *disagree* *strongly disagree*

7 – Enough is being done to support Ojibwe/Anishinaabemowin language in Poplar River.
 strongly agree *agree* *unsure* *disagree* *strongly disagree*

8 – Ojibwe/Anishinaabemowin should be taught in school.
 strongly agree *agree* *unsure* *disagree* *strongly disagree*

9 – It is ok for people who are not Ojibwe to learn Ojibwe language.
 strongly agree *agree* *unsure* *disagree* *strongly disagree*

10 – It is a responsibility for speakers to pass on their knowledge of Ojibwe/Anishinaabemowin.
 strongly agree *agree* *unsure* *disagree* *strongly disagree*

11 – Most people in Poplar River are interested in keeping Ojibwe/Anishinaabemowin strong.
 strongly agree *agree* *unsure* *disagree* *strongly disagree*

12 – What do you think are obstacles to speaking or learning Ojibwe/Anishinaabemowin in Poplar River? *Check all that apply*

- Not enough language classes or programs
- Not enough resources (books, dictionaries, videos, etc.) available in Ojibwe
- Not interested
- Don’t want to take a class
- Already fluent in Ojibwe
- Don’t have the time to learn
- Not helpful to my life
- Not enough support (funding, government help, etc.)
- Other________________ _________________ _________________

Comments?

____
____
____

PART 3 – Ojibwe/Anishinaabemowin in the Community

1 - Who do you speak with in Ojibwe/Anishinaabemowin and how often?

Person	Always	Often	Sometimes	Rarely	Never	N/A
Children						
Parent						
Grandparent						
Spouse/Partner						
Sibling/Cousins						
Friends						
Elders						
Other community members						

2 - Where and how often do you **hear** Ojibwe/Anishinaabemowin being spoken by other people?

Where	Always	Often	Sometimes	Rarely	Never	Don't know
Home						
School						
Friends' homes						
At work						
Community centres / Community events						
Grocery store / Shopping						
During Ceremonies						
Other________						

3 – Where do you use Ojibwe/Anishinaabemowin?

Check all that apply

- ☐ Home
- ☐ School
- ☐ Grocery Store / Shopping
- ☐ At work
- ☐ On the computer (internet, e-mail, websites)
- ☐ On the telephone
- ☐ In text messages
- ☐ Other_________________ _________________ _________________

4 - Do you already have or want to have any of the following services provided in Ojibwe/Anishinaabemowin/Saulteaux?

Service	**Already Have**	**Want**	**Unsure**
Medical care			
School Classes			
Daycare			
Recreational activities (sports teams, youth centre, etc.)			
Newspapers			
Television shows			
Radio			
Restaurants			
Law enforcement			
Interpreting / Translation			
Band Office / government services			
Other_______________			
Other_______________			
Other_______________			

5 – Do you have any of these available in Ojibwe/Anishinaabemowin in Poplar River and do you ever use them? *Indicate how much of each you think there is in Poplar River and whether you use them*

Materials	**Many**	**Few**	**None**	**Unsure**	**I use them**	**I don't use them**
Library Books						
Personal Books						
Dictionaries						
Music						
Video/Movies						
Children's stories						
Educational Materials						
Smartphone Apps or Computer programs						
Other_________						

Comments?

____
____
____

PART 4 – Language Knowledge
Remember, this is not a test! This is not for school, and you are not being graded so do not worry if you cannot do all or any of the questions!

1 – Do your best to translate these passages from Ojibwe/Anishinaabemowin to English. It's OK if you have trouble, can't translate everything, or just prefer not to answer!

a)
Noongom gaa-giizhigag adaawewigamigong ni-gii-izhaa.

Translation:
____
____
____

- I cannot translate this.
- I understand, but prefer not to answer.
- Any comments? Would you have said this differently in Poplar River?
  ____
  ____

b)
Waaboozens nindaaw. Nindizhinikaaz Nicholas. Nindaa wiimbinakizing.
Ziigwang niminwendaan ji-bakwajibidooyaan waabigwaniin.

Translation:
____
____
____

- I cannot translate this
- I understand, but prefer not to translate this.
- Any comments? Would you have said this differently in Poplar River?
  ____
  ____

2 – Do your best to read answer some questions about these passages.
a)
Ngoding giizhgag Nanabush gii waabmaan nkan, wodi waashko-biiyaag.
Mbe, wedi eteg wo miijyaanh. Nishin yaamaanh wiigbiish sabaab wo naakaazyaanh debnagwo. Nanabush gii boodaakwe- gwaashgni nbiing. Gii ni bkibdoon naaknashk wo nokaazad wii dpi nesed.

- What did Nanabush see? ___________________________.
- What did Nanabush do in the water? ___________________________.

- I do not understand this.
- I understand, but prefer not to answer.
- Any comments? Would you have said this differently in Poplar River?
  ____
  ____

b)
A: Gigiibiinjiwebinige ina noongom
B: Enh, ningiibiinjiwebinige.
A: Gigiibiinjiwebinige ina omaa odenang?
B: Gaawiin, ningiibiinjiwebinigesii noongom odenang.
Niin gaye nishiime ningiibiinjiwebinigemin giiwedinong endaayaang.

- What are they talking about? _______________________.
- What did the younger sibling do, and where? __________________.

- I cannot translate this
- I understand, but prefer not to answer.
- Any comments? Would you have said this differently in Poplar River?
  ____
  ____

3 – Do your best to translate this from English to Ojibwe. It's ok if you have trouble or can't translate everything!
a)
We're driving in the afternoon, me and Brian. Suddenly my car sounded strange. Finally it stopped by itself, no explanation.

Translation:
____
____
____

- I cannot translate this.
- I can translate this but prefer not to.

b)
If you would like to, please use this space to write anything in Ojibwe / Anishinaabemowin / Saulteaux. It can be about yourself, about your family, about Poplar River, a story, and as long or short as you like!

____
____
____

4 – Would you be comfortable speaking only Ojibwe/Anishinaabemowin in the following situations?

	Very comfortable	**Somewhat comfortable**	**Not at all comfortable**
At home with family			
At school with teachers			
In front of a classroom			
At a business meeting			
Teaching Ojibwe to someone			
Ordering at a restaurant			
Other______________			

5 – If you have any further comments, please use this space to write them. You can also get in touch directly with us by the contact information below.

____
____
____
____
____

All done! Thanks! Megwetch!

Thank you!

Thank you again for participating in this project! By taking part in this survey you have given us valuable insight into the health of the Ojibwe language in your community. Your help is important to our goal of describing the current state of Ojibwe linguistic health in Poplar River First Nation and gaining a greater understanding of the endangerment of the Ojibwe language.

Hopefully this was an enjoyable experience for you. If you experienced any sort of distress or discomfort as a result of taking part in this project please contact us and we will do our best to help. If we are unable to help, we will help you find the resources you need. The contact information for the researcher, Stephen Kesselman, as well as the Department of Linguistics at the University of Manitoba is provided below.

* If you no longer wish you be a participant in this project, please do not hand in your questionnaire, or do not click "Submit" at the end of this page, and your survey answers will not be recorded. If you choose to withdraw, you will still be entered into the prize draw! *

So, what happens next? Over the weeks and months to follow we will be collecting survey results and putting together a description of Ojibwe linguistic health from the eyes of the members of Poplar River First Nation. Once this is done, a copy of this description will be made publicly available to the community. You can expect this to be ready by August 2017.

Once again, if you have any questions, comments, or concerns about the project, or would like to learn more about the issue of language endangerment, please feel free to get in touch.

Thanks again for your contribution!

Contact Information:
Stephen Kesselman
kesseslf@myumanitoba.ca

University of Manitoba, Department of Linguistics
(204) 474–9596
lingdpt@cc.umanitoba.ca

Appendix 2 - Informed Consent

UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA | Faculty of Arts

Department of Linguistics
15 Chancellor's Circle
534 Fletcher Argue, University of Manitoba
Winnipeg, MB, Canada, R3T 5V5
Phone: (204) 474-9596
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Department of Linguistics

Informed Consent for:

Research Project Title:

Linguistic Vitality in Manitoba: a survey of linguistic health in an Ojibwa community of Manitoba

Principal Investigator:

Stephen Kesselman

Graduate Student, University of Manitoba Department of Linguistics, Master of Arts

kesseslf@myumanitoba.ca

Thesis Supervisor: Dr. Nicole Rosen, nicole.rosen@umanitoba.ca, 204-474-8568

Institution:

University of Manitoba, Department of Linguistics

(204) 474–9596

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Introduction

This consent form, a copy of which will be left with you for your records and reference, is only part of the process of informed consent. It should give you the basic idea of what the research is about and what your participation will involve. If you would like more detail about something mentioned here, or information not included here, you should feel free to ask. Please take the time to read this carefully and to understand any accompanying information.

Purpose of Study

The goal of this project is to look at how the Ojibwe language is used today in Poplar River First Nation. We want to be different from past studies of language in Manitoba by focusing on the beliefs, experiences, and points of view of the people who live here in the community. This means looking not only at numbers of who does or does not speak the language, but also how well, how often, and in what situations it is used. We also want to hear about your beliefs toward Anishinaabemowin in the community. This way, we can get a picture of Anishinaabemowin in Poplar River, describing how it is strong and how it is threatened based on your voice and the voices of the community.

Your Participation

Participating in this study involves filling out a 40-question survey divided into four sections – 1. Your language background, 2. Your attitudes and beliefs toward Ojibwe language use, 3. Ojibwe language in the community, and 4. Language Knowledge. You are not being judged on your answers and you do not have to answer any question you do not want to answer. We think that this survey should take about 30 minutes. As a thank you for taking part in this project, everyone who participates will be entered into a random draw for a gift card

Risks or Discomforts

Some of the questions may ask for information that you are not comfortable sharing, such as your age group, background, or personal opinions. You do not have to answer any question if you do not want to. If any part of the survey makes you uncomfortable, is offensive, or causes you harm, please do not continue. You may also get in touch with us (e-mail and telephone numbers are available above) with your concerns and we will do our best to help.

No matter which questions you answer, your name will never be linked with the answers you give on the survey. If you want to have your name included, please check the box at the end of this form and we will recognize your contribution in our results. If you want to remain anonymous, your identity and participation will not be published or revealed at any time.

Benefits of this Research

We believe that by hearing directly from the people of Poplar River, we can make a description of Anishinaabemowin that best represents the people who live here. This project, which focuses less on numbers of speakers alone, and more on how the language is used and people's beliefs toward it, will give a description of language that is unique to Poplar River. By showing where the language is strong as well as how it is at risk, the results of this project can help improve language programs, language education, revitalization efforts, and overall understandings of language use in the community and in Manitoba.

Voluntary Participation and Right to Withdraw

Your participation in this project is completely voluntary. You may withdraw from the study for any reason either before or during the survey. If you decide you would not like to be a part of the project, please do not hand in a questionnaire. Because your name will not be included with the questionnaire, we will not be able to find and remove it if you hand one in and decide later that you do not want your answers used.

Anonymity and Confidentiality

All surveys will be anonymous. You will not include your name, identity, or any contact information with the survey. If you would like to have your name included in the study, please check the box at the bottom of this form and we will include your name as a contributor, but your responses to the questionnaire will remain confidential.

Some questions ask for personal information such as your age group, background, opinions, and language abilities. These questions are important for describing how language is used by different groups of people in the community. However, you do not have to answer any questions you are not comfortable answering. In any case, your name will never be associated with your answers.

If you would like to be included in the random prize-draw, we will need some way of contacting you, such as an e-mail address or phone number. You can write that information at the bottom of this form. All information you give us – survey answers, names, or contact information – will be securely stored (digitally or in hard copy), accessible only by the researcher, Stephen Kesselman, and disposed of once the project is complete (see below).

Dissemination and Destruction of Information

Results of this study will be submitted as part of the researcher's thesis for Master of Arts in Linguistics at the University of Manitoba, as well as for publication in academic journals, following the anonymity and confidentiality policies described above. Once surveys have been collected and our results completed, all information, including survey results and confidential information that you provide us, will be disposed of. This will happen once the final thesis is submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies, and no later than December 2017. Another document of the survey results will also be made specifically for the community of Poplar River First Nation. We aim to have this document ready by August 2017.

Questions about Project
If you have any questions, concerns, or comments at any time before during or after the study, please feel free to contact us. Whether it concerns the project itself, your role as a participant, or anything else, you may contact either the researcher (Stephen Kesselman) or the Department of Linguistics at the University of Manitoba. Contact information for both can be found at the top of this page.

Your signature on this form indicates that you have understood to your satisfaction the information regarding participation in the research project and agree to participate as a subject. In no way does this waive your legal rights nor release the researchers, sponsors, or involved institutions from their legal and professional responsibilities. You are free to withdraw from the study at any time, and /or refrain from answering any questions you prefer to omit, without prejudice or consequence. Your continued participation should be as informed as your initial consent, so you should feel free to ask for clarification or new information throughout your participation.
The University of Manitoba may look at your research records to see that the research is being done in a safe and proper way.
This research has been approved by the Joint-Faculty Research Ethics Board. If you have any concerns or complaints about this project, you may contact any of the above-named persons, the principal investigator (Stephen Kesselman), the investigator's supervisor (Dr. Nicole Rosen), or the Human Ethics Coordinator at 204-474-7122 or by email at humanethics@umanitoba.ca. A copy of this consent form has been given to you to keep for your records and reference.

Check this box if you would like your name included in the results as a contributor to the project
☐ I would like my name included as a contributor

Would you like to be entered into a random draw for a $100 gift card? If so, please include your contact information below!

Contact (e-mail address, telephone #): ____________________

Participant Name: ____________________
Participant Signature: ____________________ Date: ____________

Parent or Guardian Signature (if not 18): ____________________ Date: ____________

Appendix 3 - Ethics Protocol Approval

UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA | Research Ethics and Compliance

Human Ethics
208-194 Dafoe Road
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Canada R3T 2N2
Phone +204-474-7122
Email: humanethics@umanitoba.ca

PROTOCOL APPROVAL

TO: **Stephen Kesselman** **(Advisor: Nicole Rosen)**
Principal Investigator

FROM: **Kevin Russell, Chair**
Joint-Faculty Research Ethics Board (JFREB)

Re: **Protocol J2017:034 (HS20699)**
"Linguistic Vitality in Manitoba: A Survey of Linguistic Health in an Ojibwa Community of Manitoba"

Effective: April 19, 2017 **Expiry:** April 19, 2018

Joint-Faculty Research Ethics Board (JFREB) has reviewed and approved the above research. JFREB is constituted and operates in accordance with the current *Tri-Council Policy Statement: Ethical Conduct for Research Involving Humans.*

This approval is subject to the following conditions:

1. Approval is granted only for the research and purposes described in the application.
2. Any modification to the research must be submitted to JFREB for approval before implementation.
3. Any deviations to the research or adverse events must be submitted to JFREB as soon as possible.
4. This approval is valid for one year only and a Renewal Request must be submitted and approved by the above expiry date.
5. A Study Closure form must be submitted to JFREB when the research is complete or terminated.
6. The University of Manitoba may request to review research documentation from this project to demonstrate compliance with this approved protocol and the University of Manitoba *Ethics of Research Involving Humans*.

Funded Protocols:
- **Please mail/e-mail a copy of this Approval, identifying the related UM Project Number, to the Research Grants Officer in ORS.**