LANGUAGE ATTITUDES AND USE IN THE INNU COMMUNITY OF SHESHATSHIU, LABRADOR

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by

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ABSTRACT

The Innu community of Sheshatshiu, Labrador, is one of an increasingly few groups in which children learn an Aboriginal language at home and enter school speaking little or no English; however, little sociolinguistic research has been conducted on its linguistic situation. Research on language attitudes and use in other Aboriginal communities shows that most of Canada's Aboriginal languages are in decline. Given this precedent, it seems likely that the language of Sheshatshiu would also be endangered and that English would be regarded as the prestige language.

To determine if this is the case, a questionnaire was administered by inside interviewers to a random stratified sample of 129 men and women, looking at a variety of topics, including prestige, language change and loss, language of instruction in school and patterns of language usage. Data were analysed statistically to determine whether any of the four variables considered (age, education, gender and occupation) had an effect on participants' responses. Results indicate that the Sheshatshiu Innu generally value their language, use it in daily life and are trying to balance cultural preservation with the need to speak a majority language to communicate with the outside world.

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1.0 INTRODUCTION

When looking at a minority language, there is one essential question: will the language survive? In a small Aboriginal community in southern Labrador, this question had yet to be posed and so a survey was administered to gather information on this and a variety of other language-related topics that fall under the broad fields of language attitudes and use. This type of work was a high priority for Band leaders, who were interested not only in their community's opinions about the viability of their language but also in their thoughts on the community languages in general. This thesis is a description of aspects of the linguistic situation in the Innu community of Sheshatshiu, Labrador, with a focus on the two areas of sociolinguistic study previously mentioned, language attitudes and use, discussing participants' opinions of their own abilities and those of others on subjects such as generational differences in speech, language loss, language mixing and patterns of language usage. This introductory chapter provides the context in which this study is placed while the second chapter discusses the methodology used in creating and implementing the questionnaire. The results are discussed statistically in the following chapter. The fourth chapter contains a discussion of trends apparent in the data and is followed by a conclusion.

In order to ground this research, the importance of the study of the minority languages is examined in §1.1. This is followed by a description of the Sheshatshiu Innu that explains why this community was an ideal partner for this project and also discusses previous research on the language. §1.3 looks at surveys on language attitudes and use that have been administered in other Aboriginal communities in Canada.

1.1 The social and academic context of minority languages

Linguistic diversity, endangered languages and language death are receiving increasing amounts of attention in both academic (e.g. Robins and Uhlenbeck 1991; Grenoble and Whaley 1998; Crystal 2000; Hinton and Hale 2001: Skutnabb-Kangas, Maffi and Harmon 2003) and non-academic (e.g. the European Bureau of Lesser-Used Languages, Terralingua) circles. More and more, people are becoming aware that many languages have been lost and that most minority languages are endangered. Some believe that the impending reduction of linguistic diversity is positive; however, because language "plays a crucial role in the acquisition, accumulation, maintenance, and transmission of human knowledge", lack of linguistic diversity can also be regarded as a loss of knowledge and culture (Nettle and Romaine 2000:27). No matter what one's opinion on this subject is, language loss is a fact. The causes of this phenomenon are varied though it is most strongly attributed to two factors: language shift, in which people use the dominant language in lieu of their first (minority) language with increasing frequency, and the institution of formal education, in which the language of instruction is rarely the minority one (Mithun 1998).

Researchers, communities and other organisations are increasingly interested in issues of language endangerment and maintenance. Maffi (2002:385) attributes the increase of research in the field of linguistics to "the accumulation of a growing mass of data not only on the grammatical and lexical feature of the world's languages, but also on the state of vitality of the languages". Whatever the reason, it remains clear that "language extinction has reached an extraordinary level in recent times and that the

outlook for an impressive percentage of the world's surviving languages is very poor" (Hale 1992:2). Further to this, Robins and Uhlenbeck (1991:xiii) assert that "the extinction of languages is a process which takes place nearly everywhere in the world" and call for "an upsurge of descriptive activity" to document threatened, and typically minority, languages across the globe. Consequently, it is imperative to maintain, revitalize and document as many as possible, since nearly 90% of the world's 6,912 languages are predicted to disappear in the next fifty years (Diamond 1993).[1]

Within the Canadian context, Kinkade (1991:157-158) argues that indigenous languages "have been in decline ever since the first Europeans arrived in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries" and cites a variety of reasons, namely population decline (historically due to disease and war), the institution of schools in which the use of European languages was strictly enforced, the necessity to use a majority language (English or French) in all areas of modern everyday life and the influence of media, especially television. Given the far-reaching nature of these factors, Krauss' (1992) estimate that, of the Native North American languages still spoken, 80% are moribund, is unsurprising; based on Drapeau's (1995b) approximation, this means that there are only between 11 and 14 languages in Canada still being learned as a first language by children. Further to this, Foster (1982) argues that only three of Canada's Aboriginal languages have an excellent chance of survival: Cree, Ojibwe and Inuktitut. Although, as Drapeau 1995b observes, Foster refers to groups of languages rather than to specific language varieties, this loss of Aboriginal languages remains a dire process. Data from the 1991

[1] The cited number of languages in the world was taken from Gordon (2005) in order to provide the most up-to-date information.

Canadian census also supports the hypothesis that most indigenous languages are endangered in this country, revealing that, of the total population with Aboriginal origins, only 17% claimed to speak an Aboriginal language as their first language and only 11% spoke an Aboriginal language at home (Drapeau 1996). This is not to say that minority languages will be lost in the near future; rather, many communities, both in Canada and abroad, are attempting to revitalize and maintain their languages, through language planning and education initiatives. The Cree of Québec, for example, have successfully implemented a Cree-as-language of instruction program, under the auspices of the Cree Nation (Cree School Board 2005), ensuring that children are learning an Aboriginal language both in the home and at school.

1.2 The Sheshatshiu Innu

Sheshatshiu is located in southern Labrador, approximately 40 kilometers northeast of Happy Valley-Goose Bay. (See Map 1 on page 7.) It is a relatively young community, having been established in the late 1950s and 1960s (Schuurman 1994). Sheshatshiu is now home to approximately 1500 people (Armitage, personal communication, 13 August 2005), most of them speakers of the language Innu-aimun (also known as Montagnais). Most residents are bilingual, speaking both Innu-aimun and English (Indian and Northern Affairs Canada 2004); however, elders tend to be

monolingual, speaking only Innu-aimun.[2] One of the defining characteristics of Sheshatshiu is that children learn Innu-aimun as their first language and enter school speaking little or no English, one of the reasons that Philpott et al. (2004:4) call the Labrador Innu one of the "most successful of the world's aboriginal peoples in retaining their language and some connection to the traditional practices of their hunter-gatherer culture".

In order to assess the linguistic situation of Sheshatshiu and to determine whether or not the community felt they were in danger of losing their traditional language, a questionnaire was devised. This questionnaire asked community members for their opinions on a variety of language-related issues, such as language loss and change, the importance of community languages, and language and education; it also gathered information about their patterns of language use in terms of both Innu-aimun, the Aboriginal and minority language, and English, the majority language used both in and outside of the community. Their opinions are important not only because they forge the current linguistic situation of Sheshatshiu but because it is ultimately up to the population, through the choices they make, to determine whether or not their language will live or die.

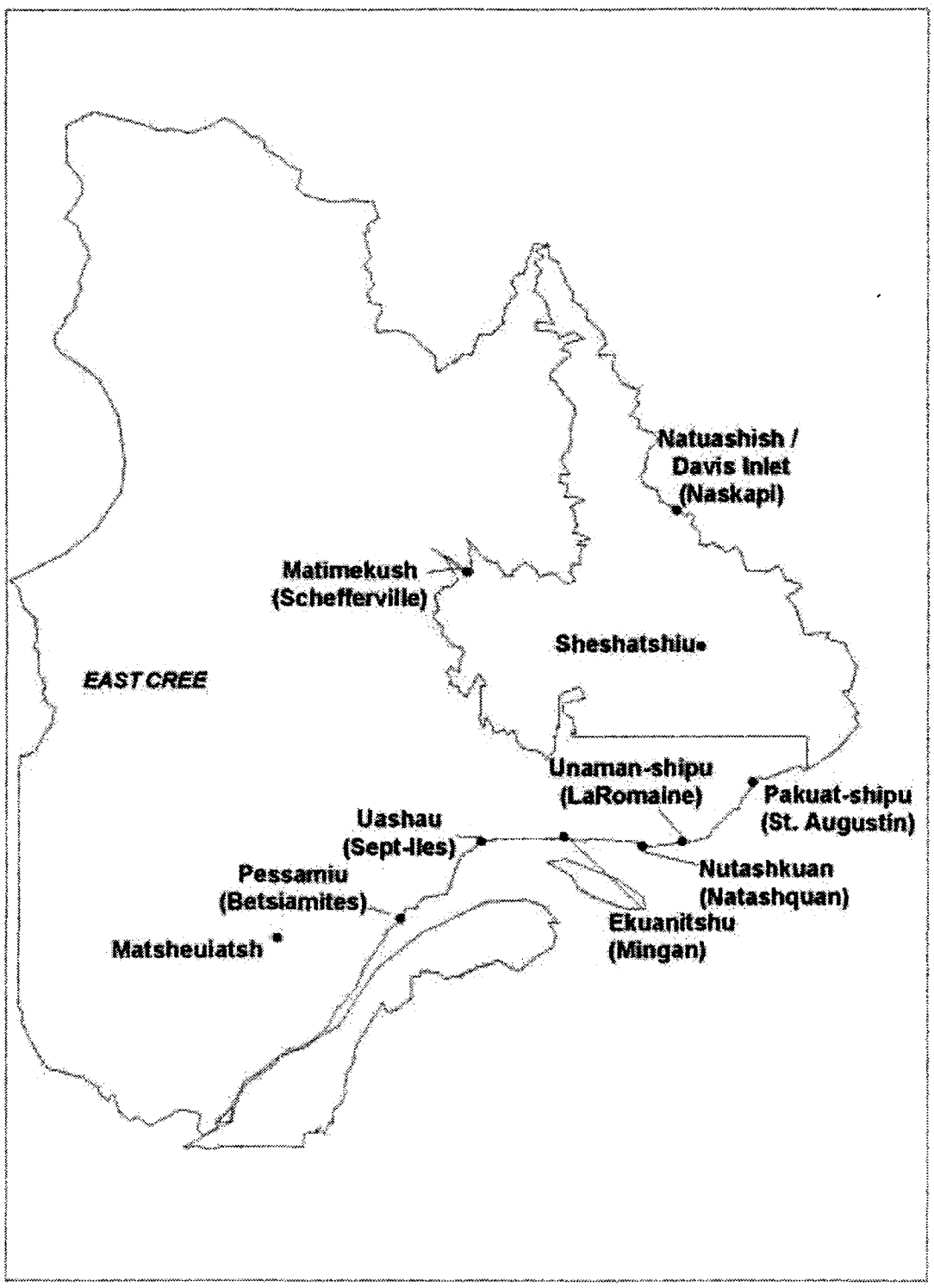
[2] Myers-Scotton's (2006:44) definition of bilingualism has been adopted: "bilingualism is the ability to use two or more languages sufficiently to carry on a limited casual conversation...[without] specific limits on proficiency". It is important to note that "balanced bilinguals", those who are equally proficient in the languages that they speak, are rare (Myers-Scotton 2006:38).

1.2.1 A brief history of the Innu

The Innu are an indigenous people who have inhabited what is now known as the Québec-Labrador peninsula for over 6,000 years (Philpott et al. 2004). They were one of the first groups to encounter European explorers but "remained much less well known than other aboriginal groups living further west, even though these others were contacted much later" (Tanner 1999). Eventually, the Innu did interact with fur traders and missionaries and adapted their hunting customs so that they could participate in the fur trade at various posts and also "made a point during their regular migrations of going to certain posts when they knew a priest would be there; priests also circulated around the posts to hold missions for the Innu annually" (Burnaby 2004:33). Despite this increased contact, the Innu maintained their nomadic ways, although they became increasingly dependent on trading, credit and eventually government sources of income when natural resources were scarce. Eventually, however, the Innu settled in permanent communities in Québec and Labrador, shown in Map 1 on the following page: Matsheuiatsh, Betsiamites, Schefferville, Sept-Iles, Mingan, Natashquan, La Romaine and St. Augustin in Québec and Sheshatshiu and Natuashish in Labrador.[3]

Philpott et al. (2004:3) attribute the settlement of the Labrador Innu communities to "the assimilation policy of Premier Joseph Smallwood's post-Confederation government in the 1950s and 1960s" and state that this policy "dramatically changed the lives of all Labrador Innu" because it became mandatory for children to attend school from September to June. This forced the Innu to adopt a new lifestyle in which they were

[3] Communities are listed from west to east. Note that the language in Natuashish is often referred to as "Naskapi".



Map 1: Innu communities in Québec and Labrador

tied to one location for most of the year; consequently, they were unable to continue hunting and trapping as was their custom and many were forced to rely on government assistance or to seek alternative means of sustenance (Tanner 1979). Despite these drastic changes and difficult living conditions, the "majority of the population [had] made this their year-round base" by 1968 (Schuurman 1994:41). Once the Innu settled into communities, political bodies such as the Naskapi Montagnais Innu Association (later Innu Nation) were established. Through this organisation and others like it, the Sheshatshiu Innu worked to improve their community. Currently, the Sheshatshiu Innu are seeking reserve status from the Canadian government in an effort to become more autonomous.

1.2.2 Research on Sheshatshiu-aimun

There has been a fair amount of linguistic research conducted in Sheshatshiu in the last 25 years. (See MacKenzie 1991 or the online bibliography at http://www.innu-aimun.ca for a more detailed accounting.) There has been a significant contribution in terms of phonology, morphology and syntax (e.g. Baraby 1984, 1986; Branigan, Brittain and Dyck 2005; Branigan and MacKenzie 1999, 2001, 2002; MacKenzie and Clarke 1981; among others). A reference grammar (Clarke 1982) and lessons for English speakers (Clarke 1986a, Clarke and MacKenzie 2006) have also been produced. Most of the sociolinguistic and phonological investigation stems from the Sheshatshiu Sociolinguistic Variability Project (SSVP), an endeavour undertaken by Clarke and MacKenzie in the early 1980s, which focussed on phonology and dialectical differences

found within the community (e.g. Clarke 1984, 1986b, 1987, 1988, 1990; Clarke and MacKenzie 1984; MacKenzie and Clarke 1983; Mailhot, MacKenzie and Clarke 1984). There has also been some anthropological work that describes the community of Sheshatshiu without discussing its linguistic situation in any great detail (e.g. Mailhot 1997). Consequently, there is a gap in the literature that will be partially filled by this study, which looks at the Innu's attitudes toward the community languages, rather than documenting language-internal features.

1.3 Relationship to existing research

This section consists of a review of relevant research, to contextualize the study. The first section looks at research on language attitudes and use that has been conducted in other Canadian Aboriginal communities, namely with the Betsiamites Innu, the Fisher River Cree, the Inuit of Labrador and Québec, and the various communities in Saskatchewan that are discussed in the Saskatchewan Indigenous Languages Survey. The second section discusses research on language mixing in other Canadian Aboriginal communities, specifically with the Betsiamites Innu.

1.3.1 Research on language attitudes and use in other Canadian Aboriginal communities

Research on the language attitudes and use of indigenous communities is becoming more common as people realize that indigenous languages are endangered and may be lost in the near future. The studies summarized in this section focussed on language attitudes and use in Aboriginal communities in Canada, providing a framework

in which the Sheshatshiu survey can be contextualized. First, the Innu of Betsiamites, Québec, are discussed, followed by those with the Fisher River Cree and the Labrador Inuit. §1.2.2.4 looks at surveys conducted among the Inuit of Arctic Québec and §1.2.2.5 at a provincial survey conducted by the Saskatchewan Indigenous Languages Committee.

1.3.1.1 The Innu of Betsiamites, Québec[4]

In the summer of 1991, Oudin and Drapeau oversaw the first sociolinguistic survey that focussed on Innu language use and attitudes in Betsiamites, an Innu community located between Forestville and Baie-Comeau in southern Québec. The questionnaire, which consisted of 80 questions written in both Innu-aimun and French, was administered to a final sample consisting of 282 participants over the age of eighteen.[5] The survey was administered by four female fieldworkers from the community (inside interviewers[6]) and consisted primarily of closed questions based on a five-point scale (Oudin and Drapeau 1993).[7]

In general, it was found that Innu-aimun was:

> ...maintained as the normal language of daily interactions in the village, while French [was] mostly restricted to use as the language of instruction in both the primary and secondary schools of the community as well as the media (with the exception of the local community radio).
>
> (Drapeau 1995a:158)

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[4] Information provided in this section was drawn from Oudin (1992) unless otherwise noted.
[5] See the appendix of Oudin (1992) for the entire Betsiamites survey.
[6] This term is defined in §2.3.1.
[7] Although Oudin and Drapeau do not explicitly state that they used a Likert scale, the scale for this survey has all the characteristics of this form of measurement. (See §2.2 for more on this scale.)

More specifically, data gathered through the administration of this questionnaire revealed that Innu-aimun had great symbolic importance for all ages and that over half of the respondents (52.29%) believed that Innu-aimun and French were equally important; 35.71% thought that Innu-aimun was more important while 5% selected French as the more important language. The survey also indicated that most of the population was concerned about the future viability of their language (with an average score of 3.1/5[8]). In terms of age categories, elders were the most concerned while adults ages 30-39 were the least concerned. Overall, however, 70.5% of respondents believed that Innu-aimun would be spoken in the community in the coming generations.

Age was also a significant variable when discussing language use. For example, the use of codeswitching by younger speakers was viewed negatively by older generations while elders were viewed as speaking "pure" Innu (Oudin and Drapeau 1993:82).[9] There was also a correlation between listening to community radio and the desire to preserve Innu-aimun; those who listened to the radio the most had a greater desire to maintain their language. Furthermore, an overwhelming majority believed that their language was deteriorating. Overall, the most significant indicators in Betsiamites were age, gender and level of education.

[8] This statistic is marked as a fraction in Oudin (1992) because it is a mean score rather than a percentage.
[9] Codeswitching is a mode of communication common in bi- and multilingual communities that can be defined as "the alternate use of two codes in a fully grammatical way, in the same discourse, and even in the same sentence" (Poplack 1988:44), where each code is "associated with different sets of social values...and so is appropriate for use with different interlocutors" (Milroy 1987:184-5).

1.3.1.2 The Fisher River Cree[10]

Another language attitudes and use survey was administered among the Fisher River Cree in Manitoba, approaching the subject from a social psychological perspective. In this study, 78 people of Cree ancestry were randomly selected to fill out an anonymous language and identity survey written in English, with most questions evaluated on a 5-point Likert scale, a form of measurement in which subjects are asked to "agree or disagree with a sample of propositions about beliefs, evaluations and actions held by an individual" (Bradburn, Sudman and Wansink 2004:126). The sample was divided into two groups based on where they were recruited: one group from the high school (32 teenagers between the ages of 13 and 18) and the other from the community (46 adults over the age of 18). The majority of the sample group was female (61.5%), with another 38.9% self-identifying as male and two participants who chose not to reveal their gender.

Results indicate that there was a generational difference; adults felt more strongly about their language and identity and reported "significantly higher levels of oral proficiency...and greater use of Cree than teenagers" (Satchdev 1998:112-113). Also, while the adults did not identify different settings as more appropriate for English or Cree, the teenagers thought that it was more appropriate to use English than Cree in all of the settings discussed in the survey (home, social events, school/work and religious contexts).

From these findings, it was concluded that age was the key variable in the Fisher River Cree study. Age was "positively correlated to Cree oral proficiency, use, attitudes,

[10] Information in this section was drawn from Satchdev (1998) unless otherwise noted.

and preference for a Cree language questionnaire...[i.e.] the older the participant was, the greater was the reported proficiency and favorable attitudes about the use of Cree" (Satchdev 1998:115). Despite this, English was the dominant language in the community for both the teenagers and the adults, with participants reporting fairly low levels of Cree proficiency and use, and high levels of English proficiency and use. All of these factors contribute to the conclusion that Fisher River Cree is in danger of being lost.

1.3.1.3 The Labrador Inuit[11]

Language attitudes have also been researched in Inuit communities in both Labrador and Québec. Compared to other Inuit communities, the Labrador Inuit have experienced the most dramatic language loss (Chartrand 1988), with the shift from Inuttitut[12] to English accelerating dramatically since the 1950s. In a critical examination of language maintenance initiatives among the Labrador Inuit, Mazurkewich (1991:59) found that using English as the language of education was "disastrous" for Inuttitut, facilitating its decline. In the community of Nain, for example, the Inuit are becoming increasingly bilingual and the non-Inuit increasingly monolingual, in English. Mazurkewich's (1991) study, which examined the acquisition of lexical and grammatical structures of eight children educated in a First Language Program,[13] also revealed that Kindergarten children spoke English to both English- and Inuttitut-speaking interviewers, "demonstrat[ing] a striking reluctance to speak Inuttut" even though they were more

[11] Information for this section was taken from Mazurkewich 1991 unless otherwise noted.
[12] The Labrador dialect of Inuktitut is sometimes referred to as Inuttitut or Inuttut.
[13] A First Language Program is an education program in which children are educated in an Aboriginal language, Inuttut, from kindergarten to Grade 2, at which point they are switched to English-language instruction.

proficient in Inuttut than English (Mazurkewich 1991:63). The older children, in Grades 1 and 2, also demonstrated this reluctance to speak Inuttitut, although to a lesser degree. Generally, however, the Kindergarten students opted to speak English rather than Inuttitut, irrespective of the setting, perhaps due to the fact that English is the dominant language in the community, and it took at least a year for children to realize that Inuttitut is acceptable in the school. The decline of Inuttitut has also been noted in Robitaille and Choinière (1984), who found English to be the dominant language in the homes of the Labrador Inuit.

1.3.1.4 The Inuit of Arctic Québec

For the Inuit of Arctic Quebec, Inuktitut is the predominant language. Taylor and Wright (1989) administered a survey about language attitudes, intergroup attitudes and threats to Inuit language and culture to the largest settlement in Nouveau Québec.[14] The final sample consisted of 248 Inuit, 35 Anglophones and 81 Francophones, all of whom considered themselves to be "long-term" residents of the community.[15] They found that the Inuit language was "strong and vibrant", with Inuktitut as the language of the home and, to a lesser extent, the community; however, English can be viewed as the dominant language of the community. It was the *lingua franca* of the community, the preferred language for young people and for the workplace, and the preferred second language for Inuit and Francophones, despite the fact that Anglophones make up less than 10% of the population (Taylor and Wright 1989:105).

[14] Taylor and Wright (1989) do not identify the community by name.
[15] The use of these linguistic and ethnic labels is adopted directly from the source material.

In a later survey, Taylor et al. (1993:204) approached 34 caregivers from the same community and found that Inuktitut was still very strong, with the community "only beginning to experience the effects of...language loss".[16] They attributed this dominance to two factors: (1) this group of Inuit was one of the last to have English or French speakers enter their territory; and (2) they had some degree of control over political, economic and educational institutions. The data revealed that this group's answers were consistent with those from the broader 1989 linguistic survey, making this study a "credible indicator of the community view's as a whole" (Taylor et al. 1993:202). They also revealed that the caregivers had a very positive attitude about language, believing that it will remain strong, an attitude that Taylor et al. (1993:205) classify as "idealistic".

1.3.1.5 The Saskatchewan Indigenous Languages Survey[17]

Conducted in 1988 and 1989, this report was designed to investigate the state and status of Aboriginal languages in Saskatchewan with a focus on patterns of language use in the home and in the community. In total, twenty communities and six languages were included. Information was gathered by means of a "semi-structured" interview in which a questionnaire was administered by Aboriginal people, enlisted from respondents' communities whenever possible (Saskatchewan Indigenous Languages Committee 1991:1). Two versions of the questionnaire were used in this study. The first was administered in homes where one or two Aboriginal languages were spoken while the

[16] Taylor et al. (1993:200) define caregivers as "either parents or those persons who assumed the role of primary child rearer".
[17] All information drawn from Saskatchewan Indigenous Languages Committee (1991) unless otherwise noted.

second was used in homes where more were used. Both questionnaires concentrated primarily on language use and fluency, especially in the home, though other data were gathered as well. In total, over 400 questionnaires were completed and, after analysis, each of the twenty communities surveyed was located on a continuum, labelled as one of the following: (1) "dead", (2) "extremely critical condition", (3) "critical condition", (4) "serious condition", (5) "fair but deteriorating condition" or (6) "good health, but a few symptoms of ill-health". Assessments were based on frequencies, rather than percentages, in order to compensate for the varying population sizes in the communities visited.

The Saskatchewan Indigenous Languages Committee found that the majority of the communities surveyed fell into the category of "extremely critical condition", with two communities being categorized as being in "critical condition" and four others in "serious condition". Only two communities were labelled as being in "fair but deteriorating condition" and three as being in "good health, but [with] a few symptoms of ill-health". The committee also concluded that immediate action was required to maintain all of the Aboriginal languages in Saskatchewan, no matter what their status, and suggested various avenues through which this might be achieved, such as the use of indigenous languages in schools and in the community.

1.3.1.6 Summary

The results of these surveys are quite varied. For example, although the language of the Inuit of Arctic Québec remains strong, Inuttitut (the Labrador variety of Inuktitut) is highly endangered. The Fisher River Cree and seven of the nine Saskatchewan

communities with Cree speakers were described as being in serious condition, with language loss a distinct possibility while the Betsiamites Innu serve as an example of a community in which the language was thought to be strong. One common factor, at least to some of the surveys, is the importance of the age variable since older speakers tend to have a better command of the Aboriginal language.

1.3.2 Research on language mixing in other Canadian Aboriginal communities[18]

Only one relevant study has been published on language mixing in Canadian Aboriginal communities. Data on language use was gathered from the Betsiamites Innu. Sources of data include the 1991 survey of Innu-aimun in this community; natural speech data from informal interviews; recordings of speeches, and discourse from community radio; taped group sessions; and ethnolinguistic observation in the community over a five-year period (1981-1986).[19]

Codeswitching in Betsiamites Innu-aimun occurs at the intrasentential level (within the sentence), with French items, either short phrases or single words, being inserted.[20] Drapeau (1995a) found that, in monitored speech, such as in political speeches or conversations with elders, codeswitching was virtually non-existent; in natural conversation between young and middle-aged adults, however, switching from Innu-aimun to French was very common. The most interesting discovery was that single

[18] Information in this section was drawn from Drapeau (1995a) unless otherwise noted.
[19] The survey is discussed in depth in §1.2.2.1 and §2.2.
[20] For a definition of codeswitching, recall the footnote in §1.2.2.1.

constituent switching, consisting primarily of noun switching, as in the following example, was quite common amongst young and middle-aged bilinguals:

(1a) tshimin-a *le castor*?
'Will you eat the beaver?'

(1b) tshimin-a *du lait*?
'Will you drink some milk?' (Drapeau 1995a:160)

In example set (1), the French constituents *le castor* 'the beaver' and *du lait* 'some milk' have been used despite the presence of these items in the active Innu-aimun lexicon. Caregivers, i.e. individuals responsible for raising children, applied this type of intrasentential switching only to lexical items, stating that they "wish to restrict their vocabulary to those items that they expect their child should know"; contradictorily, grammatical items, such as Innu-aimun verbs, which are highly complex, are not simplified. As a result, when 17 four-year-old children were asked to identify familiar objects, they referred to some items correctly in Innu-aimun but systematically identified others in French, a result that "shocked" caregivers, indicating that the community was not necessarily aware of the potential repercussions of codeswitching (Drapeau 1995a:161-162). However, despite the attrition of basic vocabulary, Drapeau concludes that Betsiamites-aimun was not undergoing a shift to French. At the time of the study, Innu-aimun was generally being spoken by adults and children, although children entering school speak a "type of mixed Montagnais that integrates a great quantity of French phrases" (Drapeau 1995a:162). The overall conclusion, however, is that this mixed Innu-aimun has not, as yet, affected the survival of the language.

1.3.3 Summary of relationship to existing research

Several studies have been conducted on the language attitudes and use of Canadian Aboriginal communities, with varying results. For some groups, such as the Inuit of Arctic Québec, the Aboriginal language remained strong despite the presence of majority languages while, for others, such as the Labrador Inuit, the language was in great danger of being lost. The linguistic situation of Betsiamites is of particular interest since, to this point, this was the only Innu community in which an attitudinal survey had been conducted. This community showed high levels of language mixing and concern for the future of their language but also displayed that the Betsiamites Innu valued Innu-aimun a great deal.

1.4 Summary

Language endangerment and loss are serious threats faced by most Aboriginal languages. The factors that have helped sustain Inuttitut in Arctic Québec (geographical isolation and political, economic and educational autonomy) are not as strong in Sheshatshiu; consequently, it could be hypothesized that the results for the Sheshatshiu survey will pattern in the same manner as those of the Labrador Inuit, the Fisher River Cree, the Betsiamites Innu and most of the Aboriginal communities in Saskatchewan. However, given that Innu-aimun was still being learned as a first language by children at the time the survey was administered, it was expected that the language would still be viewed as strong. Furthermore, in keeping with the findings from the Betsiamites and Fisher River surveys, age was expected to be the most significant variable. An important

difference between the two Innu communities, however, is that language mixing was not expected to be as prominent in Sheshatshiu as it was in Betsiamites since codeswitching in Betsiamites-aimun occurs with a very high frequency.

2.0 METHODOLOGY

This chapter discusses how the data for this study were gathered by first justifying the instrument and then looking at how the Sheshatshiu survey was constructed and implemented. The first section discusses why a questionnaire was used to gather information about the community's linguistic situation, as opposed to other methods used in sociolinguistics. The second section examines the survey used in Sheshatshiu, discussing its source material and development, while the third part of this chapter focuses on the administration of the survey, looking at the fieldworkers and sample. Finally, there is an examination of the instrument, looking at ways in which it could have been improved.

2.1 Justification of the instrument

The questionnaire is an established instrument in the social sciences that has recently come to be used in sociolinguistic studies (Milroy and Gordon 2003:51). According to Agheyisi and Fishman (1970:144), it is the "most popular instrument for eliciting data" for language attitude surveys, especially when dealing with a large sample, as was the case in Sheshatshiu. Furthermore, Baker (1995:9) asserts that "[a]ttitude surveys provide social indicators of changing beliefs and the chances of success in policy implementation...[and that i]n terms of minority languages, attitudes, like Censuses, provide a measure of the health of the language." Such perspectives support the use of a questionnaire in Sheshatshiu since the survey was intended to gauge the community's

opinions about language in order to develop an accurate description of its linguistic situation.

While "...many linguists feel that questionnaires are best used in association with other types of data elicitation...because a fuller picture of the data can be accessed if it is approached from more than one angle" (Wray et al. 1998:167), surveys are often administered without an accompanying interview since interviews are very time-consuming and can go in unexpected directions, making the results more difficult to quantify and analyze statistically. Moreover, in order to code open-ended responses, the researcher must devise a strategy by which responses can be encoded systematically, which creates room for "the possibility of misunderstanding and researcher bias" (Babbie and Benaquisto 2002:242). As a result, the Sheshatshiu survey consists primarily of closed-ended questions with a few open-ended ones.[21]

In Sheshatshiu, the survey was administered by fieldworkers in structured interviews, a format in which the interviewer is supposed to read out the questions exactly as they are written on the page and in the same order every time. This type of interview ensures that "each respondent receives exactly the same interview stimulus...[in order] to ensure that interviewees' replies can be aggregated" (Bryman 2004:110) and also means that someone is available if participants have questions. Since this survey did include open-ended questions, interviewers were encouraged to take detailed notes of any comments made, not only for these but whenever participants wished to elaborate on their answers. These questions typically followed up on the

[21] Closed-ended questions give the respondent a fixed number of response options while open-ended questions allow the participant to frame his/her response s/he sees fit (Babbie and Benaquisto 2002).

previous closed-ended questions and have not been analyzed statistically; instead, the data from these questions are reported in a purely descriptive manner, in which responses were tallied into groups and discussed in terms of number rather than percentages.

2.2 Questionnaire design

The Sheshatshiu survey consists of 103 questions that cover a variety of language-related topics, including but not limited to language attitudes, language use, language mixing, language and education, and language maintenance. It is based on two other surveys used in other Canadian Aboriginal communities, Oudin and Drapeau's 1991 survey of the Betsiamites Innu and Papen's 2002 survey of the Atikamekw of Quebec.

The Oudin-Drapeau survey served as the foundation for the Sheshatshiu questionnaire because it was administered in an Innu community and because Papen used it as the basis for the Atikamekw survey.[22] Designed to investigate "les perceptions de la population de Betsiamites en ce qui concerne son comportement et ses competences linguistiques, ainsi que ses attitudes face aux langues et aux groupes en presence", the Betsiamites survey consisted of 80 questions inspired by both sociolinguistic and social psychological studies (Oudin 1992:61). These questions can be divided into five sections: (a) demographic information; (b) evaluations of linguistic competence of participants' own abilities in French and Innu-aimun, as well as the abilities of older and younger generations; (c) language mixing; (d) language attitudes, focusing on Innu-aimun; and (e) ethnic identity (Oudin 1992). The survey was written in both Innu-aimun

[22] A further benefit is that the results of the surveys will be compatible, allowing for comparisons in the future.

and French and was comprised entirely of closed-ended questions. Below is an example of one of the Oudin-Drapeau questions:

(2) Est-ce que la langue montagnaise est quelque chose d'important pour toi ou n'est-elle pas importante?
Tshimishta ispiteliten-a tshitaimun kie mak apu ishpitelitamin-a? Tipuelit eshpish ishpitelitamin.

1. : beaucoup / *tshitshue eshe*	++
2. : oui, pas mal / *eshe*	+
3. : plus ou moins / *eshe kie mauat*	+-
4. : pas tellement / *apu shuk*	-
5. : pas du tout / *mauat nasht*	--

(Oudin 1992:162)

As this example shows, the questions asked for opinions on a five-point scale. The pluses and minuses to the right of the response choices were used as visual cues for participants; although fieldworkers were employed to record their responses, participants were given a copy of the questionnaire to follow.

The survey designed by Robert Papen for use in Atikamekw communities in 2002 was the other questionnaire that influenced the development of the Sheshatshiu questionnaire. Papen's survey was based on the Oudin-Drapeau survey and consisted of 80 questions, examining language attitudes, language use, codeswitching and language in the school, among other things. Papen had noticed problems with some of the wording of the Drapeau questionnaire and adapted his survey accordingly, as well as making some adjustments to suit the needs of the Atikamekw community (Papen, personal communication, 6 August 2003). He also added the sections about language mixing and attitudes toward schools, which have been included in the Sheshatshiu questionnaire.

The Sheshatshiu survey was developed by comparing these two surveys on a question-by-question basis, creating a master list. From this, duplicated questions were

deleted and new ones added to meet community-specific requirements, such as an increased focus on self-evaluations (e.g. Q21, 26-27, 38a, 38b) generational differences (Q76-77, 84-85), language loss (e.g. Q56-57, 83, 86) and patterns of language use (e.g. Q46, 49, 51, 53, 97). At this point, the questionnaire was also translated into Sheshatshiu-aimun. This preliminary draft was presented at a meeting with community and Innu Education Authority representatives in December 2003. Questions deemed unnecessary or intrusive were removed; the most notable deletion is the section on ethnic identity, a topic which was of great importance in Betsiamites but that is not an issue in Sheshatshiu. Another difference is that the background section in the Sheshatshiu questionnaire is slightly more extensive than that in the Betsiamites or Atikamekw survey since:

> ...[t]o ensure **comparability**, you need, where feasible, to obtain at least minimal reliable background information on your subjects/respondents. To compare responses from a group there need to be some base-line features in common, so that it is clear why a comparison is valid.
>
> (Wray et al. 1998:168-169)

The extra questions (11b, 12 (an expansion on Papen's question about Internet usage), 13) in this section were inserted to update the survey and/or to make it more relevant to the community. Some open-ended questions were also added, primarily as follow-up questions to closed-ended questions on subjects that have prompted much discussion, such as vocabulary loss.

These amendments resulted in the final draft, which can be divided into four sections:

- Demographic information (Questions 1-15, 38)

- Self-evaluation of linguistic competence (Questions 16-19, 22-25, 30-32)
- Language attitudes
    - Generational differences (Questions 33-37, 68-69, 72-74, 76-77, 84-85)
    - Importance of community languages (Questions 78-80, 87-92)
    - Language and education (Questions 98-103)
    - Language loss (Questions 56-57, 60, 81-83, 86, 93-94)
- Language use
    - Language(s) of daily use (Question 40)
    - Language use at home (Questions 41-43, 50-51, 59)
    - Language use at work/school (Question 44)
    - Language use with friends (Question 47)
    - Preferred language(s) when a non-Innu person is present (Questions 52-53)
    - Preferred language(s) of response (Questions 48-49)
    - Location (in vs. outside of the community) as a factor in language selection (Questions 45-46, 54-55)
    - Language mixing (Questions 58, 61-67, 70-71, 75, 95-97)

Below is a question from the Sheshatshiu survey:

(3) How well do you understand (spoken) Innu-aimun?
Tan eshpish nishtutamin Innu-aimun?

very well	well	acceptably	poorly	very poorly
nimishta nishtuten	*ninishtuten*	*miam ishpish*	*apu shuk*	*nasht apu nishtutaman*

As this example shows, questions were evaluated on a five-point Likert scale, as did both the Oudin-Drapeau and Papen surveys.

2.3 Administration of the questionnaire

The questionnaire was administered in Sheshatshiu over a six-week period in the fall of 2004 to 130 men and women from the community. Participants were community residents fluent in Innu-aimun and over the age of 19, the age of majority in Newfoundland and Labrador; fluency in English was not a requirement. Two community members were hired to administer the survey to participants and were trained prior to the start of the survey. On average, interviews took 1.5 hours, although it took much longer when working with elders.

2.3.1 The fieldworkers

The use of fieldworkers is an accepted method for gathering data for dialect geography studies, and can easily be applied to other sociolinguistic research (Milroy and Gordon 2003:54). Oudin and Drapeau, for example, successfully used fieldworkers in the administration of the Betsiamites questionnaire. And while fieldworker-administered surveys have been "traditionally very time consuming", as was the case with the data collection for the Linguistic Atlas of the United States and Canada, which began in the 1930s (Milroy and Gordon 2003:55), they can be very efficient over a short period of time since more data can be collected within this timeframe, as compared with other variationist methods such as sociolinguistic interviews.

In Sheshatshiu, fieldworkers were hired to administer the questionnaire to the sample population for three reasons: first, the survey was to be administered in Innu-aimun; second, a significant portion of the population may not be able to read Innu-aimun and would be unable or unwilling to complete the questionnaire by themselves; and third, it was logistically more practical to employ fieldworkers to gather the data, in order to reach a larger audience, given the time constraints. Additionally, the use of *inside interviewers*, whereby members of the community, rather than an outsider (such as a university researcher), gather data, has been shown to make participants more comfortable (Milroy and Gordon 2003). Moreover, since these interviewers have minimal, if any, background in linguistics, there is less risk that they will affect the results (Tillery and Bailey 1998). This will also help to reduce the observer's paradox in that participants will respond more naturally than if they were interviewed by an outsider, a problem commonly faced in sociolinguistic research (Labov 1972, Chambers 2003).

The inside interviewers who were hired to administer the survey were selected based on recommendations from the Innu Education Authority. The first was a 20-year-old male, who was orally fluent in Innu-aimun and had weak but adequate reading and writing skills. The second was a 27-year-old female with the same oral fluency in Innu-aimun and more competent reading and writing skills. The male interviewer found permanent employment partway through the administration of the survey and left the

community; as a result, the majority of the surveys were conducted by the female interviewer (111, or 86.0%, in total).[23]

Before the administration of the survey, both fieldworkers participated in a training workshop. Training consisted of five steps: (1) an explanation of the purpose and intent of the questionnaire, (2) a question-by-question discussion of the survey, (3) a thorough review of the certificate of informed consent, (4) a review of interviewer guidelines and (5) a mini pilot study in which they administered the questionnaire to each other.[24]

2.3.2 The sample

A stratified judgment sample consisting of 130 participants was used since this type of sample has proven to be very successful in smaller-scale sociolinguistics studies (Labov 1966:180-181). Milroy (1987:27) argues that there are two main reasons why judgment samples are "more appropriate" for linguistic work:

> First, the samples used in linguistic surveys are in general demonstrably *not* technically representative, and to claim that they are leaves a researcher open to quite proper academic criticism. Second, relatively small samples (too small to be considered technically representative) appear to be sufficient for useful accounts of language variation in large cities.

[23] Hiring another male interviewer was considered but it was decided to continue with only one interviewer. No suitable candidates came forward when the possibility of a replacement interviewer was being entertained.

[24] Due to time constraints, it was not possible to conduct an actual pilot study; however, when the interviewers practiced on each other, they did not report any comprehension or language problems.

Other types of sample groups, such as a purely random sample or a stratified sample, were rejected on the basis that they reduce the chances of getting viable data (Milroy 1987).

The final sample consisted of 129 community members, a mixture of men and women of varying backgrounds ages 19 and older, as illustrated in the following table: [25]

Table 1: Final sample by age and gender

Gender	Age categories						Total
	19-28	29-38	39-48	49-58	59-68	69+	
Male	11	8	14	11	6	7	57
Female	15	11	16	9	8	13	72
Total	26	19	28	20	14	19	129

This table shows that the sample was fairly evenly split amongst the various age categories. To form the three age categories used for analysis, age categories were conflated by generation, with the younger generation (ages 19-38) comprising 34.9% of the sample, while the middle generation (ages 39-58) and older generation (ages 59+) comprised 37.2% and 25.6% of the sample, respectively. It was expected that there would be fewer participants in the older age cohorts because of the relatively low life expectancy in the community; Statistics Canada (2006) reported that the median age in Sheshatshiu was 18.5 years and that only 14.1% of the reported population was ages 45 and over, based on 2001 census data. Table 1 also illustrates that the gender split was fairly even (44.2% male and 55.8% female).

The sample was selected in a two-step process. The September 2001 Band list was used as the initial sample frame, *sample frame* being defined as "any list which

[25] One of the completed questionnaires was deemed inadmissible because the participant was not fluent in Innu-aimun, one of the eligibility requirements.

enumerates the relevant population" (Milroy and Gordon 2003:25). At this point, potential participants were kept or eliminated on the basis of age; for legal purposes, they were required to be at least 19 years of age by September 1, 2004 to be eligible for participation, leaving a potential sample of 594 candidates. The revised list was sent to a community consultant who selected those people who would be most inclined to take part in this project, eliminating people who would be away from the community, ill, or unwilling to participate, as well as those not fluent in Innu-aimun. Although having a community member select the sample may lead to some bias, since s/he may be inclined to suggest "good" people (Milroy and Gordon 2003:24), all efforts were made to prevent personal feelings from affecting sample selection. Conversely, having personal knowledge of potential participants helped to avoid pre-selecting community members who would likely be disinclined to participate. This served to facilitate the study and to avoid problems such as "death, illness, ...non-local origin or simply refusal to cooperate", factors that reduced the sample in Labov's New York City study to one quarter of its original size (Milroy and Gordon 2003:25).

The list contained 117 names, broken down as follows:

Table 2: Suggested candidates from Band list

Gender	Age categories						Total
	19-28	29-38	39-48	49-58	59-68	69+	
Male	6	13	11	12	5	6	53
Female	12	15	9	10	8	10	64
Total	18	28	20	22	13	16	117

At this stage in the sample selection process, the sample was not as representative as anticipated; the age split was notably uneven but the gender split was equal. However,

since this was a list of potential participants, rather than the actual sample, the uneven age distribution was not a problem. During the administration period, the fieldworkers, both in their twenties, were asked to approach their peers to see if they could find younger people willing to participate and they found many people who were fluent in Innu-aimun and available to take part. Allowing the fieldworkers to select people from the sample frame and from the community at large served to create a fairly balanced sample, representative of the community, since the interviewers came from different social networks than the community consultant.

2.4 Discussion of instrument and administration

Overall, the Sheshatshiu questionnaire was administered successfully; however, there were areas in which it could have been improved. In terms of the instrument itself, there are some questions that could have been refined. Q22-25, for example, deal with participants' abilities in English and should have had a "not at all" option since, in their present form, they assume that everyone who took the survey had at least a rudimentary knowledge of English, which was not the case. Another way in which the questionnaire could have been improved was in the section asking participants about their perceptions of their own and other generations because there was no question asking respondents about elders' abilities. Although this was done under the assumption that elders would be regarded as speaking well, based on anecdotal evidence received before the questionnaire was completed, it would have been better to include the question in order to cement this fact. Also, a question asking why Innu-aimun was important to participants should have

been included in the survey. This would have helped in determining speakers' motivations in choosing one language over the other and would have been an explicit statement detailing the importance of Innu-aimun in the community.

There were also ways in which the administration itself could be more improved. For instance, some people did not want to work with the interviewers and chose to fill out the surveys themselves. In all, 23 surveys were filled out by the participants themselves and although the interviewers were present while the questionnaires were completed, it is not possible to say whether respondents were using the English or Innu-aimun text. Their decision to go through the survey by themselves may also have led to some misinterpretation of the questions. For example, in one of the self-administered questionnaires, the respondent contradicted him/herself in Q99 and Q100, saying s/he strongly agreed with both of the propositions even though they were contradictory, possibly because he misunderstood the questions or possibly because s/he was not paying attention. In another instance, one participant repeatedly selected multiple answers for a series of questions, likely because s/he did not understand how the survey was to be completed or because s/he was trying to choose an answer that was in between the given choices.

Another unforeseen occurrence was that some people were more comfortable being interviewed in English. The interviewers did not report this till the end of the administration period so it is not possible to determine the number of surveys that were administered in English rather than Innu-aimun; however, it is a logical assumption to say that this happened with some of the younger participants. It is difficult to say how this

affected the overall outcome of the survey. While it would not have had an adverse effect on participants' comprehension of the questions, this is a drawback in terms of consistency. This is not to say that the data emerging from the survey are not valid; rather, this brings up some interesting questions. Why would some participants who were fluent in Innu-aimun prefer to be interviewed in English? Were they more comfortable speaking English in general? Can this be attributed to external factors (e.g. the interviewer or the setting) or was this a matter of personal preference (e.g. use of what they view as the more important language)? It is also possible that there was interviewer error and people who were not fluent in Innu-aimun were invited to participate in the survey.

2.5 Data analysis

For this study, statistical analysis was conducted using SPSS (Version 11 for Mac OS X) with a traditional baseline for significance of $p \leq 0.05$. Results were analysed using chi-square tests; where appropriate, Pearson correlations were performed upon the uncategorized data.[26] Four variables—age, gender, level of education and occupation—were considered since they have proven to be significant in other research in the field; other indicators examined in the Betsiamites survey, such as connection to the community, were not used because they were difficult to quantify. The variables will be discussed in greater detail in §2.5.1.

[26] The term *uncategorized data* refers to data that have not been conflated for coding; rather, these data are coded for the five possible answer choices. This is to say, if example (2) were to be analysed using the Pearson correlation coefficient, the data would be coded using a system of 1 through 5 rather than 1 through 3.

To analyse the data gathered from closed-ended questions, answer choices were generally coded on a scale of one to three.

(3) How well do you understand (spoken) Innu-aimun?
Tan eshpish nishtutamin Innu-aimun?

very well	well	acceptably	poorly	very poorly
nimishta nishtuten	*ninishtuten*	*miam ishpish*	*apu shuk*	*nasht apu nishtutaman*

For the question in example (3), repeated above, the two positive and the two negative responses were conflated to produce more meaningful, categorized results (i.e. "very poorly" and "poorly" were coded as "1", "acceptably" as "2" and "very well" and "well" as "3").

2.5.1 Variables

As previously mentioned, four variables were considered when analysing the survey data: age, gender, level of education and occupation. This section will discuss each of the variables and establish any correlations among them. Age and gender will be examined first, followed by level of education and finally occupation.

2.5.1.1 Age and gender

At the outset of the survey, the goal was to gather at least ten participants, five male and five female, for six age groups (19-28; 28-39; 39-48; 49-58; 59-68; and 69+). The final sample consisted of 129 community members, as illustrated in the following table, repeated from §2.2.3:

Table 1: Final sample by age and gender

Gender	Age categories						Total
	19-28	29-38	39-48	49-58	59-68	69+	
Male	11	8	14	11	6	7	57
Female	15	11	16	9	8	13	72
Total	26	19	28	20	14	19	129

These groups were reorganized into three age groups that correspond roughly to generations and correlate with different stages in the development of the community of Sheshatshiu, shown in Table 3.

Table 3: Revised age categories

Age categories	%	N
Younger speakers (19-38)	34.9	45
Middle-aged speakers (39-58)	38.8	50
Older speakers (59+)	26.4	34
Total	100.0	129

Older participants (59+), born in 1945 or earlier, were raised in a more traditional, semi-nomadic environment; they would have spent not only their formative years but also early adulthood living primarily in the undeveloped rural areas. Participants from the middle-aged category (39-58) were born between 1946 and 1965 and were the generation in transition between the nomadic and more settled lifestyles. Older members of this age category would have been born and raised in the country, although a few would have been raised in the community since permanent settlement began in the 1950s and 1960s (Schuurman 1994); in fact, some younger members of this category may have been raised without any prolonged exposure to the traditional Innu lifestyle. Members of the younger age category, born between 1966 and 1985, would have been born and raised after the community was established and somewhat stable. It is highly unlikely that they have spent much time in the country since members of the community had, by this point,

settled into a fixed lifestyle in which children were expected by the provincial authorities to attend school and so could only accompany their families to the country in the summer. In actuality, there is a high rate of absenteeism throughout the school year (Philpott et al. 2004).

This etic approach to age, meaning participants are grouped "in arbitrarily determined but equal age spans" (Eckert 1997:155), is an accepted treatment for this variable, as seen in studies such as Trudgill (1974) and Labov (1966). Furthermore, since no data were gathered about the community's perception of significant shared experiences, it would be impossible to identify appropriate points in history upon which to base an emic approach for the age variable from the data gathered in the survey (Eckert 1997). This type of sample distribution is also representative of the community's demography; there are many younger people and fewer older people.

The sample was fairly evenly divided in terms of gender (44.2% male and 55.8% female) with the gap between the number of male and female participants widest for the oldest speakers. This was unsurprising as women tend to live longer than men (Chambers 1995). Chart 1, on the following page, illustrates the distribution of gender for each age category:

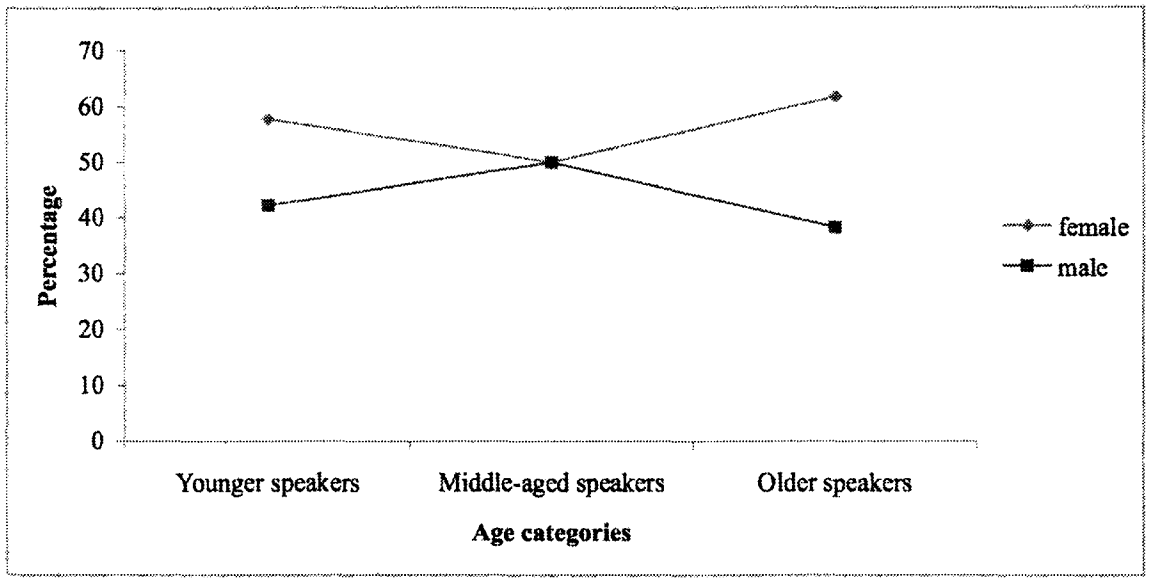

Chart 1: Age distribution of the sample by gender

Age and gender were analysed using a chi-square test, which revealed that there was no significant relationship between the two variables ($p>0.5$).

2.5.1.2 Education

The third variable considered was level of education. It was divided into four categories: never in school; primary/elementary school experience, either partially or totally completed; secondary school experience, including both high school and Adult Basic Education (ABE), either partially or totally completed; and post-secondary experience, including both university and training experience, either partially or totally completed. [27]

[27] Training includes but is not limited to post-secondary vocational education.

Chi-square tests were used to analyse this variable according to gender and age. Gender was not significant ($p>0.5$); however, this analysis revealed a significant effect for age ($p<0.001$). The distribution is shown in the following table:

Table 4: Distribution of level of education by age

Level of education	Younger speakers		Middle-aged speakers		Older speakers	
	%	N	%	N	%	N
Never in school	0.0	0	4.1	2	88.2	30
Primary/elementary	17.8	8	41.6	20	8.8	3
Secondary	75.5	34	39.8	19	0.0	0
Post-secondary	6.7	3	14.5	7	3.0	1
Total	100.0	45	100.0	48	100.0	34

Most of the older community members (88.2%) had never been received any formal education and only four people from this category (11.8%) reported attending school at all; these four participants were also younger members of this category whose ages ranged from 59 to 68. Conversely, all of the participants from the youngest age group had some sort of formal education, with 82.2% of these people having at least some high school experience. Nearly all middle-aged participants (95.8%) had some formal education, with nearly half (41.6%) having attended primary/elementary school and 39.8% having attended high school. These findings support the age categories established for analysis and also point to a correlation between age and education.

2.5.1.3 Occupation

The fourth variable considered, occupation, consisted of seven categories: seasonal worker/manual labour; office worker/clerk; human services/home care worker;

homemaker; businessperson/politician; educator; and unemployed.[28] It should be noted that the category "unemployed" accounts for over half of the sample (53.2%) for two reasons. First, according to 2001 census data, there is a high rate of unemployment in both the community (28.6%) and the region (21.8%) (Statistics Canada 2006). Second, many of the older participants selected "unemployed", possibly because there was no category marked "elder" or "unwaged"; these choices were not included because neither the Oudin-Drapeau nor the Papen survey had this type of option. Furthermore, it was thought that elders would consider themselves "hunter", one of the original options, as their occupation (MacKenzie, personal communication, 13 November 2003); however, none of the participants selected this option. Table 5 shows the distribution of responses for this variable.

Table 5: Distribution of occupation

Occupation	%	N
Seasonal worker/manual labourer	8.9	11
Office worker/clerk	12.1	15
Human services worker/home care worker	14.5	18
Homemaker	4.0	5
Businessperson/politician	3.3	4
Educator	4.0	5
Unemployed	53.2	66
Total	100.0	124[29]

Although relationships between occupation and age ($p<0.001$*[30]), level of education ($p<0.001$) and gender ($p<0.01$) were statistically significant, they were not practically

[28] When the questionnaire was administered, participants were given twelve choices: hunter, homemaker, seasonal worker; businessperson; manual labour in community; manual labour outside community; office worker in community; office worker outside of community; teacher; human services worker (with children/adults); home care worker; unemployed. There was also a space so participants' occupations could be written down if the fieldworkers could not easily categorize them. For analytical purposes, these occupations were recategorized, with the exception of hunter, since it was never selected.

[29] Five participants chose not to answer this question.

significant in this instance in that no discernable patterns appeared in the distribution of responses according to any of these variables.[31]

2.5.2 Summary of data analysis

Of the four variables, age was expected to be the most significant since it has proven to be salient in other attitudinal surveys, not only within an Aboriginal context but also in other settings (e.g. Koufogiorgou 2004, Schaefer and Egbokhare 1999, Vari-Bogiri 2005). Level of education was also expected to be significant, due in part to the correlation between this variable and participants' ages. Responses were also expected to vary according to gender since previous sociolinguistic research in the community found significant gender-based differences (Clarke 1986b). In contrast, occupation was expected to be less significant because there was little, if any, socioeconomic stratification in the community (Clarke 1984).

2.6 Summary

The Sheshatshiu survey successfully gathered data on a variety of language-related topics, including but not limited to language attitudes, perceived generational differences in speech, language of instruction in the local school, language loss and patterns of self-reported language use. By basing the Sheshatshiu questionnaire on the Oudin-Drapeau and Papen surveys, a level of comparability and consistency was ensured.

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[30] * denotes instances in which the *p* value indicated that the results were statistically significant but there were low cell counts.

[31] As the following chapter will show, this variable was sometimes statistically but not practically significant in this study, a fact that can be attributed to its uneven distribution, with over half of the sample selecting "umemployed".

This also reduced the possibility of poorly designed questions, since they had been used before in a similar setting. The use of inside interviewers helped to diminish the possible effects of the observer's paradox. Furthermore, having these interviewers administer the questionnaire allowed them to reach a large subset of the population (approximately 10.0%) in a relatively short amount of time, resulting in a large and fairly representative data set.

Data were analysed using a combination of chi-square and Pearson's correlation tests and were tested for the four variables, age, gender, level of education and occupation. Age was expected to be the most significant variable of the four, although education was also expected to have an effect on the data, partially due to the correlation between this variable and age, illustrated in §2.5.1.2. Gender was also expected to effect the distribution of responses although occupation, the fourth variable considered, was not.

3.0 RESULTS

This chapter discusses the findings from the survey, looking at overall language trends in Sheshatshiu, with particular attention to language attitudes and use. Participants' evaluations of their own linguistic competence are discussed in §3.1 while language attitudes are evaluated in §3.2. This is followed by a section on language use, which looks at language use in a variety of social settings as well as language mixing, while §3.4 provides a summary of the survey results.

3.1 Self-evaluations of linguistic competence

The first set of questions in the survey consisted of a self-evaluation of linguistic competence, in which participants were asked to evaluate their abilities in both Innu-aimun and English in terms of (a) oral comprehension, (b) speaking ability, (c) reading ability and (d) writing ability (Q16-19 for Innu-aimun and Q22-25 for English). The responses for each language were then combined to produce cumulative results. For this section, it is important to remember that one of the parameters for participation in the survey was oral fluency in Innu-aimun; there was no such parameter for English. Their responses to the self-evaluative questions were tallied to produce Table 6.

Table 6: Self-evaluations of linguistic competence

Self-evaluation	Innu-aimun		English	
	%	N	%	N
High	68.2	88	67.5	77
High-mid	15.5	20	13.2	15
Low-mid	13.2	17	19.3	22
Low	3.1	4	0.0	0
Total	100.0	129	100.0	114

For each language, the majority of the population gave his/her own abilities a high evaluation and the percentages were nearly identical: 68.2% giving themselves a high evaluation for Innu-aimun and 67.5% for English. The distribution of the remaining responses, however, was quite different for the two languages and chi-square tests show that this can be accounted for in terms of age ($p<0.001$ for Innu-aimun and English). As expected, this variable was significant, with elders rating their abilities in Innu-aimun highly and their abilities in English poorly and young people evaluating their abilities in English highly and their abilities in Innu-aimun poorly.

For Innu-aimun, the number of responses declined as the self-evaluation became less positive but, for English, the second-largest number of responses occurred at the low-mid level, rather than the high-mid, with the remaining participants giving themselves the high-mid ranking. No one gave him/herself a low evaluation for the abilities in English; however, sixteen participants opted not to answer this question, some stating explicitly that they did not know any English. These sixteen participants all evaluated their abilities in Innu-aimun highly; all but one of these participants were older members of the community. This younger person received a lower cumulative self-evaluation for English because s/he could not read or write; for speaking and understanding English, s/he gave him/herself high evaluations.

An examination of the linguistic competence scores for both Innu-aimun and English in terms of age distribution, shown in Table 7, revealed certain trends.

Table 7: Linguistic competence by age

Ranking		Younger speakers		Middle-aged speakers		Older speakers	
Innu-aimun		%	N	%	N	%	N
High		53.3	24	62.0	31	97.1	33
High-mid		15.6	7	24.0	12	2.9	1
Low-mid		26.7	12	10.0	5	0.0	0
Low		4.4	2	4.0	2	0.0	0
	Total	100.0	45	100.0	50	100.0	34
English							
High		77.8	35	76.0	38	21.1	4
High-mid		17.8	8	12.0	6	5.3	1
Low-mid		4.4	2	12.0	6	73.7	14
Low		0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0
	Total	100.0	45	100.0	50	100.0	19

For Innu-aimun, nearly all (97.1%) of older speakers gave their abilities in Innu-aimun a high evaluation and none of them gave a negative evaluation; in contrast, for the youngest group, just over half of the participants in the group (53.3%) gave themselves an overall high evaluation, with the next largest group (26.7%) giving themselves a low-mid ranking and 4.4% evaluating their abilities as poor. For English, the results were reversed; 77.8% of the younger speakers rated their abilities highly and none of them gave her/himself a negative rating, while almost three-quarters of the older speakers (73.7%) gave their own abilities a low-mid rating.

Results also showed that self-evaluations also varied according to level of education for both Innu-aimun ($p<0.001$*) and English ($p<0.001$).[32] Participants with no formal education were very positive about their abilities in Innu-aimun, with 93.8% of them giving themselves a high self-evaluation and the remaining 6.2% high-mid; in contrast, the majority of participants in this category (88.2%) gave themselves a low-mid

[32] As stated in the previous chapter, * denotes instances in which the p value indicated that the results were statistically significant but there were low cell counts.

evaluation for their abilities in English. Furthermore, for the self-evaluations of one's abilities in Innu-aimun, 70.6% of the negative (both low-mid and low) evaluations came from respondents with secondary school education, a group that accounted for 60.0% of the high self-evaluations for abilities in English.

A comparison of the two linguistic competence scores yielded the following:

Table 8: Comparison of cumulative linguistic competence scores

Competence in Innu-aimun	Competence in English									
	High		High-mid		Low-mid		Low		No response	
	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N
High	67.5	52	26.7	4	77.3	17	0.0	0	100.0	15
High-mid	13.0	10	46.6	7	13.4	3	0.0	0	0.0	0
Low-mid	15.6	12	26.7	4	4.5	1	0.0	0	0.0	0
Low	3.9	3	0.0	0	4.5	1	0.0	0	0.0	0
Total	100.0	77	100.0	15	100.0	22	0.0	0	100.0	15

This table shows that a high self-evaluation for Innu-aimun did not guarantee an equally positive response for English. Although 59.1% of the respondents who rated their abilities in Innu-aimun highly gave their abilities in English an equal evaluation, 18.2% of the respondents who evaluated their abilities in Innu-aimun highly gave themselves a low-mid ranking in English. These participants belong to the oldest age category, the same age category as most of those participants who did not answer this question at all.[33] Furthermore, a Pearson correlation revealed that there was no negative correlation between the two sets of evaluations, indicating that participants who gave themselves high evaluations in Innu-aimun did not necessarily believe that they rated their English abilities poorly, and vice versa (r= -0.034, p=0.725).

[33] Two of the participants who did not evaluate their abilities in English were from the youngest age group.

Overall, the younger and middle-aged participants were more positive about their abilities in English than Innu-aimun (78.1% positive for English vs. 52.3% positive for Innu-aimun for younger speakers and 76.8% positive vs. 60.4% positive for middle-aged speakers). There was a much wider gap for the older participants' self-evaluations; they evaluated their linguistic abilities in Innu-aimun quite highly (90.2% positive) and their abilities in English quite poorly (38.5% positive). Responses also varied according to level of education in that respondents with more education tended to be more positive about their abilities in English while those with less formal schooling were more confident about their abilities in Innu-aimun.

3.1.1 Satisfaction with one's speaking abilities

The survey also asked participants if they were satisfied with their speaking abilities in both languages. There were some exceptions in the sampling on this question; elders were not asked if they were satisfied with their abilities in Innu-aimun because it would have been insulting (MacKenzie, personal communication, 13 November 2003) and people who did not speak English were not asked about their satisfaction with their speaking ability in this language since there was nothing to evaluate. Table 9 shows the distribution of responses according to the type of evaluation given.

Table 9: Satisfaction with one's speaking abilities

Evaluation	Innu-aimun		English	
	%	N	%	N
Positive	93.5	100	79.2	80
Neutral	4.7	5	15.8	16
Negative	1.9	2	5.0	5
Total	100.0	107	100.0	101

Results were analysed using chi-square tests for both questions. For satisfaction with one's spoken linguistic ability in Innu-aimun (Q30), there were no significant variables but, for satisfaction with one's oral abilities in English (Q31), age and level of education had an effect on the data. In terms of age ($p<0.001$), none of the younger participants were dissatisfied with their spoken English while 82.2% were satisfied. The majority of middle-aged participants (81.6%) were also satisfied with their spoken English; only 4.1% were unsatisfied. For the oldest age category, the distribution was very different, as 42.9% of the population was satisfied with their abilities in English and another 42.9% was not; only one participant gave a neutral response.

There was also a strong relationship between participants' level of education and their satisfaction with their spoken English ($p<0.001$*):

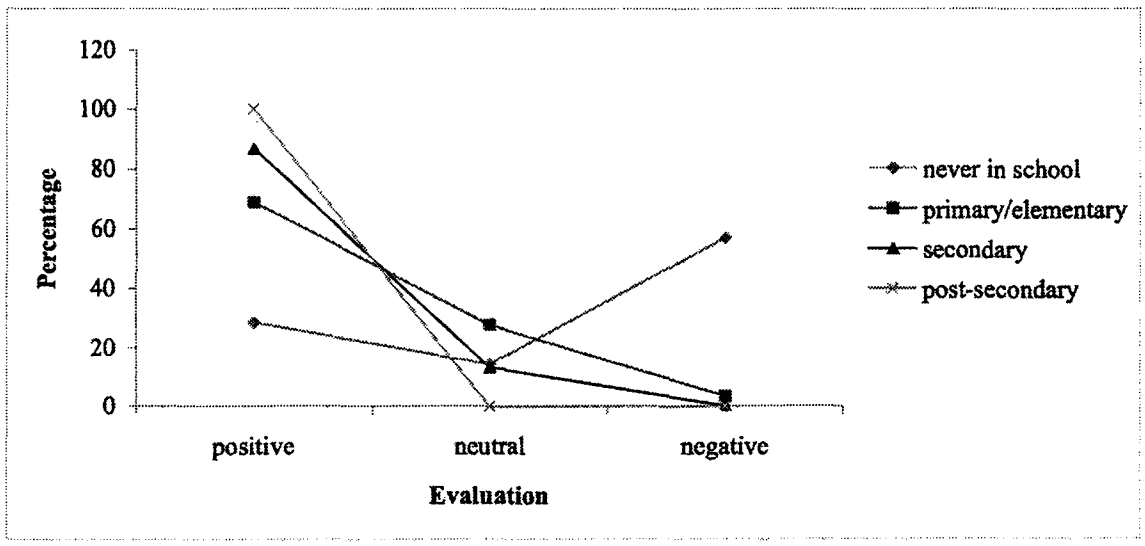

Chart 2: Evaluations of satisfaction with one's speaking ability in English by education

As Chart 2 shows, satisfaction with one's spoken English strongly correlated to the amount of formal education participants had received, with those with more education

being more satisfied. More specifically, all participants with post-secondary education were satisfied, as were 86.8% of those with high school experience, 69.0% of those with primary/elementary education, compared with the 28.6% of those who had no formal schooling. Furthermore, of the participants who said that they were satisfied with their spoken ability in English, over half of them (59.0%) had some high school education, while the half of neutral responses (50.0%) came from people with primary/elementary education and 80.0% of negative responses came from people with no formal education.

In keeping with these questions, the survey also asked participants who spoke English if they felt comfortable speaking in the language (Q32), to which just over two-thirds (69.5%) responded affirmatively.

Table 10: Comfortable speaking English

Response	%	N
Yes	69.5	73
No	30.5	32
Total	100.0	105

Table 10 also shows that nearly one-third of the population were not comfortable speaking English.

Responses varied according to two variables: age and level of education. Age ($p \leq 0.001$) was significant in that participants' level of comfort increased as their age decreased.

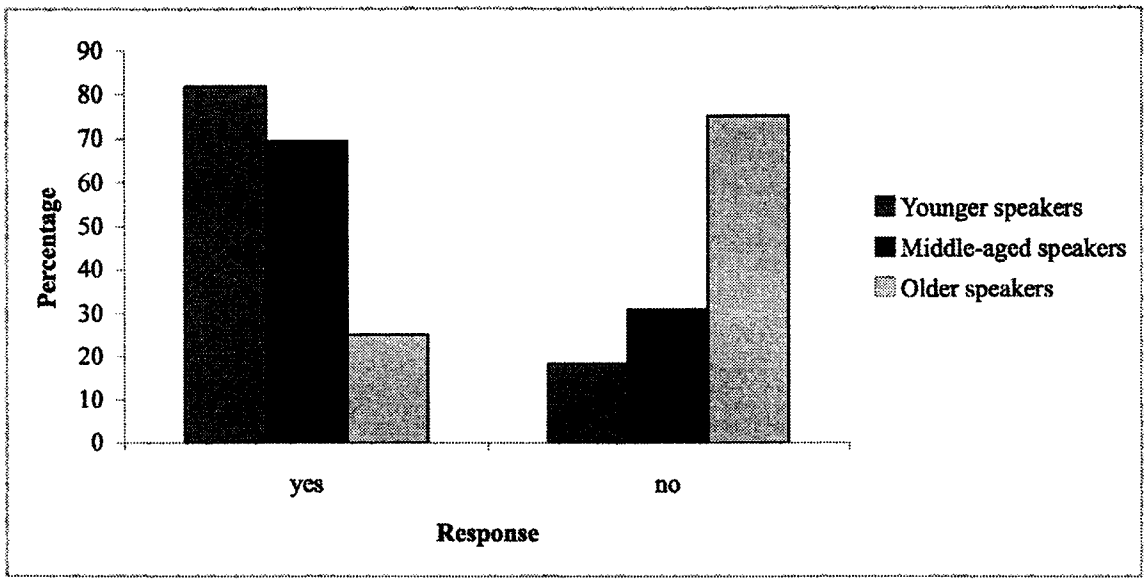

Chart 3: Comfortable speaking English by age

Three-quarters of older participants (75.0%) said that they were uncomfortable speaking English; the majorities of the other two groups (69.4% for middle-aged and 81.8% for younger speakers) stated that they were comfortable, with younger community members being the most comfortable speaking English.

For education ($p \leq 0.001$), shown in Chart 4, participants who had never received formal education were generally uncomfortable speaking English (80.0%) while the majority of respondents who had received some formal schooling were (66.7% of those with primary/elementary, 76.9% of those with secondary and 90.9% of those with post-secondary education).

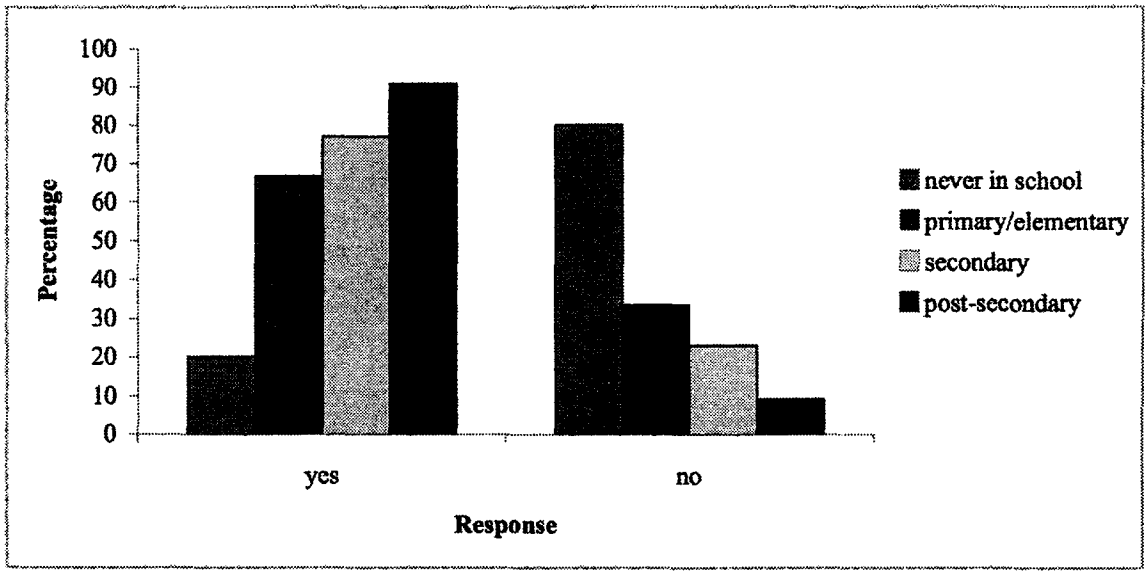

Chart 4: Comfortable speaking English by education

As with age, there was a distinct trend: the higher the level of education, the more comfortable people were speaking English. Occupation ($p<0.05$) was statistically but not practically significant because no appreciable trends appeared in the data.[34]

3.1.2 Summary

Overall, participants' self-evaluations for abilities in both Innu-aimun and English were positive, with almost 70% of the population giving themselves high ratings for both languages. It was not, however, the same set of participants giving these high self-evaluations for each language; rather, there were sixteen participants who opted not to evaluate their abilities in English, mostly because they had no knowledge of the language. These participants all evaluated their abilities in Innu-aimun highly, however, so their decision not to respond cannot be attributed to an overall lack of self-confidence.

[34] As discussed in §2.5.1.3, this variable is sometimes statistically but not practically significant because of its uneven distribution. Refer to §2.5.1.3 for further discussion.

The older participants almost unanimously gave themselves high evaluations (97.1%) for their abilities in Innu-aimun, compared to only half (53.3%) of the younger participants. Conversely, for English, younger participants were most confident in their linguistic abilities (79.1% gave themselves a high evaluation), followed by the middle-aged respondents (76.0% gave themselves a high evaluation). The majority of older participants (73.7%), however, evaluated their abilities in English in a much less positive fashion, resulting in a low-mid rating.

When asked about their level of satisfaction with their spoken abilities in Innu-aimun and English, the population was generally more satisfied with its abilities in Innu-aimun (93.5% positive) than English (79.2% positive). For satisfaction with one's spoken English, results varied according to age in that none of the younger participants were dissatisfied and over 80% were satisfied with their spoken abilities in English. Similarly, over 80% of middle-aged participants were satisfied, compared to the less than 5% who were dissatisfied with their abilities. The responses of older participants patterned differently, divided equally between satisfaction and dissatisfaction, with one participant giving a neutral response. In keeping with the correlation between age and level of education, the majority of participants with no formal education were unsatisfied with their abilities in spoken English. The same trend appeared when participants were asked if they felt comfortable speaking in English. Younger people were quite comfortable while older respondents were generally uncomfortable. Similarly, participants who had never been in school were not comfortable speaking English while those with more formal education were significantly more at ease.

3.2 Language attitudes

Having established that the population had generally positive self-evaluations for linguistic abilities in both Innu-aimun and English and also a high level of satisfaction with their spoken abilities in these languages, albeit higher for Innu-aimun than for English, the survey next looked at participants' attitudes about language. Questions that dealt with respondents' perceptions of the speech of older and younger generations are discussed in §3.2.1. The following section examines the two community languages in an effort to determine which was viewed as more important and §3.2.3 looks at language and education, with a focus on language of instruction. The fourth part of this section deals with language loss, discussing language change, vocabulary loss and the future of Innu-aimun in the community.

3.2.1 Perceptions of generational differences in speech

Participants were asked for their opinions on the speech of other members of the community. From anecdotal evidence received prior to the administration of the survey, it was expected that strong generational differences would be perceived in two areas: in language choice and in the way that they spoke Innu-aimun. More specifically, the speech of elders would be held in high esteem and the speech of younger community members would be regarded as less "proper" and younger participants would be more likely to use English.

3.2.1.1 Generational differences in speech in Innu-aimun

To determine if older community members' speech in Innu-aimun was regarded more favourably that that of younger members, participants were asked questions about the abilities of their own and other generations (Q33-35).[35] It is important to note that although the age breakdown for these questions is not consistent with the age categories used in the analysis, they were kept to ensure comparability with the Oudin-Drapeau and Papen surveys.

As can be seen in Table 11, the majority of respondents stated that adults spoke Innu-aimun well (75.2% positive for the speech of adults ages 19-35 and 94.5% positive for that of adults ages 36-59).

Table 11: Evaluation of speech in Innu-aimun by generation

Evaluation	Generations being evaluated					
	Teenagers		Adults ages 19-35		Adults ages 36-59	
	%	N	%	N	%	N
Positive	31.8	41	75.2	97	94.5	122
Neutral	38.0	49	17.1	22	3.9	5
Negative	30.2	39	7.8	10	1.6	2
Total	100.0	129	100.0	129	100.0	129

For teenagers, however, there was not such an overwhelming majority; rather, the sample was fairly evenly divided with a slightly greater number of respondents (38.0%) selecting the neutral response, saying that teenagers spoke "acceptably". Less than one-third of the population stated that teenagers spoke Innu-aimun well.

As anticipated, results for the evaluation of teenagers' speech showed strong variation according to age ($p<0.01$); the distribution of responses is organized by age categories in Table 12. Younger respondents tended to evaluate teenagers' speech more

[35] The survey did not ask for the community's opinions on elders' speech in this section.

positively than middle-aged and older participants', with just over half (53.3%) of the younger participants evaluating teenagers' speech positively; conversely, half (50.0%) of the middle-aged participants and 44.1% of older participants said that teenagers speak only "acceptably", choosing the neutral response. However, it is important to note that significant portions of both the middle-aged (22.0%) and older (17.5%) speakers evaluated teenagers' speech positively.

Table 12: Evaluations of generational speech by age

Groups being evaluated	Groups performing generational evaluations					
	Younger speakers		Middle-aged speakers		Older speakers	
Teenagers	%	N	%	N	%	N
Positive	53.3	24	22.0	11	17.5	6
Neutral	20.0	9	50.0	25	44.1	15
Negative	26.7	12	28.0	14	38.2	13
Total	100.0	45	100.0	50	100.0	34
Adults ages 19-35						
Positive	82.2	37	74.0	37	67.6	23
Neutral	11.1	5	16.0	8	26.5	9
Negative	6.7	3	10.0	5	5.9	2
Total	100.0	45	100.0	50	100.0	34
Adults ages 36-59						
Positive	84.4	38	100.0	50	100.0	34
Neutral	11.1	5	0.0	0	0.0	0
Negative	4.5	2	0.0	0	0.0	0
Total	100.0	45	100.0	50	100.0	34

A chi-square test indicated that responses about the speech of adults ages 36-59 also varied according to age ($p<0.01$); however, this variable was not practically significant because nearly all participants (94.5%) gave the speech of adults ages 36-59 a positive evaluation. The two people who evaluated the Innu-aimun of older community members negatively were both younger speakers (one male, one female) with moderate amounts of education (at the secondary school level).

Chart 5 further illustrates the age-based differences in responses, showing how the positive responses for each question were distributed.[36]

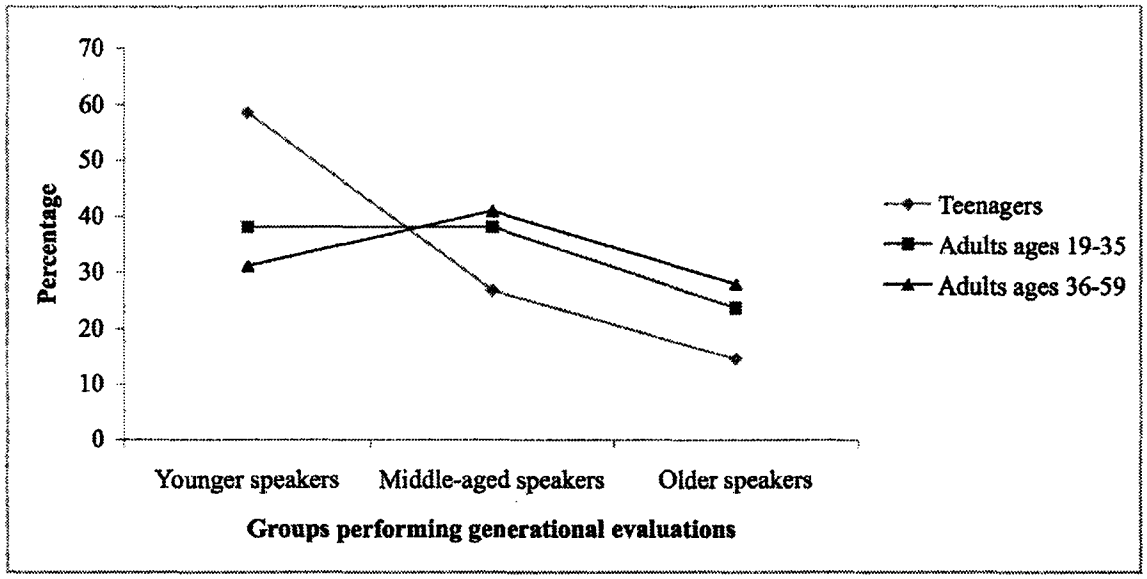

Chart 5: Positive evaluations of speech in Innu-aimun by generation

As previously mentioned, over half of the positive assessments for teenagers' speech (58.6%) came from the youngest age category; the middle-aged participants accounted for 26.8% of the positive evaluations for teenagers' speech while older participants accounted for only 14.6%. For the speech of adults ages 19-35, the young and middle-aged age groups each accounted for 38.1% of positive evaluations.

Finally, although a chi-square test showed that occupation was statistically significant for the speech of adults ages 36-59 ($p<0.001$*), it was not practically significant because there were no discernable patterns or trends in the data. Responses about the speech of adults aged 19-35 (the middle generation) were not affected by any of the variables.

[36] The percentages for this chart differ from the percentages reported in Table 12 because this chart is based on the positive values listed in that table.

Further to this, when participants were explicitly asked if they perceived a difference between teenagers' and elders' speech in Innu-aimun (Q84), an overwhelming majority (93.0%) did perceive this difference, shown in Table 13.

Table 13: Is there a difference between teenagers' and elders' speech?

Language	%	N
Yes	93.0	107
No	7.0	8
Total	100.0	115[37]

With such an overwhelming majority of the population stating that they did notice a difference, none of the variables was significant. Most of the eight negative responses (62.5%)—people who did not think that there was a difference between the two groups' speech—came from the younger speakers.

The participants who answered "yes" to this question were then asked how they felt about these perceived changes (Q85). The following table shows that most participants (80.4%) expressed concern about these differences:

Table 14: Does this change concern you?

Language	%	N
Yes	80.4	86
Somewhat	13.1	14
No	6.5	7
Total	100.0	107

Moreover, only seven people said that they were not concerned about the changes they had noticed in Innu-aimun.

Responses for this question were dependent on age ($p<0.001$*). Older speakers unanimously stated that they were concerned about the differences between teenagers'

[37] In the survey, participants had the option of selecting "I don't know". The fourteen respondents who selected this option are not considered in the analysis.

and elders' speech, as were a large majority of middle-aged speakers (85.7%), but only half (51.6%) of the younger speakers viewed the difference negatively.

Education ($p<0.001$*), shown in Chart 6, was also important in that the amount of concern varied greatly depending on the amount of formal education participants had.

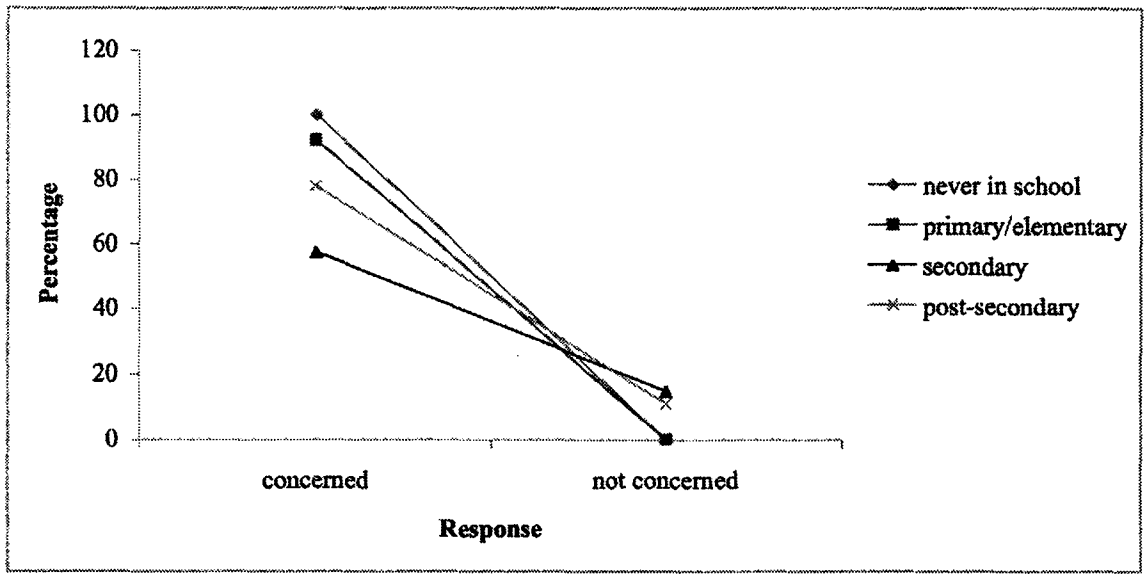

Chart 6: Opinion about perceived generational speech differences by education

Respondents who had either never been to school or who had some primary/elementary level education were concerned about the perceived changes in their language, with those who had received no formal education exclusively selecting "yes" and 92.3% of participants with primary/elementary experience doing the same. The percentage of respondents who were concerned by these changes continued to drop as their amount of education increased, with over half of participants with high school education (57.5%) stating they were concerned about the changes in their language. Breaking with this pattern, however, were participants with post-secondary education, of whom three-quarters (77.8%) were concerned about these changes.

These results reinforce anecdotal evidence received before the administration of the survey; community members repeatedly mentioned that younger people spoke a "different" version of Innu-aimun and that they did not like the changes they were seeing. They also indicate that the population is aware that elders and teenagers were speaking Innu-aimun differently and these differences are why the community did not evaluate young people's speech positively.

3.2.1.2 Communicative competence

Since generational differences were noticed and mainly perceived negatively, participants were also asked if there were comprehension problems between teenagers and elders to determine whether or not these differences impeded communication. First, they were asked about teenagers' ability to understand elders' speech (a) when speaking with elders (Q68) and (b) when elders talk amongst themselves (Q69). As the following table shows, over two-thirds of the population (68.0% for Q68 and 69.3% for Q69) had a uniformly negative opinion of young people's ability to understand the speech of elders, irrespective of context:

Table 15: Evaluation of young people's ability to understand elders

Evaluation	When speaking with elders (Q68)		When elders talk amongst themselves (Q69)	
	%	N	%	N
Positive	17.2	22	18.1	23
Neutral	14.8	19	12.6	16
Negative	68.0	87	69.3	88
Total	100.0	128	100.0	127

In fact, less than one-quarter of the sample judged that young people understood elders without difficulty in both cases (17.2% for Q68 and 18.1% for Q69).

Chi-square tests showed that responses varied according to age for both questions. When asked if teenagers experienced comprehension difficulties while speaking with elders ($p<0.05$), the majority of each age category reported that teenagers found it difficult to understand elders:

Table 16: Evaluation of young people's ability to understand elders by age

When speaking with elders	Younger speakers		Middle-aged speakers		Older speakers	
	%	N	%	N	%	N
Positive	27.3	12	4.0	2	23.5	8
Neutral	11.4	5	16.0	8	17.7	6
Negative	61.3	27	80.0	40	58.8	20
Total	100.0	44	100.0	50	100.0	34
When elders speak amongst themselves						
Positive	30.2	13	4.0	2	23.5	8
Neutral	11.6	5	10.0	5	17.7	6
Negative	58.2	25	86.0	43	58.8	20
Total	100.0	43	100.0	50	100.0	34

When examining the distribution of positive responses, however, there were age-based differences in that just over half of the positive responses (54.5%) came from the participants between the ages of 19 and 38, the youngest age category. Similarly, for Q69 ($p<0.01$), the majority of each age group stated that teenagers had problems understanding elders when they (the elders) were speaking amongst themselves. An examination of the distribution of positive responses revealed that, once again, over half (56.5%) came from participants in the youngest age category.

Finally, for Q68, responses also varied according to gender ($p<0.05$). As the following chart shows, most men (78.6%) thought that young people had difficulty understanding elders' speech.

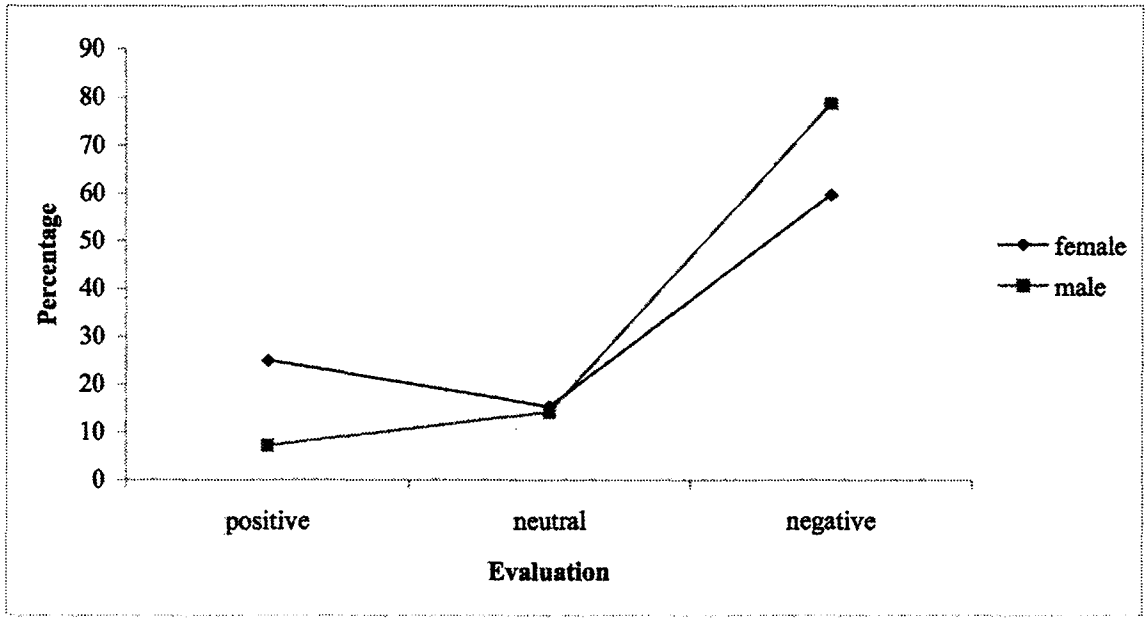

Chart 7: Evaluation of young people's ability to understand elders by gender

In contrast, just over half of the female participants (59.7%) reported this. There were also gender differences in the number of participants who thought young people had good comprehension skills; women accounted for 81.8% of this group. In sum, younger people and females tend to have the greatest confidence in the ability of youth to understand the elders speaking Innu-aimun.

As a counterpart to this pair of questions, participants were asked how frequently they thought older people had difficulty understanding the Innu-aimun spoken by younger people (Q73). Table 17 illustrates that just over half of the population (52.3%) felt that older people sometimes had trouble understanding young people when they spoke in this language.

Table 17: Frequency with which older people have difficulty understanding the Innu-aimun spoken by younger people

Frequency	%	N
High	22.7	29
Medium	52.3	67
Low	25.0	32
Total	100.0	128

The rest of the population was fairly evenly split between the other two answer choices.

Responses to this question varied only according to level of education ($p<0.05$). Nearly two-thirds of participants with post-secondary experience (63.6%) said that older people often had difficulty understanding the speech of younger people; for the other three education categories, the majority said that this sometimes occurred (56.3% for participants with no formal education, 51.6% for those with primary/elementary and 51.9% for those with secondary school education). Although it was not possible to perform a Pearson's correlation upon these data because their coding strategies were different, this information corresponds well with that gathered in the self-evaluative portion of the survey; the eleven respondents with post-secondary education comprised nearly three-quarters (70.6%) of the negative self-evaluations for abilities in Innu-aimun and over half (59.5%) of the high self-evaluations for abilities in English.

3.2.1.3 Effort to speak Innu-aimun well with elders

Since most of the population was aware of differences between the speech of elders and that of younger people, participants were asked if they made a special effort to speak Innu-aimun well when conversing with elders (Q74). As Table 18 shows, nearly three-quarters of the sample reported that people often try to speak well.

Table 18: Frequency with which participants make an extra effort to speak Innu-aimun well when conversing with elders

Frequency	%	N
High	73.6	95
Medium	15.5	20
Low	10.9	14
Total	100.0	129

With only a small fraction (10.9%) of the population stating that people rarely or never tried to speak well when conversing with elders, none of the variables was significant; occupation ($p \leq 0.001$) was statistically but not practically significant since no appreciable trends appeared in the data.

3.2.1.4 Responses from older generations about participants' use of Innu-aimun

The survey also asked participants a pair of questions to determine whether they thought that their use of Innu-aimun was praised (Q77) or criticized (Q76) by older generations. Given that most people reported making an effort to speak Innu-aimun well with elders, it is unsurprising that most participants felt that older generations praised their abilities, as illustrated in the following table:

Table 19: Older generations' reactions to participants' use of Innu-aimun

Frequency	Praise		Criticism	
	%	N	%	N
High	68.8	66	10.5	10
Medium	18.8	18	20.0	19
Low	12.5	12	69.5	66
Total	100.0	96	100.0	95

A Pearson correlation showed that there was a strong negative correlation between the responses for these two questions ($r = -0.303$, $p=0.003$), meaning that as the number of respondents who felt praised by older generations increased, the number of those who felt

criticized decreased. Interestingly, although the majority for each question was not overwhelming, comprising approximately two-thirds of the sample, there were no significant variables for either question, although gender ($p<0.05$*) and occupation ($p\leq0.001$*) were statistically but not practically significant for Q77, which asked participants to report how often they thought their use of Innu-aimun was praised.

3.2.1.5 Perceptions of children's abilities in Innu-aimun and English

Participants were asked about their perceptions of children's abilities in English to determine if the community thought that school-age children had any knowledge of the language despite learning Innu-aimun as their first language. More specifically, they were asked how well they thought children starting school understood English (Q36) and spoke it (Q37). As illustrated in Table 20, responses to both questions were fairly even split. For Q36, nearly identical numbers of people supported each of the poles (35.9% positive and 35.2% negative). For Q37, the response distribution was a little more even, with a slight greater number of respondents (36.7%) saying that they thought children spoke English poorly.

Table 20: Perceptions of children's abilities in English

Evaluation	Ability to understand English		Ability to speak English	
	%	N	%	N
Positive	35.9	46	31.3	40
Neutral	28.9	37	32.0	41
Negative	35.2	45	36.7	47
Total	100.0	128	100.0	128

However, for both questions, responses were evenly spread amongst the answer choices, an indication that the population was not firmly decided on these points.

Chi-square tests showed that gender was the only significant variable for both questions. For Q36 ($p \leq 0.001$), a significant portion of female participants (48.6%) thought that children beginning school could understand English well while half of the male participants (50.0%) responded that children had a poor understanding of English. Likewise, for Q37 ($p<0.01$), female participants were again more positive than the male. Many women (40.3%) stated that they thought children could speak English well while just over half (51.8%) of male respondents said that school-aged children spoke English poorly.

The survey also asked participants whether they thought it necessary to name certain things in English rather than in Innu-aimun to ensure that children understood what they were talking about (Q72). As the following table shows, just under half of the population (44.4%) felt it was unnecessary to speak English with children:

Table 21: Necessary to use English when speaking with children to ensure comprehension

Frequency	%	N
High	23.0	29
Medium	32.5	41
Low	44.4	56
Total	100.0	126

Although this group did make up the largest number of the responses, it is important to note that this set was not that much bigger than the other two groups.

Responses varied according to both age and education. For age ($p<0.001$), there was a division between the oldest age group and the other two. More specifically, the

majority of older participants (84.4%) thought that it was rarely or never necessary to use English words with children to ensure comprehension while the greatest numbers of the other groups (44.4% of younger and 40.8% of middle-aged respondents) said that it was sometimes necessary to do so. Also, nearly half of participants who said that it was often necessary to speak English (48.3%) were from the middle-aged group.

In terms of education ($p<0.001$), a trend appeared: the more education the population had, the more necessary they found it to speak English with children.

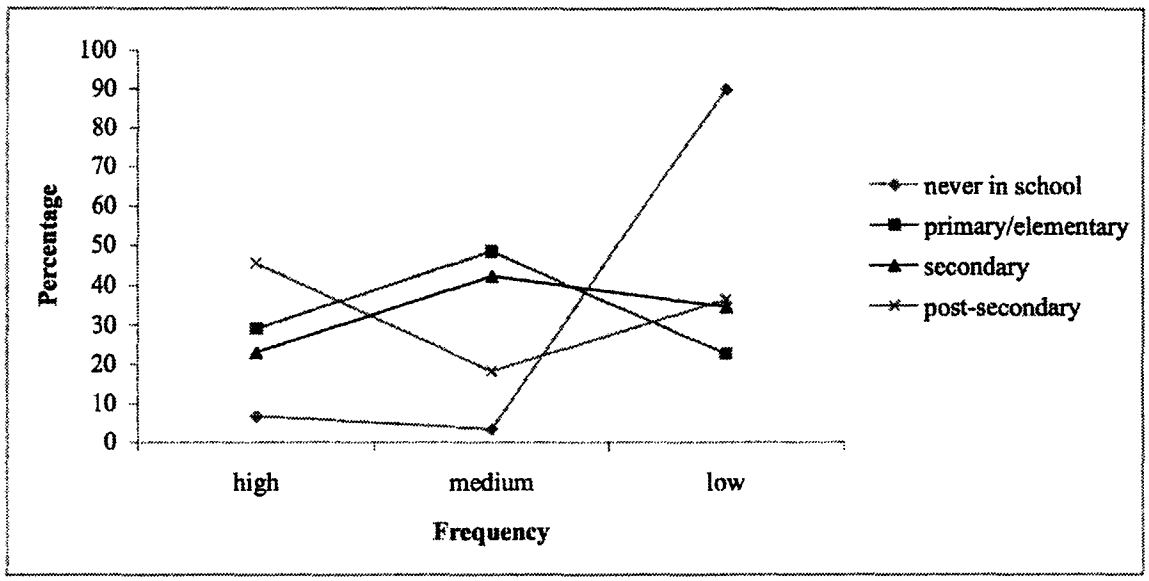

Chart 8: Necessity to speak English with children to ensure comprehension by education

As the above chart shows, nearly all of the participants who had never received formal education (90.0%) said that it was rarely necessary to use English with children. In contrast, just under half of participants with primary/elementary or secondary level education (48.4% and 42.3% respectively) said that it was sometimes necessary and 45.5% of those with post-secondary experience thought that it was often necessary to do so.

3.2.1.6 Summary

These results show that there is a definite difference in how the speech of different generations was viewed in Sheshatshiu. The speech in Innu-aimun of adults, both younger and older, was evaluated positively by the majority of the population but responses about teenagers' speech were not nearly so favourable; rather, participants tended to think that teenagers spoke only acceptably. Participants also stated that comprehension was an issue because older people had difficulty understanding the speech of younger community members, and vice versa. That being said, most participants felt that their use of Innu-aimun was praised by older generations, not criticized, which presents an interesting dichotomy.

Responses for most questions varied according to age although there was generally consensus among the age groups. It is important to note, however, that younger participants tended to respond differently from those in the other two age groups, most especially in that they were more positive about younger community members' linguistic abilities. These findings were supported by anecdotal evidence received prior to the administration of the survey and by the results from a question that explicitly asked participants whether or not they perceived a difference between teenagers' and elders' speech; participants not only said that they had observed a difference, but they also tended to view the changes perceived between the two generations' speech as negative.

Education also caused some variation in participants' responses for all of the questions discussed in this section. Participants with no formal education evaluated their abilities in Innu-aimun quite positively but were negative about their abilities in English,

being generally uncomfortable speaking the language and giving themselves low-mid evaluations. As participants' amount of education increased, however, so too did their ranking in the self-evaluations of English abilities, their satisfaction with their abilities and their relative comfort with speaking English.

Finally, the other two variables, gender and occupation, had little impact on the findings thus far. Only twice did results vary according to gender. First, when asked about teenagers' ability to understand elders speaking in Innu-aimun, most men thought that young people had difficulty understanding elders' speech while most women thought that they had good comprehension skills. Second, when asked to rate the school-age children's abilities in English, women were more positive than men. Responses never varied according to occupation in this set of questions.

3.2.2 Importance of community languages

As discussed in §1.2.2, there is a precedent in Canadian Aboriginal communities for the majority language to be regarded as more prestigious than the Aboriginal one. In order to determine which language is viewed as more important in Sheshatshiu, participants were asked for their opinions on the two community languages. This section deals with the community's attitudes about Innu-aimun and English and how they perceive other people's opinions about these languages by looking at the degree to which community members value these languages.

3.2.2.1 Importance of Innu-aimun and English

Participants were asked separate questions about how important the two community languages were to them (Q78 for Innu-aimun and Q88 for English). As can be seen in Table 22, nearly all of the participants (98.4%) said that Innu-aimun was important to them while a slightly smaller but still substantial majority (87.6%) said that English was important to them.

Table 22: Importance of Innu-aimun and English

Evaluation	Innu-aimun		English	
	%	N	%	N
Important	98.4	126	87.6	113
Neutral	1.6	2	6.2	8
Unimportant	0.0	0	6.2	8
Total	100.0	128	100.0	129

For Innu-aimun, there were no significant variables since there was such a large majority of positive responses for the question. The two neutral responses came from men from the youngest age cohort with high school education. For English, on the other hand, responses varied somewhat according to both age and level of education. In terms of age ($p<0.001$*), all three categories had majorities that said that English was important; however, differences arose when looking at the distribution of the non-positive responses. Older participants accounted for 87.5% of the negative responses (those who did not believe that English was important) and 62.5% of the neutral ones.

For the education variable ($p<0.01$*), the majorities of all of the categories also said that English was important and the age-based differences were apparent in the distribution of the non-positive responses, with three-quarters (75.0%) of the negative and 62.5% of neutral responses coming from participants with no formal education. The

remaining two negative responses came from one older woman with primary/elementary education and a woman in her thirties with some high school education.

Given the results for these two questions, it was unsurprising that the majority of respondents (72.8%) believed Innu-aimun and English to be equally important (Q90), shown in Table 23.

Table 23: Which language is more important?

Language	%	N
Innu-aimun	25.6	33
English	1.6	2
Both equally	72.8	94
Total	100.0	129

One-quarter of the population said that Innu-aimun was the more important language while only two participants thought English was more important. These two participants were both younger men with fair amounts of education (one with secondary, the other post-secondary experience).

A chi-square test revealed that responses for this question varied according to age ($p<0.001$*), as illustrated in Chart 9. Just over three-quarters of older speakers (76.7%) selected Innu-aimun as the most important language, in contrast to the overwhelming majority of middle-aged and younger speakers who selected "both equally" (90.0% and 91.1% respectively).

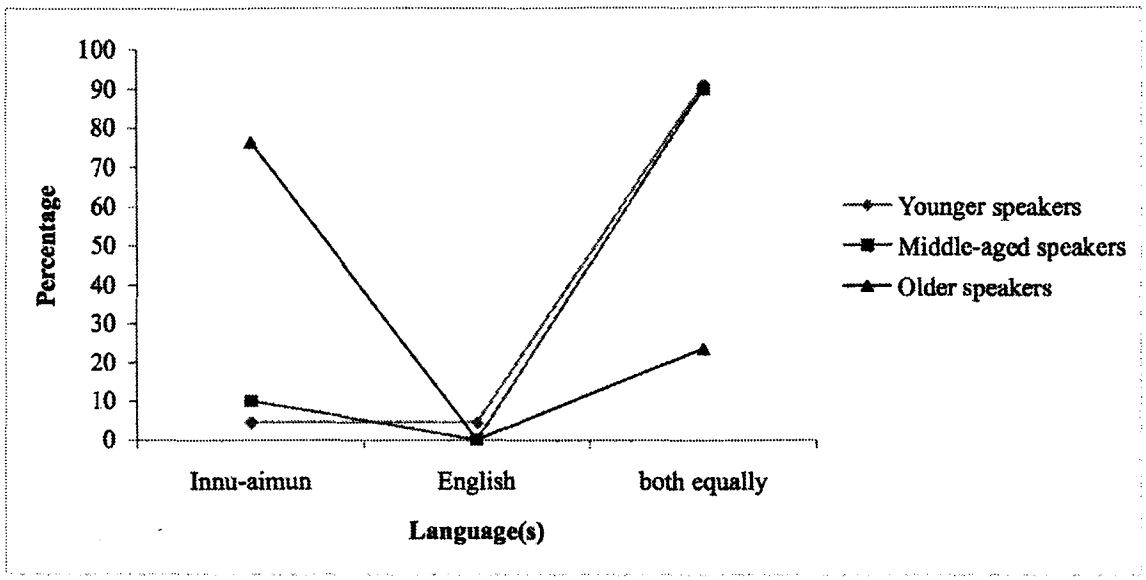

Chart 9: Distribution of responses about language(s) of importance by age

Responses also varied according to participants' education ($p<0.001$*), with 81.3% of respondents who had never received formal education saying that Innu-aimun was especially important. This can be contrasted with the results for the other three education categories; each had a majority that stated that the two community languages were equally important (90.3% for those with primary/elementary, 94.3% for those with secondary and 81.8% for those with post-secondary experience).

When asked why they thought English was important (Q91), participants gave reasons based on advancement and accessibility. The main reasons were to receive a better education (122 responses), to be more successful at school/work (115 responses), to find a job more easily (118 responses) and to get better access to information and services such as health care (58 responses). As one respondent said, there are "too many disabilities not speaking English in an English speaking world". This explains, at least in

part, why such a large majority of participants said that English was important; they saw the pragmatic uses of knowing English.

To determine whether this was indeed the case, participants were asked about the possibility of living successfully without English (Q92), a proposition with which half of the population disagreed:

Table 24: Possibility of living successfully without English

Response	%	N
Agree	13.2	17
Neutral	29.5	38
Disagree	57.4	74
Total	100.0	129

This table also shows that nearly one-third of the population (29.5%) was neutral on this issue.

Unsurprisingly, results showed that responses to this question varied according to both age and education. In terms of age ($p<0.001$), shown in the following table, most of the younger and middle-aged participants (62.2% and 80.0% respectively) said that it was not possible to live successfully without English. These results are interesting because they go against a recurring trend in the data, in which younger participants were the strongest advocates for the use of English. In this case, however, it was the middle-aged speakers who were most opposed to the idea that it is possible to live successfully without English, not the younger respondents.

Table 25: Possibility of living successfully without English by age

Response	Younger speakers		Middle-aged speakers		Older speakers	
	%	N	%	N	%	N
Agree	15.6	7	8.0	4	17.6	6
Neutral	22.2	10	12.0	6	64.8	22
Disagree	62.2	28	80.0	40	17.6	6
Total	100.0	45	100.0	50	100.0	34

In contrast, nearly two-thirds of older respondents (64.8%) were neutral, with the remaining participants in this group being evenly split between the other two response choices.

Chart 10 shows the distribution of responses according to respondents' level of education ($p<0.001$).

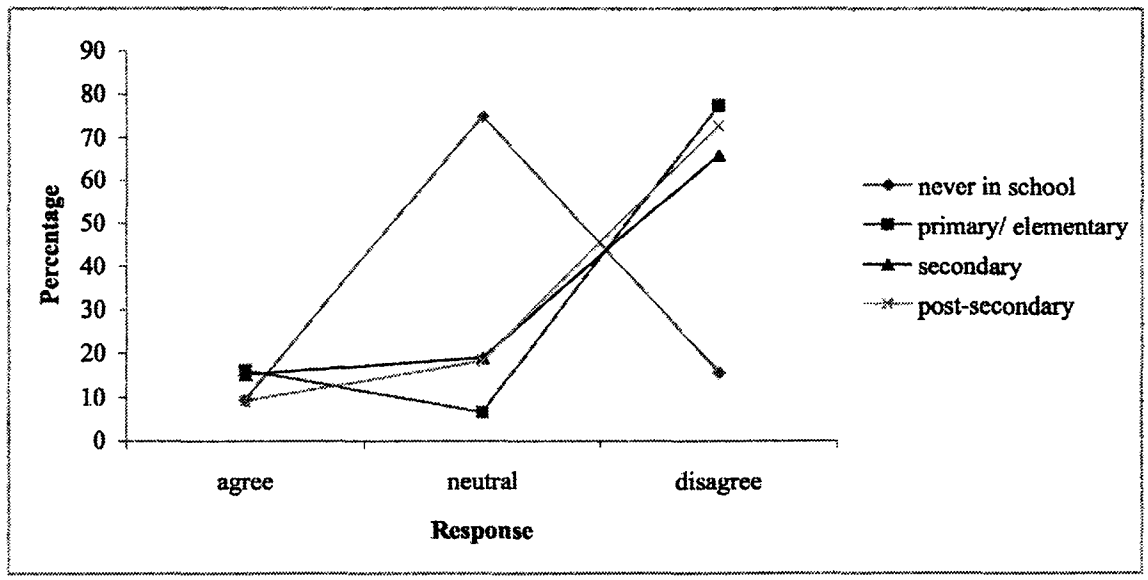

Chart 10: Possibility of living successfully without English by education

Three-quarters of participants who never received formal education (75.0%) selected the neutral response while most people in the other groups disagreed with the proposition (77.4% for those with primary/elementary, 66.0% for those with secondary and 72.7% for

those with post-secondary education). Once again, the results show that older people who have never been in school have a very different opinion than that of the rest of the population. In this case, they believe that English is not necessary to live successfully, something they themselves have done.

3.2.2.2 Importance of Innu-aimun to specific generations

Participants were also asked questions about the importance of Innu-aimun to specific generations. As Table 26 indicates, when asked about younger people (Q79), 45.0% of respondents said that Innu-aimun was important to this generation.

Table 26: Importance of Innu-aimun to specific generations

Response	Younger people		Older people	
	%	N	%	N
Important	45.0	58	98.4	127
Neutral	33.3	43	1.6	2
Unimportant	21.7	28	0.0	0
Total	100.0	129	100.0	129

Furthermore, one-third of the sample was neutral. In contrast, when asked about the importance of Innu-aimun to older people (Q80), nearly the entire population said that the language was important, with only two participants remaining neutral on this subject.

There were no significant variables for the data about the importance of Innu-aimun to older people; the population was nearly unanimous in its selection of "important". However, chi-square tests showed that age, gender and occupation were significant for Q79, which asked how important Innu-aimun was to younger people. Age ($p \leq 0.001$), shown in the following table, was significant in that the majority of younger respondents (68.9%) stated that Innu-aimun was important to younger people while

participants in the other two age categories tended to give a neutral response (42.0% for middle-aged participants and 38.2% for older participants). Interestingly, younger respondents were the only group that had a strong majority; the other two had more even distributions of responses.

Table 27: Importance of Innu-aimun to younger people by age

Response	Younger speakers		Middle-aged speakers		Older speakers	
	%	N	%	N	%	N
Important	68.9	31	36.0	18	26.5	9
Neutral	20.0	9	42.0	21	38.2	13
Unimportant	11.1	5	22.0	11	35.3	12
Total	100.0	45	100.0	50	100.0	34

It is important to note that, for the older speakers, 35.3% stated that the language was unimportant to younger community members; there was a one-person difference between the number of "neutral" and "unimportant" responses.

In terms of gender ($p<0.05$), over half of the women (55.6%) thought that younger people valued Innu-aimun while just under half (48.9%) of male participants were neutral.

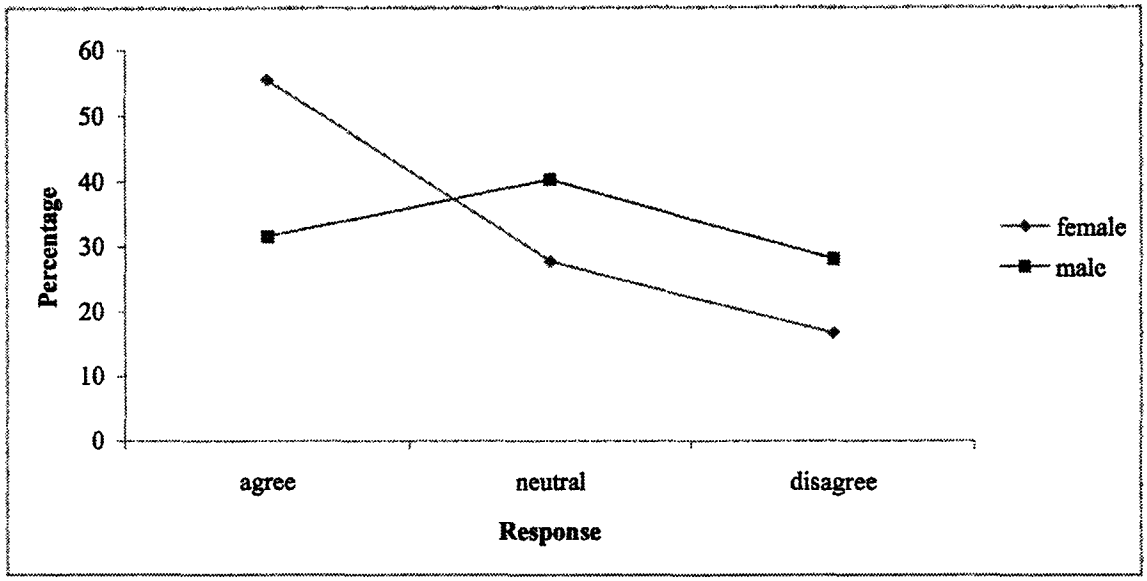

Chart 11: Importance of Innu-aimun to younger people by gender

This chart also shows that the distribution of responses for men was more evenly split between the three answer choices than it was for women.

Finally, as Table 28 shows, responses also varied according to occupation ($p<0.01$*). Notably, there were three categories in which no one thought the language was unimportant to younger people: office worker/clerk, businessperson/politician, and educator.

Table 28: Importance of Innu-aimun to younger people by occupation

Occupation	Important		Neutral		Unimportant		Total	
	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N
Seasonal worker/manual labourer	54.5	6	36.4	4	9.1	1	100.0	11
Office worker/clerk	86.7	13	13.3	2	0.0	0	100.0	15
Human services/home care worker	55.6	10	38.9	7	5.5	1	100.0	18
Homemaker	60.0	3	0.0	0	40.0	2	100.0	5
Businessperson/politician	50.0	2	50.0	2	0.0	0	100.0	4
Educator	80.0	4	20.0	1	0.0	0	100.0	5
Unemployed	28.8	19	36.4	24	34.8	23	100.0	66

This table also shows that most of the occupational categories had a majority who

thought Innu-aimun was important to younger people. The two exceptions were businessperson/politician, in which responses were evenly divided between the positive and neutral responses, and unemployed, in which the largest group of respondents was neutral. In this category, the distribution of responses was very even, with a one-person difference between this group and the next largest group, who reported that Innu-aimun was not important to younger community members.

Participants were also asked to give their opinions about the importance of children speaking Innu-aimun (Q87). As illustrated below, all but one of the participants thought it important for children to speak the Aboriginal language:

Table 29: Importance of children speaking Innu-aimun

Evaluation	%	N
Important	99.2	128
Neutral	0.8	1
Unimportant	0.0	0
Total	100.0	129

Since the responses were nearly unanimous, none of the variables had an effect on responses. The one non-positive response came from a man from the youngest age category with secondary school education.

A nearly identical distribution of responses appeared when participants were asked if it was important for children to speak English well (Q89):

Table 30: Importance of children speaking English well

Evaluation	%	N
Important	98.4	127
Neutral	1.6	2
Unimportant	0.0	0
Total	100.0	129

As with the previous question, participants had a nearly unanimous positive response to

the proposition, saying that it was important for their children to speak English well. Since almost all of the respondents selected the same answer, none of the variables had an effect on the results.

3.2.2.3 Summary

It appears that both languages were regarded as important—equally important—but the community valued them for different reasons. Although the population was not explicitly asked why they thought Innu-aimun was important, it was likely valued in terms of culture and identity, much as it was for Betsiamites Innu (Oudin 1992). There are, however, other possibilities, such as spirituality or the desire to pass along traditional knowledge. At present it is not possible to precisely identify the Sheshatshiu Innu's reasons for regarding Innu-aimun as important; for English, on the other hand, their rationale was clearer. English was viewed in pragmatic terms since it is necessary for interacting not only with non-Innu-speaking people outside of Sheshatshiu but also those living and/or working within the community.

3.2.3 Language and education

As the Sheshatshiu Innu are presently trying to gain control of education within their community, a section about language of instruction was included in the survey, adapted from the Papen survey. This series of questions contained propositions with which participants were asked to agree or disagree.

The first question they were asked was whether or not they thought school was the best place to safeguard Innu-aimun (Q98); as illustrated in Table 31, a large majority (82.9%) agreed with this statement.

Table 31: School is the best place to safeguard the language

Response	%	N
Agree	82.9	107
Neutral	7.8	10
Disagree	9.3	12
Total	100.0	129

In fact, less than 10.0% of the population disagreed with this proposition. Those who did were asked where they thought the language should be safeguarded; most people who offered a suggestion said the home or with family (7 responses). Due to the large majority agreeing with this statement, age ($p<0.001$*), level of education ($p<0.01$*) and occupation ($p\leq0.001$*) were all statistically but not practically significant.

Participants were then asked to respond to two contradictory statements. The first asked if they agreed or disagreed with the proposition "Innu-aimun should be used in school more often" (Q99) while the second asked about the proposition "Innu-aimun should be used in school less often" (Q100). Those in favour of Innu-aimun in the classroom should have agreed to the first proposition and disagreed with the second and vice versa for those who were not in favour, as can be seen in the following table:

Table 32: Amount of Innu-aimun in the school

Response	More Innu-aimun in school		Less Innu-aimun in school	
	%	N	%	N
Agree	90.7	117	9.3	12
Neutral	3.1	4	6.2	8
Disagree	6.2	8	84.5	109
Total	1 0.0	129	100.0	129

Although the percentages are not exactly the same, the data were consistent with the population supporting Innu-aimun in the classroom, with 90.7% and 84.5% in being positive about this language in the classroom. Furthermore, a Pearson correlation test showed that there was a strong negative correlation between these two questions (r= -0.504, p=0.000).

Responses to both questions varied somewhat according to age ($p \leq 0.001$* for both). In both data sets, the majority of the people who were against having more Innu-aimun in the classrooms came from the youngest age group (87.5% in Q99 and 66.7% in Q100). Finally, occupation ($p<0.05$*) was statistically but not practically significant for Q100; there were no appreciable trends in the data.

The survey also asked participants whether or not they thought children should begin their education in Innu-aimun (Q101), a proposition with which 86.0% of the population agreed:

Table 33: Beginning education in Innu-aimun

Response	%	N
Agree	86.0	111
Neutral	7.8	10
Disagree	6.2	8
Total	100.0	129

Results once again varied according to age ($p<0.001$*), with 77.8% of those who thought education should not be begun in Innu-aimun coming from the youngest age category. In contrast, all of the older participants said that they agreed with this proposition. Responses also varied somewhat according to level of education ($p<0.05$*)

since all of the participants who had never been to school agreed and the majority of the participants who disagreed (87.5%) had secondary school level education.

Participants were next asked for their opinions on English and education. First they were asked if they thought it necessary to speak English at home from time to time to help children succeed in school (Q102). As the following table illustrates, this question divided the population fairly evenly, with 39.5% agreeing with the proposition, 25.6% disagreeing and the rest remaining neutral on this subject.

Table 34: Necessity of speaking English at home to help children succeed at school

Response	%	N
Agree	39.5	51
Neutral	34.9	45
Disagree	25.6	33
Total	100.0	129

Results analysed with chi-square tests showed that responses varied according to two variables: age and education. For this question, occupation ($p<0.05$*) was statistically but not practically significant, with no notable trends appearing in the data. The distribution of responses by age ($p<0.001$) was unusual in that the largest percentage of each group supported a different response, illustrated in the following chart:

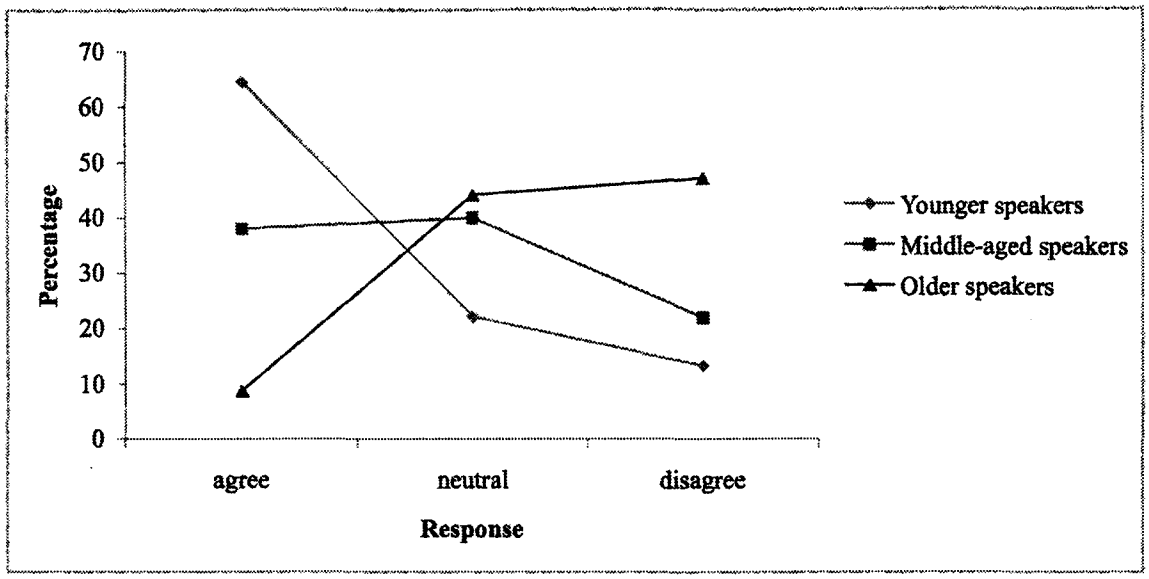

Chart 12: Necessity of speaking English at home to help children succeed in school by age

More specifically, the majority of the youngest group (64.4%) agreed that it was necessary to speak English at home occasionally to help children succeed at school while, for middle-aged participants, the strongest number of responses (40%) was for the neutral option. Unsurprisingly, older participants were more opposed to the idea of using English in the home; just under half (47.1%) of them disagreed with the proposition.

There was also a fair amount of variation among the categories for education ($p<0.001$), as can be seen in Table 35. More specifically, while nearly equal majorities of participants with secondary or post-secondary experience (62.3% and 63.6 % respectively) thought children should occasionally be spoken with in English, just under half of people with primary/elementary school experience (48.4%) were neutral. In contrast, those with no formal education were evenly split between disagreeing with the proposition or remaining neutral (46.9% each), with the remaining two participants

agreeing that it was necessary to speak English from time to time to help children succeed at school.

Table 35: Necessity of speaking English with children by education

Response	No formal education		Primary/ elementary		Secondary		Post-secondary	
	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N
Agree	6.2	2	25.8	8	62.3	33	63.6	7
Neutral	46.9	15	48.4	15	22.6	12	18.2	2
Disagree	46.9	15	25.8	8	15.1	8	18.2	2
Total	100.0	32	100.0	31	100.0	53	100.0	11

This table also shows that only the secondary and post-secondary categories have decisive majorities.

The results for both variables were surprising because it was expected that older participants with no formal education would be more strongly opposed to the idea of speaking English in the home since they had, in other areas of the survey, regarded use of English negatively; however, the addendum of helping children succeed in school seems to have reduced the number of people opposed to the use of English, with these participants becoming neutral.

Lastly, the survey asked whether participants thought English could be best learned in a bilingual school or in an English-only school (Q103). As Table 36 shows, nearly all of the population (96.1%) stated that bilingual school was the preferred environment for learning this language:

Table 36: Best type of school to learn English

Response	%	N
Bilingual school	96.1	124
English-only school	3.9	5
Total	100.0	129

In fact, only five participants thought that English was better learned in an English-only school. With such an overwhelming majority selecting bilingual school, none of the variables was significant.

3.2.3.1 Summary

Overall, the community felt very strongly about language and education, with most of the population thinking that school was the best place to safeguard Innu-aimun. Many respondents said that Innu-aimun should be used in school more often and over three-quarters of the population thought that children should begin their education in the mother tongue, Innu-aimun. This is not to say that the Sheshatshiu Innu wanted their children to be educated only in Innu-aimun; rather, as indicated in the previous section, community members were aware of the usefulness, and sometimes necessity, of knowing English and stated that a bilingual school was the best way for their children to master this language.

3.2.4 Language loss

Since language loss is a prevalent issue in many Aboriginal communities, it was important to test whether or not this was the case in Sheshatshiu. Although Innu-aimun was still being learned as a first language by children at the time of the administration of the survey, it is not the primary language of instruction in schools and so the possibility of language decline is very real. In this section, language change, vocabulary loss and the future of Innu-aimun will be discussed.

3.2.4.1 Language change

As previously mentioned, many people had informally reported that their language was changing and so explicit questions about this subject were included in the survey. One of these questions asked participants if they thought that Sheshatshiu-aimun was changing (Q82), to which 71.0% said they did:

Table 37: Is Sheshatshiu-aimun changing?

Response	%	N
Yes	71.0	66
No	29.0	27
Total	100.0	93[38]

For this question, both age and level of education were somewhat significant. In terms of age ($p<0.01$), the majority in all three categories said that Innu-aimun was changing in the community. Only three of the people (11.1%) who said that the language was not changing belonged to the oldest age group; just under half of participants who gave this answer (48.1%) were middle-aged. For level of education ($p<0.01$), three categories had majorities who thought that Innu-aimun was changing—never in school (90.3%), secondary (66.7%) and post-secondary (80.0%). Participants with primary/elementary education tended to have the opposite opinion, with over half of these people (57.9%) stating that the language was not changing. Furthermore, respondents with primary/elementary or secondary level experience accounted for 81.4% of the sample that thought that Innu-aimun was not changing in the community (40.7% each).

[38] The total number of respondents for this question is lower than for others because participants were given the option of saying that they did not know whether the language was changing or not. For analytical purposes, these participants have been omitted.

When these results are compared with those to Q84 (discussed in §3.2.1.1), which asked participants if they perceived differences between the speech of elders and that of teenagers, there is a positive correlation between the data sets (r=0.478, p=0.000), even though the number of respondents who said yes to this question was smaller than that for Q84 (a difference of 22.0%). This means that participants who said the language was changing in Sheshatshiu also perceived differences between elders' and teenagers' speech.

Those who responded affirmatively to Q82, saying that they thought Innu-aimun was changing, were then asked for their opinion on the changes (Q83). As the following table illustrates, most of these participants (83.3%) thought that the changes were negative:

Table 38: Opinions on changes perceived in Sheshatshiu-aimun

Response	%	N
Positive	3.0	2
Neutral	13.7	9
Negative	83.3	55
Total	100.0	66

In fact, only two respondents thought their Sheshatshiu-aimun was being improved by the changes.

Chi-square tests revealed that responses to this question varied according to age, level of education and occupation. For age (p<0.001*), the majorities of the older and middle-aged participants said that the changes seen in Innu-aimun were negative. More specifically, as Table 39 shows, older participants were unanimous in this decision while

middle-aged respondents were nearly so (95.0%), with the one person who disagreed saying that s/he thought the changes were positive.

Table 39: Opinions on changes perceived in Sheshatshiu-aimun by age

Language(s)	Younger speakers		Middle-aged speakers		Older speakers	
	%	N	%	N	%	N
Positive	37.5	6	95.0	19	100.0	30
Neutral	56.3	9	0.0	0	0.0	0
Negative	6.2	1	5.0	1	0.0	0
Total	100.0	16	100.0	20	100.0	30

In contrast, for the youngest age category, over half of respondents (56.3%) were neutral. Of the remaining participants, only one thought that the changes were positive while the rest of the group viewed the changes negatively.

In terms of education ($p<0.01$*), the majority of each category said that the changes were negative; however, only those participants who had never been in school were unanimous in their selection of this response choice. As Chart 13 shows, no one from the secondary school category gave a positive response to this question either.

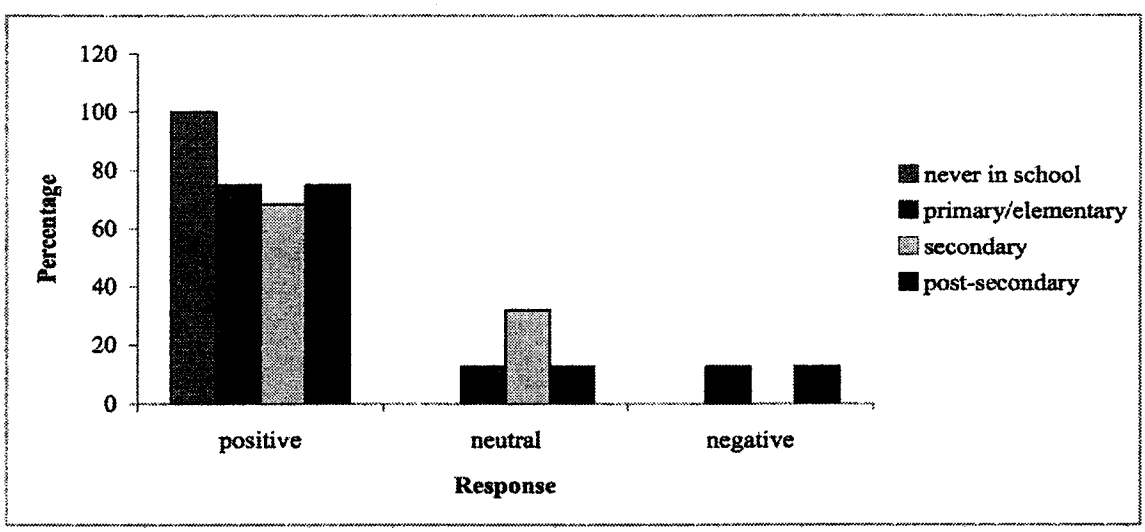

Chart 13: Distribution of opinions on changes perceived in Sheshatshiu-aimun by education

Furthermore, when looking at the neutral responses, it can be seen that three-quarters of them (77.8%) came from participants with secondary school education.

Finally, for occupation ($p<0.05$*), there were some points of interest. Of the seven categories, six had a majority that viewed the changes observed in the language negatively, with two of them, human services/home care worker and businessperson/ politician, containing respondents who made this selection unanimously. The exception was that of office workers/clerks, in which nearly half of the respondents (44.4%) gave a neutral response. In fact, the two participants who viewed the changes positively came from this category.

3.2.4.2 Vocabulary loss

Before the survey was administered, community members had reported that they felt certain lexical items were being lost, namely words associated with life in the country, and so it was hypothesized that most of the older people in the population would be aware of vocabulary loss. As Table 40 shows, when asked explicitly (Q57), approximately two-thirds of the overall sample were aware of vocabulary loss; however none of the variables revealed any patterns in participants' responses.[39]

[39] In the survey, participants were given the example "words to do with the country". Under other circumstances, this would have been a leading question; however, many people had commented that they felt these words were being lost prior to the administration of the survey so it was thought to be a safe example.

Table 40: Are there words being lost?

Response	%	N
Yes	66.3	61
Somewhat	19.6	18
No	14.1	13
Total	100.0	92

This question was paired with an open-ended question, "What kinds of words are not known today?". Answers tended to deal primarily with life in the country, as expected, with participants citing tools, animal names and parts, plants, trees and parts of the tent as words they felt were being lost.

3.2.4.3 Obligation to speak English

The survey also asked participants if they could identify situations in which they were forced to use English and were given examples such as speaking with medical professionals or service providers (Q56). The following table shows that less than one-quarter of the population (23.4%) said they felt compelled to use English:

Table 41: Do participants feel forced to speak English?

Response	%	N
Yes	23.4	25
No	76.6	82
Total	100.0	107[40]

Chi-square tests showed that responses varied according to both age and occupation. For age ($p<0.05$), there was a division between the younger speakers and the middle-aged and older ones. Most people in the two older age categories said that they did not feel obligated to use English (84.0% and 93.3% respectively). Younger participants,

[40] 22 participants did not respond to this question, most stating that they do not speak English.

however, did not show such a strong majority, with 61.9% saying that they did not feel forced to speak English and 38.1% reporting that they felt pressured.

In terms of occupation ($p<0.001$*), only two of the categories, office worker/clerk and homemaker, had a majority that said that they felt forced to speak English (78.6% and 60% respectively), as can be seen in Table 42.

Table 42: Do participants feel forced to speak English? (by occupation)

Occupation	Yes		No		Total	
	%	N	%	N	%	N
Seasonal worker/manual labourer	27.3	3	72.7	8	100.0	11
Office worker/clerk	78.6	11	21.4	3	100.0	14
Human services/home care worker	23.5	4	76.5	13	100.0	17
Homemaker	60.0	3	40.0	2	100.0	5
Businessperson/politician	25.0	1	75.0	3	100.0	4
Educator	0.0	0	100.0	5	100.0	5
Unemployed	6.5	3	93.5	43	100.0	46

For the other five groups, the majority selected "no", with educators unanimously making this selection.

As part of this question, participants were also asked to list places where they felt compelled to use English. Responses included interacting with medical professionals, such as nurses and doctors (16 responses); in legal situations, such as with police or in court (13 responses); at school or work (17 responses); with service providers (6 responses); and with social workers (8 responses), as well as in social situations outside of Sheshatshiu such as in stores, bars and restaurants.

3.2.4.4 The future of Innu-aimun

The survey also explicitly asked community members if they thought language loss was likely in Sheshatshiu (Q60). It is important to note that response choices were grouped into two categories for this question—negative and non-negative—instead of the three usual categories. This was because the term "maybe" has a different connotation in Innu-aimun than it does in English. In the survey, it was intended to be the neutral option in the question; however, respondents may have selected this option instead of saying that they did not know (MacKenzie, personal communication, 07 April 2006). Furthermore, Innu-aimun is rich in evidential verb forms, difficult to render in English, which means that the subtleties of the language are often lost in translation.[41] However, since it was not possible to determine if and when participants selected "maybe" with the intention of using it as a substitute for "I don't know", these responses were grouped with the positive ones so that they could be juxtaposed with the unambiguously negative ones. As the following table shows, one-third (33.3%) of the population thought that Innu-aimun might be lost:

Table 43: Likelihood that Innu-aimun will be lost in the community

Evaluation	%	N
Non-negative	33.3	43
Negative	66.7	86
Total	100.0	129

Of the non-negative responses, 28.0% were positive.

Once again, responses varied according to age ($p<0.001$). For both middle-aged and older speakers, the majority of participants thought that Innu-aimun could be lost in

[41] (See Drapeau 1984 for a more complete discussion on narratives and the treatment of information in Innu-aimun.)

Sheshatshiu (76.0% and 82.4% respectively). Younger participants, on the other hand, were not as strongly in favour of one point of view, with just over half (55.6%) giving non-negative responses and 44.4% believing that the language would not be sustained in the community.

Responses for this question also varied somewhat according to education ($p<0.05$), as the following chart shows:

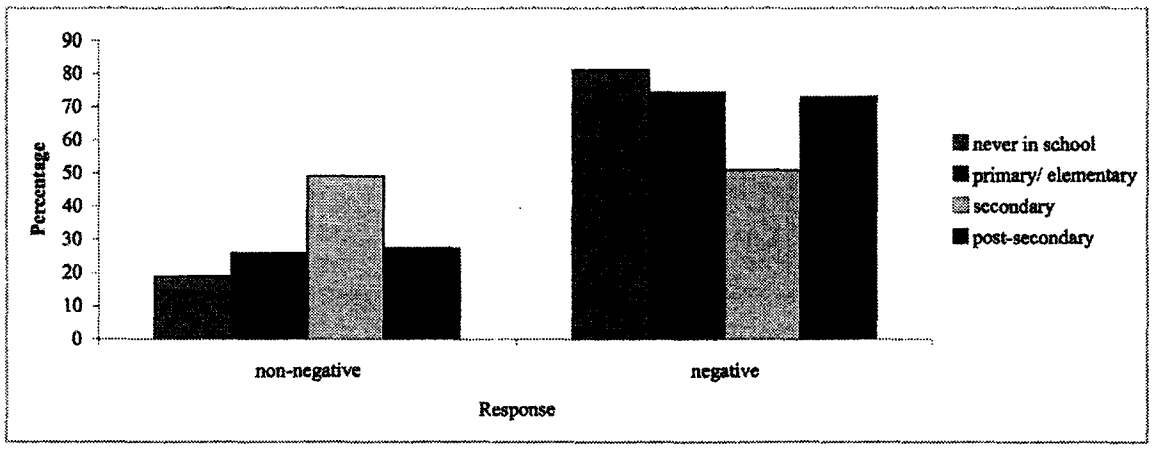

Chart 14: Likelihood that Innu-aimun will the lost in the community by education

In all four categories, the majority of participants said that it was possible that Innu-aimun would be lost. Three of the categories (never in school, primary/elementary and post-secondary education) had clear majorities while respondents with secondary school education were evenly split between the two options (50.9% negative and 49.1% non-negative), with a one-person difference.

At a later point in the survey, participants were asked if they agreed with the following proposition: "True or false? We speak Innu-aimun here in Sheshatshiu and it will always be that way" (Q94).

Table 44: Innu-aimun will always be spoken in Sheshatshiu

Evaluation	%	N
Positive	73.6	95
Neutral	20.2	26
Negative	6.2	8
Total	100.0	129

Unlike the previous question discussed, in which most participants thought that Innu-aimun was in danger of being lost, nearly three-quarters (73.6%) were positive, stating that the language would continue to be spoken in Sheshatshiu in the future. Table 44 also shows that only 6.2% of the population had a negative outlook about the future of Sheshatshiu-aimun, believing that Innu-aimun would not always be spoken in the community.

Chi-square tests showed that occupation ($p<0.01$*) was the only variable that had an effect on the data. Only one category, businessperson/politician, was unanimous, with participants stating that they thought Innu-aimun would always be spoken in Sheshatshiu. For five other categories, the majorities were also in agreement with the proposition, as the table below illustrates:

Table 45: Innu-aimun will always be spoken in Sheshatshiu by occupation

Occupation	Positive		Neutral		Negative		Total	
	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N
Seasonal worker/manual labourer	90.9	10	9.1	1	0.0	0	100.0	11
Office worker/clerk	66.7	10	26.7	4	6.6	1	100.0	15
Human services/home care worker	66.7	12	27.8	5	5.5	1	100.0	18
Homemaker	40.0	2	0.0	0	60.0	3	100.0	5
Businessperson/politician	100.0	4	0.0	0	0.0	0	100.0	4
Educator	80.0	4	20.0	1	0.0	0	100.0	5
Unemployed	75.8	50	19.7	13	4.5	3	100.0	66

Only one category, homemaker, had a majority of participants (60.0%) who thought it unlikely that Innu-aimun would be spoken in Sheshatshiu in the future but this was a one-person difference so it may or may not be significant.

To determine which of the two previous data sets was more representative of the community's opinions and also to see if there were specific fora in which Innu-aimun might be preserved, participants were also asked about language maintenance within specific settings, namely their family, the community and the Innu Nation (Q86). As Table 46 shows, a strong majority of participants thought Innu-aimun would be spoken in all three settings in the next generation.

Table 46: Future of Innu-aimun in specific settings

Response	Family		Community		Innu Nation	
	%	N	%	N	%	N
Yes	88.8	103	88.7	102	89.6	103
No	11.2	13	11.3	13	10.4	12
Total	100.0	116	100.0	115	100.0	115

With such large majorities for each question, there were no significant variables.

When the responses for the three parts of Q86 are analysed, there was a strong positive correlation between the three data sets (r=0.956, p=0.000 for all questions). This indicates that if someone thought that Innu-aimun would be preserved in one area, s/he believed it would be preserved in the other two fora as well, and vice versa for the negative responses. Although it was not possible to correlate these responses to those to Q94 due to the different (and incompatible) coding systems, the two questions are nonetheless statistically related. The majority of respondents were positive about the

future of Innu-aimun for these questions, resulting in a mean of 85.2% of the population believing that Innu-aimun would remain strong in the future.

3.2.4.5 Special efforts to preserve Innu-aimun

When asked if they thought that it was important to have special policies or projects to safeguard the language (Q81), the population nearly unanimously supported the idea (98.4%), illustrated in the following table:

Table 47: Special policies or projects to safeguard Innu-aimun

Response	%	N
Important	98.4	127
Neutral	1.6	2
Unimportant	0.0	0
Total	100.0	129

The two non-positive responses came from two younger participants, one male and one female, with some education (one primary/elementary, one secondary). Given the number of participants in favour of the proposition, there were no significant variables.

Participants were also asked if they thought people who were not Innu but who visited or lived in the community should make an effort to learn Innu-aimun (Q93). As Table 48 shows, over three-quarters of the population (78.1%) agreed with the proposition.

Table 48: Non-Innu who visit or live in the community should learn Innu-aimun

Response	%	N
Agree	78.1	100
Neutral	17.2	22
Disagree	3.7	6
Total	100.0	128

Furthermore, less than 5.0% of the population thought that this was not a good idea.

Chi-square tests revealed that age and level of education were the significant variables for this question; occupation ($p<0.001$*) was statistically but not practically significant since no trends or patterns appeared in the data. There was notable variation in terms of age ($p<0.001$), in spite of the majority of each category stating that they agreed with the proposition; however, older participants were the only group to make this selection unanimously. 81.6% of middle-aged respondents also thought that non-Innu should make an effort to learn Innu-aimun if they were going to have significant contact with the community, in contrast to the 57.8% of younger speakers who agreed. Most of the non-positive responses came from participants in this youngest age category (63.6% of the neutral and 83.3% of negative responses).

As Chart 15 shows, a similar trend appeared when the distribution of responses is examined in terms of education ($p<0.001$).

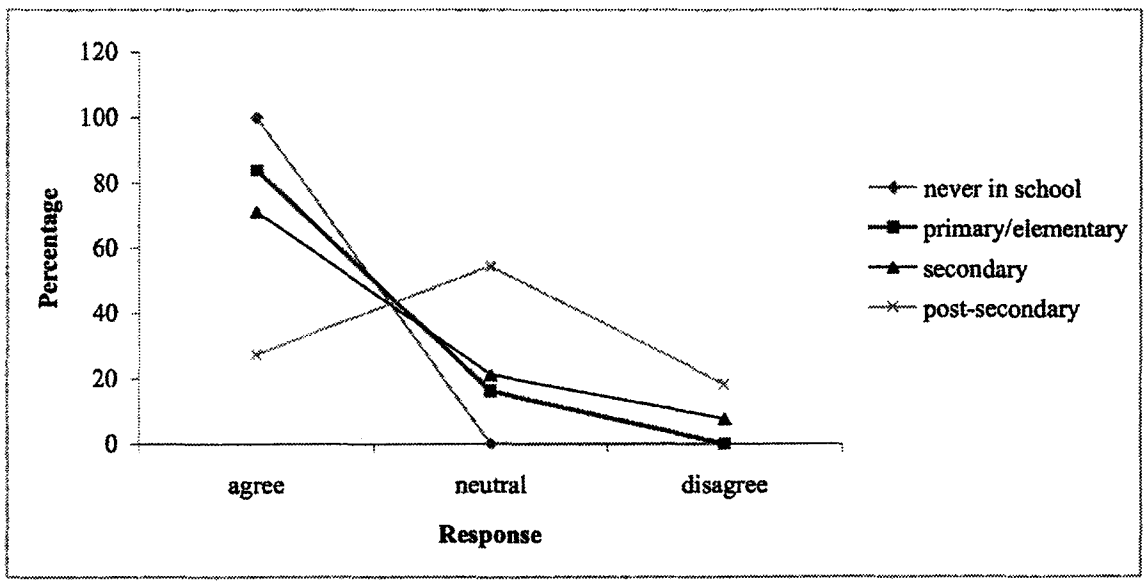

Chart 15: Non-Innu who visit or live in the community should learn Innu-aimun by education

Participants who had never been in school unanimously agreed with the proposition. The majorities of the primary/elementary and secondary categories also agreed; however, the percentage decreased as participants' amount of education increased (83.9% of respondents with primary/elementary level education and 71.1% of those with secondary school education). Participants from the latter category also made up two-thirds (66.7%) of the responses stating that non-Innu should not learn Innu-aimun. Finally, respondents with post-secondary experience had a majority (54.5%) that selected the neutral response.

3.2.4.6 Summary

The Sheshatshiu Innu are generally positive about the future of their language, stating that it would be preserved in their families, their community and in the greater body of Innu Nation, despite the fact that two-thirds of the community said that vocabulary, especially words pertaining to life in the country, were being lost. Only a small portion of the population, consisting mainly of younger speakers, felt that they were forced to use English, listing situations such as with medical professionals or at work or school.

3.2.5 Summary of language attitudes

Overall, there is a very positive attitude toward both languages in the community. The population values both Innu-aimun and English, though likely for different reasons, and participants generally evaluated their abilities in both languages highly. Younger respondents were more satisfied and comfortable with their abilities in English than older

participants; however, younger speakers were also less confident about their abilities in Innu-aimun.

The community is aware that its language is changing, most especially in terms of vocabulary loss, and finds these changes to be negative. This is reflected in the fact that participants said that younger community members speak a different, poorer variety of Innu-aimun while revering the speech of elders. Respondents also reported that elders and teenagers have problems understanding one another when speaking Innu-aimun and attribute this to the negative changes perceived in the language. Despite these changes, or perhaps because of them, the population thought that school would be the best place to safeguard Innu-aimun and thought that it should be the language of instruction when children begin their formal education. It is important to note, however, that participants thought that English should still be learned, but within a bilingual framework as opposed to the current, monolingual (English) one.

Although Sheshatshiu is surrounded by English-speaking communities, less than one-quarter of the population felt obligated to speak this language and this tended to be in situations in which they were interacting with professionals from outside of the community. Most of the respondents believed in the future of Innu-aimun not only in their families but in the community and in Innu Nation as a whole. They also thought that there should be special measures in place to protect the language and that non-Innu who visited and/or worked in Sheshatshiu should make some effort to learn the language.

Age was the most significant variable, with older respondents being the most absolute about the importance to use and maintain Innu-aimun. They were also the group

whose use of the language was most praised. Younger respondents' Innu-aimun was viewed less positively and teenagers' speech was labelled acceptable. Participants who thought that English was more important or useful tended to be younger and also have more formal education, since there is a strong relationship between age and education, which was seen repeatedly in the data. Generally, older participants had no formal education and believed that Innu-aimun was important and strong while younger participants, who had more education, were more positive about English. Occupation and gender were somewhat significant, occasionally having an effect on the distribution of responses, but never to the same degree as age or education.

3.3 Language use

Participants were asked many questions about their linguistic habits (when and how they used Innu-aimun and English in a variety of social settings) to establish patterns of usage. This section looks at language use both in and outside of the home, focusing on a variety of age and social groups. In §3.3.1, participants' language of daily use is discussed. The next section looks at language use in the home and the third at language use at work or in school. §3.3.4 examines language choice when a non-Innu person is present while 3.3.5 deals with participants' preferred language of response when addressed in Innu-aimun or English. This is followed by a discussion on language use inside and outside of the community. Lastly, §3.3.7 covers language mixing in terms of both participants' opinions on the phenomenon and their own and observed language mixing practices.

3.3.1 Language(s) of daily use

Participants were first asked which language they use in daily life (Q40). As can be seen in the Table 49, over three-quarters (78.1%) of the population reported Innu-aimun as their preferred language for daily use; in contrast, only six participants said that they used primarily English in their daily life.

Table 49: Language(s) of daily use

Language(s)	%	N
Innu-aimun	78.1	100
Innu-aimun and English	17.2	22
English	4.7	6
Total	100.0	128

Responses for this question varied according to two variables: age and education. For age ($p<0.001$), there was a distinct pattern in the distribution of responses, shown below:

Table 50: Language(s) of daily use by age

Language(s)	Younger speakers		Middle-aged speakers		Older speakers	
	%	N	%	N	%	N
Innu-aimun	57.8	26	81.6	40	100.0	34
Innu-aimun and English	31.1	14	16.3	8	0.0	0
English	11.1	5	2.1	1	0.0	0
Total	100.0	45	100.0	49	100.0	34

Older participants unanimously selected Innu-aimun as their language of daily life while other age cohorts showed a non-categorical distribution. For middle-aged participants, 81.6% selected Innu-aimun as their language of daily life while 16.3% said that they used either Innu-aimun or English and one participant (2.1%) reported using English as his/her primary language. For younger respondents, there were even more people (11.1%) reporting English as their language of daily use; this can be contrasted with 57.8% of this

group who said that they used Innu-aimun and the 31.1% who reported the use of both languages.

There was a similar trend for the education variable ($p<0.001$), shown in Table 51; as participants' amount of formal education increased, so did the percentage of each cohort who reported using either a mixture of Innu-aimun or English or exclusively English. Specifically, participants with no formal education all selected Innu-aimun as their preferred language for daily use. For those with primary/elementary level education, 83.9% chose Innu-aimun while the remaining 16.1% said that they would use both Innu-aimun and English. When comparing respondents with secondary school experience to this group, the number of people who said that they usually spoke Innu-aimun dropped by 12.7% and the number of those who reported using both languages increased by 4.1%. Only one-quarter of participants (27.3%) with post-secondary level education said that they would use Innu-aimun in daily life, compared to the majority of participants (54.5%) who said that they would sometimes speak Innu-aimun and sometimes English.

Table 51: Language(s) of daily use by education

Language(s)	No formal education		Primary/ elementary		Secondary		Post-secondary	
	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N
Innu-aimun	100.0	32	83.9	26	71.2	37	27.3	3
Innu-aimun and English	0.0	0	16.1	5	21.2	11	54.5	6
English	0.0	0	0.0	0	7.6	4	18.2	2
Total	100.0	32	100.0	31	100.0	52	100.0	11

In other words, Innu-aimun was the preferred language of daily use for people with no formal education to secondary school experience, although the percentage does decrease

as amount of education increases; however, for participants with post-secondary, the majority of respondents reported using both Innu-aimun and English in daily life. Finally, occupation ($p<0.001$*) was statistically but not practically significant since no discernable patterns appeared in the distribution of responses.

3.3.2 Language use at home

To determine if participants' preferred language(s) changed depending on with whom they were speaking, the survey asked about language use in the home while with three distinct groups: with elders, with children and with peers, shown in Table 52. When asked what language they used at home with elders (Q41), nearly the entire survey population (96.9%) selected Innu-aimun as their language of choice, a fact that can be attributed, at least in part, to the fact most elders only speak Innu-aimun.

Table 52: Language(s) used at home

Language(s)	With elders		With children		With peers	
	%	N	%	N	%	N
Innu-aimun	96.9	123	68.0	87	85.2	109
Innu-aimun and English	2.4	3	23.4	30	10.9	14
English	0.8	1	8.6	11	3.9	5
Total	100.0	127	100.0	128	100.0	128

Given this overwhelming majority, none of the variables tested had an effect on the distribution of responses; occupation ($p<0.05$*) was statistically but not practically significant.

There was, however, less consistency when participants were asked about the language they used at home with children (Q42). For this question, over two-thirds of the sample (68.0%) reported that they used Innu-aimun when interacting with children in the

home, a marked decrease from the number of people who used Innu-aimun with elders. As can be seen in the table above, nearly one-quarter of participants (23.4%) reported using a mixture of Innu-aimun and English while 8.6% reported the use of English as their primary language when interacting with children.

Responses for this question varied according to both age and level of education; occupation ($p<0.05$*) was statistically but not practically significant since no patterns emerged in the data. In keeping with the data gathered from other questions for the age variable ($p\leq0.001$), there was a definite trend in the distribution of responses. Although the majority of all age groups selected Innu-aimun as their preferred language when speaking with children at home, the percentages decreased with participants' ages, e.g. 88.2% of older participants spoke Innu-aimun with children compared to 51.1% of younger speakers.

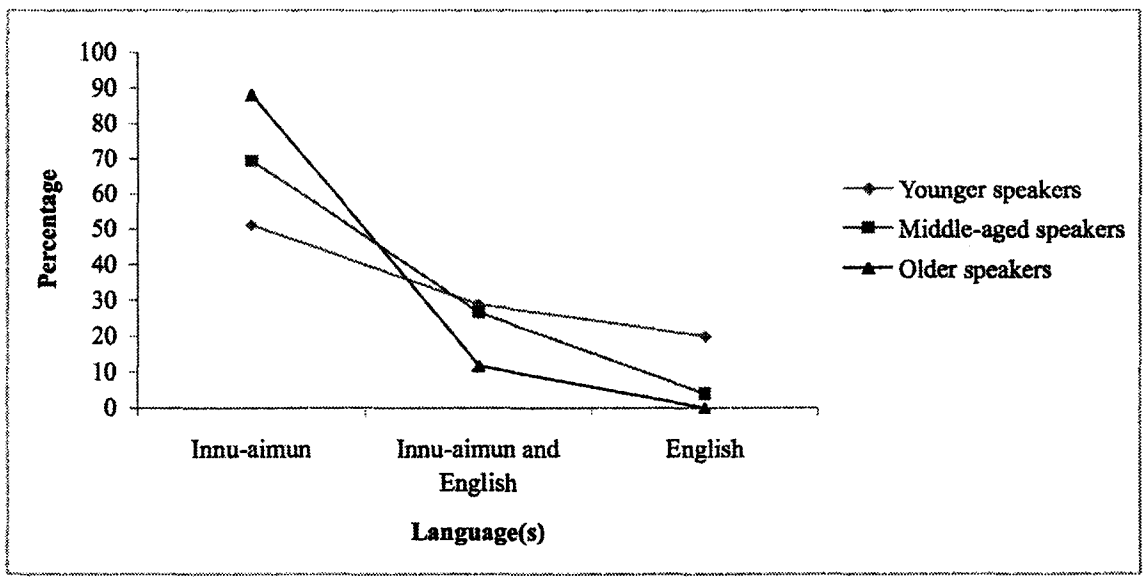

Chart 16: Distribution of responses about language(s) used at home with children by age

As Chart 16 shows, the percentage of respondents in each age group who reported English as their preferred language for speaking with children at home showed the inverse pattern; as the percentage of participants who selected this response increased, their ages decreased, ranging from 0.0% for older speakers to 20.0% for younger ones.

Responses were also dependent on level of education ($p \leq 0.001$), with nearly all of the participants who had no formal education (96.9%) preferring Innu-aimun, as opposed to the one-third (36.3%) of people with post-secondary education who made the same selection, as illustrated in the following table:

Table 53: Language(s) used at home with children by education

Language(s)	No formal education		Primary/ elementary		Secondary		Post-secondary	
	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N
Innu-aimun	96.9	31	61.3	19	61.5	32	36.3	4
Innu-aimun and English	3.1	1	35.5	11	23.1	12	45.5	5
English	0.0	0	3.1	1	15.4	8	18.2	2
Total	100.0	32	100.0	31	100.0	52	100.0	11

Participants were also asked which language(s) they used at home with people of the same age, i.e. their peers (Q43). Table 50, on page 100, shows that the majority of respondents (85.2%) selected Innu-aimun as their preferred language, while 10.9% reported using a both Innu-aimun and English with their peers at home and the remaining 3.9% reporting the exclusive use of English.

The distribution of responses for this question varied according to both age and education. In terms of age ($p<0.001$*), shown in Chart 17, all of the participants ages 59 and over chose Innu-aimun as the language they used at home with their peers, as did 96.0% of middle-aged participants.

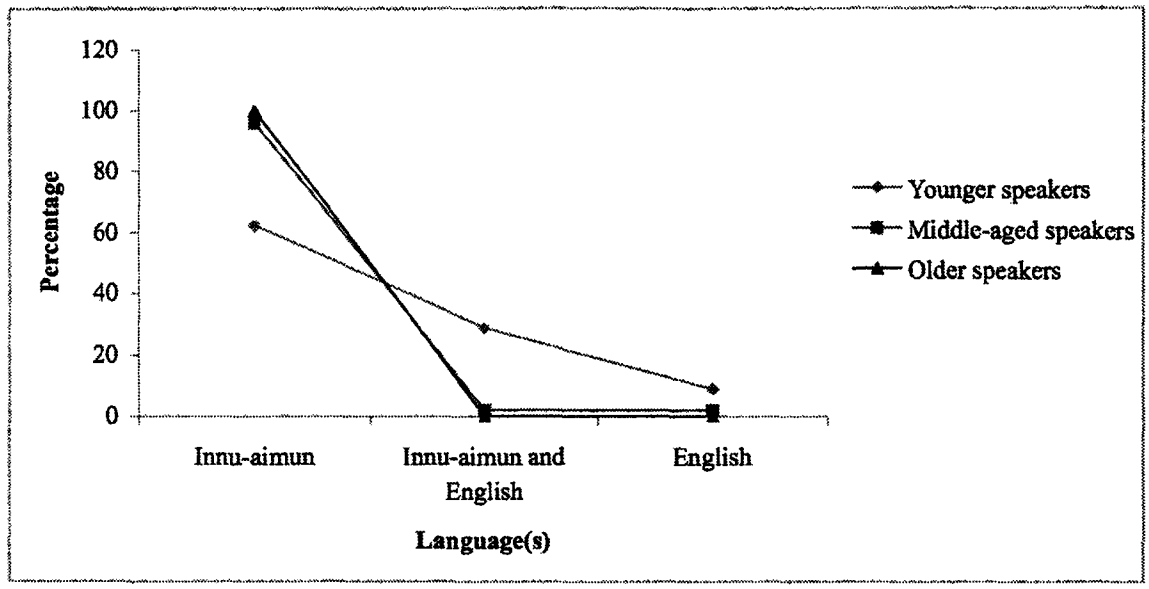

Chart 17: Language(s) used with peers at home by age

In contrast, only 62.2% of younger respondents said they speak Innu-aimun at home with their peers, with 28.9% speaking a mixture of Innu-aimun and English and 8.9% using English exclusively.

In terms of level of education ($p<0.01$*), shown in Table 54, participants with no formal schooling unanimously selected Innu-aimun as their preferred language when speaking with their peers and 90.3% of participants with primary/elementary level education did the same. (The remaining 9.7% of this category reported using both Innu-aimun and English when talking with their peers.) Almost three-quarters (73.1%) of respondents with secondary school experience also selected Innu-aimun; however, 21.2% of participants in this group preferred to use both Innu-aimun and English and 5.7% reported using only English.

Table 54: Language(s) used at home with peers by education

Language(s)	No formal education		Primary/ elementary		Secondary		Post-secondary	
	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N
Innu-aimun	100.0	32	90.3	28	73.1	38	81.8	9
Innu-aimun or English	0.0	0	9.7	3	21.2	11	0.0	0
English	0.0	0	0.0	0	5.7	3	18.2	2
Total	100.0	32	100.0	31	100.0	52	100.0	11

Finally, for participants with post-secondary education, the divide was more pronounced in that, although 81.8% selected Innu-aimun, the remaining participants preferred to use English when interacting with people their own age. These results are interesting because of their absoluteness. Participants in this category selected either Innu-aimun or English; no one said that they would use both languages. Finally, occupation ($p \leq 0.001$*) was statistically but not practically significant since there were no appreciable trends in the distribution of responses for this question.

There were also questions in the survey that asked participants to comment on the language(s) used by children and teenagers in the home. There was a noticeable difference between this set of responses, shown in Table 55, and those about adults' language use.

Table 55: Observed language use in the home

Language(s)	By children		By teenagers	
	%	N	%	N
Innu-aimun	40.6	52	35.2	45
Innu-aimun or English	51.6	66	26.6	34
English	7.8	10	38.3	49
Total	100.0	128	100.0	128

For both of these questions, the percentage of respondents who selected Innu-aimun was much smaller than for the previous questions. In fact, when asked which language

children use at home (Q50), the majority of participants (51.6%) reported that they used a mixture of Innu-aimun and English. For teenagers' observed language use (Q51), the distribution was more even, with the greatest number of respondents (38.3%) stating that teenagers spoke predominantly English.

Responses for both of these questions varied according to age $p \leq 0.01$ for Q50 and $p < 0.01$ for Q51), producing a very interesting pattern, shown in Table 56. Nearly half of the participants in the youngest age category (46.7%) said that children spoke Innu-aimun at home; in contrast, the majority of middle-aged and older participants (59.2% and 61.8% respectively) said that children tended to speak a mixture of Innu-aimun and English. This was surprising because, given the trends of language use that have appeared in the data, it was expected that older participants would be more inclined to believe that children spoke Innu-aimun but this was not the case.

Table 56: Children's observed language use in the home by age

Language(s)	Younger speakers		Middle-aged speakers		Older speakers	
	%	N	%	N	%	N
Innu-aimun	46.7	21	36.7	18	38.2	13
Innu-aimun and English	35.5	16	59.2	29	61.8	21
English	17.8	8	4.1	2	0.0	0
Total	100.0	45	100.0	49	100.0	34

This table also shows that, when asked what language they thought teenagers used at home, this same age divide was evident in the responses again. The majority of younger respondents (52.3%) said that teenagers spoke Innu-aimun while 44% of middle-aged participants and 55.9% of older participants thought teenagers spoke English.

For Q51, the question about teenagers' language use, responses also varied according to education ($p<0.01$*). The majority of participants with little or no education believed that teenagers spoke primarily English while the majority of those with more education (secondary or post-secondary level education) stated that teenagers spoke Innu-aimun, illustrated in the following chart:

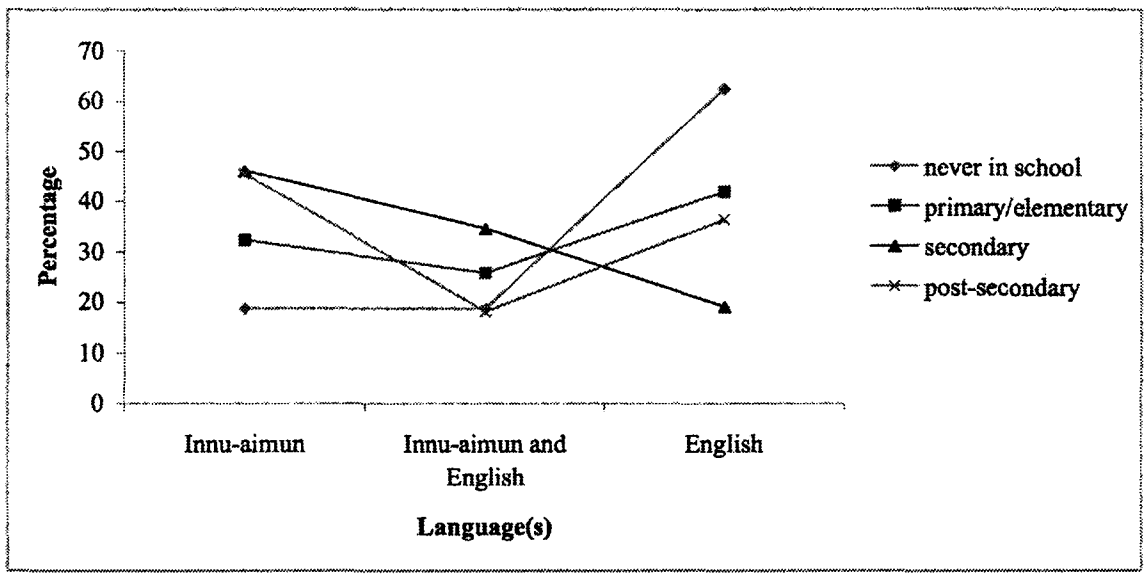

Chart 18: Language(s) used by teenagers at home by education

These findings reinforce the correlation between age and education. Finally, for this question, occupation ($p<0.05$*) was statistically but not practically significant; there were no discernable patterns in the distribution of responses according to this variable.

The survey also asked participants which language(s) they thought young parents used when speaking with their children (Q59). As the Table 57 illustrates, the population was fairly evenly divided between Innu-aimun alone and a combination of Innu-aimun and English, with a slightly larger percentage of respondents (46.1%) stating that young parents tended to speak a combination of the two languages.

Table 57: Language(s) used by young parents with children

Language(s)	%	N
Innu-aimun	44.5	57
Innu-aimun and English	46.1	59
English	9.4	12
Total	100.0	128

Less than 10.0% of the sample thought that parents were speaking only English with their children.

A chi-square test showed that results for this question varied according to respondents' ages, shown in Chart 19 ($p<0.05$). A large number of middle-aged and older participants (57.1% and 47.1% respectively) stated that young parents spoke both Innu-aimun and English with their children; however, younger participants (the group being evaluated) had a majority (60.0%) that reported using Innu-aimun when speaking with children.

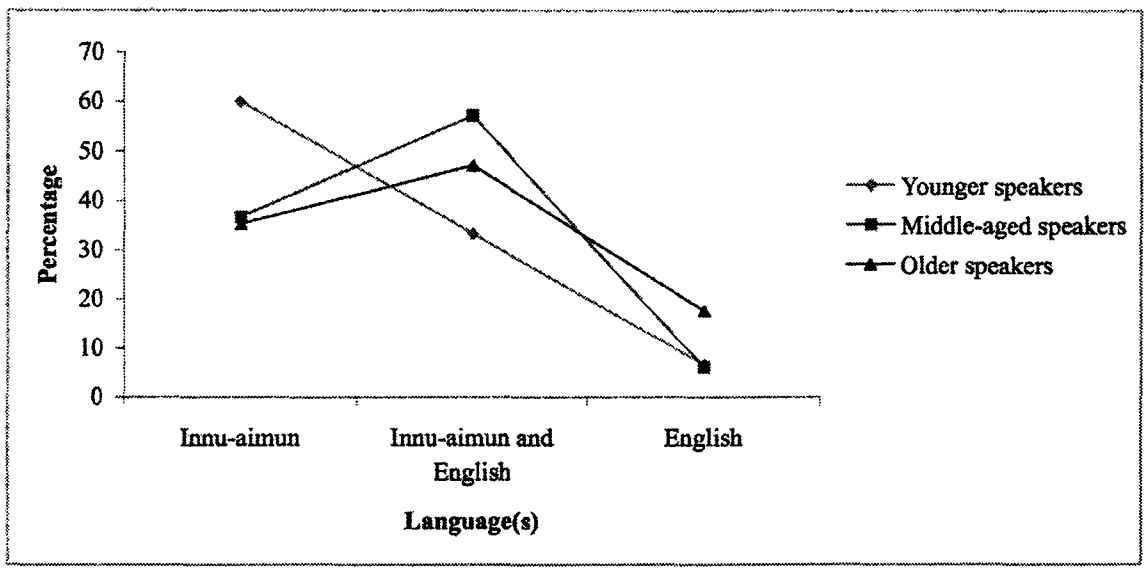

Chart 19: Language(s) used by young parents with children by age

The previous chart also shows that half of the participants who said that young parents spoke English with their children were from the oldest age group.

3.3.3 Language use at work/school

Participants were also asked what language they use at work or school (Q44). Given that all employment and educational opportunities outside of the community, and some within, require English, it was expected that there would be fewer respondents selecting Innu-aimun as their preferred language for this type of interaction. As can be seen in Table 58, the population was fairly evenly divided between using primarily Innu-aimun and using both languages.

Table 58: Language(s) used at work/school

Language(s)	%	N
Innu-aimun	48.8	61
Innu-aimun and English	43.2	54
English	8.0	10
Total	100.0	125

Although 43.2% of the sample selected both Innu-aimun and English and another 8.0% selected English as the exclusive language used in these settings, these numbers are still lower than anticipated since nearly half of the population (48.8%) reported using Innu-aimun at work or school, despite the fact that there are only a small number of jobs, all within Innu communities, that would permit the exclusive use of Innu-aimun in the workplace.

Responses for this question varied according to age ($p<0.001$), with nearly all of the older speakers (94.1%) opting to use Innu-aimun at school or work. This is markedly different from the number of younger and middle-aged participants since, for these age categories, only one-third selected Innu-aimun (34.9% and 29.2% respectively). Instead,

as Table 59 illustrates, respondents from these groups tended to report using both Innu-aimun and English (46.5% for younger and 66.7% for middle-aged participants).

Table 59: Language(s) used at work/school by age

Language(s)	Younger speakers		Middle-aged speakers		Older speakers	
	%	N	%	N	%	N
Innu-aimun	34.9	15	29.2	14	94.1	32
Innu-aimun and English	46.5	20	66.7	32	5.9	2
English	18.6	8	4.1	2	0.0	0
Total	100.0	43	100.0	48	100.0	34

A chi-square test showed that responses varied according to education as well ($p<0.001$). As Chart 20 shows, there was a significant disparity between the percentage of participants with no formal education who reported speaking Innu-aimun (96.9%) and those of participants with any amount of education, the percentages for whom were much lower (32.3% of participants with primary/elementary, 36.0% of those with secondary, and 20.0% of those with post-secondary education). Most people in these three categories reported using a mixture of Innu-aimun and English (64.5%, 52.0% and 50.0% respectively). Participants who had never been in school were the only group to have an overwhelming majority.

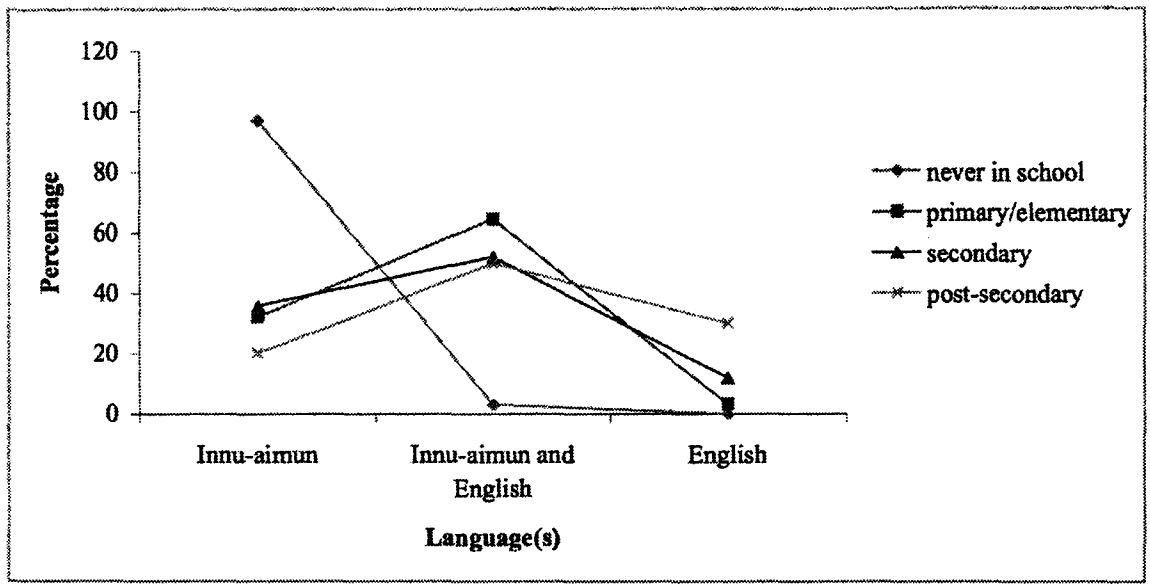

Chart 20: Language(s) used at work/school by education

Finally, occupation (p<0.001*) was somewhat significant in that 70.0% of the participants who would use Innu-aimun came from unemployed individuals, as Table 60 shows.

Table 60: Language(s) used at work/school by occupation

Occupation	Innu-aimun		Innu-aimun and English		English		Total	
	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N
Seasonal worker/manual labourer	30.0	3	60.0	6	10.0	1	100.0	10
Office worker/clerk	6.7	1	93.3	14	0.0	0	100.0	15
Human services/home care worker	55.6	10	38.9	7	5.5	1	100.0	18
Homemaker	40.0	2	40.0	2	20.0	1	100.0	5
Businessperson/politician	25.0	1	25.0	1	50.0	2	100.0	4
Educator	20.0	1	80.0	4	0.0	0	100.0	5
Unemployed	66.7	42	28.6	18	4.7	3	100.0	63

Furthermore, this category and that of human services/home care workers were the only groups with a majority that reported using Innu-aimun at work or school. In contrast,

businessperson/politician was the only group to have its greatest numbers (50.0%) select English. The remaining categories each had a majority that selected Innu-aimun and English with the exception of the homemaker category, which had two groups that each accounted for 40.0% (Innu-aimun and Innu-aimun and English).

3.3.4 Language use with friends

The survey also asked participants a more general question about language use with friends (Q47), to which 82.7% reported using Innu-aimun:

Table 61: Language(s) used with friends

Language(s)	%	N
Innu-aimun	82.7	105
Innu-aimun and English	12.6	16
English	4.7	6
Total	100.0	127

Only six participants reported using predominantly English when speaking with their friends.

Chi-square tests revealed that results for this question varied according to both age and education; occupation ($p \leq 0.001$*) was statistically but not practically significant. Despite the fact that all three categories had majorities that said that they used Innu-aimun when socializing with friends, age ($p<0.001$) was significant when looking at the other two response choices. As the following chart shows, older participants unanimously reported speaking Innu-aimun with friends:

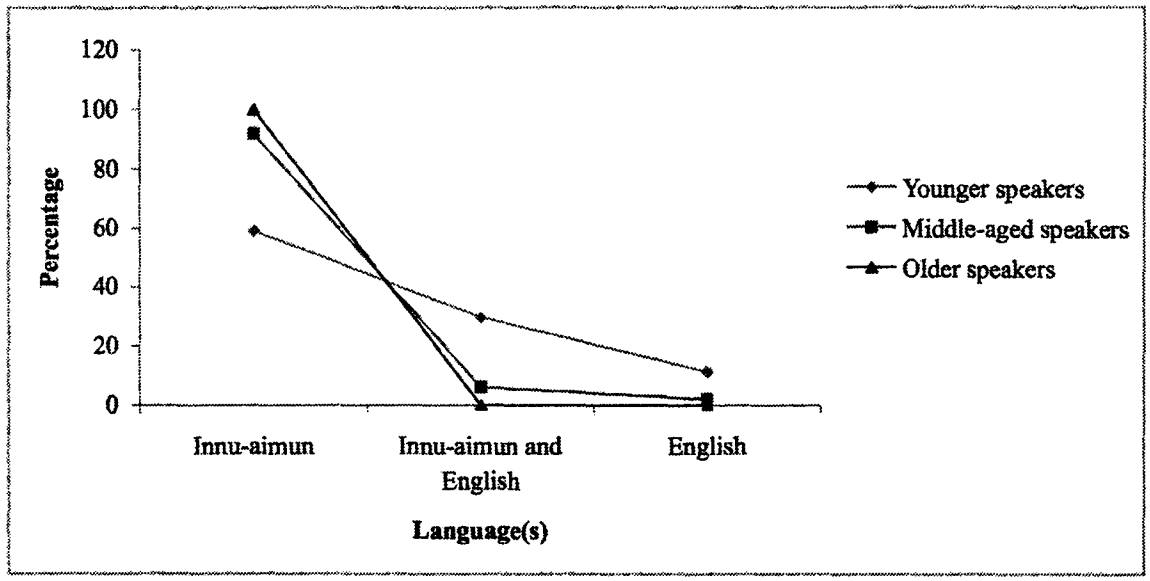

Chart 21: Language(s) used with friends by age

Furthermore, most of the respondents who chose to use a combination of Innu-aimun and English or English alone came from the youngest age group (81.2% and 83.3% respectively).

A similar trend appeared when responses were examined in terms of education ($p \leq 0.001$*), shown in Table 62. Once again, the majority of each category selected Innu-aimun as their preferred language for speaking with friends and only those participants who had never been in school were unanimous.

Table 62: Language(s) used with friends by education

Language(s)	Never in school		Primary/ elementary		Secondary		Post-secondary	
	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N
Innu-aimun	100.0	32	90.0	27	67.3	35	81.8	9
Innu-aimun and English	0.0	0	10.0	3	25.0	13	0.0	0
English	0.0	0	0.0	0	7.7	4	18.2	2
Total	100.0	32	100.0	30	100.0	52	100.0	11

This table also shows that most of the respondents who said that they would use both Innu-aimun and English had secondary school level education (81.3%); interestingly,

none of the participants with post-secondary experience made this selection. This is unusual because this category has patterned more like the secondary school category in other sections. In this instance, however, responses from this category are more similar to those from participants who had never been in school or who had primary/elementary level education.

3.3.5 Preferred language(s) when a non-Innu person is present

To help to establish whether or not the population used language differently depending on setting, participants were asked a pair of questions. The first asked which language they would use if they were with a group of Innu friends and there was a non-Innu person present who did not speak Innu-aimun (Q52). In contrast, the second question used the same basic premise (i.e. in a group with other Innu and one non-Innu speaker present), except that the setting was now work/school, rather than a social one (Q53). As the following table shows, when speaking with peers in a social situation, just over half of the population (53.1%) said they would speak Innu-aimun but, in a work/school setting, this number decreased, with only 42.6% saying they would use Innu-aimun:

Table 63: Preferred language(s) when a non-Innu person is present

Language(s)	In a social setting		At work or school	
	%	N	%	N
Innu-aimun	53.1	68	42.6	55
Innu-aimun and English	31.3	40	24.0	31
English	15.6	20	33.3	43
Total	100.0	128	100.0	129

The percentage of the sample that said they would use English increased by 17.7% when at work or school (15.6% would use English with friends and 33.3% at work or school). When the two distributions are compared, the data clearly indicate that the population was more likely to accommodate the non-speaker in a work/school setting than in a social one.

Chi-square tests revealed that responses varied according to age for both settings ($p<0.001$ for both). For Q52, which looked at language use when a non-Innu speaker was present in a social setting, there was a definite distinction between the younger participants and the middle-aged and older ones. More specifically, half of the younger speakers (51.1%) said that they would use both Innu-aimun and English while half of the middle-aged respondents (53.1%) and nearly all of the older ones (94.1%) stated they would speak Innu-aimun. In a work or school setting, the majority of younger participants (51.1%) said that they would speak English if there were a non-Innu speaker present while most older respondents said that they would speak Innu-aimun (91.2%).

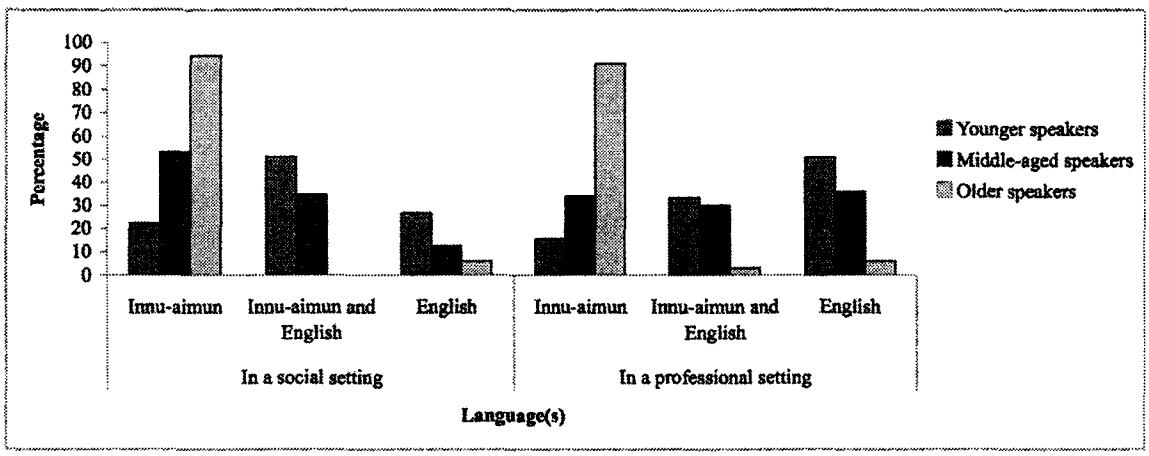

Chart 22: Preferred language(s) when a non-Innu person is present by age

Chart 22 also shows that middle-aged speakers were fairly evenly split between the three options, with the largest group (36.0%) consisting of those who said that they would speak only English. In both cases, results were much as expected. Older participants, who were predominantly monolingual, maintained that they would speak Innu-aimun no matter the setting but the two other age groups reported more use of English when a non-Innu was present, likely to accommodate the non-speaker.

Both questions also had responses that varied according to level of education ($p<0.001$ for both). If someone who could not speak Innu-aimun was present at a social gathering, participants who had never been in school would all use Innu-aimun, as would the majority (64.5%) of those with primary/elementary level education. These groups can be contrasted with the other two (secondary and post-secondary) in which the greatest number of participants reported that they would use both Innu-aimun and English (50.0% and 45.5% respectively). It is important to note that the percentages of these groups were not as high as those for the first groups discussed, as shown in Chart 23.

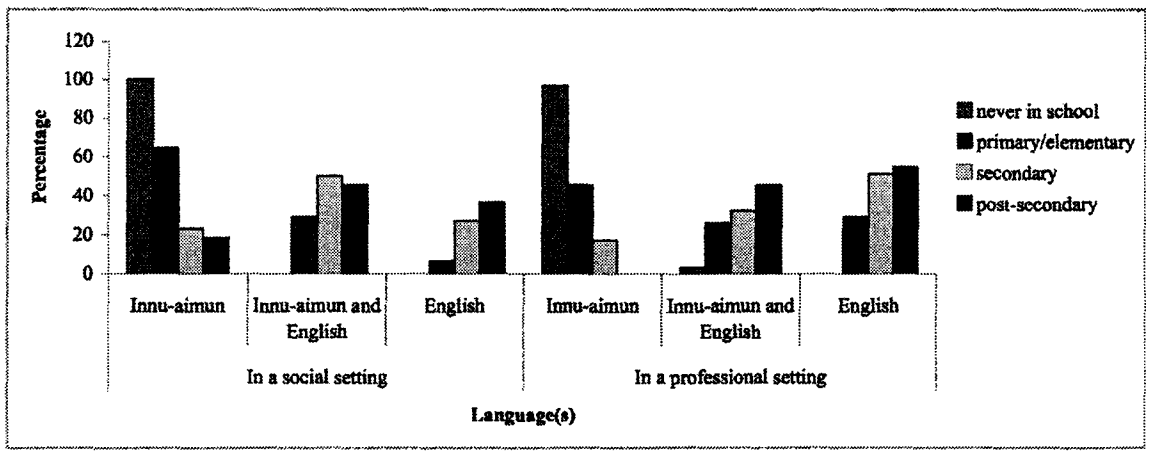

Chart 23: Preferred language(s) when a non-Innu is present by education

When asked about language use at work or school, participants in all four education categories displayed a greater inclination to use English, with more participants opting to use either both of the community languages or English alone. For those participants without formal education or with primary/elementary level experience, the majorities continued to report Innu-aimun as their preferred language; however, the percentages were smaller than they were in a social setting, with those with no formal education showing a decrease of 3.3% and those with primary/elementary level experience showing a decrease of 19.3% in number of respondents who would speak Innu-aimun alone. For respondents with secondary or post-secondary education, there was a shift, with half of those with secondary school education (50.0%) and 54.5% of participants with post-secondary experience selecting English as their preferred language. In fact, in the latter category, no one said that s/he would speak Innu-aimun, a significant drop from the previous question, in which 18.2% stated they would use this language. Finally, occupation was statistically but not practically significant for both questions ($p<0.001$* for both).

3.3.6 Preferred language(s) of response

Another pair of questions asked community members which language(s) they would use to respond to an Innu from Sheshatshiu who addressed them in English (Q48) and which they would use when addressed in Innu-aimun (Q49). When asked how they would respond if spoken to in English, only 4.0% said that they would respond in the

language in which they were approached while the majority of the population (86.5%) stated they would reply in Innu-aimun, as can be seen in Table 64.

Table 64: Language(s) of response when addressed in Innu-aimun or English

Language(s)	Asked in Innu-aimun		Asked in English	
	%	N	%	N
Innu-aimun	74.2	95	86.5	109
Innu-aimun and English	17.2	22	9.5	12
English	8.6	11	4.0	5
Total	100.0	128	100.0	126

This figure is on par with the 4.7% who reported English as their language of daily use, discussed in §3.3.1. In contrast, when asked how they would respond to an Innu from Sheshatshiu who spoke to them in Innu-aimun, only three-quarters of the population (74.2%) stated they would respond in Innu-aimun. This percentage was slightly lower than that of participants who reported Innu-aimun as their language of daily use (78.1%) and also significantly lower than the results for English (a difference of 12.3%).

For both of these questions, responses varied according to age and level of education. In terms of age for Q48 ($p<0.001$), which asked which language participants would use if spoken to in Innu-aimun, the majority of participants in all three categories stated that they would speak Innu-aimun. Most participants who selected English alone or a combination of the two community languages were between the ages of 19 and 38 (77.3% of respondents who said they would use either language and 54.5% of those who said they would use English).

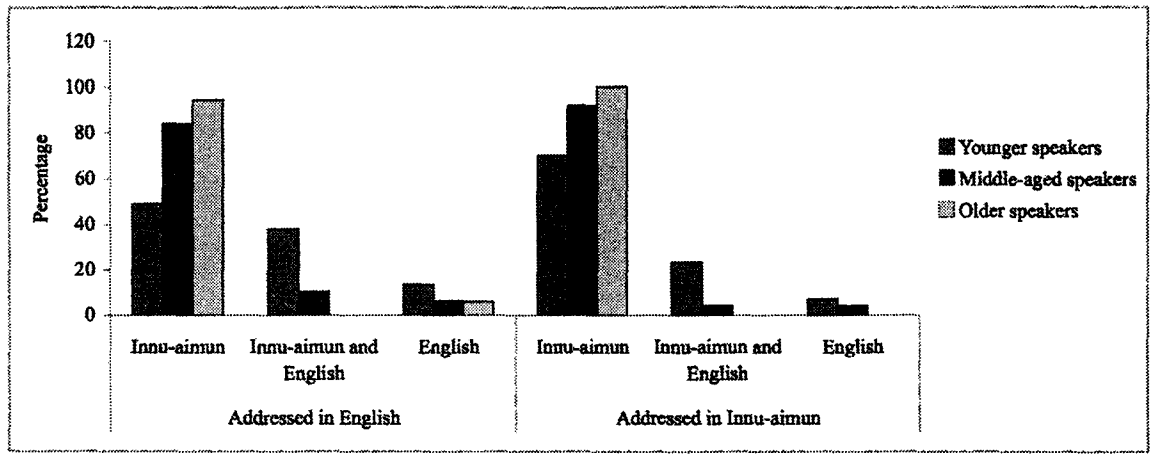

Chart 24: Language(s) of response when addressed in Innu-aimun or English by age

Furthermore, as Chart 24 illustrates, the largest numbers for each age category—older (94.1%), middle-aged (83.7%) and younger (48.9%)—said they would respond in Innu-aimun to a question posed in English, although the percentage dropped significantly for the youngest cohort.

For Q49 ($p \leq 0.001$*), also shown in Chart 24, older participants unanimously stated they would respond in Innu-aimun, as did 91.8% of middle-aged respondents. The majority of the youngest age group (69.8%) also selected Innu-aimun as their preferred language of response; however, this percentage is significantly lower than that of the other two age categories, a finding that is consistent with the rest of the data.

Responses to this question also varied according to education ($p<0.001$). As with age, the majority of all categories selected Innu-aimun as their language of response, with participants without formal education making this selection unanimously, in keeping with the correlation between age and education previously discussed. Finally, although responses for this question varied statistically according to occupation ($p<0.001$*), there

were no significant patterns in the data, though it is important to note that the only occupation category whose participants unanimously selected Innu-aimun was educator.

For Q49 ($p \leq 0.001$*), participants without formal education or with primary/elementary school experience unanimously selected Innu-aimun, further reinforcing the correlation between these two variables. 70.6% of respondents with secondary school experience also selected Innu-aimun as their preferred language of responses, as did 80.0% of those with post-secondary experience.

3.3.7 Location (in vs. outside of the community) as a factor in language selection

To see if being in or outside of the community would affect speakers' language choice, participants were asked a pair of questions that used the same social situation parameters with one variation, physical location (either Sheshatshiu and Goose Bay). These items asked community members to report which language(s) they would use when speaking with friends when participating in sports or social activities in both communities. As the table below shows, when socializing with friends in Sheshatshiu (Q45), 82.7% said that they would speak Innu-aimun:

Table 65: Language(s) used when socializing with friends

Language(s)	In Sheshatshiu		In Goose Bay	
	%	N	%	N
Innu-aimun	82.7	105	65.1	84
Innu-aimun and English	12.4	16	22.5	29
English	4.7	6	12.4	16
Total	100.0	127	100.0	129

In contrast, when socializing with friends in Goose Bay (Q46), the percentage of participants who would speak Innu-aimun dropped considerably (65.1%), although this was still the response for a significant portion of the population.

Chi-square tests revealed that responses for both questions were dependent on age ($p<0.001$ for both). When looking at language choice for socializing in Sheshatshiu, older speakers unanimously stated they would speak Innu-aimun. Middle-aged respondents also reported that they would use Innu-aimun, with 89.8% making this selection and only one participant from this group stating s/he would speak English. Finally, although the majority of younger respondents said they would speak Innu-aimun (61.4%), there were many more people from this age group who said that they would either speak both Innu-aimun and English or exclusively English, as can be seen in the following chart:

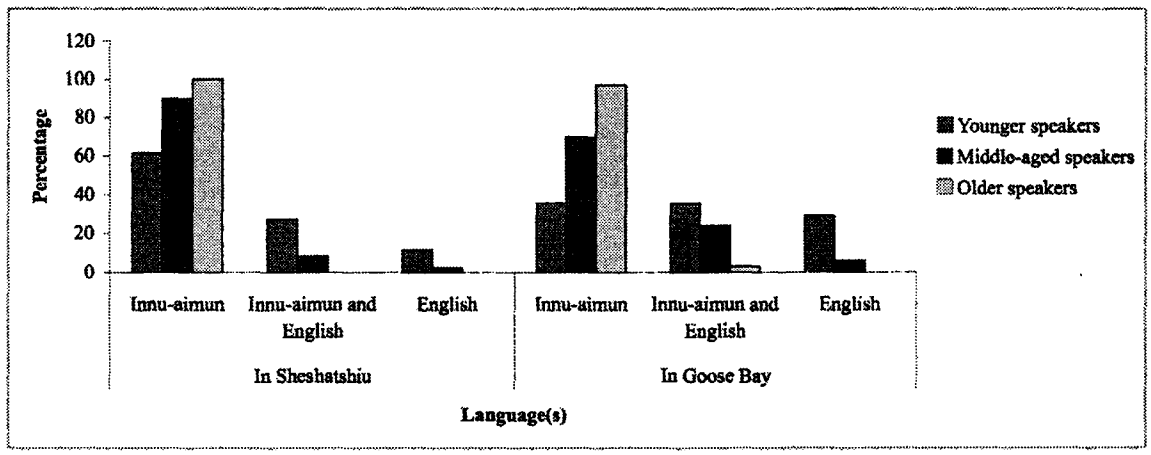

Chart 25: Language(s) used when socializing with friends by age

Overall, when comparing these two data sets, one striking trend appeared; the percentage of people who would speak Innu-aimun in Sheshatshiu was greater than that of those who would speak Innu-aimun in Goose Bay for each age group.

Participants' education also factored into the distribution of responses for these questions ($p \leq 0.001$* for Q45 and $p < 0.001$ for Q46). Although the majority of each category preferred to speak Innu-aimun in Sheshatshiu, participants who had never been in school were the only group to be unanimous in this decision, as illustrated in Chart 24. Nearly all respondents with primary/elementary level education made the same selection, except for two participants who said that they would sometimes use Innu-aimun and sometimes English. Two-thirds of the population who said they would speak English (66.7%) had secondary school experience; the remaining two participants who made this selection had post-secondary education.

For Q46, which asked respondents which language(s) they would use with friends while participating in sports or social activities in Goose Bay, the majority of participants in all of the four categories again said that they would speak Innu-aimun. For those with secondary school education, however, responses were fairly evenly divided, with 39.2% saying they would speak only Innu-aimun and 37.7% reporting that they would use both Innu-aimun and English.

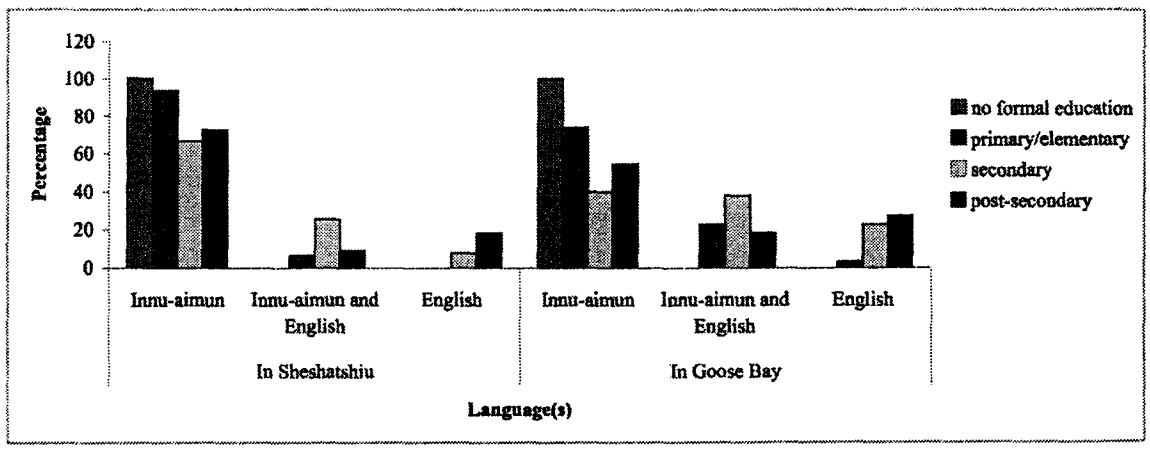

Chart 26: Language(s) used when socializing with friends by education

In fact, for participants with any amount of education, there was a definite shift, shown in Chart 26, in which the number of people who would use Innu-aimun would be greater when the speaker was in Sheshatshiu than when s/he was in Goose Bay (i.e. more people opted to use either a mixture of Innu-aimun and English or English alone when outside of the community).

Occupation was also significant for Q46 ($p<0.001$*). The majority of each of the seven categories, with the exception of office worker/clerk, chose Innu-aimun as their preferred language when socializing in Goose Bay. Most of the office workers/clerks (64.3%) said that they spoke Innu-aimun sometimes and English others. Additionally, there were four groups in which none of the participants selected English: seasonal worker/manual labourer, human services worker/home care worker, businessperson/ politician and educator. For Q45, this variable was statistically but not practically significant ($p<0.001$*).

The survey also asked participants another pair of questions in which the same physical location was used but with different social groups (family vs. friends). When asked which language(s) they used when outside of Sheshatshiu with their family if there were non-Innu around (Q54), two-thirds said that they would speak Innu-aimun, as Table 66 illustrates.

Table 66: Language(s) used when socializing outside of Sheshatshiu if non-Innu are present

Language(s)	With family		With friends	
	%	N	%	N
Innu-aimun	66.4	85	58.6	75
Innu-aimun and English	18.0	23	24.2	31
English	15.6	20	17.2	22
Total	100.0	128	100.0	128

When in the same milieu with friends (Q55), however, the percentage of people who would speak Innu-aimun decreased to 58.6% while the percentages for speaking a mixture of the two languages or exclusively English increased by 6.2% and 1.6% respectively.

Age was significant for both questions ($p<0.001$ for both). In both cases, the majority of every category said that Innu-aimun was the preferred language when outside of Sheshatshiu; however, there were still age-based differences. For instance, for Q54, 91.2% of the older respondents said they would speak Innu-aimun with family. This percentage is considerably higher than those of the other groups; two-thirds of middle-aged (66.0%) and less than half of younger speakers (47.7%) made this selection. Also of note is that 70.0% of the people who said they would speak predominantly English when outside of Sheshatshiu with their family came from the youngest group.

For Q55, most older participants (90.9%) said they would speak Innu-aimun with friends when outside of Sheshatshiu amid non-Innu in comparison to the 58.0% of middle-aged and the 35.6% of younger respondents who also reported Innu-aimun as their language of choice. In fact, for younger participants, the population was evenly

divided between speaking Innu-aimun and speaking English; each option accounted for 35.6% of this group.

When the two questions are compared in terms of the age variable, a similar trend to the one that appeared in the previous pair of questions emerges, as illustrated below in Chart 27, in which older respondents generally opted to use Innu-aimun across situations while younger and middle-aged participants used an increasing amount of English:

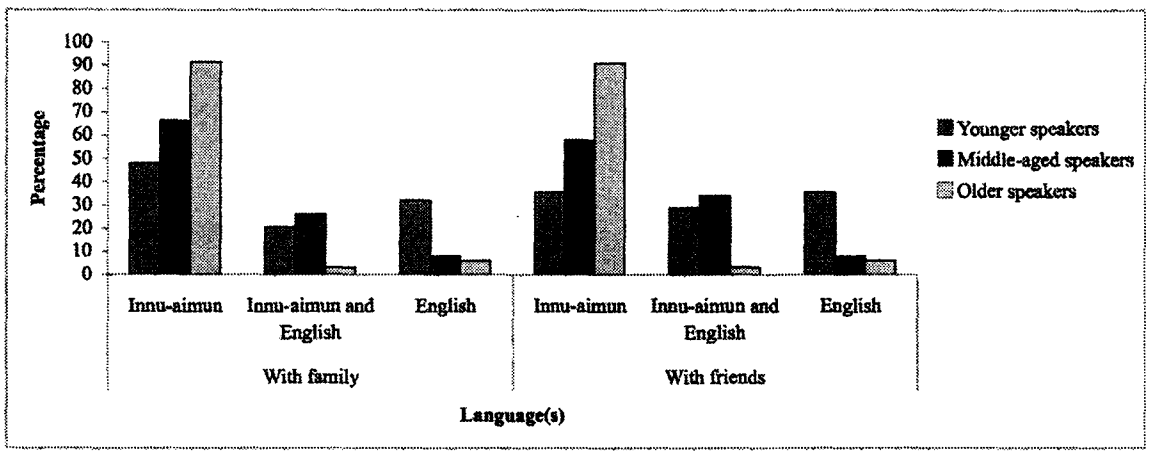

Chart 27: Language(s) used with family and friends when outside of Sheshatshiu amid non-Innu by age

For the younger and middle-aged participants, more people reported using either a mixture of Innu-aimun and English or English alone with friends than with family for the younger and middle-aged participants; results for community members over the age of 59 were nearly identical for both questions.

There was also some interesting variation in terms of education ($p<0.001$ for both questions). For Q54, the majorities of three of the groups (never in school, primary/ elementary and secondary) selected Innu-aimun as their preferred language when speaking with family when outside of Sheshatshiu (96.9%, 71.0% and 50.0%

respectively). For participants with post-secondary education, however, the distribution was very even across the three response options (36.4% for Innu-aimun, 27.2% for Innu-aimun and English and 36.4% for English). Once again, as Chart 28 shows, as participants' amount of formal education increased, the number of respondents who said that they would speak only Innu-aimun decreased.

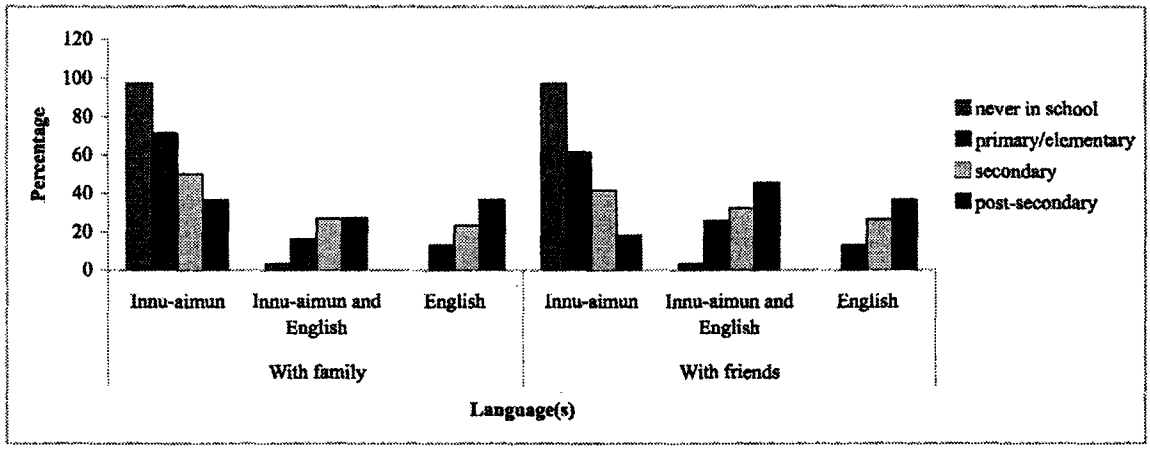

Chart 28: Language(s) used with family and friends when outside of Sheshatshiu amid non-Innu by education

As with the age variable, when comparing the distribution of responses by education for these two questions, participants were less inclined to speak only Innu-aimun when speaking with friends than when speaking with family, with the exception of those participants who have never been in school; the figures were identical for this category, illustrated in the previous chart. In contrast, for respondents with primary/elementary or post-secondary education, the percentage of people who said they would use either Innu-aimun or English increased by 9.7% and 18.2% respectively. For those with secondary school education, the percentages for both of the other options increased, with responses for both Innu-aimun and English climbing by 5.2% and those for English increasing by 3.3%. Lastly, occupation was statistically but not practically

significant for both questions since no trends appeared in the data ($p<0.01$* for Q54 and $p<0.05$* for Q55).

3.3.8 Language mixing

Since language mixing was quite common in Betsiamites, it was important to test whether this was a localized phenomenon or something that could be seen in Sheshatshiu as well. Participants were asked about their own language mixing practices, discussed in §3.3.8.1. The following section looks at their opinions on the phenomenon of language mixing while §3.3.8.3 discusses the frequency with which community members mix Innu-aimun and English.

3.3.8.1 Self-reported language mixing

When explicitly asked whether they mixed Innu-aimun and English (Q61), almost two-thirds of the population (61.7%) said that they rarely or never mix the two languages, as illustrated in Table 67.

Table 67: Frequency of language mixing

Frequency[42]	%	N
High	15.6	20
Medium	22.7	29
Low	61.7	79
Total	100.0	128

A chi-square test revealed that results varied according to age ($p<0.001$); this was expected since older community members were monolingual and thus unable to mix

[42] Although the English translations of the scale did not have "always", the Innu-aimun did have two proper poles—*namitam* 'always' and *apu nita* 'never'—so it was possible to conflate the two higher and lower frequencies of language mixing.

Innu-aimun and English, an outcome supported by the data. While all of the older participants said that they did not mix the two languages and the majority (60%) of middle-aged respondents agreed, the results were very different for the youngest age category, in which an equal number of participants reported high and low amounts of mixing (34.1% each).

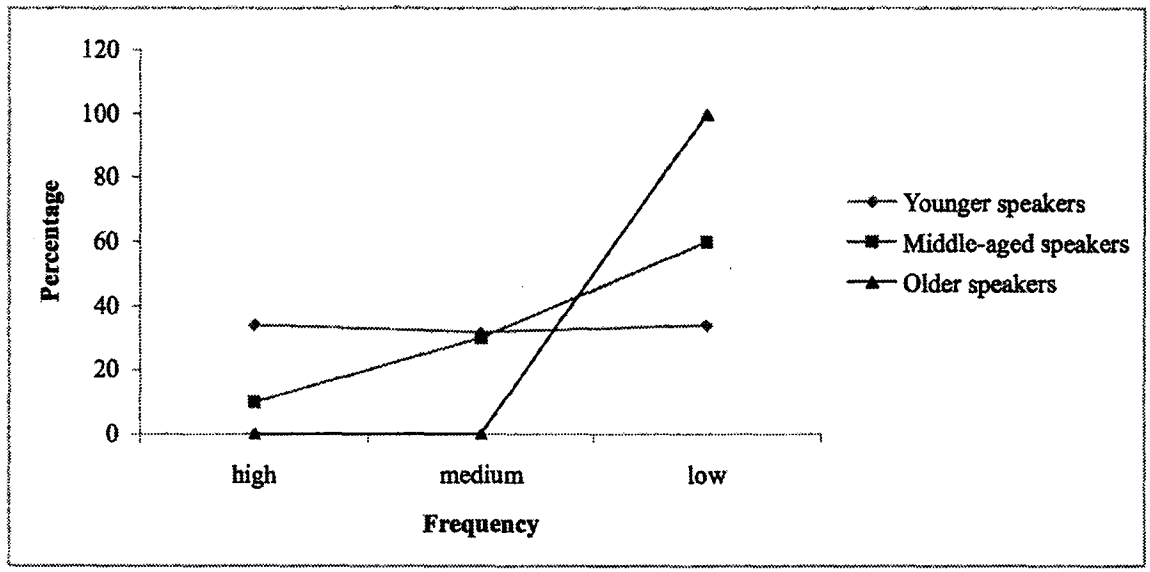

Chart 29: Frequency of language mixing by age

This chart shows that as participants' ages decreased, the groups became less unanimous (i.e. the older respondents all said that they infrequently or never mixed the two languages while the youngest age group was split into thirds on this issue). The distribution of responses from younger participants is notably even. There was also some variation in terms of gender ($p \leq 0.05$). The majorities of both categories stated that they rarely or never mix Innu-aimun and English; however, three-quarters of the participants who reported high levels of mixing were female.

Participants who gave a response other than "never" were asked a series of questions about their own language mixing habits in order to determine where mixing occurs and whether or not the degree of mixing is dependent on social factors. They were first asked how often they mix Innu-aimun and English in the home (Q62-64), when speaking with different groups; results can be seen in following table:

Table 68: Language mixing with elders, children and peers

Frequency	With elders		With children		With peers	
	%	N	%	N	%	N
High	4.5	4	21.1	19	20.0	18
Medium	11.1	10	45.6	41	18.9	17
Low	84.4[43]	76	33.3	30	61.1	55
Total	100.0	90	100.0	90	100.0	90

When speaking with elders at home (Q62), an overwhelming majority of respondents (84.4%) reported a low frequency of language mixing. Similarly, when speaking with peers in the home (Q64), the majority (61.1%) also selected "rarely" or "never". When asked about language mixing when speaking with children (Q63), however, the results were different with nearly half of the population (45.6%) saying that they sometimes mix Innu-aimun and English. It is notable that the distribution of responses for this question was not as absolute as it was for the other two.

The four variables considered in this study had little effect on the data for this series of questions, possibly because there were only five people left in the oldest age category. In fact, the distribution of responses for language mixing with children and with elders was not affected by any of the variables, although occupation was statistically

[43] 65.5% of people said that they never mixed Innu-aimun and English when speaking with elders, compared to 6.6% when speaking with children and 7.7% when speaking with peers.

but not practically significant for the latter question, with no appreciable trends appearing in the data ($p<0.05$*).

For language mixing with peers at home, however, responses varied according to both age and occupation. For age ($p\leq0.001$), there was once again a distinct difference between the youngest age category and the other two, shown in Chart 30.

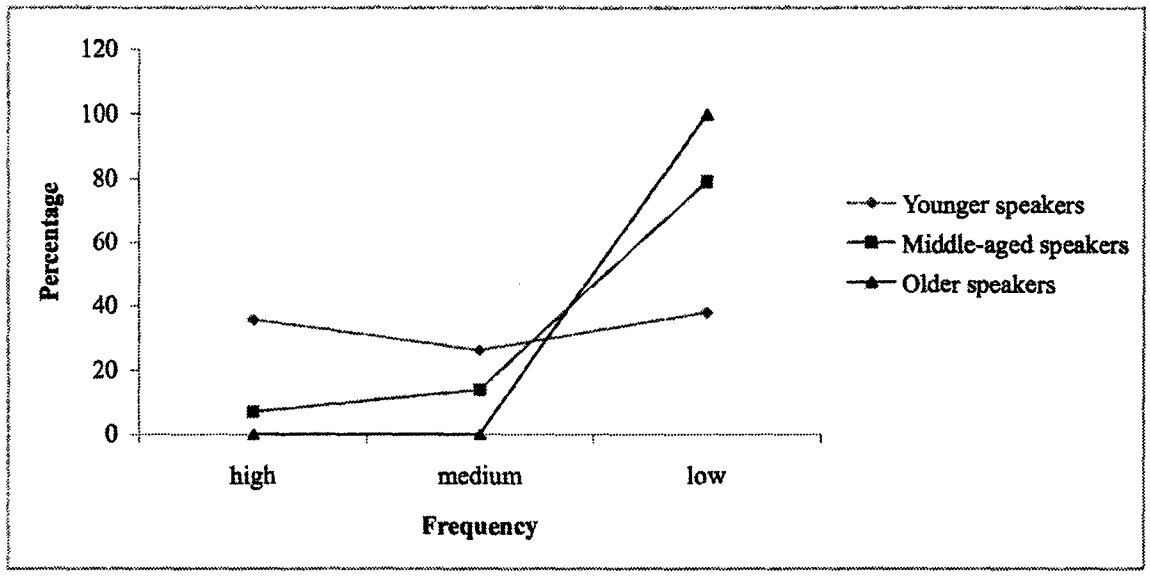

Chart 30: Language mixing with peers at home by age

More specifically, the five older participants unanimously reported that mixing occurred infrequently with elders, as did 79.1% of middle-aged participants; although this was also the response choice that received the most responses for younger respondents (38.1%), the percentage was notably lower than those for middle-aged and older participants. Nearly the same percentage of this group (35.7%) had high levels of mixing while the remaining 26.2% stated that they sometimes mix Innu-aimun and English when speaking with peers at home. In terms of occupation ($p<0.05$*), all categories had a majority that

reported low levels of mixing with the exception for the office worker/clerk category. For this group, 46.7% said that they often mix Innu-aimun and English.

When asked how often they mix languages with work or school colleagues (Q65), over half of participants (59.1%) reported sometimes mixing Innu-aimun and English, with the remaining responses evenly divided between the high and low frequency options, as can be seen below:

Table 69: Frequency of language mixing with colleagues

Frequency	%	N
High	20.5	18
Medium	59.1	52
Low	20.5	18
Total	100.0	88

Responses to this question varied according to age ($p<0.01$) although the pattern of distribution is slightly different from the other questions about language mixing. In this instance, the majorities of the youngest and middle-aged cohorts (52.5% and 69.8% respectively) reported sometimes mixing the two languages when speaking with colleagues while 80.0% of the older population said they rarely or never mix Innu-aimun and English.

Responses also varied according to level of education ($p<0.01$) in that participants with less formal education were less inclined to mix the two languages, as can be seen in Chart 31.

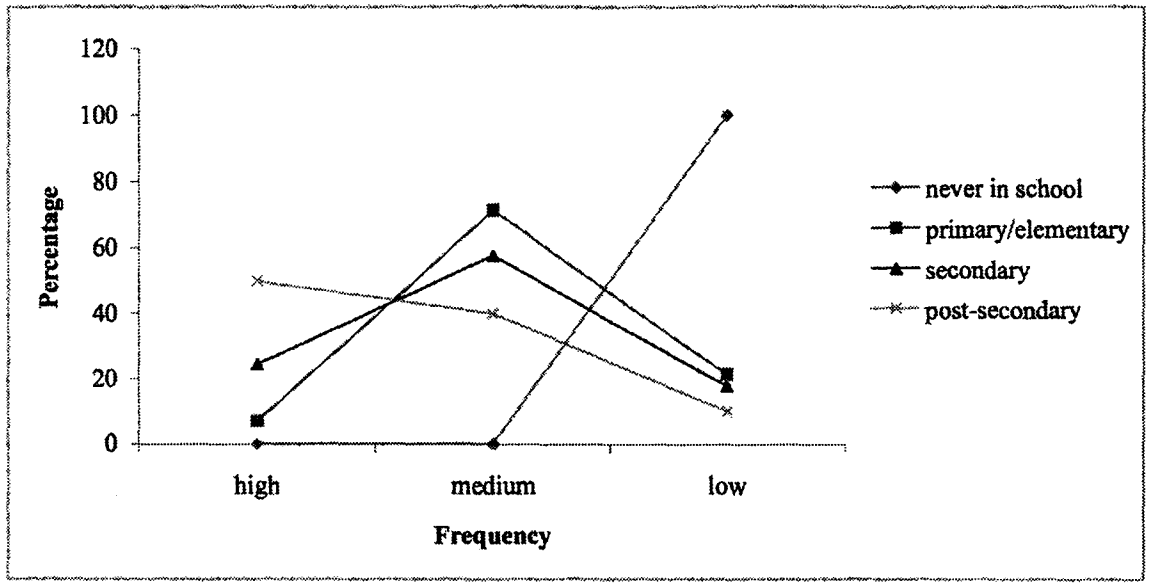

Chart 31: Frequency of language mixing with colleagues by education

The three participants who had never been in school all said that they would rarely or never mix Innu-aimun and English while half of those with post-secondary education (50.0%) reported frequent language mixing. Respondents with primary/elementary or secondary school experience tended to sometimes mix the two languages (71.4% and 57.8% respectively).

Interestingly, when asked about their language mixing patterns in social gatherings with friends (Q66), over half of the sample (58.4%) said that they rarely or never mix the Innu-aimun and English, as illustrated Table 70.

Table 70: Frequency of language mixing with friends

Frequency	%	N
High	19.1	17
Medium	22.5	20
Low	58.4	52
Total	100.0	89

Again, responses to this question varied according to age ($p<0.01$). In this case, the majority of each age group reported low levels of language mixing; however, the percentage of people making this selection declined in direct proportion to participants' ages. Chart 32 shows that the middle-aged and older participants' responses have a much steeper curve while the younger respondents' responses were much more evenly distributed.

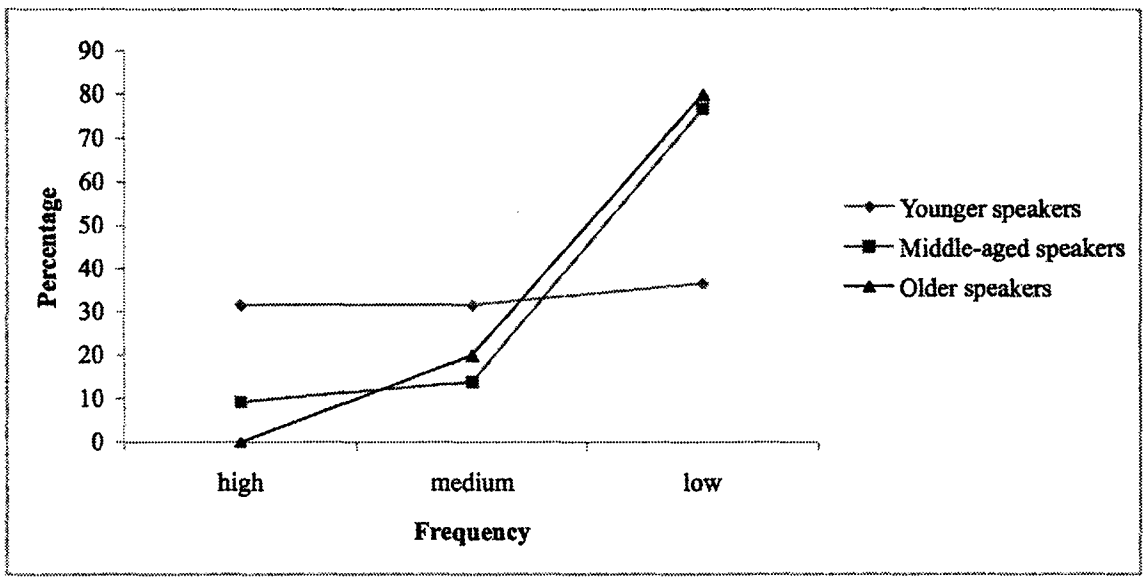

Chart 32: Frequency of language mixing with friends by age

Finally, occupation ($p\leq0.001$*) was again statistically but not practically significant; no patterns or trends were visible in the data.

Participants were also asked about new words such as *katshishetshimakanit* ('television'), *kanatuatakanit* ('radio') and *kaiminanut* ('telephone') to determine in which language they preferred to say these types of words (Q58). As Table 71 indicates, three-quarters of the population (76.6%) said that they preferred to use Innu-aimun.

Table 71: Preferred language(s) for new words

Language(s)	%	N
Innu-aimun	76.6	98
Innu-aimun and English	14.8	19
English	8.6	11
Total	100.0	128

Furthermore, only eleven participants said that they would only use the English words.

Once again, responses to this question were dependent on both age and level of education; occupation ($p \leq 0.001$*) was statistically but not practically significant. Although the majority of all age groups selected Innu-aimun as their preferred language, there was still some notable variation ($p < 0.001$). Older speakers, for example, unanimously selected Innu-aimun, as did 83.7% of middle-aged respondents; in contrast, only half of younger participants (51.1%) said that they would use this language for these types of words, with nine participants (20.0%) saying that they would use English. These nine people also made up 81.8% of the sample that selected English as their preferred language for new words.

Participants' education ($p \leq 0.001$*) also had an effect on the distribution of responses, as can be seen in the following chart:

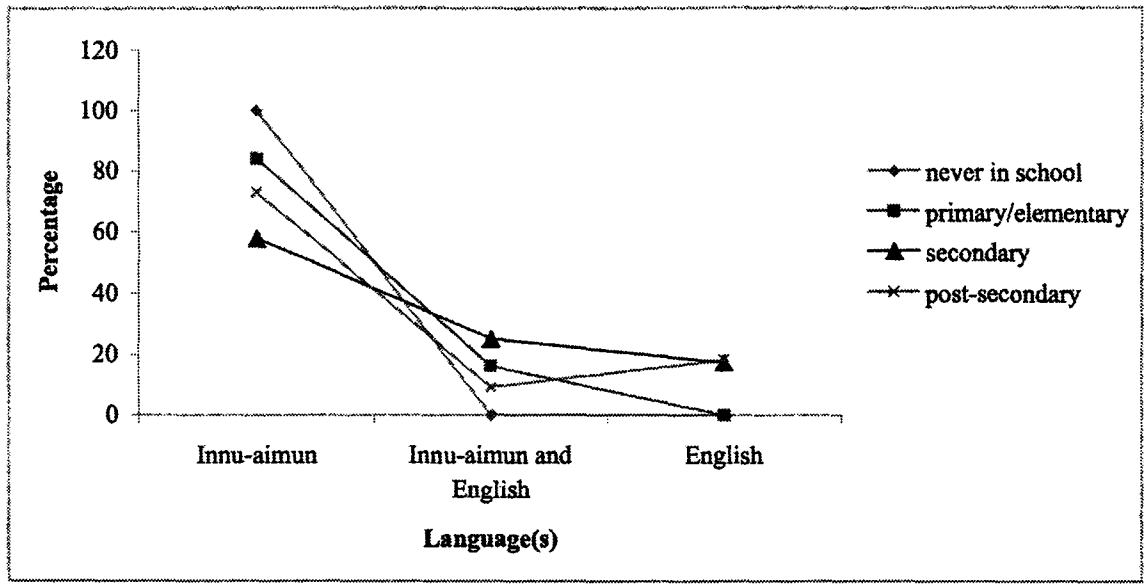

Chart 33: Preferred language(s) for new words by education

As Chart 33 shows, the majority of each category selected Innu-aimun as the preferred language; however, the number of participants who made this selection tended to decrease as their level of education increased. More specifically, participants who had never attended school unanimously selected Innu-aimun, as did 83.9% of those with primary/elementary level education and 72.7% of those with post-secondary experience. Respondents with high school education were the exception to this trend; just over half of people in this category (57.7%) said that they would use Innu-aimun. This group also constituted 81.8% of the sample that selected English as their preferred language for these types of words.

3.3.8.2 Perceptions of language mixing

At a later point in the survey, participants were also asked their opinion about the concept of language mixing to see whether the community approved of this type of

speech (Q95). As can be seen in Table 72, just under half (47.3%) of the sample said that mixing Innu-aimun and English was an acceptable manner of speaking, a number that far exceeded expectations given the anecdotal evidence heard before the administration period and the data already discussed.

Table 72: Perceptions of language mixing

Response	%	N
Acceptable	47.3	61
Neutral	32.6	42
Unacceptable	20.2	26
Total	100.0	129

Only one-fifth of the population (20.2%) said that language mixing was unacceptable while the remaining third (32.6%) were neutral. Also of note is that these results have a positive correlation with those of Q61, shown in Table 67, which looked at participants' own language mixing practices (r=0.248, p=0.005), indicating that community members who thought that mixing was acceptable reported a high level in their own speech while those who thought that this was an unacceptable manner of speech said that they did not use Innu-aimun and English together.

A chi-square test revealed that age (p<0.05) was the only salient variable for this question. The greatest number of older participants (38.2%) said that mixing was unacceptable, although this group was fairly evenly split; in contrast, just over half of both the younger and middle-aged participants (53.3% and 52.0% respectively) found it to be an acceptable manner of speaking.

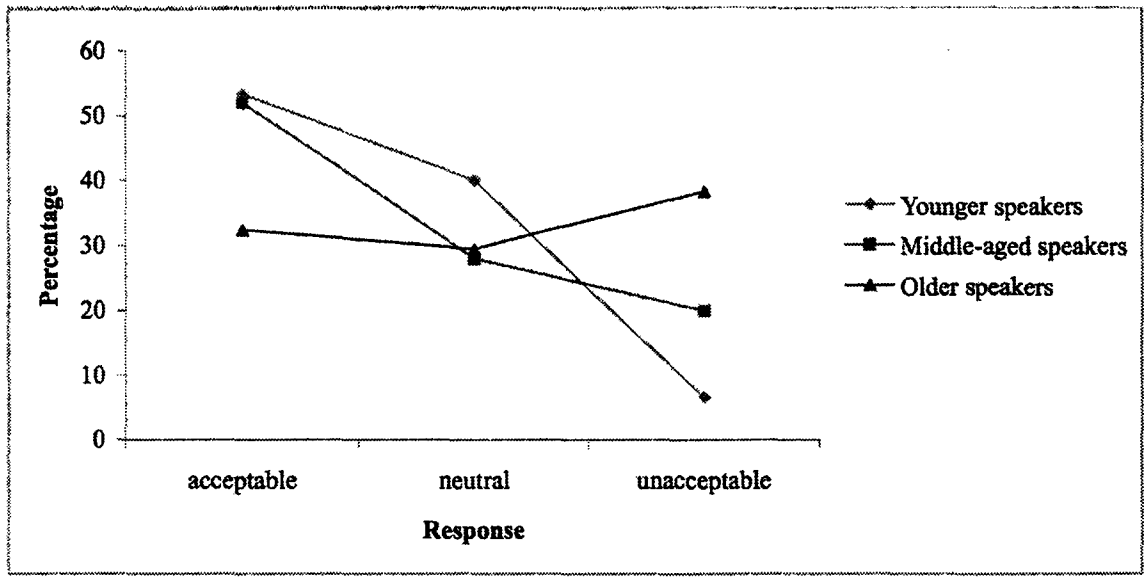

Chart 34: Perceptions of language mixing by age

This chart also shows that another difference between these groups can be found when looking at those who selected the neutral option. Less than one-third of the middle-aged and older participants took this option (28.0% for the middle-aged and 29.4% for the older respondents), in comparison to the 40.0% of younger participants who made this selection.

3.3.8.3 Observed language mixing

All participants were asked for their opinions about the language mixing habits of other community members. One question asked how often children mixed Innu-aimun and English while playing together (Q67). As can be seen in the table below, there was not a strong majority; however, 41.1% said that children rarely or never mix the two languages together:

Table 73: Frequency of language mixing by children playing together

Frequency	%	N
High	27.9	36
Medium	31.0	40
Low	41.1	53
Total	100.0	129

The remaining participants were fairly evenly divided between the two other reporting options, with 27.9% saying children often mix Innu-aimun and English and the remaining 31.0% stating that mixing sometimes occurs. There is a negative correlation between responses for this question and those for Q42, which asked what language participants used when speaking with children (r= -0.504, p=0.000). This indicates that participants who did not observe children mixing Innu-aimun and English while playing together said that they (the participants) spoke Innu-aimun when interacting with children.

For this question, responses varied according to both age and level of education; occupation was again statistically but not practically significant ($p \leq 0.001$*). In terms of age ($p<0.001$), there was a great deal of variation, with the majority of each age group having a different response, as can be seen in Table 74. The greatest number of younger participants (42.2%) said that children sometimes mix languages while playing, while 38.0% of middle-aged participants said it frequently occurs and most of the older participants (73.5%) reported that it rarely or never occurred.

Table 74: Frequency of language mixing by children playing together by age

Frequency	Younger speakers		Middle-aged speakers		Older speakers	
	%	N	%	N	%	N
High	28.9	13	38.0	19	11.8	4
Medium	42.2	19	32.0	16	14.7	5
Low	28.9	13	30.0	15	73.5	25
Total	100.0	45	100.0	50	100.0	34

This was one of the few instances in which the three age groups have had completely different responses, which makes these results particularly interesting. Older community members accounted for 47.2% of respondents who said that children did not frequently mix Innu-aimun and English. Half of the participants who reported that children sometimes mix the two languages (63.3%) were from the youngest age group while 52.8% of high frequency responses came from middle-aged participants.

Given the distribution of responses for the age variable, it is unsurprising that the distribution of responses by level of education ($p \leq 0.001$) also displayed an unusual amount of variation. As illustrated below, the majority of participants with no formal education (71.9%) said that children rarely or never mix Innu-aimun and English while playing, in keeping with the established correlation between age and education:

Table 75: Frequency of language mixing by children playing together by education

Frequency	No formal education		Primary/ elementary		Secondary		Post-secondary	
	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N
Often	15.6	5	35.4	11	26.4	14	54.5	6
Sometimes	12.5	4	32.3	10	43.4	23	9.1	1
Rarely/never	71.9	23	32.3	10	30.2	16	36.4	4
Total	100.0	32	100.0	31	100.0	53	100.0	11

For the other three categories, the correlation was not as clear. Nearly half of those with secondary school experience (43.4%) said it sometimes occurred and just over half of those with post-secondary experience (54.5%) said they have often observed children mixing Innu-aimun and English. The responses for those with primary/elementary level education were divided evenly across the three response choices, with a narrow majority of participants (35.4%) reporting that children often mix the two languages.

The survey also asked respondents which group of people they thought mixed Innu-aimun and English the most (Q96) and the least (Q97) out of the following five options: elders (ages 60+), older adults (ages 36-59), young adults (ages 19-35), teenagers (ages 12-18) and children (under 12 years old). The distribution of responses, shown in Table 76, indicated that the population felt teenagers were most inclined to mix languages and elders the least inclined.

Table 76: Likelihood of language mixing by age groups

Age groups	Most likely		Least likely	
	%	N	%	N
Elders	1.1	2	76.3	119
Older adults	5.4	10	12.2	19
Young adults	22.3	41	5.1	8
Teenagers	59.8	110	3.8	6
Children	11.4	21	2.6	4
Total	100.0	184[44]	100.0	156

For the distribution of responses for Q97, which asked which group was least likely to mix languages, there was a clear pattern: the older the age group, the less likely they were to mix. For Q96, which asked who was most likely to mix Innu-aimun and English, this pattern is not as clear; however, if children are not considered, the inverse pattern is discernable, with the likelihood that participants will mix the two languages decreasing as their age increases.

Although it was not possible to perform a Pearson correlation upon these data, a clear correlation between these results appears. For example, three-quarters (76.3%) of the responses show that elders were thought to be the least likely to mix Innu-aimun and English; correspondingly, only 1.1% thought that they were most likely to mix the two

[44] These totals are greater than the total number of participants because some respondents chose more than one group.

languages. For teenagers, 59.8% of the sample said that they were most likely to mix the two languages while only 3.8% said that they were least likely.

Participants were also asked if they found many people used English words when speaking Innu-aimun (Q75). The following table shows that half of the participants (50.5%) thought that people often used English words while speaking Innu-aimun:

Table 77: Frequency that people use English words while speaking Innu-aimun

Frequency	%	N
High	50.5	65
Medium	23.3	30
Low	26.4	34
Total	100.0	129

The rest of the sample was fairly evenly divided between the other two response choices.

In terms of age ($p<0.01$), there was once again a divide between the youngest age group and the two. Among younger participants, the greatest number of respondents (40.0%) said that people sometimes use English words when speaking Innu-aimun. In contrast, the two older groups reported that the use of English words while speaking Innu-aimun often occurred (58.0% for middle-aged respondents and 58.8% for older ones). Occupation ($p<0.05$*) was statistically but not practically significant; no trends appeared in the data.

3.3.8.4 Borrowing

Participants were asked about their own borrowing habits to determine if they ever needed to use lexical items from one language when speaking in the other. When asked if they ever needed to use English words when speaking Innu-aimun (because of

lexical gaps in Innu-aimun) (Q70), over half of the population (58.5%) said that they rarely or never needed to do so, as illustrated in Table 78.

Table 78: Frequency with which lexical items are borrowed

Frequency	Using English words when speaking Innu-aimun		Using Innu-aimun words when speaking English	
	%	N	%	N
High	16.3	20	16.4	18
Medium	25.2	31	36.4	40
Low	58.5	72	47.3	52
Total	100.0	123	100.0	110

As the amount of borrowing increased, the number of participants who selected that option decreased (25.2% for sometimes borrowing and 16.3% for even more frequent borrowing). The same trend appeared when respondents were asked about the need to use Innu-aimun words when speaking English (Q71). Nearly half of the sample (47.3%) said that they rarely or never felt the need to borrow words and, as frequency of borrowing increased, the number of participants making this selection decreased.

Both questions varied greatly according to age ($p<0.001$ for both). As Chart 35 shows, there were dramatic differences among the three age groups despite the fact that all three of the groups were more inclined to take words from Innu-aimun and use them when speaking English than to use English vocabulary while speaking Innu-aimun.

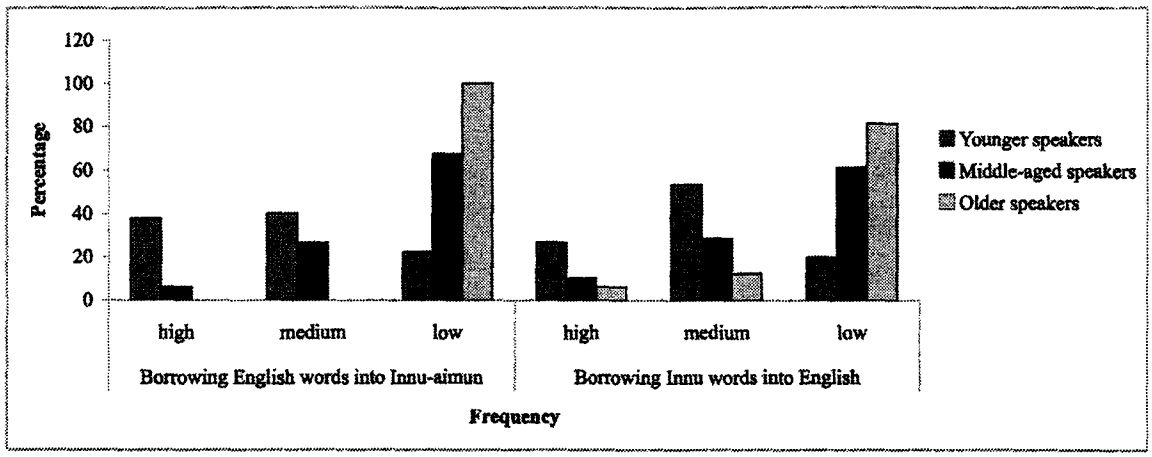

Chart 35: Frequency of the need to borrow English words when speaking Innu-aimun and that of borrowing Innu-aimun words when speaking English by age

When asked about the need to use English words when speaking Innu-aimun, older participants unanimously stated that they rarely or never borrow English words, something that can probably be attributed to the fact that most people from this age group were monolingual. When asked about the use of Innu-aimun vocabulary while speaking English, most of this group still reported very little borrowing. It is important to note, however, that the number of participants in this group greatly decreased between questions (i.e. when asked about borrowing English words into Innu-aimun, twenty-nine participants responded but when asked about borrowing words from Innu-aimun into English, there were only eleven respondents). This difference can be attributed to the fact that sixteen participants previously reported that they did not speak English, in addition to two respondents from this age group opting not to answer this question.

In both cases, the majority of middle-aged participants also said that they rarely or never borrowed words (67.3% for Q70 and 61.2% for Q71); however, more people from this age group were inclined to use words from Innu-aimun when speaking English than

to use English vocabulary while speaking Innu-aimun when compared to the responses of older participants. The percentages for high and medium frequencies of borrowing increased by 4.1% and 2.1% respectively while the percentage of people who rarely or never used words from the other language showed a corresponding decrease. The distribution of responses for the youngest group of speakers also showed this trend with percentages for the high and medium frequencies of mixing increasing by 11.1% and 13.3% respectively and the number of low frequency responses decreasing of 2.2%.

Level of education also affected the distribution of participants' responses ($p<0.001$ for both questions). As Chart 36 shows, respondents without any formal education unanimously said that they rarely or never borrowed words for both questions, as did the majority of participants with primary/elementary level education (61.3% for Q70 and 51.6% for Q71).

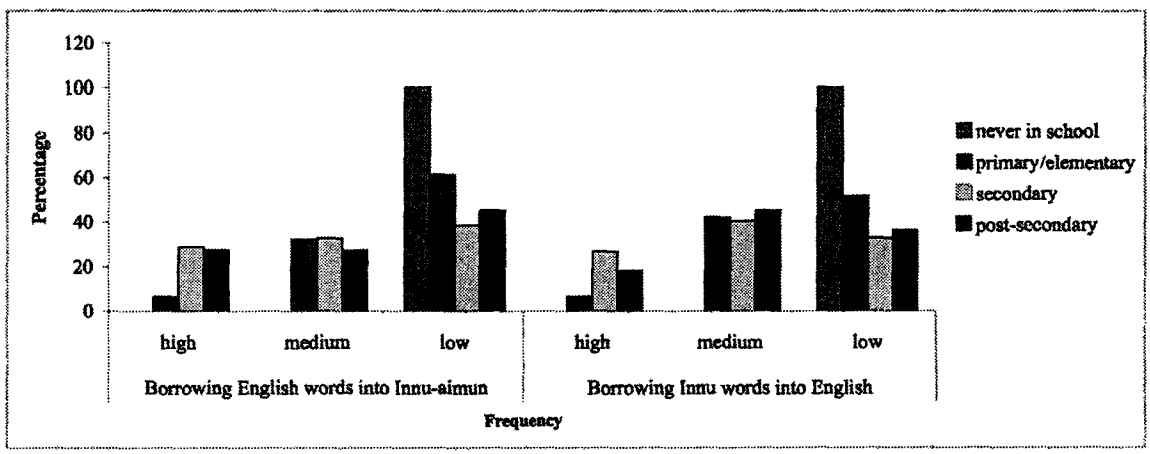

Chart 36: Frequency of the need to borrow English words when speaking Innu-aimun and that of borrowing Innu-aimun words when speaking English by education

For the other two categories, however, the majority said that they rarely or never used English words while speaking Innu-aimun (38.4% for those with secondary school

education and 45.5% for those with post-secondary) but sometimes used Innu-aimun words when speaking English (40.4% for those with secondary school experience and 45.5% for those with post-secondary).

For Q71, which looked at using vocabulary from Innu-aimun when speaking English, responses also varied according to gender ($p<0.05$), as the following table shows:

Table 79: Frequency with which lexical items were borrowed from Innu-aimun into English by gender

Frequency	Women		Men	
	%	N	%	N
High	23.7	14	7.8	4
Medium	39.0	23	33.4	17
Low	37.3	22	58.8	30
Total	100.0	59	100.0	51

The majority of male respondents (58.8%) reported low levels of borrowing; women displayed a more even distribution of responses, with a one-person difference between those who reported low levels of borrowing (37.2%) and those who reported sometimes using Innu-aimun words while speaking English (39.0%).

Finally, for Q70, which asked about the use of English words while speaking Innu-aimun, responses also varied according to occupation ($p<0.001$*). (For responses to Q71, variation by this variable ($p<0.01$*) was purely statistical since no appreciable trends appeared in the data.)

Table 80: Frequency of the need to borrow English words when speaking Innu-aimun by occupation

Occupation	Often		Sometimes		Rarely/never		Total	
	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N
Seasonal worker/manual labourer	9.0	1	45.5	5	45.5	5	100.0	11
Office worker/clerk	46.7	7	46.7	7	6.6	1	100.0	15
Human services/home care worker	31.3	5	31.3	5	37.4	6	100.0	16
Homemaker	40.0	2	40.0	2	20.0	1	100.0	5
Businessperson/politician	0.0	0	50.0	2	50.0	2	100.0	4
Educator	0.0	0	60.0	3	40.0	2	100.0	5
Unemployed	6.5	4	9.7	6	83.8	52	100.0	62

As the above table indicates, only one category, unemployed, had a clear majority (83.8%), which said that they rarely or never use English words when speaking Innu-aimun. Two of the other categories, officer worker/clerk and homemaker, were mostly divided between sometimes and often borrowing English words (46.7% and 31.3% for each option respectively); conversely, seasonal workers/manual labourers and businesspeople/politicians were evenly split between reports of medium and low frequency for using English words while speaking Innu-aimun (45.5% and 50.0% respectively). Educators were fairly evenly split, with a slight majority (60.0%) stating that they sometimes used English words while speaking Innu-aimun; however, no one in this category said that this was a frequent occurrence. Finally, for human services/home care workers, the largest number of respondents (37.4%) said that they rarely or never borrowed words from English.

3.3.8.5 Summary

Overall, the majority of the population reported that they rarely or never mix Innu-aimun and English when speaking, although just under half of the population (47.3%) said that mixing was an acceptable form of speech. This low rate of mixing was supported by responses given when asked about their own mixing habits in particular social situations since community members reported rarely or never mixing the two languages with friends or when speaking with elders or peers at home. Language mixing sometimes occurs when speaking with children at home, possibly due to the fact that children are educated in English, although 41.1% of participants stated that children rarely or never mix the two languages when playing together. This data can be interpreted in two ways: either children were only speaking Innu-aimun or they were only speaking English. However, given reported language use (discussed in the previous section), it is likely that they were speaking Innu-aimun.

The same occasional rate of mixing was also reported for participants speaking with work colleagues; this could also be attributed to lack of vocabulary since certain types of words, especially to do with business or technology, do not exist in Innu-aimun (or are not commonly accepted), forcing participants to use the English terminology. Finally, in keeping with previous data, elders were reported to mix the two languages the least, likely because they are predominantly monolingual, while teenagers were thought to mix Innu-aimun and English the most.

3.3.9 Summary of language use

Most of the population reported using Innu-aimun in all of the presented situations: in daily life; at home with elders, children and peers; at work/school; with friends; when a non-Innu was present; and in and outside of the community. The percentage of the population that would use Innu-aimun alone dropped significantly when at work or school as well as when outside of the community, especially if with friends. Also, more participants reported using both Innu-aimun and English or English alone when someone who was not Innu was present.

Age and education were the most significant variables. Younger participants, who typically had more formal education, were more likely to use English or a combination of both languages, in all settings, except when with elders, a fact that can be attributed to elders' monolingualism. In contrast, older participants, who generally had not attended school, preferred to use Innu-aimun in all settings.

3.4 Summary of results

Participants reported confidence in their abilities in both Innu-aimun and English, although younger respondents with more formal education were more comfortable and satisfied with their spoken abilities in the latter language than older participants, who typically did not to have any formal education. The two languages were viewed as equally important although they were likely valued for different reasons (English for interactions with the outside world and Innu-aimun for its ties with culture and identity). Most participants evaluated their own abilities in Innu-aimun as good and also thought

positively about the linguistic skills of adults in the community when speaking this language. Teenagers' use of Innu-aimun, however, was viewed only as acceptable, neither praised nor criticized by the majority of the population. Older participants tended to be more critical of this group while younger participants were more positive.

Innu-aimun was reported as the language used for day-to-day living, as well as the primary language in a variety of other settings, including both social and work/school settings. The amount of English used, either in conjunction with Innu-aimun or alone, increased when outside of the community, especially when at work or school. Older participants reported a near exclusive use of Innu-aimun, while younger speakers were more inclined to use English in all settings, except when speaking with elders. The population also reported that teenagers and elders have difficulty understanding one another when speaking Innu-aimun, highlighting the changes that community members perceived in their language. Despite these changes, the Sheshatshiu Innu were optimistic about the future of Innu-aimun in their community, although they did see the benefit of having special measures put in place to safeguard the language, such as the use of Innu-aimun as a language of instruction in the early years of school.

4.0 DISCUSSION

This chapter interprets and discusses the implications of the data analysed in the previous chapter. Language attitudes will be examined in the first section, focussing on each of the four subheadings used in §3.0: generational differences, the importance of community languages, language and education and language loss. Next, the results for language use will be discussed. The third section of this chapter looks at a community of practice found within Sheshatshiu, detailing its members and how their responses pattern in comparison to those of the general population.

4.1 Language attitudes

This section discusses the results on language attitudes and offers explanations for patterns seen in the data. First, participants' self-evaluations and perceived generational differences in speech in Innu-aimun are discussed, followed by an examination of the importance of the community languages. Next, the data gathered on language and education are examined and contextualized within the current body of literature. Finally, the results for language loss are discussed.

4.1.1 Self-evaluations and perceived generational differences in speech

The results for the self-evaluations and the opinions on generational differences in speech help to highlight the importance of age as a significant variable in the community. To reiterate these findings for the self-evaluations (Q16-19 and Q22-25), analysed in §3.1, although the majority of the population gave themselves high ratings for both Innu-

aimun and English, responses did vary according to age. Nearly all of the older participants gave themselves high evaluations for their abilities in Innu-aimun and mid-low evaluations for English while younger participants were generally more confident in their abilities in English than Innu-aimun. In keeping with these results, younger participants were also more comfortable and satisfied with their English-speaking abilities while older respondents tended to be uncomfortable speaking English and more satisfied with their abilities in Innu-aimun.

Age-based differences are also apparent in the evaluations of different generations' speech in Innu-aimun (Q33-35). As discussed in §3.2.1.1, the population was generally most positive about the speech of older adults and was neutral about the abilities of teenagers. In terms of the three age categories, however, there were notable distributions of responses. Over half of the younger participants gave teenagers' speech in Innu-aimun a positive evaluation, in contrast with middle-aged and older respondents, the greatest number of whom reported that teenagers spoke only acceptably. Furthermore, the largest number of positive responses regarding the speech of adults ages 36-59 (41.0%) came from their peers (i.e. middle-aged respondents). This tendency is unsurprising since people tend to evaluate their own peer groups positively and also distance themselves from others (Eckert 1997). This notion of solidarity, which Giles and Coupland (1991:152) define as "relat[ing] to the degree of identification and affect subjectively associated with membership of one's ingroup", has been seen in other sociolinguistic research (e.g. Eckert 1997, Gonzalez Velasquez 1995, Wyman 2004). In the data from the Sheshatshiu survey, it is also seen when examining the communicative

competence of teenagers (Q69), discussed in §3.2.1.2, in which most of the positive responses about teenagers' abilities came from respondents who were closest in age to the group being evaluated in these questions (i.e. the youngest participants).

As part of their evaluations of perceived generational differences, participants were asked if they noticed a difference between teenagers' and elders' speech (§3.2.1.1). Those who responded affirmatively were then asked for their opinions on these differences (Q85). Most of the population was concerned about the changes they saw in the language, although there were age-based differences. Most notable of these is the fact that only half of the younger speakers viewed the difference negatively. It may be because they liked the changes they perceived in the language or because they felt they were better able to communicate as a result of these changes in the language; alternatively, they could be asserting their solidarity with teenagers since some of the participants in this age group are teenagers themselves.

Finally, it is important to note that the idea that that the population perceives strong differences between the speech of teenagers and that of elders is supported by data gathered for Q59 (§3.3.2), which asked participants which language(s) they thought young parents used with their children. The greatest number of respondents (46.1%) reported that young parents used sometimes Innu-aimun and other times English. These findings were dependent on age in two principal ways: (1) the majority (60.0%) of younger participants reported the use of Innu-aimun by young parents speaking to their children; and (2) half of the respondents who said that young parents spoke English with their children were from the oldest age group.

In keeping with the correlation between age and level of education, the majority of participants with no formal education were unsatisfied with their abilities in spoken English. The same trend appeared when participants were asked if they felt comfortable speaking in English; younger people were quite comfortable while older respondents were generally uncomfortable. Similarly, participants who had never been in school were not comfortable speaking English while those with more formal education were significantly more at ease.

Gender was significant for two questions, both dealing with communicative competence. Women were more positive about younger community members' linguistic abilities when asked about teenagers' ability to understand elders speaking in Innu-aimun (Q68, discussed in §3.2.1.2) and when asked for their opinions about children's abilities in English (Q36, discussed in §3.2.1.5). This kind of finding has been attested in other fields (e.g. Stevenson et al. 1966). Given work done on the SSVP (e.g. Clarke 1986b), gender was expected to have a much greater impact on the data than was actually indicated; these findings indicate that gender differences may only be apparent in phonological, not attitudinal, data.

4.1.2 Importance of community languages

Myers-Scotton (2006:9) argues that bilingualism is "a natural outcome of the socio-political forces that create groups and their boundaries". She cites two reasons for this: some groups "command more social or economic prestige than others" and some are "more powerful than others, meaning they control desirable resources", whether these

resources are military, economical, technological, etc. (Myers-Scotton 2006:9-10). For these reasons, it was expected that English would be viewed as important in Sheshatshiu while Innu-aimun would be valued for its ties to culture and tradition. However, as stated in the previous chapter, the Sheshatshiu Innu found both languages to be important. When asked why English was important to them, participants cited reasons to do with accessibility and advancement, reasons that fit well with explanation of bilingualism.

When looking at which language is more important to community members, the concept of *linguistic market* must also be considered. First introduced by Bourdieu and Boltanski (1975), Eckert (2000:13) defines the linguistic market as a model in which "the value of a speaker's verbal offerings – the likelihood that these offerings will be heard and heeded – depends on the linguistic variety in which they are encoded" and states that it "focuses on the relation between variation and the production of a self in a symbolic economy". This concept is hinted at in Myers-Scotton's description of bilingualism and is an important component to understanding why both languages are valued in the community; for example, using English is necessary outside of the community to find a job, further one's education and generally communicate while Innu-aimun is used within the community for the same reasons. Innu-aimun is also important for maintaining the Innu culture since many lexical items and concepts, especially those dealing with traditional life, are not as easily communicated in English.

Another concept that affects speakers' language choice is language ideology. Myers-Scotton (2006:109) defines ideologies as:

> ...perceptions of languages and their uses that are constructed in the interest of a specific group. Again, speakers typically are not

> consciously aware that they even hold such ideologies, nor are they necessarily aware of the potential effects of such ideologies.

Moreover, Milroy and Gordon (2003:132) point out that ideologies are often the explanation for the "long-term maintenance of distinctive, often stigmatized, local norms in face of pressures from numerically or socially more powerful speech communities". The Innu's attitudes toward their community languages, as well as their patterns of language usage, can be contextualized within this framework.

4.1.3 Language and education

Several interesting points are raised by the population's opinions on language of instruction (§3.2.3). Once again, age is a determining factor when looking at the presence of Innu-aimun in school (Q99-100). Younger respondents were most opposed to more Innu-aimun in school, which is consistent with the results of other questions since participants in this age group were more confident about and satisfied with their abilities in English, in addition to finding this language to be important and necessary to succeed. Their belief that there should not be more Innu-aimun used in school is not necessarily a negative commentary on the use of Innu-aimun in the formal school system; although it is possible that they did not want Innu-aimun in the classroom, it is also possible that these participants believed there was a sufficient amount already being taught.

Another point of interest raised by the questions about language of instruction stems from Q101, which asked participants if they thought children should begin their education in their mother tongue, i.e. Innu-aimun. Although most of the population

thought that this was a good idea, most of the participants who disagreed (87.5%) had secondary school experience. This could be related to the notion of linguistic market; these respondents may view English as the better social currency, resulting in a belief that Innu-aimun should not be used as the language of instruction, even when children (who generally speak Innu-aimun as a first language) enter the school system.

When asked for their opinions on English and education (Q102), the responses were fairly evenly distributed, resulting in a great deal of variation for both the age and education variables. In particular, these results were surprising because it was expected that older participants with no formal education would be more strongly opposed to the idea of speaking English in the home since they had, in other areas of the survey, regarded use of English negatively and been quite strong in this opinion. The addendum of helping children succeed in school, however, seems to have reduced the number of people opposed to the use of English, with these participants becoming neutral. It is likely that participants were aware of the concept of linguistic market, either consciously or subconsciously, and realized the utility of speaking English.

When asked whether English was best learned in an English-only or a bilingual setting (Q103), the population nearly unanimously preferred the bilingual model. The community's desires complement the findings of a recent investigation conducted on Innu education by Philpott et al. (2004, 2005), which looked at education within Sheshatshiu. They found that language was:

> ...a significant educational challenge under the current institutional model...[since there is] a cultural clash with school where children, fluent only in Innu-aimun, meet English speaking teachers and

> curriculum materials of non-aboriginal origin. The resultant cultural disconnect was evident at all levels of education.
>
> (Philpott et al. 2005:5)

Furthermore, they argue that a bicultural model—a system of education in which "Innu youth would be taught in their native language yet acquire proficiency skills in English as a second language, affording them greater career opportunities"—would best serve the needs of the community, not only in producing successful graduates but in helping to maintain the language and culture of the Innu (Philpott et al. 2005:10-11).

4.1.4 Language loss

Age was also very significant for the questions about language loss. As discussed in §3.2.4.3, when participants were asked if there were situations in which they felt forced to speak English (Q56), younger participants patterned differently from the middle-aged and older respondents. In this case, middle-aged and older participants had strong majorities reporting that they did not feel forced to use English; only 61.9% of younger respondents did the same. In fact, over one-third of younger speakers said that they felt obliged to speak the majority language. This could be attributed to a variety of factors, such as English being the primary language in school and for recreational activities, such as hockey, outside of the community, or the lack of trained Innu-speaking personnel in fields such as medicine or law. However, it is not possible to determine the precise speaker motivations for this question with this data.

Another trend that appears throughout the data is that older participants tended to be more absolute in their responses. One example of this can be found in the distribution

of responses according to age for Q93 (§3.2.4.5), which asked participants if they thought non-Innu who visited and/or lived in the community should learn Innu-aimun. In this case, older participants were the only group to make this selection unanimously, showing that they tended to be more absolute than the other two groups. This trend is not limited to responses about language loss; rather, it can be seen throughout the data and is most likely attributed to the fact that this age group is predominantly monolingual, speaking Innu-aimun exclusively.

4.2 Language use

One concept raised by the responses about language use when interacting with people who do not speak Innu-aimun (when at work/school (Q44), when someone who is not Innu is present (Q52-53), when outside of the community (Q45-46), etc., analysed in §3.3) is that of accommodation. For these questions in particular, although it is possible to interpret the lower percentages of use of Innu-aimun for these questions as a sign that participants preferred not to use the language, it is more plausible that community members accommodate outgroup members, in this case people who do not speak Innu-aimun.

There are both sociolinguistic and social psychological theories that attest to this type of stylistic variation: the Audience Design model (first proposed in Bell 1984) and the Speech Accommodation Theory (SAT), or the Communication Accommodation Theory, as it has come to be known (Giles 2001; Giles and Coupland 1991; Giles and

Powesland 1975; Giles, Coupland and Coupland 1991).[45] Both models are based on the proposition that speakers "tend to adjust their speech toward that of their addressees, in order to win their approval. Less commonly, speakers may adjust away from addressees' speech, in order to create psychological distance", a process known as divergence (Schilling-Estes 2002:383). Divergence is typically a more conscious choice than accommodation and is often used by minority groups to avoid assimilating to the majority (Myers-Scotton 2006). In this instance, it does not matter which theory is more correct since their basic principles are both supported by the data.

For Q46 (§3.3.7), the variation according to occupation may be accounted for in terms of speaker motivation. While it is not possible to definitively identify the participants' motivations from the data, it is plausible that speakers made a conscious decision not to speak English not only for personal reasons but for socio-political ones as well, such as divergence as a symbolic protest, in this case against the use of the majority language, possibly as an assertion of Innu culture (Heller 1995, Myers-Scotton 2006).

The responses to the aforementioned questions, as well as those to other items from the survey such as Q48-49, which asked about participants' preferred language(s) of response when addressed in Innu-aimun and English, are also related to discourse strategies.[46] As discussed in §3.3.6, participants said that they would speak Innu-aimun if approached in either language by another Innu from Sheshatshiu. In fact, the percentage of respondents who said they would respond in Innu-aimun increased when approached in English. This is likely another instance of divergence, as well as an opportunity to

[45] See also Bell (2001) for more discussion on the Audience Design model.
[46] See Gumperz (1982) for a more detailed discussion on this topic.

express solidarity with Innu culture and language, in which these community members deliberately switched to a different linguistic variety. The decision to codeswitch is a marked choice that may also be intended as a reminder of the ethnic and linguistic ties between the two speakers (Myers-Scotton 2006).

4.2.1 Language mixing

As Heller (1995:166) among others notes, codeswitching, in this case switching between Innu-aimun and English, is "one way in which it is possible to manipulate valuable linguistic resources, and indeed to manipulate the definition of their value". That is to say, language choice is a way to create and assert one's identity and to either associate or disassociate one's self from a particular group. This is of particular interest when looking at the data gathered on the self-reported and observed language mixing habits of the Sheshatshiu Innu.

When participants were asked whether they themselves engaged in language mixing (Q61), approximately two-thirds of the population said that it rarely or never occurred. As discussed in §3.3.8.1, there were age-based differences for these responses. The most interesting of these results is the distribution of responses for younger participants, which was very even. In fact, an equal number of participants reported high and low levels of mixing (34.1% each). This even distribution of responses among younger people may be an indication that language mixing is becoming more common in Sheshatshiu. It is also possible that there are two subgroups within this age category with different philosophies and identities. Although this even distribution of responses for

younger speakers is seen again for Q66, which asked about language mixing with friends, there is currently not enough data to determine which of these hypotheses is more accurate.

Another point of interest was raised when participants were asked if children mix Innu-aimun and English when playing (Q67, discussed in §3.3.8.3). The three age groups had completely different majorities, which was unusual since most of the questions in the survey resulted in the middle-age group being aligned with either the older or younger speakers. Although it is not possible to identify precisely why this question divided the groups in this way, given the data constraints, it is worth noting that there was a great deal of variation for this question in terms of age. Also of note is that these results do not correspond with the results for any of the other questions on language use. It would be interesting to return to Sheshatshiu to determine which of these groups is most aware of children's actual language mixing practices.

When asked about borrowing into both Innu-aimun and English, the results showed a great deal of variation in terms of age. Presently, it is not possible to determine precisely why community members report borrowing more when speaking English than when speaking Innu-aimun; this could potentially be attributed to a variety of factors, including the social setting and the topic of conversation, especially if discussing cultural matters. The most plausible explanation, however, may fall in the realm of second language acquisition and bilingualism, rather than being rooted in the purely social. In this case, it may be that participants have lexical gaps that must be filled by Innu-aimun since both bilinguals with all levels of proficiency (from beginners to fluent bilinguals)

mix to compensate for lexical gaps in their second language (Genesee, Paradis and Crago 2004).

Although occupation has not had a great impact on the data, which is unsurprising given that socioeconomic status has been shown not to have an effect on other data gathered in the community (Clarke 1984), it has occasionally been the root of variation, such as when participants were asked if they ever borrowed English words into Innu-aimun because they lacked the appropriate lexical items in their first language (Q70, discussed in §3.3.8.4). In this instance, there was a great deal of variation, making it difficult to determine speakers' motivations for these responses. For educators and businesspeople/ politicians, using as little English as possible could be a socio-political decision, an effort to make a political statement or strengthen the language by setting an example for the rest of the community. Seasonal workers and manual labourers probably do not have as much need for English, especially if they work in the community, with the possible exception of vocabulary related to technology, at least not within the context of their occupations. Office workers and clerks, on the other hand, reported using some or many English words when speaking in Innu-aimun, a phenomenon that cannot be attributed solely to work environment. Although office workers and clerks probably have to interact with non-Innu people on a fairly regular basis, especially if they work outside of Band facilities or work with non-Innu personnel, so do teachers, businesspeople and politicians. Further investigation into the types of words that are borrowed would shed considerable light onto this matter.

4.3 A potential social network or community of practice

For all of the questions discussed, there have been individuals who gave responses that deviated from the majority opinion. These individuals are of particular interest when the majority is strong, such as it was for Q58 (§3.3.8.1), which asked which language participants used for new vocabulary items (e.g. technologies), or Q47 (§3.3.4), which asked about language use with friends in a social setting. The consistency of their responses also helps to rule out the possibility that these individuals might be considered *linguistic oddballs*. This is because oddballs, people whose responses pattern against trends that appear in the data, are "usually found to belong socially and linguistically to sub-groups of the sample population" (Chambers 1995:85). These people may form a *social network*, a sociolinguistic domain that Milroy (2002:549) defines as "straightforwardly the aggregate of relationships contracted with others". Alternatively, they may be a *community of practice*, a domain that consists of "an aggregate of people who come together around mutual engagement in an endeavor" (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet 1992:464). With the current data, it is not possible to ascertain which of these descriptors is more accurate; however, this group remains of interest due to the consistency of their responses.

This group consists of four men and two women between the ages of 26 and 40, all of whom have either secondary or post-secondary experience. Three of them are unemployed, one is a human services/home care worker, one a homemaker and one chose not to report his/her occupation. (Appendix C consists of a table that compares the

distribution of the responses for this potential social network or community of practice to that of the entire sample.)

Despite the fact that this group comprises less than 5.0% of the population, its members are of sociolinguistic interest because of the aforementioned consistency of their responses, a possible indication of incipient change. Moreover, the consistency in the ages of these participants suggests that there is potential for a community of practice or some form of social network. If they indeed form a community of practice or social network, these participants would be able to reinforce each other's linguistic and social practices, thus perpetuating the group identity that has been created (Eckert 2000, Meyerhoff 2002). In broader terms, these participants are important because they are displaying attitudes and identity that are in opposition to the rest of the survey population.

4.3.1 Language attitudes

For the self-evaluations, this social network/community of practice and the general population had majorities that selected the same responses, with the exception of their self-evaluations for abilities in Innu-aimun (Q16-19, discussed in §3.1). Members of the potential social network/community of practice gave themselves low-mid or low rankings for their abilities in Innu-aimun, in contrast with the population's majority, who rated their abilities highly. They also gave themselves unanimously high evaluations for their abilities in English and were comfortable using the language. Finally, members of this group were also satisfied with their speaking abilities in both Innu-aimun and English.

For language attitudes, the potential social network/community of practice gave responses much in line with those of the general population. In terms of the importance of community languages and language loss, its majority responses never differed from those of the population. However, one of the neutral responses for the importance of Innu-aimun (Q78) came from someone within this subset of respondents. For the data about generational differences, group members tended to have the same majorities as the rest of the sample; however, there were five questions to which the majority response for the population was different.

When asked for their opinions about teenagers' use of Innu-aimun (Q33), discussed in §3.2.1.1, the four members of the group in question said that teenagers did not speak well while the greatest number of the population (38.0%) were neutral. This is interesting because five of the members of this possible social network/community of practice were placed in the youngest age category, in which over half (53.3%) of respondents said the teenagers spoke well, likely in an effort to express solidarity, as previously mentioned. These members of the possible social network/community of practice gave the opposite response, possibly to be distancing themselves from group being evaluated; however, it is more likely that they responded in this way because they viewed their own abilities in Innu-aimun negatively.

When asked about school-age children's ability to understand English (Q36, analysed in §3.2.1.5), the survey population was fairly evenly divided, with the greatest number of respondents giving children's ability to understand English a positive rating. In contrast, three of the five group members who responded to this question reported that

children did not understand English well when they were starting school. Philpott et al. (2004:18) found that:

> ...[w]hile children are exposed to English through television and some conversation at home, the exposure is insufficient for them to master the vocabulary and grammatical structures required for effective communication in school. To most, English is a foreign language.

They also point out that most teachers "acknowledge that children come to school fluent only in Innu-aimun" (Philpott 2004:5). Given this evidence, it appears that the population was overly optimistic about school-age children's ability to understand English while the members of the possible social network/community of practice held opinions that were in keeping with empirical data.

The third question to which members of this group had a majority response that differed from that of the rest of the population was Q72, which asked if participants found it necessary to name items in English to ensure children's comprehension (§3.2.1.5). While nearly half of the population (47.3%) stated that this rarely or never occurred, group members often found it necessary to use English with children. This can be attributed to the fact that this subset of participants generally reported English as their preferred language for day-to-day interactions (Q40) and also for most of their other interactions with both community members and outsiders, as discussed in §3.3.[47]

These respondents also held a different majority response to Q73, which asked participants if they thought that elders had difficulty understanding the speech of teenagers in Innu-aimun (§3.2.1.2). Just over half of the population (52.3%) said that

[47] See the following section for a discussion on the community of practice's reported language use.

elders sometimes had difficulty understanding teenagers when they (the teenagers) spoke Innu-aimun while half of the potential social network/community of practice (three of the six group members) stated that this happened more frequently. It is possible that this is linked to the notion of solidarity and also the group's own experiences since, for Q76, two out of five members of this group reported that their use of Innu-aimun was criticized and, for Q77, only three out of the six reported that older generations praised their use of the language.

In terms of language and education (§3.2.3), the group in question disagreed with the population on two issues: the best way to safeguard Innu-aimun (Q98) and Innu-aimun as the language of instruction when beginning school (Q101). While a strong majority of the population (82.9%) said that school was the best place to safeguard the language, four of the six people in the group in question disagreed with this idea, with one of these respondents suggesting the home as a better alternative. When asked about use of Innu-aimun as the first language of instruction, most of the population (86.0%) agreed with the proposition; in contrast, three of the six members of the possible social network/community of practice were neutral. It is difficult to construct a plausible hypothesis for why this group's opinions differed from those of the rest of the sample for these two questions. It could be because these participants preferred to use English on a day-to-day basis and prefer to see children educated in this language, or because they believed that Innu-aimun should be used in all areas of community life, not restricted to the school setting.

4.3.2 Language use

Members of the potential social network/community of practice diverge significantly from the population in terms of language use, preferring to use English whenever possible. In fact, their majority response corresponded with that of the greater population for only three of the questions discussed in §3.3.1-§3.3.7: Q41, which looked at language use at home with elders; Q51, which asked participants for their opinions on the language use of teenagers in the home; and Q59, which asked which language(s) young parents used with their children.

The group in question reported English as the language of daily use (Q40), as previously mentioned. Use of English was restricted in the home, with nearly all of them using it with peers (Q43) and children (Q42), instead of Innu-aimun (83.3% for both questions), as reported by the general population. Four of the six group members also observed that children spoke English when playing, as opposed to the 51.6% of the population who said that children sometimes used Innu-aimun and sometimes English. These findings are unsurprising given that these participants preferred to speak English as a general rule; if they speak English with their children then it is likely that the children are acquiring this as their first language, rather than Innu-aimun.

When asked about language use outside of the home, such as at work or school (Q44, discussed in §3.3.3), members of the potential social network/community of practice unanimously said that they would speak English. Similarly, when asked which language they preferred to speak with friends (Q47, discussed in §3.3.4), all of them said that they use English. In fact, this group accounts for all of the respondents who said that

they would use primarily English for this question. Again, these findings were expected since these participants were more confident in their abilities in English than Innu-aimun and preferred to use English on a daily basis.

This same trend appears when looking at the data for Q52-53 (§3.3.5), which asked participants which language(s) they would use if a someone who was not Innu was present in both a social and work/school setting. While the greatest number of responses from the population was for Innu-aimun in both cases (53.1% and 42.6% respectively), two-thirds of the group in question (four out of six respondents for both questions) reported the use of English. For Q52, which used a social setting, one person said that they would speak Innu-aimun and English, the other Innu-aimun alone. For Q53, which placed participants in a work/school setting, the remaining group members said that they would use both Innu-aimun and English. Once again, these results were expected given the framework established by prior data. This pattern appears again in the data about preferred language(s) of response (Q48-49), where the population generally reported Innu-aimun while the group reported English, as discussed in §3.3.6, and also for Q45-46 (§3.3.7), which asked about language use with friends at social activities both inside and outside of Sheshatshiu and for Q54-55 (§3.3.7), which looked at language use in Goose Bay with family and friends.

4.3.2.1 Language mixing

When asked about language mixing practices (§3.3.8), both personal and observed, group members continued to have opinions that differed from that of the rest of

the population. When asked about the frequency of their own language mixing, the majority of the sample (61.7%) said that they rarely or never mixed the two languages; in contrast, 40.0% (two out of five respondents) of the potential social network/community of practice reported the same frequency of mixing while another 40.0% said that they often mixed Innu-aimun and English. When asked about language mixing with specific groups (elders, children and peers), however, the subset's majority response was only different for mixing with peers; like the rest of the sample, they reported low and medium frequencies of mixing when speaking with elders and children respectively. For the question about language mixing with peers, the majority of the population who mix (61.1%) said that this occurred infrequently while a nearly equal percentage of the community of practice (60.0%, or three out of five respondents) reported a high frequency of mixing.

Half of the members of the group in question also reported that children frequently mix Innu-aimun and English when playing together (Q67) where the greatest number of responses for the population as a whole (41.1%) said that this rarely or never occurred. These results are unsurprising since the majority of the population reported that children speak both Innu-aimun and English when playing together, even though the majority of the group stated that children spoke predominantly English.

When asked about language mixing at work or school (Q65), over half of the population (59.1%) reported sometimes mixing the two languages while members of the potential social network/community of practice were divided between medium and low levels of mixing (two out of five respondents for each response). This was somewhat

surprising because this group unanimously reported the use of English at work or school but can be attributed to the fact that two members of this group reported often borrowing words from Innu-aimun while speaking English (Q71). In fact, the largest numbers of this group were evenly split since another 40.0% of the group in question reported low levels of borrowing, in keeping with the rest of the population. Members of this group also reported high levels of borrowing when speaking Innu-aimun (Q70); four of the five people who responded to this question said that they often used English words when speaking Innu-aimun.

Finally, three of the six members of the possible social network/community of practice were neutral when asked for their opinion on language mixing (whether it was an acceptable communication device or not) (Q95). These results are interesting because 40.0% of this group (two of five who responded to this question) stated that they frequently mixed Innu-aimun and English and because 60.0% (three of the five) reported high levels of mixing with their peers. It appears that this is one of the areas in which this subset of the population is not as united.

4.3.3 Discussion on potential social network/community of practice

One possible explanation for the behaviour of the group in question is that its members are attempting to "promot[e] distinctiveness at the level of the social group", which may "entail projecting a self which is aligned with some group outside of the recipient's own" (Coupland 2001: 201). Coupland (2001:201) goes on to assert that "addressee-related style-shifts are again better explained as strategies in the arena of

persona management". This explanation is substantiated by the data because these participants seem to be attempting to forge a group identity separate from that of the rest of the Innu community, given that they report using English in nearly every context. It is also possible that members of this group view English as the more important language because they view themselves as more socially mobile and believe that English will help them achieve their goals since it is "fairly common for a language to become so exclusively associated with low-prestige people and their socially disfavored identities that its own potential speakers prefer to distance themselves from it and adopt some other language" (Dorian 1998:3). Whatever the rationale, it is clear that these participants are different from the rest of the population and it would be interesting to see if there are other like-minded people in Sheshatshiu.

4.4 Summary

A number of interesting trends have been revealed in the data. Most notably, age was the most significant variable, affecting responses to nearly every question. Due to this variable's strong influence, solidarity was a factor for certain questions; younger participants were more supportive of the abilities of younger community members when middle-aged and older respondents were more critical. The population was aware that more and more English is being spoken in the community with each generation and view this change negatively. However, bilingualism is generally viewed pragmatically since English is necessary for interactions outside of Sheshatshiu. This likely stems from participants' (either conscious or subconscious) awareness of the linguistic market, a

concept that argues that language is a social currency that can be used to negotiate one's position, and also language ideologies. This is also reflected in research conducted by Philpott et al. (2004:20), who found that over 90% of the parents who "responded to [their] surveys want[ed] their children to be fluent in English and Innu-aimun and to retain their traditional lifestyle". This was also seen in the fact that the community would like to see Innu-aimun as the language of instruction in the local schools, at least when children begin their education. The idea of accommodation was also discussed in this chapter; participants expressed willingness to use English when people who could not speak Innu-aimun were present but generally preferred to use Innu-aimun with other Innu.

A final point for consideration is that although over- and underreporting has been noted in some variationist research (e.g. Trudgill 1974), it does not happen in all situations. Since there were no tests built into the survey to determine the accuracy of participants' self-reported statements and no pre-existing data on these areas of research, it is not possible to determine the accuracy of the population's responses. This does not mean that the survey results are not valid; rather, this indicates that further research into the community's language attitudes and patterns of usage is warranted.

5.0 CONCLUSION

Although much linguistic investigation has been conducted on Sheshatshiu-aimun, the opinions of community members about language and language-related issues had never been formally documented. The present survey was an opportunity to delve into the opinions of the Sheshatshiu Innu on the languages of their community and how they believe the languages are being used by the population. Research of this nature has been conducted in other Canadian Aboriginal communities with varying results, ranging from believing the language will persist (e.g. the Inuit of Arctic Québec) to believing it is endangered (e.g. the Labrador Inuit and most of the communities in Saskatchewan). Given that Innu-aimun was being learned as a first language by children at the time of the administration of the survey, it was expected that the Sheshatshiu Innu would have a positive outlook about the strength of their language and its future.

Also, since some of the other surveys found that age was a significant variable, it was expected to have an effect on the Sheshatshiu data as well. This expectation was met; several age-graded results were revealed in this investigation. First, the majority of participants evaluated their own linguistic abilities positively in both Innu-aimun and English, although younger community members were more comfortable speaking English than Innu-aimun. Older participants, on the other hand, evaluated their linguistic abilities in Innu-aimun quite highly and their abilities in English quite poorly. The population also observed that the Innu-aimun spoken by elders was generally highly regarded while teenagers' use of Innu-aimun was viewed more negatively. However, the majority of younger participants did rate young people's speech positively, likely in an effort to

express solidarity with the teens. In keeping with the strong correlation between age and education, participants with no formal education were more comfortable and satisfied with speaking Innu-aimun while those with more education were more comfortable using English.

The two languages were viewed as equally important but were likely valued for different reasons (English for communication with the outside world and Innu-aimun for its ties with culture and identity). This division is probably a product of the linguistic market in the region and ties in with the issue of accommodation since participants were willing to use English when people who were not fluent in Innu-aimun were present but generally preferred to use Innu-aimun when speaking with other Innu.

The future of Innu-aimun was another one of the principal issues tackled in the survey. Participants were generally aware of language change, including vocabulary loss, and viewed these changes negatively, citing, for example, comprehension difficulties perceived between elders and teenagers when speaking Innu-aimun. Despite these opinions, however, the community strongly believed in the future of Innu-aimun not only in their families but in Sheshatshiu and in the Innu Nation as a whole. They also thought that special measures should be instituted to protect the language and that non-speakers of Innu-aimun should make an effort to learn the language if they frequently visit and/or work in the community. Moreover, although Sheshatshiu is surrounded by English-speaking communities, less than one-quarter of the population felt forced to speak English. This obligation was typically felt when participants were interacting with individuals from outside of the community. Results for questions about language and

education also indicated strong support of Innu-aimun. In keeping with Philpott et al.'s (2004, 2005) research, the population felt that children should begin their education in Innu-aimun, although a bilingual model of education was also supported by the community. Furthermore, participants generally viewed the school as the best place to safeguard the language.

The exception to these statements was a group of six participants, discussed in §4.3. This group's responses patterned very differently from the rest of the sample, displaying a preference for English whenever possible. This may be attributed to the formation of a group identity separate from that of the community as a whole. Alternatively, it may also be a means of promoting themselves, trying to develop upward social mobility by using English instead of Innu-aimun. In this case, these participants may view English as the more socially favoured language and may associate Innu-aimun with a more negative group identity.

Despite these changes perceived in Innu-aimun and the increasing presence of English, the Sheshatshiu Innu believed that Innu-aimun would stay viable in their community. They felt that both languages were important, although the reasons may vary, and that Innu-aimun would remain strong in their families, community and nation. It was also clear that the community was aware of the possibility of language loss since there were participants who viewed the future of Innu-aimun as at risk and most of the survey population thought it important to have some sort of special measure or policy in place to protect the language. Overall, however, the Sheshatshiu Innu seemed confident that their language would remain viable.

These findings support actions being taken in the community. The Sheshatshiu Innu are currently trying to gain control of their community's educational system in the hopes of implementing Innu-aimun as the primary language of instruction, at least in the lower grades, an action that, as previously stated, reflects not only the community's optimism about its linguistic situation but also findings reported by Philpott et al. (2004, 2005). An Innu-language curriculum is a logical step in the maintenance and strengthening of the Aboriginal language, an action supported by survey results. The Sheshatshiu Innu are also seeking reserve status; knowledge that Innu-aimun is important to the community and that the population believes the language will remain strong can only lend credence to this endeavour since the data reflect the community's distinctiveness. In a climate in which many Aboriginal languages are in danger of being lost, the Sheshatshiu Innu can be seen as an example of a community that recognises the value of language and culture and the importance of blending the maintenance of Aboriginal language and custom with the ability to interact successfully with people from different backgrounds.

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APPENDIX A: SURVEY OF THE LINGUISTIC SITUATION OF SHESHATSHIU

1. File number / *Tshe atishtet mashinaikan* : _____

2. Gender / *Napeu kie mak Ishkueu tshin*: _____

3. Age / *Tan etatupuneshit* : _____

Date: _____

Interviewer:

_____

4. Occupation / *Etatussanut* :
What do you work at? / *Tan etatussein*?

LIST TO BE USED BY INTERVIEWER ONLY – DO NOT READ TO PARTICIPANT

1. hunter _____
2. homemaker _____
3. seasonal worker _____
4. businessperson _____
5. manual labour in community _____
6. manual labour outside community _____
7. office worker in community _____
8. office worker outside community _____
9. teacher _____
10. human services worker (with children/adults) _____
11. home care worker _____
12. unemployed _____

5. Level of education / *Tan itapipan mashten katshishkutamashut* :
Did you go to school? If so, what was the highest grade you finished?
Tshishkutamashui a? Tsheshkutamashune tan tshitatipi mashten katshikutimashuin?

OR Fill beforehand if known, make list for interviewer
Kie mak ne mashinatemuk" ne ka-itashteua minuat nikan.

1. never in school _____
2. began primary / elementary _____
3. finished primary / elementary _____
4. began high school _____
5. finished high school _____
6. began training _____
7. finished training _____
8. began university _____
9. finished university _____
10. do not know _____

6. Have you ever lived outside Sheshatshiu? If yes, where and for how long?
Shash a tshitshi iat apin? Iat epinakue ueshkat tanite tshitapi mak minekash a iat tshitapi?

_____

_____

_____

_____

7. How many people live in your house?
Tan etatishiekᵘ anite tshitshit?

1.	parents	*ukaumauat kie utaumauat*	_____
2.	grandparents	*ukumuauat kie umushumuauat*	_____
3.	children	*auassat*	_____
4.	older brothers and sisters	*ushteshimauat kie umishimuat*	_____
5.	younger brothers and sisters	*ushimauat*	_____
6.	others	*kutakat auenitshenat*	_____

Of these people, does anyone speak a language other than Innu-aimun regularly at home? If yes, who?
Ne etatushit tshitshuat ma taut iat eshi aimit auenitshenat? Eshe, tiakuenit, auenitshe an?

_____

_____

➢ **Interviewer: if you know the answer, just fill it in for question no. 8 and 9.**

8. Do you have children? (Circle one.) Yes / No
Ma tauat tshituassimat? (Mukᵘ peikᵘ mashinatei.) *Eshe / Mauat*

If so, how many?
Eshe tiakuenit tshituassimat, tan etishiht? _____

9. Do you have a partner? (Circle one.) Yes / No
Tshinipaun a kie ma tshuitapimau a auen? (Mukᵘ peikᵘ mashinatei.) *Eshe / Mauat*

10. How many hours per week do you watch TV? _____
Tan tatupaikan tshitapimitau katshishetshimakanit peiku-minashtakan?

11a. How many hours per week do you listen to the Innu radio? _____
Tan tatupaikan netutut Innu kananitutakanit peiku-minashtakan?

11b. How many hours per week do you listen to CBC radio? _____
Tan tatupeikan netutut Akanishau kananitutakanit peiku- minashtakan?

12. Do you have access to the Internet at home / at work? Yes / No
(If yes, circle one or both above.)
Tshikanueniten a Internet nete tshitshit kie mak nete tshitatusseutshuapit? (Eshe issishuein, tatshike peikᵘ kie nishuᵘ nenu.) *Eshe / Mauat*

Anywhere else?
Tanite iat tekuak Internet? _____

13. Do you speak any languages other than Innu-aimun and English? If yes, which ones?
Tshitaimin a kutak aimun.

_____

_____

14. Do you have regular contact with non-Innu people? (Circle one.) Yes / No
Nanitam a kie mak nanikutin tshuapimauat Akanishauat? *Eshe / Mauat*
(Mukᵘ peikᵘ mashinatei.)

➢ **If the response to question 14 is (no), skip to the next section.**
Mauat essishuein nete ka kukuetshitshemukuin (14) kutunu ashu peikᵘ, ka iapitenita tshetshi shakassinitain ne kutak etishtet.

15. During one week, how often do you speak with non-Innu?
Peiku-minashtakan mate issishuetau, tan tatuau amitau Akanishauat?

1.	every day	*eshikum tshishikᵘ*	_____
2.	several times a week	*tshekat eshikum tshishikᵘ*	_____
3.	once or twice a week	*peikuau kie nishuau peiku-minashtan*	_____
4.	almost never (rarely)	*apu nita shuk aaimikau*	_____
5.	never	*apu nita aaimikau*	_____

Self evaluation of linguistic competence

16. How well do you **understand** (spoken) Innu-aimun?
Tan eshpish nishtutamin Innu-aimun?

very well	well	acceptably	poorly	very poorly
nimishta nishtuten	*ninishtuten*	*miam ishpish*	*apu shuk*	*nasht apu nishtutaman*

17. How well do you **speak** Innu-aimun?
Tshinitau-innu-aaimin a?

very well	well	acceptably	poorly	very poorly
nimishta nitau-innuaaimin	*enuet*	*miam ishpish*	*apu shuk*	*nasht apu nita innuaimian*

18. How well do you **write** in Innu-aimun?
Tshinitau-innu-mashinaitshen a?

very well	well	acceptably	poorly	very poorly	not at all
nimishta nitau-innushtan	*enuet ni-nitau-innushtan*	*miam ishpish*	*apu shuk*	*nasht apu nitau-innushtaian*	*mauat nasht*

19. How well do you **read** Innu-aimun?
Tshinitau-innu-tshitaten a mashinaikan?

very well	well	acceptably	poorly	very poorly	not at all
nimishta nitautshitaten	*enuet*	*miam ishpish*	*apu shuk*	*nasht apu nitau tshitatiman*	*mauat nasht*

➢ **If the responses to question 18 and 19 are (very poorly) or (not at all), skip to question 21.**

20. Where did you learn to **read and write** Innu-aimun? (Check all that apply.)
Tanite tshishkutamakui tshetshi innu-tshitatimin kie tshetshi nitau-innu-mashinaitshein

1.	In the family, from a relative	*nete ut nikanishat*	_____
2.	At school in Sheshatshiu	*katshishkutamatsheutshuapit*	_____
3.	By yourself	*tshin tshiuitshitishu*	_____
4.	Other (specify)	*kutak tshekuan*	

_____

➢ **Ask question 21 only if Innu-aimun was not learned as first language!**

21. How old were you when you started learning Innu-aimun? _____
Tan tshitatupuneshi tsheshkutimashuin tshetshi innu-aimin?

.....

22. How well do you **understand** (spoken) English?
Tan eshpish nishtutamin akanishau-aimun?

very well	well	acceptably	poorly	very poorly
nimishta nishtuten	*ninishtuten*	*miam ishpish*	*apu shuk*	*nasht apu nishtutaman*

23. How well do you **speak** English?
Tshinitau-akanishau-aimin a?

very well	well	acceptably	poorly	very poorly
nimishta nitau-akanishau aimiaimin	*enuet*	*miam ishpish*	*apu shuk*	*nasht apu nitau-akanishau aimiaimian*

24. How well do you **read** English?
Tshinitau akanishau tshitaten a mashinaikan?

very well	well	acceptably	poorly	very poorly
nimishta nishtuaten	*enuet ninishtuaten*	*miam ishpish*	*apu shuk*	*nasht apu*

25. How well do you **write** in English?
Tshinitau akanishau mashineitshen a?

very well	well	acceptably	poorly	very poorly
nimishta-nitau-akanishau mashinaitshen	*enuet ninitau mashinaitshen*	*miam ishpish*	*apu shuk*	*nasht apu*

26. How old were you when you started learning English? _____
Tan tshitatupuneshi tsheshkutimashuin tshetshi akanishau-aimin?

27. Where did you learn to **understand** English? (Check all that apply.)
Tanite tshishkutimashu tshetshi nishtutamin akanishau-aimun? (Mashinatei tanen menuat.)

1. In the family, from a relative *uikanishimauat* _____
2. At school in NWR *akamit katshishkutimatsheutshuap* _____
3. At school in Goose Bay *Apipani katshishkutimatsheutshuap* _____
4. At school in St. John's *Shinitshanishit katshishkutimatsheutshuap* _____
5. At school in Sheshatshiu *Sheshatshit katshishkutimatsheutshuap* _____
6. By yourself *e peikussin* _____
7. From TV or radio *kashetshimakanit kie mak kananitutakanit* _____
8. Other (specify) *kie mak kutak tshekuan*

_____

28. Where did you learn to **speak** English? (Check all that apply.)
Tanite tshishkutimashu tshetshi akanishau-aaimiaimin? (Mashinatei tanen menuat.)

1. In the family, from a relative *uikanishimauat* _____
2. At school in NWR *akamit katshishkutimatsheutshuap* _____
3. At school in Goose Bay *Apipani katshishkutimatsheutshuap* _____
4. At school in St. John's *Shinitshanishit katshishkutimatsheutshuap* _____
5. At school in Sheshatshiu *Sheshatshit katshishkutimatsheutshuap* _____
6. By yourself *e peikussin* _____
7. From TV or radio *kashetshimakanit kie mak kananitutakanit* _____
8. Other (specify) *kie mak kutak tshekuan*

_____

➢ **If the responses to question 24 and 25 are (very poorly) or (not at all), skip to question 30.**

29. Where did you learn to **read and write** English? (Check all that apply.)
Tanite tshishkutimashu tshetshi akanishau mashineitshein kie tshetshi akanishau tshitatimin mashineikan? (Mashinatei tanen menuat.)

1. In the family, from a relative *uikanishimauat* _____
2. At school in NWR *akamit katshishkutimatsheutshuap* _____
3. At school in Goose Bay *Apipani katshishkutimatsheutshuap* _____
4. At school in St. John's *Shinitshanishit katshishkutimatsheutshuap* _____
5. At school in Sheshatshiu *Sheshatshit katshishkutimatsheutshuap* _____
6. By yourself *e peikussin* _____
7. Other (specify) *kie mak kutak tshekuan*

_____

30. How satisfied are you with your ability in (spoken) Innu-aimun? **[Do not ask elders]**
*Tan eshpish minuenimuin tshetshi innu aimiaimin? **[Tshe eka kuetshimekuat umenu tshishennuat]***

very satisfied	fairly satisfied	more or less satisfied	fairly unsatisfied	very unsatisfied
nimishta minuenimun	*enuet niminuenimun*	*miam ishpish niminuenimun*	*apu shuk minuenimuian*	*nasht apu minuenimuian*

31. How satisfied are you with your ability in (spoken) English? **[Do not ask people who don't speak English]**
*Tan eshpish minuenimuin tshetshi akanishau-aimin? **[Tsheka kuetshimekuat umuenu ne kaka-akanishauaimit]***

very satisfied	fairly satisfied	more or less satisfied	fairly unsatisfied	very unsatisfied
nimishta minuenimun	*enuet niminuenimun*	*miam ishpish niminuenimun*	*apu shuk minuenimuian*	*nasht apu minuenimuian*

32. Do you feel comfortable speaking in English? (Circle one.) Yes / No
Tshiminuenimun a tshetshi akanishau aimin? (Tatshikai peik^{u}.) *Eshe / Mauat*

Evaluation of older and younger generations

33. How well do you think young people (less than 19 years old) speak Innu-aimun?
Nitau innu-aimut a ussinishuat (kutunnu ashu peikushteu kaitatupuneshit.) Tan etenimitau?

very well	well	acceptably	poorly	very poorly
mishta nitauinnueimuat	*enuet*	*miam ishpish*	*apu shuk*	*nasht apu nitau-innuaimit*

34. How well do you think younger adults (ages 19-35) speak Innu-aimun?
Nitau innu-aimut a tshisheishkueut kie tshisheunapeut (kutunnu ashu peikushteu nuash nishtunnu ashu patetat kaitatupuneshit.) Tan etenimitau?

very well	well	acceptably	poorly	very poorly
mishta nitau-innueimuat	*enuet*	*miam ishpish*	*apu shuk*	*nasht apu nitau innuaimit*

35. How well do you think older adults (ages 36-59) speak Innu-aimun?
Nitau-innu-aimu a tshishennuat (nishtunnu ashu kutuasht nuash patetat tatunnu ashu peikushteu kanitatupuneshit.) Tan etenimitau?

very well	well	acceptably	poorly	very poorly
mishta nitau-innuaimuat	*enuet*	*miam ishpish*	*apu shuk*	*nasht apu nitau innuaimit*

36. On the subject of English now, how well do you think most children beginning school **understand** English?
Eku anite e akanishau aiminanut. Nishtutamut a akanishau-aimunu anitshenit auassat ushkat ka tshitshipiniakanit katshishkutamatsheutshuapit? Tan etenimitau?

very well	well	acceptably	poorly	very poorly
mishta nishtutamuat	*enuet*	*miam ishpish*	*apu shuk*	*nasht apu nishtutak*

37. How well do you think they **speak** English?
Nita akanishau aimuat a anitshenit auassat? Tan etenimitau?

very well	well	acceptably	poorly	very poorly
mishta akanishau aimuat	*enuet*	*miam ishpish*	*apu shuk*	*nasht apu akanishau-aimit*

38a. Is there a child/children in your household who speaks mostly English? Yes / No
(Circle one.)
Ma tau anite auass tshitshit muk" e akanishau aimit? *Eshe / Mauat*
(Peik" muk" tatshikai.)

38b. Is there an older person in your household who speaks no English? Yes / No
(Circle one.)
Ma tau tshishennu anite tshitshit nasht eka akanishau aimit? *Eshe / Mauat*
(Peik" muk" tatshikai.)

39. For elders who normally do not speak English, how well do you think they understand English?
Ne muk" tshishennuat eka shuk akanishau-aimit, tan eshpish nashtutak akanishau-aimunu tshitennimaut?

very well	well	acceptably	poorly	very poorly
mishta nishtutamuat	*enuet*	*miam ishpish*	*apu shuk*	*nasht apu nishtutak*

Language use

40. As a rule, in daily life, which language do you use?
Ne aimun euauitakanit, eshikum-tshishuk ma, tshitinnuaimin a kie mak kie mak tshiakinishauimin?

always Innu	mostly Innu	sometimes Innu / sometimes English	mostly English	always English
nanitam innu-aimun	*etatu innu*	*nanikutini innu/ nanikutini akanishau*	*etatu akanishau*	*nanitam akanishau-aimun*

41. As a rule, at home, which language do you use to speak to elders?
Anite tshitshuat etain, tan eshi-aimitau tshishennuat? Tshi-innuaimiauat a kie mak tshi-akinishauimiaut?

always Innu	mostly Innu	sometimes Innu / sometimes English	mostly English	always English
nanitam innu-aimun	*etatu innu*	*nanikutini innu/ nanikutini akanishau*	*etatu akanishau*	*nanitam akanishau-aimun*

42. At home, which language do you use to speak to children?
Anite tshitshuat etain, tan eshi-aimitau auassat? Tshi-innuaimiaut a kie mak kie mak tshi-akinishauimiaut?

always Innu	mostly Innu	sometimes Innu / sometimes English	mostly English	always English
nanitam innu aimun	*etatu innu*	*nanikutini innu/ nanikutini akanishau*	*etatu akanishau*	*nanitam akanishau-aimun*

43. At home, which language do you use to speak to people your own age?
Anite tshitshuat etain, tan eshi aimitau anitshenit miam tshin eshpititshin? Tshi-innuaimiaut a kie mak kie mak tshi-akinishauimiaut?

always Innu	mostly Innu	sometimes Innu / sometimes English	mostly English	always English
nanitam innu aimun	*etatu innu*	*nanikutini innu/ nanikutini akanishau*	*etatu akanishau*	*nanitam akanishau-aimun*

44. With people at work (or school) which language do you use?
Ekᵘ anitshenit ka uitshi atussematau (kie mak anitshenit mamu ka tshishkutamakuiekᵘ) tshi-innuaimiauat a kie mak kie mak tshi-akanishauaimiauat?

always Innu	mostly Innu	sometimes Innu/ sometimes English	mostly English	always English
nanitam innu aimun	*etatu innu*	*nanikutini innu/ nanikutini akanishau*	*etatu akanishau*	*nanitam akanishau-aimun*

45. Which language do you speak with friends when you participate in sports and social activities in Sheshatshiu?
Tan eshi aimitau tshuitsheuakanat mietueiekᵘ natamukᵘ metueun (hockey, baseball, broomball) ute Sheshatshit? Tan eshi aimitishuiekᵘ e metueiekᵘ mamu tshuitsheuakanat?

always Innu	mostly Innu	sometimes Innu / sometimes English	mostly English	always English
nanitam innu aimun	*etatu innu*	*nanikutini innu/ nanikutini akanishau*	*etatu akanishau*	*nanitam akanishau-aimun*

46. Which language do you speak with friends when you participate in sports and social activities in Goose Bay?
Tan eshi aimitau tshuitsheuakanat mietueiekᵘ natamukᵘ metueun (hockey, baseball, broomball) ute Goose Bay?

always Innu	mostly Innu	sometimes Innu / sometimes English	mostly English	always English
nanitam innu aimun	*etatu innu*	*nanikutini innu/ nanikutini akanishau*	*etatu akanishau*	*nanitam akanishau-aimun*

47. At get-togethers with friends, which language do you speak with each other?
E mamuituiekᵘ tshuitsheuakanat, tan eshi aimiekᵘ? Tshi-innu-aimitunau a kie mak tshi-akanishauaimitunau?

always Innu	mostly Innu	sometimes Innu / sometimes English	mostly English	always English
nanitam innu aimun	*etatu innu*	*nanikutini innu/ nanikutini akanishau*	*etatu akanishau*	*nanitam akanishau-aimun*

48. If an Innu from Sheshatshiu speaks to you in English, do you answer in English or Innu-aimun?
Miam mate Sheshatshiu-innu e akanishauaimishk tshitakanishau-aimiau a tshiauenimutshi aimunnu kie mak tshi-innuaimiau?

always Innu	mostly Innu	sometimes Innu / sometimes English	mostly English	always English
nanitam innu aimun	*etatu innu*	*nanikutini innunanikutini innu/ nanikutini akanishau*	*etatu akanishau*	*nanitam akanishau-aimun*

49. If an Innu from Sheshatshiu speaks to you in Innu-aimun, do you answer in Innu-aimun or English?
Miam mate Sheshatshiu-Innu innu-aimishk tshitinnuaimiau a kie mak kie mak tshitakanishau-aimiau tshiauenimut aimunu?

always Innu	mostly Innu	sometimes Innu / sometimes English	mostly English	always English
nanitam innu aimun	*etatu innu*	*nanikutini innunanikutini innu/ nanikutini akanishau*	*etatu akanishau*	*nanitam akanishau-aimun*

50. At your house, which language do children use when playing?
Anite tshitshuat auassat e metuetau, tan eshi aimit mietuetau?

always Innu	mostly Innu	sometimes Innu / sometimes English	mostly English	always English
nanitam innu aimun	*etatu innu*	*nanikutini innunanikutini innu/ nanikutini akanishau*	*etatu akanishau*	*nanitam akanishau-aimun*

51. At your house, which language do teenagers use when they are together?
Anite tshishtuat, tan eshi aimit ussinitshishuat etatau mamu?

always Innu	mostly Innu	sometimes Innu / sometimes English	mostly English	always English
nanitam innu aimun	*etatu innu*	*nanikutini innu/ nanikutini akanishau*	*etatu akanishau*	*nanitam akanishau-aimun*

52. If you are in a group of Innu friends and there is a non-Innu person who does not speak Innu-aimun, which language would you speak with the group?
Ekᵘ e mamuitunanut issishuetau, tat anite peikᵘ akanishau, tshekᵘ aimun tshipa apashtain, anu tshui innu-aimin a, kie mak anu tshui akanishau-aimin?

always Innu	mostly Innu	sometimes Innu / sometimes English	mostly English	always English
nanitam innu aimun	*etatu innu*	*nanikutini innu/ nanikutini akanishau*	*etatu akanishau*	*nanitam akanishau-aimun*

53. If you are in a meeting and there is a non-Innu person who does not speak Innu-aimun, which language would you speak with the group?
Ekᵘ utshimauaiminanut issishuetau, tat anite peikᵘ akanishau, tshekᵘ aimun tshipa apashtain, anu tshui innuaimin a, kie mak anu tshui akanishau-aimin?

always Innu	mostly Innu	sometimes Innu / sometimes English	mostly English	always English
nanitam innu aimun	*etatu innu*	*nanikutini innu/ nanikutini akanishau*	*etatu akanishau*	*nanitam akanishau-aimun*

54. When you are outside Sheshatshiu with your family, which language do you speak with them if there are non-Innu people around (for example in a restaurant, a bar or a store)?
Anite akanishauassit etutein, tshikanishat uatsheutau, tan eshiaimiekᵘ, tshitinnu-aiminau a kie mak tshiakinishau-aimitunau akanishau etat (miam mate ka mitshishuananut, ka minanut kie mak atauitshuapit)?

always Innu	mostly Innu	sometimes Innu / sometimes English	mostly English	always English
nanitam innu aimun	*etatu innu*	*nanikutini innu/ nanikutini akanishau*	*etatu akanishau*	*nanitam akanishau-aimun*

55. When you are outside Sheshatshiu with friends, which language do you speak with them when there are non-Innu around (for example in a restaurant or bar or store)?
Anite akanishauassit etutein, tshuitsheuakanat uatsheutau, tan eshiaimiek", tshi-innu-aiminau a kie mak tshiakinishau-aimitunau akanishau etat (miam mate ka mitshishuananut, ka minanut kie mak atauitshuapit)?

always Innu	mostly Innu	sometimes Innu / sometimes English	mostly English	always English
nanitam innu aimun	*etatu innu*	*nanikutini innu/ nanikutini akanishau*	*etatu akanishau*	*nanitam akanishau-aimun*

56. Are there situations in which you are forced to use English? If yes, please list them. (E.g. With nurses or doctors, teachers, service providers, police, social workers, etc.)
Takuan anite nanikutin shuka tsheui akanishau-aimin? Eshe essishuein, tanite anite man etenitamin tshui apashtanaua akanishau-aimun. Mashinate. (miam mate natukunitshuapit, katshishkutimatsheutshuapit, kamakunueshit, kie mak kie mak katshisheutshimautusset)

_____

_____

_____

_____

57. Do you feel that there are types of words being lost, such as words to do with the country?
Ma tshititeniten ka unitakanue innu-aimuna miam mate nutshimiu-aimuna?

yes	somewhat	no	I don't know
eshe	*put ma*	*mauat*	*apu tshissenitaman*

➢ **If (yes), or (somewhat):**

What kinds of words are not known today?
Tan eshinakuak aimuna eka tshissenitakanut anutshish?
hint: *nutshimiu-aimuna (bush words)*

_____

_____

_____

58. What do you think about words like *katshishetshimakanit* (television), *kanatutakanit* (radio), *kaiminanut* (telephone)? Do you prefer to say them in English or in Innu-aimun?
Ne aimunissa miam mate "tshitashuna" (numbers), "katakat" (fridge), "katshishetshimakanit"(television), "kanatutakanit" (radio), "kaiminanut" (telephone), anu a tshiminupun tshetshi innu-uitamin kie mak tsheshi akanishau-uitamin?

always Innu	mostly Innu	sometimes Innu / sometimes English	mostly English	always English
nanitam innu aimun	*etatu innu*	*nanikutini innu/ nanikutini akanishau*	*etatu akanishau*	*nanitam akanishau-aimun*

59. In your opinion, in general, in Sheshatshiu, which language do young parents speak to their children?
Ute Sheshatshit, anitshenit kaiuassiut ukaumaut kie utaumaut tan eshi aimiatau nenu utauassimuau, tshitenimauat tshin?

always Innu	mostly Innu	sometimes Innu / sometimes English	mostly English	always English
nanitam innu aimun	*etatu innu*	*nanikutini innu/ nanikutini akanishau*	*etatu akanishau*	*nanitam akanishau-aimun*

60. Do you think it likely that the Innu language will be lost at Sheshatshiu?
Tshin ma etenitamin, kushtikuan a tshetshi unitat innu-aimun ute Sheshatshit kie mak apu kushtikuak?

very	not very	maybe	probably not	not at all
tshitshue	*apu shuk*	*put ma*	*mauat put*	*mauat nasht*

Language mixing

61. How often do you mix Innu-aimun and English?
Tan tatuau mamishkutshipatimin aimun (innu-aimun kie akanishau-aimun) aimini?

very often	often	sometimes	rarely	never
nanitam	*mitshetuau*	*nanikutini*	*apu shuk*	*apu nita*

➢ **If the response to question 61 is (never), jump to question 67.**

62. At your house, how often do you mix Innu-aimun and English when speaking to elders?
Anite ma tshitshuat ua aimitau tshishennuat tan tatuau mamishkutshipatamin aimun (innu-aimun kie akanishau-aimun)? Anitshenit muk^{u} aimitau tshishennuat?

very often	often	sometimes	rarely	never
nanitam	*mitshetuau*	*nanikutini*	*apu shuk*	*apu nita*

63. At your house, how often do you mix Innu-aimun and English when speaking to children?
Anite ma tshitshuat ua aimitau auassat tan tatuau mamishkutshipatamin aimun (innu-aimun kie akanishau-aimun)? Anitshenit muk^{u} aimitau auassat?

very often	often	sometimes	rarely	never
nanitam	*mitshetuau*	*nanikutini*	*apu shuk*	*apu nita*

64. At your house, how often do you mix Innu-aimun and English when speaking to people your own age?
Anite ma tshitshuat ua aimitau auenitshenit ne eshpitashin tan tatuau mamishkutshipatamin aimun (innu-aimun kie akanishau-aimun)?

very often	often	sometimes	rarely	never
nanitam	*mitshetuau*	*nanikutini*	*apu shuk*	*apu nita*

65. How often do you mix Innu-aimun and English when you are with work colleagues (or other students)?
Anite ma aimitau tshuitatussemakanit kie mak ka uitshishkutimashumitau tan tatuau mamishkutshipatamin aimun (innu-aimun kie akanishau-aimun)?

very often	often	sometimes	rarely	never
nanitam	*mitshetuau*	*nanikutini*	*apu shuk*	*apu nita*

66. At get-togethers with friends, how often do you mix Innu-aimun and English?
Anite mamu etaiek tshuitsheuakanit tan tatuau mamishkutshipatimin aimun (innu-aimun kie akanishau-aimun)?

very often	often	sometimes	rarely	never
nanitam	*mitshetuau*	*nanikutini*	*apu shuk*	*apu nita*

67. At your home, how often do children playing together mix Innu-aimun and English?
Anite ma tshitshuat auassat metuetau tan tatuau mamishkutshipitak aimunnu (innu-aimun kie akanishau-aimun)?

very often	often	sometimes	rarely	never
nanitam	*mitshetuau*	*nanikutini*	*apu shuk*	*apu nita*

Questions on communicative competence

68. How well do you think young people understand elders when they talk? Do they understand them very well or do they have difficulty in understanding them?
Tan eshpish nishtutuat auassat tshishennu aimikut tshitenimaut? Mishta nishtutueuat a kie mak apu shuk minu nishtutuat?

very well	well	more or less	with some difficulty	with great difficulty
mishta	*miam*	*etatu kie mak apu ishpish*	*ianimenitamuat*	*nasht apu*

69. How well do you think young people understand elders when they (the elders) talk amongst themselves? Do they understand them well or with difficulty?
Tan eshpish nishtutuat auassat tshishennu mamu etipatshimunit? Minu nishtutueuat a kie mak apu tshi minu nishtutuat?

very well	well	more or less	with some difficulty	with great difficulty
mishta	*miam*	*etatu kie mak apu ishpish*	*ianimenitamuat*	*nasht apu*

70. When you are speaking Innu-aimun, do you ever want to say something in English because you do not know how to say it in Innu-aimun?
E innuaimin man ta tshui akanishau-uiten tshekuan eka tshissenitamin eshinikatet innu-aiminanut?

very often	often	sometimes	rarely	never
nanitam	*mitshetuau*	*nanikutini*	*apu shuk*	*apu nita*

71. When you are speaking English, do you ever want to say something in Innu-aimun because you do not know how to say it in English?
Ek^{u} e akanishau-aimin man ta tshui innu-uiten tshekuan eka tshissenitamin e akanishaunikatet?

very often	often	sometimes	rarely	never
nanitam	*mitshetuau*	*nanikutini*	*apu shuk*	*apu nita*

72. When speaking with children, how often is it necessary to name certain things in English rather than in Innu-aimun in order to be sure they will understand or can everything be named in Innu-aimun?
Auassat aimiakanitau, ishinakuan a man tshetshi akanishaunikatamin tshekuan tshetshi nishtutakau auassat kie mak nanitam tshika tshi innunikaten tshekuan?

very often	often	sometimes	rarely	never
nanitam	*mitshetuau*	*nanikutini*	*apu shuk*	*apu nita*

73. In your opinion, how often do older people have difficulty understanding the Innu-aimun spoken by younger people?
Tan etenitamin ume tshin? Tan eshpish nishtutuat tshishennuat nenu auassa e innuaiminit?

very often	often	sometimes	rarely	never
nanitam	*mitshetuau*	*nanikutini*	*apu shuk*	*apu nita*

74. When people speak to an elder, do you think they make a special effort to speak Innu-aimun well?
Innuat aimiatau tshishennu etatu a kutshipinitaut tshetshiminu innu-aimit?

very often	often	sometimes	rarely	never
nanitam	*mitshetuau*	*nanikutini*	*apu shuk*	*apu nita*

75. Do you find that many people just use English words in sentences when they speak Innu-aimun?
Ma tshitenimaut mitshet innuat iakanishaupinitaut anite innu-aimitau kie mak apu shuk tutak?

very often	often	sometimes	rarely	never
nanitam	*mitshetuau*	*nanikutini*	*apu shuk*	*apu nita*

76. Do you feel that your use of Innu-aimun is criticized by older generations? **[Do not ask elders.]**
Ma tshiteniten tshishennuat nanikutin niuaushinakut innu-aimian?

very often	often	sometimes	rarely	never
nanitam	*mitshetuau*	*nanikutini*	*apu shuk*	*apu nita*

77. Do you feel that your use of Innu-aimun is praised by older generations? **[Do not ask elders.]**
Ma tshiteniten tshishennuat minuenitamuat e innu-aimuk?

very often	often	sometimes	rarely	never
nanitam	*mitshetuau*	*nanikutini*	*apu shuk*	*apu nita*

Attitudes to language

78. How important is Innu-aimun to you?
Tshimishta ishpiteniten a innu-aimun tshin?

very important	important	neither important nor unimportant	not really important	not at all important
tshitshue	*ishpitenitakun*	*apu tshekuan itenitaman*	*apu shuk*	*mauat nasht*

79. In your opinion, how important is Innu-aimun to younger people?
Tan etenitamin ume tshin, ka mishta ishpitenitamutshenit a innu-aimunnu ekue itenimitau auassat?

very important	important	neither important nor unimportant	not really important	not at all important
tshitshue	*ishpitenitakun*	*apu tshekuan itenitiman*	*apu shuk*	*mauat nasht*

80. In your opinion, how important is Innu-aimun to older people?
Tan etenitamin umue tshin, kamishta ishpitenitamutshenit a innuaimunu kuetenimitau tsheshennuat?

very important	important	neither important nor unimportant	not really important	not at all important
tshitshue	*ishpitenitakun*	*apu tshekuan itenitiman*	*apu shuk*	*mauat nasht*

81. In your opinion, is it important for there to be special policy or projects to look after your language? *Tan etenitamin umue tshin, tshipa takuan a tshekuan tshetshi nakituatikanit innu-aimun?*

very important	important	neither important nor unimportant	not really important	not at all important
tshitshue	*ishpitenitakun*	*apu tshekuan itenitaman*	*apu shuk*	*mauat nasht*

82. Do you think the Innu language in Sheshatshiu is changing or not?
Kamishkutshipanua innu-aimun kuetenitamin tshin?

yes	no	I don't know
eshe	*mauat*	*apu tshissenitaman*

What type of changes do you see?
*Tan eshi uatamin ute tshekuan miashkutshipanit?*_____

_____

➢ **If the response to question 82 is (no) or (I don't know), jump to question 84.**

83. If yes, what do you think about these changes?
Eshe issishuein, tan etenitamin ume tshekuan miashkutshipanit?

very good	good	neither good nor bad	bad	very bad
mishta minuau	*miam*	*apu minuat kie apu matshikaut*	*apu minuat*	*nasht apu minuat*

84. Do you think the Innu-aimun spoken by young people is different from elders' speech? *Iat a ishi-innu-aimuat auassat mak at tshishennuat tshititenimauat?*

yes	no	I don't know
eshe	*mauat*	*apu tshissenitaman*

➢ **If the response to question 84 is (no) or (I don't know), jump to question 86.**

85. If yes, does this change concern you?
Eshe issishuein, ma tshisheshin ume miashkutshipanit?

yes	somewhat	no
eshe	*put ma*	*mauat*

86. Do you think that, in the next generation (the generation that has not been born yet), Innu-aimun will be spoken:
Anitshenit aka ka iniuit eshkᵘ auassat tshititeniten a eshkᵘ tshetshi takuak innu-aimun:

- ❖ in your family? *anite tshikanishat ?* Yes / No *Eshe / Mauat*
- ❖ in the community? *anite utenat ?* Yes / No *Eshe / Mauat*
- ❖ in the Innu Nation? *nutim Innuat?* Yes / No *Eshe / Mauat*

87. How important is it for your children to speak Innu-aimun? [Not read or write]
Tshimishta ishpiteniten a tshetshi innu-aimit tshitauassimat?

very important	important	neither important or unimportant	not really important	not at all important
tshitshue	*ishpitenitakun*	*apu tshekuan itenitiman*	*apu shuk*	*mauat nasht*

88. Do you think it is important to speak English well?
Ishpitenitakun a tshetshi nitau-akanishau-aiminanut tshititeniten?

very important	important	neither important or unimportant	not really important	not at all important
tshitshue	*ishpitenitakun*	*apu tshekuan itenitiman*	*apu shuk*	*mauat nasht*

89. Do you think it is important for children to speak English well?
Ishpitenitakun a tshetshi nitau-akanishau-aimit auassat tshititenimauat?

very important	important	neither important or unimportant	not really important	not at all important
tshitshue	*ishpitenitakun*	*apu tshekuan itenitiman*	*apu shuk*	*mauat nasht*

90. In your opinion which language is most important for an Innu person?
Tanen tshitshue eshpitenitamin aimun?

especially Innu	especially English	both equally
muk^{u} innu-aimun	*muk^{u} akanishau-aimun*	*kie mak tapishku*

91. If you think that it is important to know how to speak English, what are your reasons? (Check all that apply.)
Ishpitenitakun a tshititeniten tshetshi akanishau-aiminanut? (Peikᵘ mukᵘ tatshikai.)

1. To be more successful at school/work
Tshetshi minuat tsheshkutimakuin kie mak tshitatusseun _____

2. To make English-speaking friends
Tshetshi mishkutau tshuitsheuakanit e akanishau-aimit _____

3. To find a job more easily
Tshetshi minumishkamin atusseun _____

4. To better understand non-Innu culture
Tshetshi etatu nishtuatamin akanishau utinniun _____

5. To have a better education
Tshetshi etatu tshishkutimakuin _____

6. To have better access to services/information, e.g. health care
Tshetshi etatu nishtuatamin _____

7. Other (specify) :
kie mak kutak tshekuan:_____

92. True or False? You can live successfully without speaking English.
Tapuanu a kie mak apu tapuanut? Tshika tshi minu pakasseu a auen iat eka nishtutak akanishau-aimunnu?

_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
definitely true	fairly true	neither true nor false	fairly false	definitely false
tapuanun tshitshue	*tshipa tapuanun*	*eshe kie mauat*	*apu shuk tapuanut*	*nasht apu tapuanut*

93. Do you agree or disagree: It is necessary that non-Innu people who live in and/or visit Sheshatshiu make an effort to learn Innu-aimun.
Tshitapueten a ume essishuanut kie mak apu tapuetamin? Akanishau ute Sheshatshit ka takushinit kie mak ka mupashit tshipa takuannu tshetshi kutshipanitat tshetshi innu-aimit?

_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
completely agree	agree somewhat	neither agree nor disagree	disagree somewhat	completely disagree
nasht nitapueten	*nipa put tapueten*	*apu shuk tshissenitaman*	*apu shuk tapuetaman*	*nasht apu tapuetaman*

94. True or false? We speak Innu-aimun here in Sheshatshiu and it will always be that way.
Tapuanu a kie mak apu tapuanut umue essishuanut? Ute Sheshatshit niti-innu-aiminan kie nanitam nika innu-aiminan? Tshekuan tshititeniten tshin?

definitely true	fairly true	neither true nor false	fairly false	definitely false
tapuanun tshitshue	*tshipa tapuanun*	*eshe kie mauat*	*apu shuk tapuanut*	*nasht apu tapuanut*

95. Some Innu tend to mix Innu-aimun and English. What do you think of this way of speaking?
Passe Innuat innu-aimitau akanishaupinitaut utinnu-aimunau. Tan etenitamin ume eshi innu-aimit innuat?

completely acceptable	somewhat acceptable	neither acceptable nor unacceptable	somewhat unacceptable	completely unacceptable
niminutinen tshitshue	*miam ishpish niminutinen*	*apu tshekuan itenitaman*	*apu shuk minu-utinaman*	*nasht apu minu-utinaman*

96. In your opinion, which people tend to mix Innu-aimun and English the most?
Tan etenitamin ume tshin, tan anitshenit anu miamishkutshipitak akanishau-aimunnu kie innu-aimunnu innuat?

1. Elders (60 + years)
Tshishennuat (kutuash-tatunnu ka itatupunueshit) _____

2. Older adults (36 – 59 years)
Tshishenapeuat kie tshisheshkueuat (nishtunnu ashu kutuasht nuash nete patetat ashu peikushteu ka itatupunueshit) _____

3. Young adults (19 – 35 years) /
Tshishenapeuat kie tshisheshkueuat (kutunnu ashu peikushteu nuash nete nishtunnu ashu patetat ka itatupunueshit) _____

4. Teenagers (12 – 18 years)
Ussinitshishuat (kutunnu ashu nish" nuash nete kutunnu ashu nishuaush k aitatupunueshit) _____

5. Children (under 12 years)
Auassat (anutshish ka inniuit nuash nete kutunnu ashu nish" ka itatupunueshit) _____

97. In your opinion, which people tend to mix Innu-aimun and English the least?
Tan etenitamin ume tshin, tan anitshenit anu eka shuk miamishkutshipitak akanishau-aimunnu kie innu-aimunnu innuat?

1. Elders (60 + years)
Tshishennuat (kutuash-tatunnu ka itatupunueshit) _____

2. Older adults (36 – 59 years)
Tshishenapeuat kie tshisheshkueuat (nishtunnu ashu kutuasht nuash nete patetat ashu peikushteu ka itatupunueshit) _____

3. Young adults (19 – 35 years) /
Tshishenapeuat kie tshisheshkueuat (kutunnu ashu peikushteu nuash nete nishtunnu ashu patetat ka itatupunueshit) _____

4. Teenagers (12 – 18 years)
Ussinitshishuat (kutunnu ashu nish" nuash nete kutunnu ashu nishuaush k aitatupunueshit) _____

5. Children (under 12 years)
Auassat (anutshish ka inniuit nuash nete kutunnu ashu nish" ka itatupunueshit) _____

Attitudes to school

98. Do you agree or disagree : School is the best place to safeguard the Innu-aimun language?
Tshitapueten a kie mak apu tapuetamin? Katshishkutimatsheutshuapit anite tshitshue tshe ka unitaiak" tshitiinnu-aimunnu?

_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
completely agree	somewhat agree	neither agree nor disagree	somewhat disagree	completely disagree
nasht nitapueten	*nipa put tapueten*	*apu shuk tshissenitaman*	*apu shuk tapuetaman*	*nasht apu tapuetaman*

If not, where?
Mauat ka tiapuetamin, tanite ma tshititeniten tshin?

_____

_____

_____

99. Do you agree or disagree : Innu-aimun should be used in school more often?
Tshitapueten a kie mak apu tapuetamin? Tshipa etatu apishtakanu innu-aimun anite katshishkutimatsheutshuapit?

completely agree	somewhat agree	neither agree nor disagree	somewhat disagree	completely disagree
nasht nitapueten	*nipa put tapueten*	*apu shuk tshissenitaman*	*apu shuk tapuetaman*	*nasht apu tapuetaman*

100. Do you agree or disagree : Innu-aimun should be used in school less often.
Tshitapueten a kie mak apu tapuetamin? Apu shuk tshetshi apishtakanu innu aimun anite katshishkutimatsheutshuapit?

completely agree	somewhat agree	neither agree nor disagree	disagree somewhat	completely disagree
nasht nitapueten	*nipa put tapueten*	*apu shuk tshissenitiman*	*apu shuk tapuetiman*	*nasht apu tapuetiman*

101. Do you agree or disagree : It is better for children to begin their education in their mother tongue rather than in their second language.
Tshitapueten a kie mak apu tapuetamin? Auassat tshiatshipanitau katshishkutima-tsheutshuapit etatu minuanu tshetshi innu-aimit ma ka tshetshi akanishau-aimit?

completely agree	somewhat agree	neither agree nor disagree	somewhat disagree	completely disagree
nasht nitapueten	*nipa put tapueten*	*apu shuk tshissenitiman*	*apu shuk tapuetiman*	*nasht apu tapuetiman*

102. Do you agree or disagree : To help children succeed at school, you must speak English at home from time to time.
Tshitapueten a kie mak apu tapuetamin? Auassat tshipa ishkupinut katshishkutima-tsheutshuapit etatu akanishau-aimikanit nanikutin nete uitshuauat?

completely agree	somewhat agree	neither agree nor disagree	somewhat disagree	completely disagree
nasht nitapueten	*nipa put tapueten*	*apu shuk tshissenitiman*	*apu shuk tapuetiman*	*nasht apu tapuetiman*

103. Is the best place for children to learn English a bilingual school or an English-only school?
Auassat tsheshkutimuakanitau, tanite etatu tshipa minupanu tshetshi akanishau-aimit? Tanite katshishkutimatsheutshuapit, nutam kaiakanishau-aiminanut a kie mak kaiakanishau-aiminanut mak kainnu-aiminanut? Tanite?

bilingual school	English-only school
nishuit kaishaiminanut innu-aimun mak akanishau-aimun katshishkutimatsheutshuap	*Muk^{u} akanishau-aimun katshishkutimatsheutshuap*

APPENDIX B: SUMMARY OF STATISTICS

The statistics are listed by question, in numerical order, with both significant and non-significant findings reported. Significant statistics are bolded.

Question	Variable	Number (*N*)	Degrees of freedom (df)	Value[48]	Significance (*p*)
16-19	Age	114	4	44.634	**0.000**
	Education	112	6	67.299	**0.000**
	Gender	114	2	2.526	0.283
	Occupation	109	12	17.523*[49]	0.131
22-25	Age	129	6	24.203	**0.000**
	Education	127	9	27.194*	**0.001**
	Gender	129	3	4.208	0.240
	Occupation	124	18	27.626*	0.068
30	Age	107	4	7.535*	0.110
	Education	105	6	5.737*	0.453
	Gender	107	2	2.098*	0.350
	Occupation	102	12	17.792*	0.122

[48] Values are for chi-square tests unless marked with **. In these cases, results are from a Fisher's exact test.

[49] As stated in Chapters 2 and 3, * denotes instances in which the *p* value indicated that the results were statistically significant but there were low cell counts.

Question	Variable	Number (*N*)	Degrees of freedom (df)	Value	Significance (*p*)
31	Age	101	4	24.068	**0.000**
	Education	99	6	48.797*	**0.000**
	Gender	101	2	0.452	0.798
	Occupation	96	12	16.863*	0.155
32	Age	105	2	14.366	**0.001**
	Education	103	3	15.511	**0.001**
	Gender	105	1	0.341**	0.671
	Occupation	100	6	15.350*	**0.018**
33	Age	129	4	17.280	**0.002**
	Education	127	6	9.723	0.137
	Gender	129	2	1.767	0.413
	Occupation	124	12	11.127*	0.518
34	Age	129	4	3.843	0.428
	Gender	129	2	4.533	0.104
	Education	127	6	8.660	0.194
	Occupation	124	12	12.774*	0.386
35	Age	129	4	13.816*	**0.008**
	Education	127	6	5.440*	0.489
	Gender	129	2	2.749*	0.253
	Occupation	124	12	38.503*	**0.000**

Question	Variable	Number (*N*)	Degrees of freedom (df)	Value	Significance (*p*)
36	Age	128	4	2.358	0.670
	Education	126	6	2.895	0.822
	Gender	128	2	13.667	**0.001**
	Occupation	123	12	13.691*	0.321
37	Age	128	4	4.186	0.381
	Education	126	6	4.684	0.585
	Gender	128	2	10.819	**0.004**
	Occupation	123	12	16.954*	0.151
39	Age	128	2	5.865	0.053
	Education	126	3	1.562	0.668
	Gender	128	1	0.656**	0.581
	Occupation	123	6	12.568*	**0.050**
40	Age	128	4	21.772	**0.000**
	Education	126	6	28.868	**0.000**
	Gender	128	2	3.913	0.141
	Occupation	123	12	52.732*	**0.000**
41	Age	127	4	7.507*	0.111
	Education	125	6	5.801*	0.446
	Gender	127	2	3.258*	0.196
	Occupation	122	12	22.954*	**0.028**

Question	Variable	Number (*N*)	Degrees of freedom (df)	Value	Significance (*p*)
42	Age	128	4	17.593	**0.001**
	Education	126	6	23.677	**0.001**
	Gender	128	2	0.800	0.670
	Occupation	123	12	23.873*	**0.021**
43	Age	128	4	29.473*	**0.000**
	Education	126	6	19.915*	**0.003**
	Gender	128	2	3.984	0.136
	Occupation	123	12	33.649*	**0.001**
44	Age	125	4	46.641	**0.000**
	Education	123	6	46.743*	**0.000**
	Gender	125	2	1.701	0.427
	Occupation	120	12	45.833*	**0.000**
45	Age	127	4	22.980	**0.000**
	Education	127	6	23.046*	**0.001**
	Gender	127	2	3.718	0.156
	Occupation	122	12	47.498*	**0.000**
46	Age	129	4	36.528	**0.000**
	Education	127	6	36.828	**0.000**
	Gender	129	2	1.510	0.470
	Occupation	124	12	35.909*	**0.000**

Question	Variable	Number (*N*)	Degrees of freedom (df)	Value	Significance (*p*)
47	Age	125	6	22.572*	**0.001**
	Education	127	4	27.096	**0.000**
	Gender	127	2	2.292	0.318
	Occupation	122	12	33.510*	**0.001**
48	Age	128	4	26.444	**0.000**
	Education	126	6	34.309	**0.000**
	Gender	128	2	2.022	0.364
	Occupation	123	12	38.947*	**0.000**
49	Age	126	4	17.877*	**0.001**
	Education	124	6	21.685*	**0.001**
	Gender	126	2	0.053	0.974
	Occupation	121	12	17.430*	0.134
50	Age	128	4	13.358	**0.010**
	Education	126	6	9.353	0.155
	Gender	128	2	0.497	0.780
	Occupation	123	12	15.295*	0.226
51	Age	128	4	14.866	**0.005**
	Education	126	6	17.000	**0.009**
	Gender	128	2	4.673	0.097
	Occupation	123	12	23.144*	**0.027**

Question	Variable	Number (*N*)	Degrees of freedom (df)	Value	Significance (*p*)
52	Age	128	4	41.270	**0.000**
	Education	126	6	55.768	**0.000**
	Gender	128	2	0.042	0.979
	Occupation	123	12	38.882*	**0.000**
53	Age	129	4	48.119	**0.000**
	Education	127	6	61.718	**0.000**
	Gender	129	2	1.912	0.385
	Occupation	124	12	35.642	**0.000**
54	Age	128	4	22.984	**0.000**
	Education	126	6	24.816	**0.000**
	Gender	128	2	2.287	0.319
	Occupation	123	12	28.418*	**0.005**
55	Age	128	4	32.124	**0.000**
	Education	126	6	32.990	**0.000**
	Gender	128	2	0.763	0.683
	Occupation	123	12	22.724*	**0.030**
56	Age	107	2	8.940	**0.011**
	Education	105	3	7.061	0.070
	Gender	107	1	1.261**	0.360
	Occupation	102	6	35.241*	**0.000**

Question	Variable	Number (*N*)	Degrees of freedom (df)	Value	Significance (*p*)
57	Age	92	4	5.410	0.248
	Education	92	2	2.908	0.234
	Gender	91	6	2.041*	0.916
	Occupation	90	12	13.677*	0.322
58	Age	128	4	28.716	**0.000**
	Education	126	6	24.485*	**0.000**
	Gender	128	2	1.344	0.511
	Occupation	123	12	43.317*	**0.000**
59	Age	128	4	10.019	**0.040**
	Education	126	6	8.138	0.228
	Gender	128	2	1.307	0.520
	Occupation	123	12	9.298*	0.677
60	Age	129	2	15.725	**0.000**
	Education	127	3	9.839	**0.020**
	Gender	129	1	0.566**	0.573
	Occupation	124	6	5.226	0.515
61	Age	128	4	39.989	**0.000**
	Education	127	6	34.926	**0.000**
	Gender	128	2	6.001	0.050
	Occupation	123	12	50.175*	**0.000**

Question	Variable	Number (*N*)	Degrees of freedom (df)	Value	Significance (*p*)
62	Age	90	4	1.516*	0.824
	Education	88	6	8.855*	0.182
	Gender	90	2	3.226	0.199
	Occupation	86	12	23.848*	**0.021**
63	Age	90	4	2.998	0.558
	Education	88	6	2.321	0.888
	Gender	90	2	4.157	0.125
	Occupation	86	12	17.059*	0.147
64	Age	90	4	19.664	**0.001**
	Education	88	6	10.591	0.102
	Gender	90	2	3.507	0.173
	Occupation	86	12	25.001*	**0.015**
65	Age	88	4	14.302	**0.006**
	Education	86	6	20.385	**0.002**
	Gender	88	2	1.076	0.584
	Occupation	84	12	18.038*	0.115
66	Age	89	4	15.701	**0.003**
	Education	87	6	10.732	0.097
	Gender	89	2	3.452	0.178
	Occupation	85	12	31.929*	**0.001**

Question	Variable	Number (*N*)	Degrees of freedom (df)	Value	Significance (*p*)
67	Age	129	4	21.606	**0.000**
	Education	127	6	22.633	**0.001**
	Gender	129	2	2.472	0.291
	Occupation	124	12	23.613	**0.023**
68	Age	128	4	10.808	**0.029**
	Education	126	6	8.090	0.232
	Gender	128	2	7.512	**0.023**
	Occupation	123	12	16.045*	0.189
69	Age	127	4	13.849	**0.008**
	Education	125	6	5.530	0.478
	Gender	127	2	5.909	0.052
	Occupation	122	12	13.815*	0.313
70	Age	123	4	51.183	**0.000**
	Education	121	6	32.478	**0.000**
	Gender	123	2	3.103	0.212
	Occupation	118	12	49.359*	**0.000**
71	Age	110	4	24.948	**0.002**
	Education	108	6	24.431	**0.000**
	Gender	110	2	7.142	**0.028**
	Occupation	105	12	30.615*	**0.002**

Question	Variable	Number (*N*)	Degrees of freedom (df)	Value	Significance (*p*)
72	Age	126	4	29.124	**0.000**
	Education	124	6	37.400	**0.000**
	Gender	126	2	0.030	0.985
	Occupation	121	12	19.854*	0.070
73	Age	128	4	8.525	0.074
	Education	126	6	13.894	**0.031**
	Gender	128	2	1.362	0.506
	Occupation	123	12	12.698*	0.391
74	Age	129	4	7.452	0.114
	Education	127	6	1.156	0.979
	Gender	129	2	1.916	0.384
	Occupation	124	12	32.275*	**0.001**
75	Age	129	4	14.539	**0.006**
	Education	127	6	8.500	0.204
	Gender	129	2	0.332	0.847
	Occupation	124	12	25.063	**0.015**
76	Age	95	4	0.916	0.922
	Education	93	6	7.045	0.317
	Gender	95	2	3.882	0.144
	Occupation	90	12	14.939*	0.245

Question	Variable	Number (*N*)	Degrees of freedom (df)	Value	Significance (*p*)
77	Age	96	4	7.805	0.099
	Education	94	6	2.900	0.821
	Gender	96	2	6.083	**0.048**
	Occupation	91	12	33.593*	**0.001**
78	Age	128	2	3.879	0.144
	Education	126	3	2.799**	0.424
	Gender	128	1	2.531	0.196
	Occupation	123	6	3.082*	0.798
79	Age	129	4	18.202	**0.001**
	Education	127	6	10.946	0.090
	Gender	129	2	7.483	**.024**
	Occupation	124	12	30.373*	**0.002**
80	Age	129	2	1.351	0.509
	Education	127	3	5.849	0.119
	Gender	129	1	2.566**	0.193
	Occupation	124	6	1.786*	0.938
81	Age	129	2	3.792	0.150
	Education	127	3	1.266	0.737
	Gender	129	1	0.028**	1.000
	Occupation	124	6	11.525*	0.073

Question	Variable	Number (*N*)	Degrees of freedom (df)	Value	Significance (*p*)
82	Age	93	2	9.885	**0.007**
	Education	93	3	14.011	**0.003**
	Gender	93	1	0.045**	1.000
	Occupation	92	6	8.478*	0.205
83	Age	66	4	35.198*	**0.000**
	Education	66	6	17.089*	**0.009**
	Gender	66	2	0.241	0.886
	Occupation	65	12	25.238*	**0.014**
84	Age	115	2	5.221	0.074
	Education	115	10	18.047*	0.054
	Gender	115	1	0.241	0.718
	Occupation	112	6	5.201*	0.518
85	Age	107	4	26.603*	**0.000**
	Education	106	6	23.789*	**0.001**
	Gender	107	2	1.048	0.592
	Occupation	104	12	20.056*	0.066
86a	Age	116	2	0.807	0.668
	Education	114	3	0.848	0.838
	Gender	116	1	0.393	0.567
	Occupation	111	6	4.261*	0.641

Question	Variable	Number (*N*)	Degrees of freedom (df)	Value	Significance (*p*)
86b	Age	115	2	2.150	0.341
	Education	113	3	1.226	0.747
	Gender	115	1	0.355	0.570
	Occupation	110	6	7.673*	0.263
86c	Age	115	2	0.905	0.636
	Education	113	3	1.301	0.729
	Gender	115	1	0.930	0.372
	Occupation	110	6	4.336*	0.631
87	Age	129	2	1.881	0.390
	Education	127	3	1.407	0.704
	Gender	129	1	1.273	0.442
	Occupation	124	6	0.886*	0.990
88	Age	129	4	23.865*	**0.000**
	Education	127	6	18.860*	**0.003**
	Gender	129	2	3.740*	0.154
	Occupation	124	12	9.043*	0.699
89	Age	129	2	1.206	0.547
	Education	127	3	2.065	0.559
	Gender	129	1	0.028	1.000
	Occupation	124	6	2.423*	0.877

Question	Variable	Number (*N*)	Degrees of freedom (df)	Value	Significance (*p*)
90	Age	129	4	66.185	**0.000**
	Education	127	6	76.166	**0.000**
	Gender	129	2	2.649	0.266
	Occupation	124	12	13.414*	0.340
92	Age	129	4	36.039	**0.000**
	Education	127	6	44.120	**0.000**
	Gender	129	2	2.390	0.303
	Occupation	124	12	13.596*	0.327
93	Age	128	4	21.772	**0.000**
	Education	126	6	28.868	**0.000**
	Gender	128	2	3.913	0.141
	Occupation	123	12	52.732*	**0.000**
94	Age	129	4	2.171	0.704
	Education	127	6	7.303	0.294
	Gender	129	2	0.227	0.893
	Occupation	124	12	29.186	0.004
95	Age	129	4	12.951	**0.012**
	Education	127	6	8.875	0.181
	Gender	129	2	4.405	0.111
	Occupation	124	12	9.519*	0.658

Question	Variable	Number (*N*)	Degrees of freedom (df)	Value	Significance (*p*)
98	Age	129	4	23.103*	**0.000**
	Education	127	6	21.018*	**0.002**
	Gender	129	2	5.008	0.082
	Occupation	124	12	34.010*	**0.001**
99	Age	129	4	19.103	**0.001**
	Education	127	6	7.734*	0.258
	Gender	129	2	0.801*	0.670
	Occupation	124	12	13.431*	0.339
100	Age	129	4	193449*	**0.001**
	Education	127	6	12.315*	0.055
	Gender	129	2	2.067	0.356
	Occupation	124	12	13.431*	**0.020**
101	Age	129	4	22.361*	**0.000**
	Education	127	6	16.319*	**0.012**
	Gender	129	2	1.405	0.495
	Occupation	124	12	18.677*	0.097
102	Age	129	4	27.499	**0.000**
	Education	127	6	33.253	**0.000**
	Gender	129	2	2.171	0.338
	Occupation	124	12	21.977*	**0.038**

Question	Variable	Number (*N*)	Degrees of freedom (df)	Value	Significance (*p*)
103	Age	129	2	2.314	0.314
	Education	127	3	3.630	0.304
	Gender	129	1	0.037	1.000
	Occupation	124	6	1.723*	0.943

APPENDIX C: COMPARISON OF RESPONSES (POPULATION VS. SOCIAL NETWORK/COMMUNITY OF PRACTICE)

For each question discussed, the following chart shows the response choice that was most frequently given and how much of the group made this selection, in both percentages and actual numbers. When the potential social network/community of practice's choice differed from that of the larger group, results are bolded.

Question	Population			Social network/community of practice		
	Response	%	N (Total)	Response	%	N (Total)
16-19	**High**	**68.2**	**88 (129)**	**Low-mid**	**33.3**	**2 (6)**
				Low	**33.3**	**2 (6)**
22-25	High	67.5	77 (114)	High	83.3	5 (6)
30	Positive	93.5	100 (107)	*Equal distribution for all three answer choices*		
31	Positive	79.2	80 (101)	Positive	100.0	6 (6)
32	Yes	69.5	73 (105)	Yes	83.3	5 (6)
33	**Neutral**	**38.0**	**49 (129)**	**Negative**	**66.7**	**4 (6)**
34	Positive	75.2	97 (129)	Positive	50.0	3 (6)
35	Positive	94.5	122 (129)	Positive	83.3	5 (6)
36	**Positive**	**35.9**	**46 (128)**	**Negative**	**60.0**	**3 (5)**
37	Negative	36.7	47 (128)	Negative	60.0	3 (5)
40	**Innu-aimun**	**78.1**	**100 (128)**	**English**	**100.0**	**6 (6)**
41	Innu-aimun	96.9	123 (127)	Innu-aimun	60.0	3 (5)

Question	Population			Social network/community of practice		
	Response	%	N (Total)	Response	%	N (Total)
42	**Innu-aimun**	**68.0**	**87 (128)**	**English**	**83.3**	**5 (6)**
43	**Innu-aimun**	**85.2**	**109 (128)**	**English**	**83.3**	**5 (6)**
44	**Innu-aimun**	**48.8**	**61 (125)**	**English**	**100.0**	**6 (6)**
45	**Innu-aimun**	**82.7**	**105 (127)**	**English**	**100.0**	**6 (6)**
46	**Innu-aimun**	**65.1**	**84 (129)**	**English**	**100.0**	**6 (6)**
47	**Innu-aimun**	**82.7**	**105 (127)**	**English**	**100.0**	**6 (6)**
48	**Innu-aimun**	**74.2**	**95 (128)**	**English**	**83.3**	**5 (6)**
49	**Innu-aimun**	**86.5**	**109 (126)**	**English**	**80.0**	**4 (5)**
50	**Innu-aimun and English**	**51.6**	**66 (128)**	**English**	**66.7**	**4 (6)**
51	English	38.3	49 (128)	English	66.7	4 (6)
52	**Innu-aimun**	**53.1**	**68 (128)**	**English**	**66.7**	**4 (6)**
53	**Innu-aimun**	**42.6**	**55 (129)**	**English**	**66.7**	**4 (6)**
54	**Innu-aimun**	**66.4**	**85 (128)**	**English**	**66.7**	**4 (6)**
55	**Innu-aimun**	**58.6**	**75 (128)**	**English**	**66.7**	**4 (6)**
56	No	76.6	82 (107)	No	83.3	5 (6)
57	Yes	66.3	61 (92)	Yes	100.0	2 (2)
58	**Innu-aimun**	**76.6**	**98 (128)**	**English**	**100.0**	**6 (6)**
59	Innu-aimun and English	46.1	59 (128)	Innu-aimun and English	66.7	4 (6)
60	Negative	66.7	86 (129)	Negative	66.7	4 (6)

Question	Population			Social network/community of practice		
	Response	%	N (Total)	Response	%	N (Total)
61	**Low**	**61.7**	**79 (128)**	**High**	**40.0**	**2 (5)**
				Low	**40.0**	**2 (5)**
62	Low	84.4	76 (90)	Low	100.0	5 (5)
63	Medium	45.6	41 (90)	Medium	60.0	3 (5)
64	**Low**	**61.1**	**55 (90)**	**High**	**60.0**	**3 (5)**
65	**Medium**	**59.1**	**52 (88)**	**Medium**	**40.0**	**2 (5)**
				Low	**40.0**	**2 (5)**
66	Low	58.3	52 (89)	Low	50.0	2 (4)
67	**Low**	**41.1**	**53 (129)**	**High**	**50.0**	**3 (6)**
68	Negative	68.0	87 (128)	Negative	100.0	5 (5)
69	Negative	69.3	88 (127)	Negative	100.0	5 (5)
70	**Low**	**58.5**	**72 (123)**	**High**	**80.0**	**4 (5)**
71	**Low**	**47.3**	**52 (110)**	**High**	**40.0**	**2 (5)**
				Low	**40.0**	**2 (5)**
72	**Low**	**44.4**	**56 (126)**	**High**	**50.0**	**3 (6)**
73	**Medium**	**52.3**	**67 (128)**	**High**	**50.0**	**3 (6)**
74	High	73.6	95 (129)	High	100.0	6 (6)
75	High	50.5	65 (129)	High	83.3	5 (6)
76	**Low**	**69.5**	**66 (95)**	**High**	**40.0**	**2 (5)**
				Low	**40.0**	**2 (5)**

Question	Population			Social network/community of practice		
	Response	%	N (Total)	Response	%	N (Total)
77	High	68.8	66 (96)	High	50.0	3 (6)
78	Important	98.4	126 (128)	Important	83.3	5 (6)
79	Important	45.0	58 (129)	*Equal distribution for all three answer choices*		
80	Important	98.4	127 (129)	Important	83.3	5 (6)
81	Important	98.4	127 (129)	Important	83.3	5 (6)
82	Yes	71.0	66 (93)	Yes	100.0	3 (3)
83	Negative	83.3	55 (66)	Negative	67.7	2 (3)
84	Yes	93.0	107 (115)	Yes	100.0	3 (3)
85	Yes	80.4	86 (107)	Yes	66.7	2 (3)
86a	Yes	88.8	103 (116)	Yes	66.7	4 (6)[50]
86b	Yes	88.7	102 (115)	Yes	66.7	4 (6)
86c	Yes	89.6	103 (115)	Yes	66.7	4 (6)
87	Important	99.2	128 (129)	Important	83.3	5 (6)
88	Important	87.6	113 (129)	Important	100.0	6 (6)
89	Important	98.4	127 (129)	Important	100.0	6 (6)
90	Both equally	72.8	94 (129)	Both equally	83.3	5 (6)
92	Disagree	57.4	74 (129)	Disagree	100.0	6 (6)
93	**Agree**	**78.1**	**100 (128)**	**Disagree**	**100.0**	**6 (6)**

[50] The same four respondents answered affirmatively for all three parts of Q86.

Question	Population			Social network/community of practice		
	Response	%	N (Total)	Response	%	N (Total)
94	Positive	73.6	95 (129)	Negative	50.0	3 (6)
95	**Acceptable**	**47.3**	**61 (129)**	**Neutral**	**66.7**	**4 (6)**
98	**Agree**	**82.9**	**107 (129)**	**Disagree**	**66.7**	**4 (6)**
99	Agree	90.7	117 (129)	Agree	50.0	3 (6)
100	Disagree	84.5	109 (129)	Disagree	66.7	4 (6)
101	**Agree**	**86.0**	**111 (129)**	**Neutral**	**50.0**	**3 (6)**
102	Agree	39.5	51 (129)	Agree	87.3	5 (6)
103	Bilingual school	96.1	124 (129)	Bilingual school	66.7	4 (6)