

## maqlaqsyalank hemyeega: Goals and expectations of Klamath-Modoc revitalization

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This paper documents a collaboration between the Klamath Tribes and the American Indian Language Development Institute (AILDI) focused on intra-community capacity-building and early stages of language planning through immersion activities, survey responses, and discussion of intra-community involvement. In December 2016, I facilitated a three-day maqlaqsyals (Klamath-Modoc language) immersion workshop, “*maqlaqsyalank hemyeega*”, on the Klamath reservation. Each day, immersion lessons focused on developing conversational use of maqlaqsyals between participants. During each lunch hour, participants shared personal goals and priorities regarding successful language revitalization.

Ten tribal community members, including myself, made explicit their interest of sharing knowledge within the larger tribal community. Many of the workshop participants expressed the goal of using the language with their families while some participants expressed that the workshop had already helped them reach a personal goal in three days. Participants also discussed obtaining linguistic resources and establishing domains of language use. Understanding current interests of language in my tribal community provides early steps toward developing the framework of a “good linguist” in the maqlaqsyals revitalization movement.

**1. Introduction: Who am I to talk?**<sup>1</sup> I am an enrolled member of the Klamath Tribes (Klamath, Modoc, and Yahooskin Paiute) of Modoc, Klamath, Big Pine Paiute, and Mnicoujou Lakota descent. I am a part of the 3rd generation of maqlaqsyals movement advocates in my tribal community. My tribe’s federal recognition was terminated in 1954 and was restored 32 years later in 1986. The restoration of the Klamath Tribes could not have been achieved without the participation of the tribal community from the outset, nor their continued, albeit diminished, exercise of tribal practices. Further, extra-tribal assistance would not have been as effective had tribal people not recognized the reserved rights associated with federal recognition. This paper gives examples of the risks and benefits faced by individual workshop participants – including myself as a tribal community member – regarding the status of maqlaqsyals ([maqlaqʃjal]);<sup>2</sup> Klamath-Modoc language).

Teaching tribal community members to teach language as part of their practice toward fluency is necessary to expand maqlaqsyals (Klamath-Modoc language) as a

<sup>1</sup>This research was supported by The Klamath Tribes and the American Indian Language Development Institute at the University of Arizona. I am grateful to the tribal community and participants.

<sup>2</sup>Also [maqlaqʃjals]; [s] and [ʃ] are non-contrastive.

viable means of communication. To pursue methods to accomplish this, I started to look at graduate programs in 2014. The Klamath Tribes have helped fund my education through my Master's program, the highest level of student support the Tribes can currently afford to offer. With this support I completed an M.A. in Linguistics with a specialization in Native American Linguistics and Languages (NAMA) at the University of Arizona in August 2015.

I am a young linguist working collaboratively in my hometown and reservation to determine the converging language skills, interests, and attitudes in my tribal community. Tribal community collaboration is best practice for linguistic intervention (such as language documentation), despite the potential for interpersonal conflict that comes with it (cf. Guérin & Lacrampe 2010; Crippen & Robinson 2013; Bower & Warner 2015; Robinson & Crippen 2015). Tribally-centered language documentation and revitalization must be at the outset started *by* and *with* the people, not just done *for* the community.

As a tribal adult and researcher working in my community, my assumptions will be challenged (Smith 2012). The consequences of my research actions are immediate and intergenerational, as is typical of research in tribal communities. Each time I participate in community events, I am developing not only my professional role as a linguist but also my community role as a tribal adult. If we are to establish a baseline for language planning, then we need to develop a firm understanding of what members of the tribal community want from language documentation and revitalization.

This paper opens a conversation about maqlaqsyals in my tribal community. The workshop provided early steps toward increasing engagement of community members in the exercise of linguistic sovereignty informing and informed by inter- and intra-tribal protocol, kinship, ecological, local, and technical knowledge (Hinton et al. 2018).

Although the ten people who participated in the workshop cannot fully represent thousands of tribal members and descendants, it is a start. I open this conversation in the form of lessons learned in a tribal language workshop on tribal lands (Goos oLgi gowa community center), supported by tribal funds (KTRAP DIB grant), during an expected time of tribal homecoming (winter holidays between Christmas and New Year's round dances).

First, I present a note on language revitalization as a term and as a field of study. There is an increasingly large and expanding literature on language revitalization that draws on academic discourses of diagnosis and remedy. I provide a couple analyses and critiques of language revitalization as movements by Leanne Hinton and James Costa. After discussing points of concern, I propose an alternative way to analyze language revitalization movements – at least in indigenous communities.

Second, I present the Klamath Tribes, as well as the Tribes' traditional territory and political structure. The Klamath Tribes have had their place in the upper Klamath Basin since time immemorial. In the narrative of the Klamath Tribes' history, participatory democracy has been a salient feature of the contemporary tribal political structure in theory, if not always in practice. The lands described, and the political

structure therein, provide a context in which to present the need for participatory tribal action in maqlaqsyals research and expansion.

Third, I give a history of maqlaqsyals documentation alongside significant events of the Klamath Tribes up to the present work of language revitalization. This information provides important context for the conditions in which we began to implement a series of workshops. This section describes Albert S. Gatschet's (1890a; 1890b) work during the early reservation era and some of the inconsistencies therein investigated by J.P. Harrington. Next, the era in which the Klamath Tribes were denied federal recognition is described. During this time, Muhammad Abd-al-Rahman Barker's (1963a; 1963b; 1964) trilogy of texts, dictionary, and grammar became the standard literature from which succeeding linguists have founded their analyses. Language revitalization efforts are ongoing within the tribal community, however, institutional (university and tribal government) programming has not resulted in any conversationally-skilled community members.

Fourth, I describe an initial three-day maqlaqsyals skills workshop held December 27–29, 2016. I facilitated this workshop in collaboration with the American Indian Language Development Institute (AILDI) and the Klamath Tribes.<sup>3</sup> The workshop consisted of practicing pronunciation, word-building, and sentence-building through immersion techniques and provided a time and space for discussion of participant expectations and personal goals. Discussion during the workshop provided examples of participant risks and benefits for the successful revitalization of maqlaqsyals as a viable method of communication.

Finally, I give suggestions for implementing feedback from workshop participants. In addition to the material covered in the workshop, I suggest four elements for future workshops and programming. My first suggestion is that meals should be included both for participant interaction and as language lessons with content for daily use. My second suggestion is that participant education in linguistic literacy, in addition to immersion sessions, is critical for community accessibility and capacity-building. My third suggestion is that “walking lessons” would be beneficial as both a comprehension check and a facet of mentorship in which participants can change roles as mentor-learners. My final suggestion is that maqlaqsyals outreach and promotion, including a tribe-wide language survey, would be helpful for community action and further maqlaqsyals awareness.

**2. A note on language revitalization** Hinton et al. (2018) use language revitalization to cover community movements of decolonization seeking to revalorize use and transmission of a language, generally as part of larger cultural movements. Language revitalization movements in indigenous communities are informed by kinship, inter and intra-tribal protocols, and local, technical, and ecological knowledge intergenerationally and intra-generationally.

Critical sociolinguist James Costa's 2017 genealogy of language revitalization, and his critiques of it as a field of research, noted that revitalization movements

<sup>3</sup>Many thanks to the Klamath Tribes for funding this workshop through the Klamath Tribal Resource Allocation Plan's Distribution and Investment Board.

(including language) are often framed within an Aracilian *phraseology of recursion* (e.g. *revitalization*, *revival*, *reversing language shift*, and *reversing language death*), implying a charter mythical “golden age” prior to contact and language attrition. Critiquing “diagnosis and remedy” terminology in academic discourse, Costa (2017:36) lays the foundation upon which to claim discourses of language revitalization are about metaphors of health and morality, “[...] a moral duty [...]”, operating as a Levi-Straussian shamanic cure.

Recent public health-oriented wellbeing research seeking links in language and societal issues provide examples of the coalescence of language, health, and morality that Costa critiques. Take for example the many scholarly interventions in indigenous community issues of intergenerational trauma, drug use, suicide, diabetes, and obesity through language research programs presented at the 2017 International Conference on Language Documentation and Conservation (ICLDC5): Linking Language and Wellbeing. Similar projects may be seen in any of the “Culture is Medicine”-style slogans across intra- and inter-tribal health science programs, anti-recidivism programs, and sobriety movements. To Costa, a phraseology of recursion can only be the (re)creation of an imagined future by selection and interpretation of historical elements within a political project.

Language revitalization studies, Costa (2016:54) asserts, needs “repoliticisation” and should be analyzed primarily as social movements mobilizing language as a foundational category through collective action, inventing groups rather than representing existing ones. While Costa’s assertion is theoretically interesting, research on indigenous people and their languages has always been political (Smith 2012). Further, Costa’s assertion of invention over representation and internal struggles over traditional and new speakers relies on the coherence of a charter myth for the language movement to sustain itself. Within Costa’s discussion, a new speaker may learn a language for a dimension of authority and legitimacy in an invented majority/minority linguistic market – but for why and for whom?

By contrast, indigenous language revitalization cannot be about the invention of a majority/minority framework. That framework was already invented and articulated through settler-colonial practices Zuckermann & Monaghan (2012) refer to as *linguicide and glottophagy*. Linguicide (“language killing”) and glottophagy (“language eating”) are settler-colonial practices that include genocide, removal, forced assimilation, and systematic diminishment of an indigenous linguistic political economy. Linguicide and glottophagy, then, align with Costa’s analysis of language revitalization projects of groupness production through collective action. Assimilatory language movements are based on the mobilization of language as a foundational category among other cultural vitalization movements of nascent settler-colonial nations that were intended to erase and diminish the potential of alternative and indigenous sovereigns.

Considering the above points in the case of language revitalization movements in indigenous communities, *I believe collective actions based on the mobilization of language as a foundational category are about the reproduction of the means by which the tribal community exercises rights of inherent sovereignty*. Language revitalization

movements in indigenous communities are societal projects enforcing the legitimacy of tribal communities' self-determination; reproducing tribal kinship, inter- and intra-tribal protocols, and local, technical, and ecological knowledge intergenerationally and intragenerationally. In this framework, establishing a baseline for language skills, interests, and attitudes in my tribal community is an example of participation in linguistic sovereignty and an assertion of tribal local control. These assertions unsettle linguicidal/glottophagic ideologies and practices and position the Tribe in a majority/plurality framework among other indigenous tribal groups disrupting imagined linguistic homogeneity in settler-colonial nations.

**3. The Klamath Tribes** The Klamath Tribes are a federally recognized tribe, analogous to a nation-state, consisting of three (3) distinct Tribes. These Tribes are the Klamath, Modoc, and Yahooskin Paiute. This union was brought about by the Klamath Lake Treaty in 1864, starting the reservation era of the Klamath Tribes. In 1954, The Klamath Tribes' federal recognition was terminated, greatly harming the community (Hill 1985). Federal recognition of the Klamath Tribes was restored in 1986 through the efforts of elected tribal leaders, respected community members, and the community at large (see discussion in §4.2 and §4.3).

**3.1 Traditional territory** The Klamath Tribes' traditional territory spanned approximately 22 million acres in present-day Oregon and California. The Klamath reservation boundaries outlined in the treaty have consistently been understood by the tribal community in terms of the "peak-to-peak" aspects utilized by our ancestors, demarcated by mountain peaks surrounding the region – including *giuwas* [gr:wəʃ], Crater Lake. However, the lands surveyed under federal authority failed to include much of this land. Recognizing this failure, the Klamath Tribes challenged the survey. Another survey was conducted that further reduced Klamath land claims included in the treaty boundaries due to a land grant deal that had been made with the state of Oregon and railroads. The 1954 reservation boundaries in the state of Oregon in relation to Klamath County are shown in Figure 1. The peak-to-peak treaty interpretation of the Klamath tribal community is contrasted with federally mis-surveyed lands in Figure 2 (Stern 1966).

After the federal recognition of the Klamath Tribes was terminated in 1954, all tribal lands except cemeteries were liquidated and sold to private parties and corporations. Those Klamath lands that weren't sold were condemned by the United States and became part of present-day Fremont-Winema National Forest. Fortunately, the termination legislation did not abrogate the hunting, fishing, trapping, and gathering rights of Klamath tribal members. Through continuous exercise of treaty rights and an enormous effort by the tribal community and tribal leaders in demonstrating the continuity of tribal practices and governance, federal recognition and the government-to-government relationship was restored in 1986. No land was restored as part of the restoration of federal recognition.

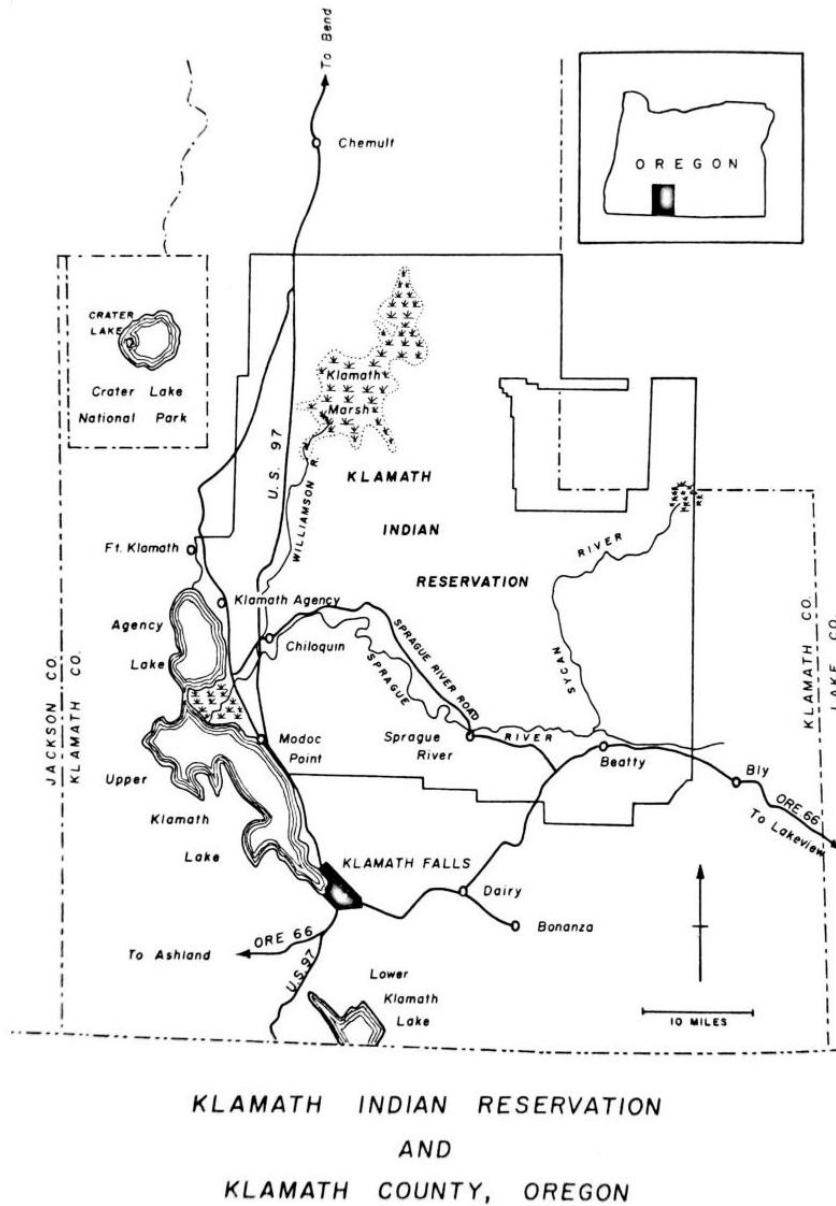


Figure 1. Klamath Reservation pre-termination and Klamath County, Oregon (Stern 1966)

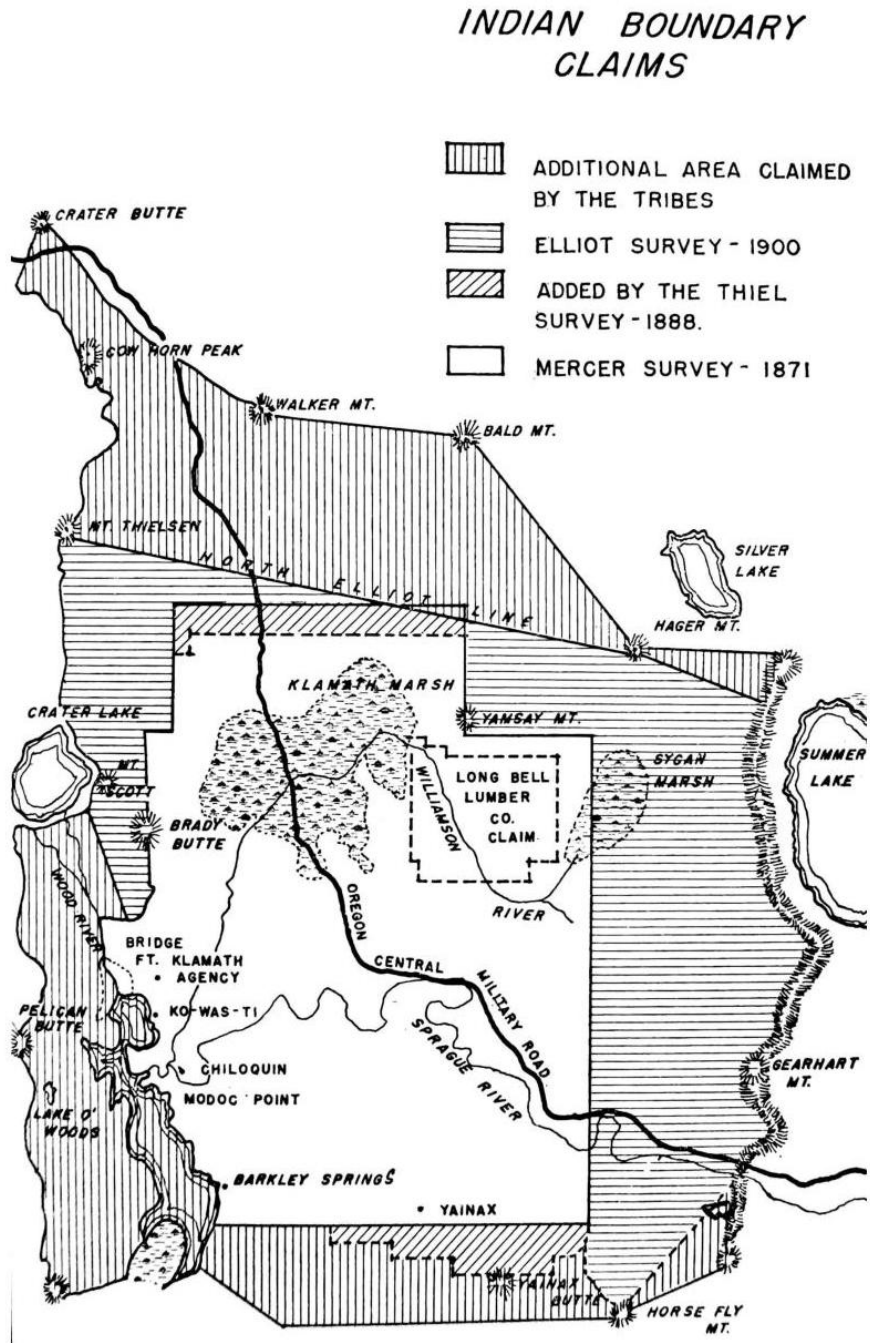


Figure 2. Klamath Peak-to-Peak boundary and Surveyed Reservation (Stern 1966)

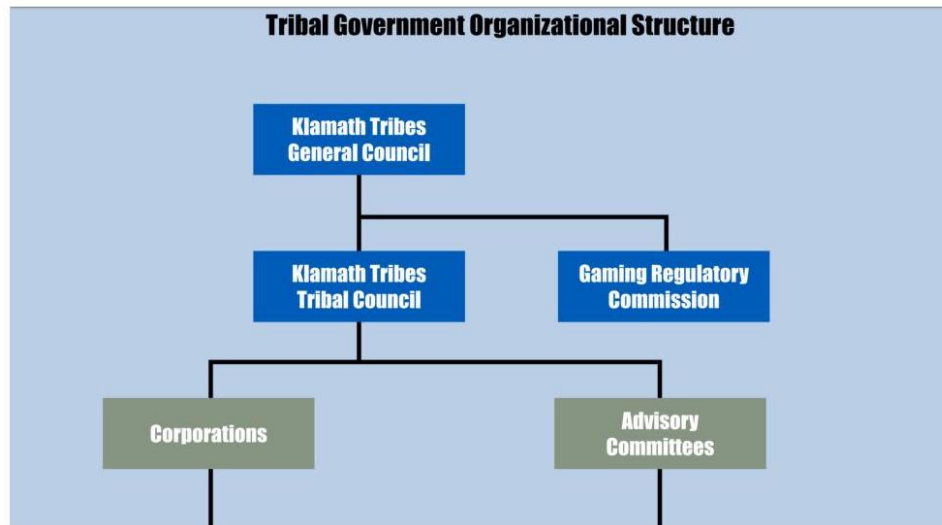
It is my understanding that the Klamath Tribes are the only tribe in Oregon to have (re)gained federal recognition partially based on archival research and writing conducted by a tribal member. The other “restored” tribes hired external anthropologists and historians for such research. There is much to celebrate in restoration as an example of how the Klamath tribal community relies on local and tribal action to maintain and assert self-determination in our traditional territory.

**3.2 Political structure** As a tribal community member and institutional linguist, I must recognize when I am wearing my “linguist hat”. When I am wearing my linguist hat, I must recognize that the tribal community will make decisions based on the best available information for articulating what is wanted from language revitalization in the process. As such, my role as a linguist is to support the tribal community as it makes progress toward the goals it seeks and get out of the way as appropriate. Otherwise, my skills should remain in the toolbox until needed, and I wear my (obviously linguistically-tinged) “community member hat” and share my personal views of risks and benefits of maqlaqsyals revitalization projects. The reason for linguists stepping back until needed is that linguists are not supposed to be the star of any documentation or revitalization program. That is not to say that linguists should not be recognized, but they should be recognized when maintaining their role as specialized (and credentialed) experts who can intervene on behalf of the communities utilizing their services. When an indigenous language project is successful, and someone asks who made it successful, the language community – including visiting linguists – should be able to collectively say: “We did!”

Klamath, Modoc, and Yahooskin Paiute tribal community members have always been key in tribal movements. Our tribal government structure reflects this understanding. The Klamath Tribes are governed by the General Council, a body composed of all qualified voters of the Klamath Tribes (Constitution 2013). This governmental structure ensures a strong form of participatory democracy. Qualifying voters are enrolled citizens of the Klamath Tribes who are 18 years of age or older. The General Council convenes quarterly meetings unless a “Special General Council” is needed to address specific issues. The General Council has the authority to make all final decisions regarding policy, land use, constitutional amendments, and citizenship requirements. The position of the General Council in tribal governance is as shown in Figure 3 (Klamath Tribes 2015).

Ten General Council members are elected to serve in the leadership roles of the Tribal Council for terms of three years (Constitution 2013). The Tribal Council consists of the Chair, Vice-Chair, Secretary, and Treasurer, and six At-Large Tribal Council Members. The Tribal Council serves in the capacity of an executive committee and is charged with supervision of the day-to-day business of the Klamath Tribes. The Tribal Council is also delegated the authority to negotiate with Federal, State, and local governments, as well as other external entities, on behalf of the Klamath Tribes. All major decisions made by the Tribal Council are subject to review (and potential reversal) by the General Council.





**Figure 3.** Klamath Tribal Government Organization Structure (Klamath Tribes Annual Report 2015: 3)

Clearly, the governing structure provided for in our constitution requires community participation as a basic assumption in theory, if not always in practice. In other words, tribal movements must be done *by*, *with*, and *for* the tribal community, rather than simply *for* the tribal community by executive programming or administration. If there are to be relevant and meaningful language policy changes for language planning and revitalization, it is up to the General Council to act for ourselves and future generations.

**4. History of maqlaqsyal documentation** maqlaqsyal<sup>4</sup> (Klamath-Modoc language) has long been a subject of interest to ethnographers and linguists alike. From the early reservation period (1864–1953) through the post-restoration era (ca. 1990–present) there have been numerous writings on Klamath linguistics. This section discusses the linguistic documentation aspects.

**4.0.1 Early reservation era** Linguistic research on maqlaqsyal started during the early reservation era, or the years between the signing of the Klamath Lake Treaty on October 14, 1864 and August 1953 – the start of the federal Indian policy of termination. During that time, Swiss ethnographer Albert S. Gatschet wrote the first descriptive grammar of maqlaqsyal. Later, J.P. Harrington would come to northern California and southern Oregon to “rehear” – or rather, re-elicite – data to test the quality of Gatschet’s documentation.

<sup>4</sup>I do not capitalize words in *maqlaqsyal* at the beginning of sentences because our orthography uses uppercase <L>, <M>, <N>, <W>, and <Y> to distinguish voiceless unaspirated sonorants [l̥, m̥, n̥, w̥, j̥] and uppercase <G> to represent the uvular voiced stop [G].

Albert S. Gatschet wrote the first ethnography of the Klamath Tribes for the Bureau of American Ethnology (Gatschet 1890a; 1890b). Though the work is imperfect in terms of its linguistic accuracy, it was the first and last grammar written by a speaker (albeit L2) of the language. The work covers a great range of areas of language but has been found to have orthographical and phonetic inconsistencies.<sup>5</sup>

J.P. Harrington's papers on Northern and Central California<sup>6</sup> contain transcripts of a rehearing of Gatschet's data conducted sometime after 1946, perhaps as late as the mid-1950s. Harrington was widely known for having an excellent, "perfect"<sup>7</sup> ear for phonetics (Callaghan 1975). Harrington's rehearing of Gatschet's transcriptions raised concerns. For example, Harrington seemed to be frustrated with Gatschet's transcriptions, such as when Gatschet gives *ge-u* in the example for the lexical entry *p'alla* 'steals' – shown in Figure 4.

**Figure 4.** Gatschet's example phrase for lexical entry *p'alla* 'steals'<sup>8</sup>

Gatschet:	kaní wáitch gé-u pálla
Harrington:	k'aní watš gew pálla
Barker:	<i>kani wac gew p'alla</i>
Morph.:	ka            -ni            wac    gew            p'all-a
Morph. Gloss:	which.who -ADJ.FORM horse 1SG.POSS steal-IND
Free Gloss:	'Who stole my horse?'

Harrington states in his notes that he finds no morphological particle *-u* for the interrogative, mistaking Gatschet's writing of an intervocalic "hiatus" dash as a morpheme boundary. In his own notes, Harrington uses a new manner of spelling that seems to be similar to – or possibly the basis for – the orthography Barker (1963a; 1963b; 1964) would later use.

Harrington re-elicited Gatschet's (1890a; 1890b) data from Mr. and Mrs. Jesse L. Kirk in the late 1940s or early 1950s (Mills 1985).<sup>9</sup> Harrington also drew on the work of de Angulo & Freeland (1931) and Voegelin (1946) for comparison (Mills 1985).

Personal communication with other linguists has also revealed inconsistency in Gatschet's orthography, attributing difficulties in part to Gatschet's difficulty in distinguishing articulatory place and manner distinctions in documenting uvular and velar sounds as shown in Figure 5 (Gatschet 1890a:13, 105; Gatschet 1890b:94, 463; Barker 1963b:68, 94, 382, 454). Gatschet had difficulties distinguishing velar from uvular stops in place and in voicing as in 5a. Sometimes he gave a frication to the

<sup>5</sup>DeLancey, Scott. 2017. Personal communication.

<sup>6</sup>Northern and Central: Klamath, John Peabody Harrington papers, National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution. Local Accession #1976-95. [http://collections.si.edu/search/detail/edan-mdm:siris\\_arc\\_363710](http://collections.si.edu/search/detail/edan-mdm:siris_arc_363710).

<sup>7</sup><https://www.si.edu/spotlight/collections-naa-si-edu-harrington-sound>

<sup>8</sup>Morphological glosses used: ADJ.FORM 'Adjective Formant'; POSS 'Possessive'; IND 'Indicative'.

<sup>9</sup>Jesse L. Kirk, son of a prominent tribal leader and a respected leader himself, was born in 1894. Based on my personal knowledge of family members and other tribal members born in that era, he was likely a bilingual speaker of maqlaqsyal (L1) and English (L2). At this time, I do not have specific insight into Mrs. Kirk's level of fluency.

articulation as in the uvular in 4b and the labiovelar in 5c. These are consistent, and both can occur in an entry for ‘sweeps pl. out’ as shown in 5d.

**Figure 5.** Gatschet’s inconsistent description of place and manner in maqlaqsyals uvulars

	Gloss	Gatschet 1890a	Barker 1963b	IPA
a.	‘catch, hold, get’	shnúka	s’noga	[ʃn’oGa]/[sn’oGa]
b.	‘sits down’	tchälχa	čelga	[tʃɛl’Ga]
c.	‘sweeps.PL out’	vudshlō’shka	wčlo’sqa	[wc’lo:sqa]

Gatschet’s materials have been a primary source used by tribal members hoping to study the language independently. This is made evident by present-day Facebook posts of community members using their own writing system, like Gatschet’s. Hinton & Hale (2001) refer to this style of memory aid as “folk writing”, characterized by the use of dashes at syllable breaks and English spelling rules and words, a style unlike that used by those with specialized training or those who use the Barker orthography in their Facebook posts. Although the three indigenous languages of the Klamath Tribes have recently been adopted by General Council as official languages,<sup>10</sup> any official attempt to influence orthography choices by the General Council would have little impact – especially on the internet – without a vibrant community of teachers and speakers.

**4.0.2 Termination era** On August 1, 1953, Congress issued House Concurrent Resolution 108 (HCR-108) and Public Law 280 (PL-280) announcing a policy of terminating the federal recognition of Tribes and simultaneously placing numerous tribes under state criminal jurisdiction.<sup>11</sup> Public Law 587 (PL-587), known as the Klamath Termination Act, was signed into law on August 13, 1954. This policy of termination would apply to the Klamath Tribes for 32 years, until the passage of the Klamath Restoration Act Public Law 99-398 (PL 99-398) on August 27, 1986. During those 32 years, federal aid, services, and protection were cut from the Klamath Tribes, and the reservation was liquidated and sold to private and commercial interests before the United States condemned the rest and converted it to part of what is now the Fremont-Winema National Forest. With the loss of the largest stand of virgin ponderosa pine in the world, the Klamath Tribes went from self-sufficiency to utter dependence on the greater U.S. economy (Hill 1985). The Klamath Tribes and tribal members were also denied opportunities created by new legislation, such as the Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act of 1975 (Public Law 93-638). For the duration, from termination through the 1980s, tribal members consistently identified regaining federal recognition as a priority consistent with the Treaty their ancestors had negotiated with the United States in 1864.

<sup>10</sup>Klamath Tribes General Council Resolution #2018-001.

<sup>11</sup>The Flathead, Menominee, Potawatomi, Turtle Mountain Chippewa, and all tribes in the states of California, New York, Florida, and Texas were targeted for termination.

Although there was no longer a federally recognized tribe or reservation, the tribe continued to exist. Even though some tribal members moved away for socioeconomic reasons, many tribal members remained in their ancestral homelands and continued to practice their day-to-day culture. This is made apparent by Barker's (1963a; 1963b; 1964) trilogy. Barker carried out fieldwork documenting maqlaqsyals in Chiloquin, Oregon in the mid-1950s with tribal community members, later publishing the trilogy which linguists continue to rely on for linguistic analysis.

**4.0.3 Barker 1963a, 1963b, and 1964** As noted, the second major descriptive grammar was produced by Muhammad Abd-al-Rahman (born Phillip Barker) for purposes of a dissertation for a degree from the University of California, Berkeley. That grammar (Barker 1964) is one of three important texts developed in unison. The other texts include a collection of traditional stories (Barker 1963a) and a dictionary (Barker 1963b). The text states in its introduction that it was not intended to be used for pedagogical purposes and is only an introduction to the language.<sup>12</sup> However, it has been the standard from which all further studies have stemmed. Linguists studying maqlaqsyals cite Barker's material more consistently than Gatschet's because Barker's work is consistent orthographically.<sup>13</sup> Barker's work laid the foundation for an abundance of linguistic analysis on maqlaqsyals, particularly its phonology and linguistic affiliations (cf. Aoki 1963; Shipley 1966; Kisseberth 1972; White 1972; DeLancey 1992; McCarthy & Prince 1995; Park 2000; Zoll 2002; Marlo & Pharris 2004).

Although these materials have filled a void, tribal citizens who wish to further understand the language are frustrated because Barker's grammar is inaccessible to community members without specialized training. The diacritics used with the orthography are not intuitive, terminology such as *morphophonemics*, *inceptives*, and *cislocatives* are unknown, and few know what either "Classical Arabic *qaf*" and "modern Persian *qaf*" sound like and how that makes [q] and [g] different (Barker 1963b:13). As a Klamath language linguist once told me: one needs to hold a doctorate in linguistics to be able to understand it.<sup>14</sup> The inability to understand linguistic research and analyses elsewhere led to programs such as the *Breath of Life* workshops, where workshop goals include developing the fundamental linguistic skills necessary to utilize archival materials for revitalization (Hinton & Hale 2001:419). However, due to a lack of personal economic capital and organizational sponsorship, many tribal members turn to Gatschet's (1890a; 1890b) works. Frustration arises with the different orthographies, discouraging many potential speakers. Like Gatschet's transcriptions, many learners use what Hinton & Hale (2001:246) call "folk-writing" as memory aids. However, these folk-writings are considered "not at all good for the learners that learn from these notes 'for it inevitably leads to mispronunciation of the words'".

<sup>12</sup>Such disclaimers were apparently standard practice for a long time. Fortunately, the need for reference materials for language users has been recognized, and more accessible material is being theorized and produced (e.g. Baraby 2012).

<sup>13</sup>DeLancey, Scott. 2017. Personal communication.

<sup>14</sup>DeLancey, Scott. 2014. Personal communication.

Community members without specialized linguistic training will have difficulty describing maqlaqsyals sounds that do not exist in English – the same difficulty that Gatschet had in conducting fieldwork pre-International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA). Particularly common is the neutralization of uvulars and ejectives. Uvulars tend to be neutralized when uvular sounds are written with the same letters as the velars, as in (6a–6d) below. Examples are pulled from personal written conversation and Facebook group posts.

Figure 6. Neutralization of uvulars in folk-writing

Gloss	Folk-Writing	Barker 1964	IPA
a. ‘shouts’	nkena	nqena	[nqena]
b. ‘snows’	kena	kena	[kena]
c. ‘sit down! (IMP)’	chelgi	čelgi	[çelGi]
d. ‘what’s happening?’	dwah napga	dwa· ne·pga	[dwa nɛ:pga]

**4.1 Restoration and language revitalization** The federal policy of termination was “an experiment, a seed sown in adversity and watered by tears” (Oregonian Editorial 1981 as cited in Hill 1985:1). Kathleen Hill (1985:13) states, “In spite of every effort made 31 years ago to break the tribal bond among the people [...] the Klamath have continued to live and function as a tribal people”. Nevertheless, the damage done by termination has been immense, particularly in the disruption of daily cultural practice and intergenerational transmission thereof.

Assimilatory legislative action, including HCR-108 and PL-587 enacting termination of the Klamath Tribes’ federal recognition, was particularly effective at disrupting the daily routine of tribal practices. However, the desire for cultural learning persevered through the termination era. Two years after Klamath restoration, the Klamath Tribes Comprehensive Needs Assessment (KTCNA) recognized that:

the culture of the Klamath Tribe has been particularly damaged by external attempts meant to force Klamaths to assimilate into the ‘great American melting pot.’ This was carried to its greatest extent when the Federal Government terminated the Klamath Tribe’s Federal Recognition in an attempt to end tribal life. Largely as a result of the Termination process and Termination era, approximately 85% of all Klamaths are now eager to learn – in one area or another – the traditional ways of our ancestors.  
(Dupris, Hill, & Hill 1988:28)

During this time, Barker’s work was utilized in developing materials and lessons used in maqlaqsyals revitalization efforts with Culture and Heritage Director Gordon Bettles and consultants Scott DeLancey and Janne Underriner, linguists at the University of Oregon and Northwest Indian Language Institute, respectively. There was a Master-Apprentice program (MA) (model discussed below) facilitated by way of the Administration for Native American (ANA) funding in 1997.<sup>15</sup> Elder or “Master”

<sup>15</sup>Underriner, Janne. 2014. Personal communication.

speakers included Mrs. Neva Eggsman and Mr. Reid David. The Master-Apprentice program utilized tribal community member apprentices, including Bettles and recent tribal member language teachers Harold Wright and Stephanie Ohles. Although the program was successful in developing a few teachers, there has not been the necessary infrastructure to expand from the original set of apprentices.<sup>16</sup>

**4.2 The Klamath Tribes today** Today, the Klamath people live in diaspora with more than 5,000 tribal members and tens of thousands of descendants. The tribal government administration is based in Chiloquin, OR, providing oversight for services and programming, and contributing upwards of \$25M into Klamath County’s economy through goods and services (Klamath Tribes 2017).

Tribal community members continue to work in many areas of the community to promote self-determination and protect their peoples and resources as generations before had to do while contending with invasion, colonization and termination. Community members continue to take up the fight of generations past to protect tribal culture, water and lands from usurpation, misallocation, and destruction, such as the currently proposed Jordan Cove liquid natural gas pipeline and the over-use of water by irrigating interests.

The Klamath Tribes send students to colleges and universities year after year hoping that those who leave will make their acquired knowledge and skills available to the tribal community. However, simply getting community members trained is not the solution. Opportunities must be provided for those with specialized training to be connected with the community and their interests, developing communities of practice for long-term solutions and reinforcing tribal values and priorities with community-built programs. In the case of maqlaqsyals, those programs set in place connect people with specialized training to the community through Culture & Heritage (C&H) Department programs such as summer culture camps and the Klamath Tribes Language Program (KTLP), a public-school language program coordinated through C&H. The culture camps are week-long programs with a diverse array of cultural activities to practice. They often provide the only exposure to maqlaqsyals language outside of school.

The KTLP has been limited to a single language teacher who travels to Klamath County and Klamath Falls city schools, where students are exposed to maqlaqsyals for 50 minutes per week.<sup>17</sup> Stephen Greymorning (1999) shared a similar experience regarding Arapaho language revitalization in the Wyoming Indian School. He found that not only were few people questioning the effectiveness of fifteen minutes of daily language instruction, but that language teachers were categorized as ineffective for not producing speakers. When Greymorning challenged this inequity by suggesting the reallocation of time for language instruction from other school subjects, he was told that those other teachers “would not be able to effectively teach their subject areas” (Greymorning 1999). Greymorning asked why language instructors were re-

<sup>16</sup>After Mrs. Eggsman passed, tribal elder Randolph “Bobby” David, Jr, taught maqlaqsyals community classes, including songs and stories at culture camp.

<sup>17</sup>Wright, Harold. 2016. Personal communication.

quired to teach without the allocated time to be effective. He addressed the reality that language instructors – teaching 15 minutes a day for 180 days a year – are expected to teach the language and have students learn it in 45 hours, somewhat less than the approximate amount of time a standard classroom teacher puts into other subject areas in a single week.

The KLTP has had similar issues in having time allocated in the schools, and language teachers have effectively been guest lecturers – considered knowledgeable, but unnecessary. This should not be surprising, as the individual language instructor is allocated even less time than in Greymorning’s case. For example, Chiloquin Jr./Sr. High School (CHS) is one of the closest schools to the Klamath Tribes administration that houses the Klamath Tribes Language Program. Each subject in CHS is given 50 minutes a day for 170 days a year, resulting in 150 hours of subject instruction per year (CHS 2016–2017). Language instruction, however, has been 50 minutes a week for 36 weeks, resulting in 30 hours of instruction per year. It should come as no surprise then that there must be changes within the schools, and/or an alternative venue for language instruction must be found for maqlaqsyals to become an effective method of communication.<sup>18</sup>

In current language programming, there is no widely recognized venue for the community to provide feedback and/or participate in program development. There have been few youth – if any – who have become conversationally skilled. There are two Facebook groups that are dedicated to language but vary in activity.

The Klamath people have wanted language training programs in order to speak in their own languages for almost three decades (Dupris, Hill, & Hill 1989). There is a plethora of linguistic archival material, but much of it is inaccessible – whether by lack of institutional affiliation with online libraries or because the material is too linguistically specialized. The tribal community has been utilizing all the available written resources at its disposal, but its usefulness is limited. In the next section, I introduce an alternative format of introducing language teaching/learning through methods and topics intended to develop a cadre of language practitioners for tribally-appropriate language revitalization.

**5. Language skills workshop** A three-day workshop targeting Klamath tribal members titled “*maqlaqsyalank naat hemyeega*”<sup>19</sup> was held in Chiloquin, OR on December 27–29, 2016. The workshop targeted Klamath tribal members who had expressed interest in learning maqlaqsyals. Scheduled to coincide with holiday homecoming to tribal community, the workshop had nine participants from multiple communities, and myself as the facilitator. In designing the workshop curriculum, I used principles of the Master-Apprentice approach to revitalization and the immersion methods taught by Stacey Oberly and Jennie DeGroat through the American Indian Language Development Institute (AILDI) (Ozbolt 2008). The comprehension check *dwaad dal gee?* was based on the Universal Speed Curriculum (USC) previously made available

<sup>18</sup>As of August 2018, the issue of time allocation is currently being addressed by the Klamath Tribes Language Program and several schools in Klamath County.

<sup>19</sup>[maqlaqsyalank hemyeega] ‘We are beginning to speak in *maqlaqsyals*’.

by the *Where Are Your Keys?* language learning method,<sup>20</sup> and the vocabulary set was adapted from a Navajo Immersion workshop facilitated by Amelia Black and James McKenzie of Diné College.<sup>21</sup>

The workshop format was chosen because it is highly recognized in Indian Country. Native American administrators, teachers, and others involved in tribal nation-building projects are often sponsored to go to a variety of workshops facilitated by the Bureau of Indian Affairs, state Indian education associations, and other similar venues/organizations. There seems to be little room for error in interpreting what happens at a workshop: you show up, learn something quickly to take home, then go home. Workshops rarely require commitment or follow-up. This first maqlaqsyals workshop differed in that it was intended as a first run for a series of workshops, with a focus on developing future iterations per participant feedback.

The initial workshop focused on learning terms in maqlaqsyals for everyday use, including kinship, weather, questioning, and conversation. Themes for the workshop were based on vocabulary introduced in the aforementioned Navajo Immersion workshop led by Amelia Black and James McKenzie of Diné College. I also used lessons from the 5-week introductory linguistics course I taught for AILDI in Summer 2016 to implicitly express grammatical structures in a maqlaqsyals immersion session.

The workshop included discussions with a multi-generational group of tribal community participants from 18 to over 65 years of age. Participants collaborated in identifying local interests and community expectations for language revitalization. Ten Klamath-Modoc tribal community members – including myself – trained in language skills such as sound systems, word-building, and sentence-building, and developed conversational skills through maqlaqsyals immersion lessons and games.

Workshop participants took part in two identical (pre- and post-workshop) language surveys and discussed a diverse range of topics, including personal end goals, language valuation, and language attitudes in family and the tribal community at large. Nearly all the participants said explicitly that they would participate in another workshop like this.

**5.1 Workshop lessons and immersion method** The iterations of lessons and comprehension checks used in the workshop adapted certain principles for immersion that are outlined in the Master-Apprentice model (Hinton & Hale 2001:218). The Master-Apprentice program typically involves many hours of language exposure but was adapted to provide “pilot” principles for the three-day workshop. In seeking appropriate methods for maqlaqsyals revitalization, these principles will be adjusted per feedback. The main principles applied in the workshop immersion sessions are given at the beginning of the workshop as aspirational guidelines for working toward fluency. The main principles are as follows:

<sup>20</sup><https://whereareyourkeys.org/>. (For an overview of the WAYK method see Gardner & Ciotti 2018).

<sup>21</sup>This workshop was made possible by the University of Arizona (UA) Department of Linguistics, Native People’s Technical Assistance Office, and the UA Office of the Assistant VP for Tribal Relations.



1. No English is allowed in lessons: the mentor speaker must try to use their language at all times while with the apprentice, and the apprentice must use the language to ask questions or respond to the master (even if they can only say ‘I don’t understand’). In the case that the mentor speaker needs to use English, a consistent sign is used to signal the shift to suggest artificial code-switching.
2. The primary mode of transmission and learning is oral, not written. Rather, learning starts to take place in real-life situations such as cooking, taking walks, doing crafts, etc.
3. The activity itself along with other forms of nonverbal communication will provide the context in which the language can be understood by the beginning learner.
4. Experienced learners are to become mentors to peers and demonstrate skills learned through comprehension checks and teaching novice learners.

(adapted from Hinton & Hale 2001:218)<sup>22</sup>

The fourth principle is important because although Termination disrupted inter-generational transmission of maqlaqsyals as a primary mode of communication, there are many “remember-ers” of maqlaqsyals who hold what I have been calling “a bag of words and phrases.” Not all of the workshop participants were complete novices. Some had known/spoken maqlaqsyals to some degree at an earlier point in life. Some remember-ers have shown that once they are warmed up, they are ready to take the wheel in language lessons. Further, novice learners – as though in concert with remember-ers – dove in head first; ready to jump in the passenger seat for language lessons and mentoring remember-ers where able.

**5.1.1 *kani dal mi sʔaaMaqs?***<sup>23</sup> An immersion lesson called *kani dal mi sʔaaMaqs* [kani dal mi ʃʔa:maqʃ] ‘Who are your relations?’ was the first lesson of each day. In this lesson the participants introduce themselves and their family.<sup>24</sup> There were three iterations of this lesson over the three days, respectively. The assumption underlying this lesson is that most individuals know their family, although it is not necessary to

<sup>22</sup>Another core principle of the MA program – that “apprentices must be at least as active as the mentor in deciding what is to be learned and in keeping communication going in the language” – was not utilized in this workshop immersion structure. The reason for this is that this workshop is intended to be the first of a series and is meant to be adjusted per participant feedback. This principle will be utilized increasingly in future workshops.

<sup>23</sup>Non-final question marks in the orthography used in this article represent a glottal stop [ʔ], while sentence-final question marks function as punctuation.

<sup>24</sup>Not all participants knew/recalled these relations. In such cases, it was encouraged that the phrase *qʔay ni* [kinship term] *sʔaywakta* ‘I don’t know my [kinship term]’ be used. The reason for this is that in tribal communities, one is often known by whose *sʔaaMaqs* ‘relation’ they are. Often family names are linked via older generations with towns or regions. A participant stating that a relation is not known to them gives opportunity for community members (other participants present) to assist in developing this knowledge, anchoring all into local ways of community kinship. For example, the facilitator, when mentioning his maternal family name *Hill*, must clarify that he is of the *Hill* family of Modoc Point, not the *Hill* family of Ft. Klamath or Beatty, to whom there is no relation.

know blood family for this lesson. For example, when using *ptisap* [ptʃap] ‘father’, one is referring to who raised them as a father, not necessarily their progenitor.

This lesson is intended to introduce the maqlaqsyals sound system, particularly those sounds not occurring in English such as the ejectives, uvular and glottal stops, etc. through kinship terms such as *pk’isap* [pk’ʃap] ‘mother’, *pq’oliip* [pq’olɪ:p] ‘maternal grandmother’, and *tGeewnap* [tɬɛ:wnap] ‘male’s older brother/cousin’.

The first iteration of this lesson was completely led by me from the beginning. I would speak the term or phrase 3 times, present the corresponding visual aid 3 times, and then run through the exercise with the participants in “copycat” fashion, substituting each of the kinship names with those filled in by participants (i.e. ‘My mother is...[insert name]’).

The second iteration of this lesson started with independent peer review led by participants for 20 minutes. Once the lesson started, we would repeat the first iteration significantly quicker than before. After completing the content of the first iteration, each participant stood in my place as facilitator while I took place as apprentice in their respective seats. As each participant led the exercise using their own family members for reference, the other participants and myself would copycat and/or assist as needed, providing an environment assuring successful completion of the exercise.

The third iteration of this lesson included all of that which was included in the second iteration. However, after running through the exercise once as facilitator, I politely withdrew to prepare for the next games. As I prepared, I was nearby to provide review as needed, but found that the participants were more than able to practice on their own: speaking, joking with, and assisting each other without breaking into English.

**5.1.2 *waq dal Ga’nii?*** The second immersion lesson of each day called *waq dal Ga’nii* [waq dal gan’i:] ‘How is it outside?’ describes different weather and weather phenomena and physical (dis)comfort – useful for interpersonal communication. Through an elder participant’s knowledge, the lesson became an opportunity to teach verbal morphology without using English in lessons or linguistic terms outside of lessons. As with the first lesson, there were three iterations of this lesson over the three days, respectively. The objective of this lesson is to use terms for verbs of weather phenomena and terms of personal comfort from sweating to freezing.

This lesson is intended to introduce the maqlaqsyals word-building system while building upon the sound system skills learned in the first lesson. For example, in addition to the consonant clusters in the kinship terms (coming from kinship prefix *p-*), the terms used in this lesson introduce the [sʔ], [qd], and [ktʃ] onset clusters. Further, in describing weather we can represent the morphological contrasts of how maqlaqsyals expresses weather conditions as compared to English.

Weather expressions in maqlaqsyals are simplex and complex verbal constructions. Simplex construction examples may include *p’aysa* [p’ajsa] ‘is cloudy,’ *qdooca* [qdo:tʃa] ‘rains’, and *kena* [kena] ‘snows.’ Verbs are marked with the verbal indicative suffix */-a/* [-a]. The qualities of weather phenomena are modified by way of locative-directive stems in a morphological bipartite verb, such as in *qdooclGa* [qdo:tʃʌga]

‘rains hard’, *ken’waa’la* [kɛnwɑ:lɑ] ‘rains and then turns to snow’, and *lookanga* [lɔkɑŋgɑ] ‘fog drifts here and there’. Each bipartite verb contains a weather verb stem – /*qdooc-*/ ‘rains’, /*ken-*/ ‘snows’, and /*loow-*/ ‘is foggy’ – with a locative-directive stem – /*-elG-*/ ‘down’, /*-a’waa’l-*/ ‘on the end’, /*-okang-*/ ‘around, here and there’ – and the verbal indicative suffix.

In the first iteration, atmospheric phenomena were expressed through word-gesture pairs. For example, when I gave the term *sʔabas* ‘sun’, I would raise an outstretched hand in the air to illustrate the sun disc and rays. For *wGawq’os* ‘moon’, I raised a hand held in a crescent shape to illustrate the crescent moon. The second lesson goes through the same as the first but moves toward the Total Physical Response (TPR) (cf. Asher 1969) methods included in the Mentor-Apprentice program. In this workshop, I presented the sounds three times, pairing each sound with a gesture as memory aid. Through morphological contrast exposure, terms are expressed as etymologically related as *wGawq’os* [wgawq’os] ‘moon’ and *wGawq’wa* [wgawq’wa] ‘(moon) shines’ by exaggerating the verbal indicative *-a* and noun case suffix *-s* [s/ʃ] ‘again, non-contrastive’ in the first iteration.

The second iteration of *waq dal Ga’nii* repeated the first iteration but was expanded upon through the assistance of one of the elder participants. The illustrations used in the lesson design – pulled from cursory google searches – were used to supplement the lesson with terms already known. For example, the illustration for *kena* [kɛnɑ] ‘snows’ has snow falling, snow (flakes, pack), and a snow-covered tree. From this illustration, the terms *keys* [kɛiʃ] ‘snow’ and *Goos* [go:ʃ] ‘Ponderosa Pine; (generic) tree’ were mentioned. Once mentioned, those terms were added to the vocabulary of the lesson. New gestures were not made at this time, however, their inclusion made the third iteration more interactive than it would have been otherwise.

The third iteration took the form of a “walking lesson”. Walking lessons are just that – all of us grabbed our hoodies and jackets and walked outside the Goos oLgi gowa Community Center parking lot and trekked down the road. Although going out for a walk is very basic, our language is well-documented in relation to our region and practices of outdoorsmanship, like the practices of language and livestock that Daryl Baldwin and his family have integrated into *Myaamia* language learning (Hinton 2013). While walking down the road, the elder participant who provided the terms led the walk, pointing out *keys* and *Goos* nearby. At one point some snow was grabbed and shaped into a sphere. Without hesitation, our elder participant said “*keysbool*” ([kɛiʃbo:l]; lit. ‘snow-ball’<sup>25</sup>). Shortly after, said *keysbool* was thrown, jokes were made, and laughs were had. Walking back to the Community Center, folks were anxious to get back to some hot coffee and tea, but had big smiles coming in.

**5.2 Comprehension checks: Lesson review and expansion** Assessments differ in an immersion setting that sets literacy on the shelf. In this workshop, what may be called comprehension checks were used to assess comfort in conversational language use, learning demonstratives and functional words, and for review of terms. Comprehen-

<sup>25</sup> *bool* is a word initially borrowed from English “ball,” but it has been co-opted in a Klamath compound word construction much as *weegan* ‘wagon’ has been in Klamath *lolaqsweegan* ‘train’ (lit. fire-wagon).

sion checks are so named because they require both comprehension and production of language. During this workshop, comprehension checks occurred each day after lunch and discussion.

**5.2.1 *dwaal dal gee?*** The first comprehension check game is called *dwaal dal gee?* [dwa: dal ge:] ‘What is this?’ It is a conversational game based on the “What is this?” section of the Universal Speed Curriculum previously available from WAYK<sup>26</sup> to learn how to ask and respond to questions for mutual learning opportunities. The procedure is as follows: The first player asks what an item is, and the second player declares what it is; the first player then confirms what the item is by way of question and the second player responds yes, declaring again what the item is; finally, the first player acts out revelation and declares the item to be what it is. A sample script is given below in Figure 7.

Figure 7. Sample script using Universal Speed Curriculum

Player 1:	dwaal dal gee?	‘What is this?’
Player 2:	gee ?a qday gi.	‘This is a rock.’
Player 1:	gee dal qday gi?	‘This is a rock?’
Player 2:	?ii, gee ?a qday gi.	‘Yes, this a rock.’
Player 1:	yaaaaa! gee ?a qday gi.	‘Ooooh! This is a rock.’

Following the full script includes *qday* [qda] ‘rock’, *?anko* [ʔanko] ‘wood’, *tak-tak’li so’malwoots* [taktak’li fom’alwo:tʃ] ‘red pen’, and *bosbos’li so’malwoots* [bof-bosʃ’li fom’alwo:tʃ] ‘black pen’. Through conversation such as the script using items requiring some description for contrast, the conversational skills of novices and rememberers alike is tested.

To familiarize everyone with the conversation to be had, each statement and question is presented in the same fashion as the terms in the *waq dal Ga’nii* [waq dal gan’i:] ‘How is it outside?’ exercise. For example, I would say the phrase *dwaal dal gee?* three times; then the participants would repeat the phrase three times; next I would introduce the gestures along with the phrase three times; the participants would follow suit. Next, each participant would say the phrase and produce the corresponding gesture individually until each participant had done so. This pattern was repeated for each phrase.

Once all the phrases had been practiced, two participants at a time would say the first two sentences three times in call-response format. Once done three times, the responder would become the caller and interact with the participant on their other side. This was done with each pair of phrases until the whole conversation was memorized by participants.

The questions and statements in this exercise create a knowledge-sharing device utilizing a template for asking mentor speakers to share knowledge without breaking into English.

<sup>26</sup>Examples of core techniques used in *Where Are Your Keys* are available to view at <https://vimeo.com/27057735>.

**5.2.2 *hemee?a waq Ga'nii*** A comprehension check game called *hemee?a waq Ga'nii* [hɛmɛ:ʔa waq gan'i:] 'Say how it is outside (for fun)' used card versions of the *waq dal Ga'nii* 'How is it outside?' term pictures. The game is played in a similar fashion as the card game "slapjack" and is done in groups of two or more. A card is laid on the table and the first one to call out the term and "slap" their hand down on the card gains that card as a "point". The game is played through the deck and as often as desired.

Participants modified this game as they became more comfortable with the terms. In one case, the game was played like flash cards and involved 6 players and 1 dealer. As the dealer sat in front of all the players, they would pick up a face-down picture and present it. If participants knew the answer, they slapped the table as though there were a game-show "buzzer" button. The dealer would decide who slapped the table first and second to state their answers. The first player selected would then give the corresponding term. If they got the term correct, they were given the picture as a "point." If the first player was wrong, a second player was given a chance to earn the point. The remaining two participants reviewed the cards one by one with each other, occasionally calling on my help as an instructor.

**5.2.3 *gee, hoot, nee!*** A third comprehension game called *gee, hoot, nee!* 'This one, that one, that (absent/invisible) one!' teaches demonstratives to supplement the conversational range of the *dwaal dal gee* with the terms *hoot* [ho:t] 'that (remote)' and *nee* [nɛ:] 'that absent/invisible.'. The items used for this game were a tennis ball, two distance markers, and a "barrier" behind which the ball can be bounced or thrown and is out of sight, effectively "absent". This game is used to practice newly introduced demonstratives in relation to distance. A ball thrown in front of the first marker represents *gee* 'this (proximate)'. Balls thrown beyond the first marker and before the "barrier" represent *hoot*, and balls tossed beyond the barrier, removing the ball from line-of-sight, create a scenario for *nee*. Standing from a starting point (meant to be the cislocative, or 'self-identified location', point), participants drop, lob, or toss the tennis ball somewhere on the spectrum.

After the ball is tossed, the facilitator follows the ball to go wherever it goes. Once the ball stops rolling, the facilitator asks *dwaal dal gee* 'what is this?' to which the participant responds *gee/hoot/nee ?a bool gi* 'this/that/that (absent) is a ball' as appropriate to the distance. Once the game is learned by a participant, the ball-thrower becomes the facilitator. This encourages cognizance of distance relationships and no-pressure, supervised facilitation of the game for the next participant in line.

**5.3 Pre- and post-workshop surveys** A written attitudinal survey (see Appendix A) was compiled and adapted for the Klamath Tribes "*maqlaqsyalank naat hemyeega*" workshop. To date there are no known language attitude surveys for maqlaqsyalank, and the survey contributes to language planning and workshop discussion. It was based on a survey developed by the Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies (AIATSIS) (Marmion, Obata, & Troy 2014). There were

two identical surveys given at the beginning and end of the workshop to elicit self-reporting of participants’ basic demographic information, degree of knowledge and exposure to maqlaqsyals, interest in learning maqlaqsyals, and community language goals. The first of the surveys was filled out early in the workshop, and the second was filled out at the end of the last day. The maximum time to complete each survey was less than 45 minutes.

The results are analyzed below in relation to the four sections of the surveys: basic demographic information, degree of knowledge and exposure to maqlaqsyals, interest in learning maqlaqsyals, and language attitude questions for community language goals.

**5.3.1 Basic demographic information** The survey included items asking participants’ ages, genders, tribe or town, and language. All were free-response items, and respondents could report more than one tribal or town affiliation. Participant ages ranged from 18–76, with five women and four men.

In reporting tribal affiliation, participants’ responses changed somewhat in their pre- and post-workshop responses. Pre-workshop, seven of the nine participants reported relevant tribal affiliations, and several identified with multiple groups. In the post-workshop survey, eight participants reported affiliations. Affiliations are reported in Table 1.

**Table 1.** Tribal affiliation of workshop participants

Tribal Affiliation	Pre-workshop	Post-workshop
Klamath	6	7
Modoc	4	2
Yahooskin Paiute	1	1

Intratribal affiliations do not line up with an outside homogenous ideal of the Klamath tribal community, particularly as referenced in legislative policy. Many Klamath tribal members are Modoc and Paiute. The variation presented in the data should not be a surprise. In multi-tribal communities, Native peoples will sometimes identify themselves through their relation to particular tribal communities. Similarly, indigenous peoples will share our position with other indigenous peoples. For example, in my community and more generally, I introduce myself as \_\_\_\_\_ from \_\_\_\_\_, I am from the \_\_\_\_\_ and \_\_\_\_\_ families of \_\_\_\_\_ and \_\_\_\_\_. However, when I meet other \_\_\_\_\_, I may also share that I am from the \_\_\_\_\_ family of \_\_\_\_\_ near \_\_\_\_\_. I may likewise identify myself when meeting other \_\_\_\_\_ or \_\_\_\_\_ that I am from the \_\_\_\_\_ and \_\_\_\_\_ families of \_\_\_\_\_.

Many of the participants came to the workshop from the reservation towns of Chiloquin and Beatty; some have lived or worked outside of Chiloquin and Beatty as well. Participation by diasporic, off-reservation community members may be expected to be relatively common in such a language training format as a workshop

and would be consistent with the observations of the 1988 Klamath Tribes Comprehensive Needs Assessment.

English was self-reported as the first language of all workshop participants, however, there was representation of Spanish and some northern Paiute as well. During discussion, some elders shared memories of understanding maqlaqsyals as children, their language being edged out socially or “beaten out” of them in boarding school.

**5.3.2 Degree of knowledge and exposure to maqlaqsyals** The survey included items asking participants’ ability to speak and understand maqlaqsyals; venues and frequency of maqlaqsyals exposure; and knowledge of maqlaqsyals speakers. The “Degree of Knowledge and Exposure” items included multiple choice, dichotomous, and free response. In reporting ability to speak, participants self-reported increase in ability and estimated number of words known. Pre-workshop, participants selected vocabulary and phrases which they had difficulty using in casual conversation, with a range of 1–100 words. In the post-workshop survey, two participants indicated that they could speak “somewhat fluently” and the range of words known from 0 to more than 400. Answers are recorded in Table 2.

**Table 2.** Participant maqlaqsyals speaking abilities

<b>a. Fluency Level</b>		
	Pre-workshop	Post-workshop
Fluently		
Somewhat Fluently		2
Not Very Well	1	4
Know Some Vocabulary	7	3
Not At All	1	
<b>b. Words Able to Say</b>		
	Pre-workshop	Post-workshop
Over 400		1
301–400		1
201–300		
101–200		1
41–100	1	
21–40	2	5
1–20	6	1
0		

The range of words known is significantly greater in the post-workshop survey. There is a variety of reasons this could be so. In the Klamath tribal community there is limited language programming, however, two participants said they were actively learning maqlaqsyals in some form. There are few maqlaqsyals speakers, but there are many “remember-ers” who hold a metaphorical “bag of words and

phrases” from their lifetime of knowledge and exposure, but have no practice gluing the pieces together. Basham & Fathman (2008:580) consider such persons to be “latent” speakers – “individuals raised in an environment where the heritage language was spoken, but who did not become a [fluent] speaker of that language” – who play a crucial part in language revitalization through the (re)activation of their knowledge. For example, through practice in maqlaqsyals, one participant – who may be called a remember-er – provided additional vocabulary that was incorporated into immersion sessions.

When the same questions were asked of participants’ abilities to understand language – comprehend rather than produce – there was a similar upward trend. The recorded comprehension results are in Table 3.

**Table 3.** Participant maqlaqsyals comprehension

<b>a. Ability to Understand</b>		
	Pre-workshop	Post-workshop
Very well		1
Most of a Conversation		2
Understand words and Phrases		6
Know Some Vocabulary	8	
Not At All	1	
<b>b. Words Able to Understand</b>		
	Pre-workshop	Post-workshop
Over 400		
301-400		2
201-300		
101-200		1
41-100	1	
21-40	2	4
1-20	6	2
0		

In the pre-workshop survey, all participants reported understanding at least one word. In the post-workshop survey, the youngest participants reported the highest number of words understood. The present sample is too small to speculate as to why this was the case. It will be interesting to see if this trend continues in future research. Other domains included in the survey were work, school, community gatherings, traditional/ceremonial gatherings, church, and tribal government activities. Frequency for these domains was elicited through multiple choice questions. For each domain, a free response question asked how maqlaqsyals is heard or used in the given domain. Participants responded to questions of maqlaqsyals domains as shown in Table 4.

Between the two surveys, each domain, except for church, was found to have maqlaqsyals used. There was a downward trend in frequency reported in the post-



**Table 4.** Participant response to maqlaqsyals language domains

Domains of Use (Pre-workshop)						
	Work	School	Com. Gath	Trad./Cer. Gath.	Church	Gov't
Always			1	2		2
Sometimes	1	1		3		1
Very Little	3	2	8	4		3
Never	4	3			3	1
N/A; Don't Know	1	3			6	2

Domains of Use (Post-workshop)						
	Work	School	Com. Gath	Trad./Cer. Gath.	Church	Gov't
Always	1		1	2		1
Sometimes				2		1
Very Little	3	1	6	5		6
Never	4	5	2		4	1
N/A; Don't Know	1	3			5	

workshop survey. This may reflect the relative frequency of domains as compared to the workshop’s constant use of maqlaqsyals.

When asked how many fluent speakers of maqlaqsyals were known to participants, majorities of six and five responses indicated knowledge of 1–3 speakers at the beginning and end of the workshop, respectively. However, most responders indicated in both surveys that they never interact with fluent speakers in a regular manner. When asked to identify any fluent speakers in participants’ communities, participants listed over 10 speakers collectively. I was included in this list and do not consider myself to be fluent. This is evidence of the continuing (often unspoken) debate over the meaning of fluency. In determining fluency for maqlaqsyals, I consider Greymorning’s (Hinton & Hale 2001:291) approach to the term: “if individuals are capable of communicating their full range of thoughts in that language then those individuals are operating at a level of fluency”. If this position is taken as the apex of fluency, then the survey results may be indicative of some “speaker” threshold in terms of competence and comfort on a fluency continuum. Ethnologue (Simons & Fennig 2018) reports no known speakers of maqlaqsyals. Because Ethnologue serves as an official source of vitality levels, learning of additional speakers beyond just the workshop participants when asked twice over three days is an exciting revelation. Revitalization of maqlaqsyals would benefit from learning who is considered a speaker and which of them may be interested and/or available to assist in the effort.

**5.3.3 Interest in learning maqlaqsyals** The survey included items asking about interest in learning maqlaqsyals and participants’ top reasons for learning maqlaqsyals. The items included multiple choice and rank-scale responses. Throughout the workshop, surveys found that all nine participants reported interest in learning maqlaqsyals, as shown in Table 5. This finding was a relief to me as facilitator.

**Table 5.** Interest in learning maqlaqsyals

Question: Would you be interested in learning maqlaqsyals?		
	Pre-workshop	Post-workshop
Yes	9	9
No		
Unsure		

With nine of nine participants interested in learning maqlaqsyals, I am hopeful for the revision of the future workshops to continue to retain learners. When asked to rank the top three reasons for learning maqlaqsyals, only one participant ranked their motivating reasons for learning. The ranked selections were (1) to speak with children and family; (2) learning maqlaqsyals is vital to my culture and identity; and (3) to keep maqlaqsyals and culture alive. All other participants marked three or more without ranking. In the post-workshop survey, three participants selected the same three reasons with three different ranks, respectively. Total selections are included for each reason in Table 6.

**Table 6.** Participant reasons for learning maqlaqsyals

	Pre-workshop	Post-workshop
a. Learning maqlaqsyals is vital to my culture and identity	5	8
b. One or more of my Ancestors spoke maqlaqsyals	3	2
c. To speak maqlaqsyals with my children and family	8	6
d. To speak with friends	1	1
e. To speak with my Elders	1	1
f. To speak at community gatherings	1	1
g. To speak at traditional and ceremonial gatherings	1	3
h. To speak at my workplace(s) and with co-workers		
i. To broaden my knowledge in general	2	2
j. To feel more a part of the nation	2	1
k. To be able to read books and documents in maqlaqsyals	1	1
l. To have a language that is only understood by community members		1
m. To keep maqlaqsyals and culture alive	8	6
n. Other (write-in)		
To teach what is learned	1	
To be who I am	1	
To teach my family		1

In the pre-workshop survey, speaking to children and family as well as keeping the language and culture alive were the two most selected reasons. These reasons were closely followed by the reason that the language is vital to culture and identity.

In the post-workshop survey, the top-selected reason for learning maqlaqsyals is that it is vital to culture and identity, followed by speaking with children and family, and finally keeping the language and culture alive. These attitudes may be reflective of increasing solidarity as tribal community members. In no case was anyone’s reason for learning maqlaqsyals to speak at the workplace(s) with co-workers.

**5.3.4 Language attitudes for community language goals** The survey included items asking for participants’ attitudes regarding revitalization of maqlaqsyals. The “Language Attitudes Questions for Community Language Goals” items included rating scale and rank-scale responses. Throughout the workshop, the initial survey found that all workshop participants strongly agreed that it is “important for members of our community to know their language”; that “our language is worth saving”; and it is “important that our language is encouraged and used in traditional or ceremonial gatherings”.

Other attitudes generally agreed upon were that it is important that community members know their language; that maqlaqsyals should be used in homes, work, community gatherings, and tribal government activities; and that maqlaqsyals should be taught to interested learners, in schools and for families. Those attitudes that participants contested by way of scale of agreement are that “the language is difficult to learn” and that it “does not matter how the language is written”. The specific ideas participants had of how the language should be written were not discussed in the survey. The contested attitude items are included in Table 7.

**Table 7.** Contested language attitudes of participants

Contested Language Attitudes	maqlaqsyals is difficult to learn.		How it is written doesn’t matter.	
	Pre-workshop	Post-workshop	Pre-workshop	Post-workshop
Strongly Agree	1	1	3	1
Somewhat Agree	3	3	1	2
Neither Agree nor Disagree	3	4	1	2
Somewhat Disagree	2	1		
Strongly Disagree			3	4

Noticeable is that the attitudes toward the difficulty of learning maqlaqsyals is seen as consistent with workshop participants’ beliefs that maqlaqsyals is a difficult language to learn. A single participant shifted away from “somewhat disagree” to “neutral”. This may be because the decades long effort to produce new speakers does not overcome the rapid loss of elder speakers.

There is a sense that the way maqlaqsyals is written matters, and that belief increased after three days of the workshop. This may result from the immersion methods in which writing was not allowed during the sessions, but participants could write notes before and after. Some community members shared their interest in reading and writing in maqlaqsyals (or projects that require those things). Including literacy in future immersion research and capacity-building may be a fruitful endeavor.

Finally, an attitude-agreement assessed how strongly participants agreed to being interested and willing to assist in a language program. In the pre-workshop survey, all nine participants marked that they generally agreed with the idea of assisting in a language program. In the post-workshop survey, there was still no resistance to the idea of assisting a language program. Responses are given in Table 8.

**Table 8.** Participant willingness to assist in a language program

Willing to Assist in a Language Program		
	Pre-workshop	Post-workshop
Strongly Agree	5	5
Somewhat Agree	4	3
Neither Agree nor Disagree		1
Somewhat Disagree		
Strongly Disagree		

It is significant to note that there is minimal attrition from the pre-workshop attitude of being willing to assist in a language program. That is exciting for myself as a facilitator and community member. Working for a tribal language program can be risky to individual language learners. One participant told me that it was difficult for them to participate in the workshop on language for even one day – that they almost didn’t come back because they didn’t want to participate if they were speaking language improperly.

Becoming part of a language program as a facilitator or participant opens questions as to who is a legitimate speaker and who is not (Costa 2017). Language learners in language programs are vulnerable to community judgement and evaluation directed at them publicly and privately. Those attempting to develop a reliable and recognized program will need to prepare language learners for these realities with infrastructures for varying levels of speakers in language departments and documentation/revitalization research. Achieving the personal goals that participants shared in discussion will depend on learners using their skills to teach as they learn.

Further questions that help to shape maqlaqsyals revitalization planning included a prompt that asked participants to rank groups for priority in opportunities to learn maqlaqsyals. Although the prompt gave rank-scale responses, there were participants who did not use the rank-scale orthodoxically – ranking a few priorities and leaving the rest blank. The rankings were averaged as follows: children and teens are the first and second priority in both surveys, while elders and families overtook students in rank over the period of the workshop. Responses for rankings are as shown in Table 9.

It is important to note that some participants refused to rank all the groups between one and five. One listed children as first ranked and left the rest blank. Another listed elders and students as second priorities compared to children, teens, and families, with students making their way to the first rank in the post-workshop survey. A third participant decided on her/his own top three in the post-workshop survey. The change in ranking may result from the fact that tribal community members refused

to rank some peoples under others on this survey, by listing a few priority groups and leaving the rest unmarked.<sup>27</sup>

**Table 9.** Participant rankings of maqlaqsyals education priority

Group Ranking																	
	Pre-workshop								Post-workshop								
Children	1	2	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	1
Teens	2	4	2		3	3	1	2	3	2	2	3	2	3	5	2	3
Elders	5	5	4		2	1	2	4	4		4	2	5	2	3	2	5
Students	3	3	5		4	4	1	3	2		5	4	3	4	4	2	2
Families	4	1	3		5	5	1	5	5	3	3	5	4	5	1	1	5

**6. Discussing maqlaqsyals language revitalization and participant goals** After lunch on the second day, discussion was facilitated regarding maqlaqsyals language and the community, as well as end goals. The following question was asked regarding maqlaqsyals revitalization end goals: “*What is your end goal for maqlaqsyals recovery? Some examples could be like a group of people that have a conversation, some people could be good enough to do ceremony, some people could want to recite numbers and animals and some people could want to create fluent speakers*” (adapted from suggested questions by Wilson & Yellowbird 2005:119). The quotes below are end goals given by participants. Some participants expressed that the workshop had already helped them reach a personal goal. For example, consider the following statements by some of the younger participants:

- (1) “[...] I’m super excited now that I know how to introduce myself and my family, because then you can go to a different reservation – or I can – and I can introduce myself and be like ‘[...] Yes, I know this! Before I didn’t know this but now I know this’ [...] I’d be all ‘This is my language’ and then I’d just walk away all happy [...] Drop the mic, I’m out of here!”
- (2) “[...] I learned quite a bit of words, phrases so that’s a sense of fulfillment for me. But I would like to take the knowledge and maybe pass it to my family [...] doesn’t even necessarily have to be my family. I just want to continue on.”

Although some participants such as those above accomplished some personal goals through the workshop, it is important to recognize that those are not their only goals. Many of the workshop participants expressed the goal of using the language with their families.

<sup>27</sup>In discussion of priority, it was mentioned several times that everyone should have priority for language.

- (3) “[...] to learn as much as I can, teach my daughter as much as I can and incorporate as much as I can into our daily life. My end goal is not to have an end goal, just try to keep incorporating as much – more and more and more – until I can have a conversation with my daughter that doesn’t have any English in it at all.”
- (4) “For me it would be not to stop [...] Like I can teach my younger siblings [...] If I keep learning and I don’t stop until – like my time is coming. I will keep teaching my siblings, my kids about tradition and language.”

In addition to families, participants also discussed obtaining resources, continuing to work toward language goals, and establishing domains of language use.

- (5) “My end goal is mostly conversational. Once you get to using it in the small experiences, then you never stop using because everything is just one small event at a time [...] Do some food, we can just eat, talk and eventually it will lead to kids being fluent speakers.”
- (6) “I’m going to continue. I have my own dictionary, but I want to get the book [Barker’s 1964 grammar] [...]”
- (7) “[...] trying my best. Just keep on learning. Just doing whatever I can, participating [...] Just keep on for my – well, for everyone [...]”

Through the discussion on personal goals of workshop participants, it is apparent that successful revitalization requires teaching through their own skill set, if not by the collective skill set of the group. While a collective can develop a community movement, individuals must take it upon themselves to also act as teachers or mentors to help develop community member language skills. The last few comments include some other revitalization goals and expectations that require a heavy focus on sharing of knowledge within the larger community:

- (8) “I would think it would be really dope if I could have a conversation like in my home with my kids. Like that would be my bucket list goal, I think, my end goal for me [...] be able to have a conversation in our own language just within our community [...] I’ve seen that in other native communities, but also other indigenous communities [...] It’s a big deal [...] I think like that would be what I would want the end result to be – is a conversation happening in the home and in the community.”
- (9) “[...] we could possibly start a language class [...] A gathering here [Goos oLgi gowa] on language – it’s whoever wants to come [...] maybe we could do that once or twice a month. And at the same time maybe we could do a CD or something, like this particular class here that the people out of town – we would be able to send it.”

- (10) “[...] seeing Klamath get to such a point that we’re comfortable teaching it to non-Indians [...] I want my [as of yet unborn] kids to speak [...] everything I’m doing is so I can get a head start – like in all reality – cause I only have two years before they go ‘zoom’ way ahead of me and tell me new words they made up and I’m going to have to just lock onto it.”

It is clear from the discussions that there are plenty of personal goals pertaining to successful language revitalization: some participants completed a personal goal by participating in the class, other goals are yet to be met by implementing language within their families, obtaining linguistics resources, engaging in further participation, and establishing domains of language use.

**7. Focusing the lens: Next steps for a better picture** From the discussion and end goals mentioned above, there seem to be a variety of ways in which to adjust the workshops for community needs. Future workshops were suggested for audiences with tribal youth, emphasizing introductions and kinship.

Having outside-of-budget meals together seemed to be very helpful for participants to gain familiarity with one another. Through a shared meal time, participants who may never have sat down with each other came into meaningful contact for language, resulting in discussions that were improved from what they would have been had participants needed to seek out food on their lunch break. Meals may also be used as language lessons to familiarize participants with terms for everyday actions and items, phrases, and conversation. It will be important for meals, snacks, and beverages to be included in funding for future workshops.

Although this workshop was based in immersion methods, there was feedback from some participants that they like using the language and the materials we used but would appreciate more access to the language books. Recall the sixth quote above. Many tribal members can access one of the volumes of Gatschet and Barker’s works, but to study the language effectively, the books must be used together for intertextual comprehension. It was suggested that it would be helpful to have a session in which participants have an opportunity to use intertextual resources such as Barker’s texts, grammar, and dictionary, as well as Gatschet’s ethnography and grammar. For example, teaching location and direction requires knowledge of different word parts, and Barker’s dictionary organizes affixes and roots but refers to the grammar and texts for context and use. A long-term goal to develop a printed pedagogical resource that combines the strengths of multiple archival documents would be of great benefit to the maqlaqsyalank language movement.

Comprehension checks provided a lot of fun, laughter, and insightful assessment of participant comfort in conversational language. Those comprehension checks could be expanded into language-seeking “walking lessons” in which a brief walk outside is led by a participant, teaching new vocabulary and structures that the facilitator did not teach, including home and community-based scenarios. Doing so would include a facet of mentorship in which participants alternate between teaching novel material *to* others and learning novel material *from* others.

Final suggestions mostly pertain to language awareness, outreach, and promotion. It would be particularly helpful to hold a workshop and/or conduct language outreach in collaboration with other tribal events; hold a workshop/forum in which to discuss both tribal government and tribal community resources available for grassroots language development; and hold “get to know your language” gatherings in which previous workshop participants facilitate a multitude of activities. A tribe-wide survey such as the one deployed at the workshop would be extremely helpful in obtaining a strong representation of stakes and expectations for language revitalization. Community members such as the workshop participants could be most helpful in developing further survey questions with the tribal administration. It will take many dedicated people to bring maqlaqsyals back as a primary method of communication. However, as the history of the Klamath Tribes has shown, the people must be involved from the beginning. To have successful language revitalization, the work must be done by and with the people, not simply for them.

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## Appendix A: Workshop Agenda

# maqlaqsyalank naat hemyeega: 'We are beginning to speak maqlaqsyals' Workshop Agenda

### Tuesday, December 27, 2016

9:00–10:00 a.m.	Introductions
10:00–11:30 a.m.	Lesson 1a: “kani dal mi sʔaaMaqs?”
11:30 a.m.–12:30 p.m.	Lesson 2a: “waq dal Gaʔnii?”
12:30–1:30 p.m.	Lunch
1:30–2:30 p.m.	Discussion and Reflection
2:30–3:30 p.m.	Comprehension Check: “dwaal dal gee?”
3:30–4:00 p.m.	Review

### Wednesday, December 28, 2016

9:00–10:00 a.m.	Student-led Peer Review
10:00–11:30 a.m.	Lesson 1b: “kani dal mi sʔaaMaqs?”
11:30 a.m.–12:30 p.m.	Lesson 2b: “waq dal Gaʔnii?”
12:30–1:30 p.m.	Lunch
1:30–2:30 p.m.	Discussion: Language (de)valuation, attitudes and end goals
2:30–3:30 p.m.	Comprehension Check: “waq Gaʔnii hemeəʔa” and “gee, hoot, nee!”
3:30–4:00 p.m.	Review

### Thursday, December 29, 2016

9:00–10:00 a.m.	Student-led Peer Review
10:00–11:30 a.m.	Lesson 1c: “kani dal mi sʔaaMaqs?”
11:30 a.m.–12:30 p.m.	Lesson 2c: “waq dal Gaʔnii?”
12:30–1:30 p.m.	Lunch
1:30–2:30 p.m.	Discussion and Reflection
2:30–3:30 p.m.	Comprehension Check: “dwaal dal gee”

## Appendix B: Survey

### Language Survey: maqlaqsyalank hemyeega workshop, (Dec. 27-29, 2016) Chiloquin, OR

*The questions in this survey have been compiled and adapted from Chickasaw Nation (2006), Cherokee Nation (2002), Washoe Tribe of Nevada and California (n.d.), Hinton (2001b, pp. 54-55), First Peoples' Cultural Council (2013) and Australian Institute of Aboriginal Island and Torres Strait Islander Studies (2014).*

**This survey is for the maqlaqsyals (Klamath-Modoc) language.**

#### Basic Demographic Questions:

0.1 Age: \_\_\_\_\_ 0.2 Gender: Male Female  
Other (specify): \_\_\_\_\_

0.3 Tribe and/or Community/Town: \_\_\_\_\_

0.4 First Language(s): \_\_\_\_\_

#### 1. Degree of Knowledge and Exposure to maqlaqsyals

1.1 How well can you speak maqlaqsyals?

- Fluently
- Somewhat fluently; can make myself understood but have some problems with it
- Not very well: know a lot of words and phrases but have difficulties communicating
- Know some vocabulary, but can't speak in sentences
- Not at all

1.2 How well do you estimate that you can understand maqlaqsyals?

- Very well; understand everything someone says to me
- Understand most of a conversation, but not completely
- Understand some words and phrases only
- Not at all

1.3 Are you currently learning maqlaqsyals (for example, at a community class, with an Elder, at school, etc.)?

- Yes
- No

1.4 How many words do you estimate you can say in maqlaqsyals?

- 0
- 1--20
- 21--40
- 41--100
- 101--200
- 201--300
- 301--400
- Over 400

1.5 How many words do you estimate you can understand in maqlaqsyals?

- 0
- 1--20
- 21--40
- 41--100
- 101--200
- 201--300
- 301--400
- Over 400

1.6 How many fluent speakers do you know?

- 0
- 1--3
- 4--6
- 7--10
- 10 or more

1.7 How often do you interact with a fluent speaker?

- Daily
- Weekly
- Monthly
- Sometimes
- Never

1.8 Would you be able to identify any fluent speakers in your community? Please list their names.

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1.9 How much do you and your family use maqlaqsyals at **home**?

- Always
- Sometimes
- Very Little
- Never

1.10 Who speaks maqlaqsyals in your home at the present time? (select any that apply)

- Grandmother
- Grandfather
- Mother
- Father
- Brothers, Sisters
- None
- Other, please specify: \_\_\_\_\_

1.11 How much do you use or hear maqlaqsyals at **work** at the present time? This includes work on the land, such as gathering, hunting, fishing and crafting.

- Always
- Sometimes
- Very Little
- Never
- Not applicable; Don't know

1.12 Related to the previous question, how do you use or hear maqlaqsyals used at **work**, if applicable? For example, is it used at certain times, or in certain spaces? Or do you use it with staff or with clients or customers? This includes work on the land, such as gathering, hunting, fishing and crafting.

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1.13 How often do you use or hear maqlaqsyals at **school** at the present time?

- Always
- Sometimes
- Very Little
- Never
- Not applicable; Don't know

1.14 Related to the previous question, how do you use or hear maqlaqsyals used at **school**, if applicable? For example, is it used at certain times, or in certain spaces? Who uses maqlaqsyals?

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1.15 To what extent do you use or hear maqlaqsyals at **community gatherings** (e.g., sporting events, craft fairs, workshops or conferences and community meetings) at the present time?

- Always
- Sometimes
- Very Little
- Never
- Not applicable; Don't know

1.16 Related to the previous question, how do you use or hear maqlaqsyals used at **community gatherings**, if applicable? For example, is it used at certain times, or in certain spaces?

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1.17 To what extent do you use or hear maqlaqsyals at **traditional or ceremonial gatherings** at the present time?

- Always
- Sometimes
- Very Little
- Never
- Not applicable; Don't know

1.18 Related to the previous question, how do you use or hear maqlaqsyals used at **traditional or ceremonial gatherings**, if applicable?

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1.19 To what extent do you use or hear maqlaqsyals at **church** at the present time, if applicable?

- Always
- Sometimes
- Very Little
- Never
- Not applicable; Don't know

1.20 Related to the previous question, how do you use or hear maqlaqsyals used at **church**, if applicable?

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1.21 To what extent do you use or hear maqlaqsyals at your **tribal government activities** at the present time, if applicable?

- Always
- Sometimes
- Very Little
- Never
- Not applicable; Don't know

1.22 Related to the previous question, how do you use or hear maqlaqsyals used at your **tribe's government activities**, if applicable? For example, is it used at certain times, or in certain spaces?

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**2. Interest in Learning maqlaqsyals**

2.1 Would you be interested in learning maqlaqsyals?

- Yes
- No
- Not Sure

2.2 If you are interested in learning maqlaqsyals, please rank your **top three** reasons for learning maqlaqsyals:

- \_\_\_ Learning maqlaqsyals is vital to my culture and identity
- \_\_\_ One or more of my Ancestors spoke maqlaqsyals
- \_\_\_ To speak maqlaqsyals with my children and family
- \_\_\_ To speak with friends
- \_\_\_ To speak with my Elders
- \_\_\_ To speak at community gatherings
- \_\_\_ To speak at traditional and ceremonial gatherings
- \_\_\_ To speak at my workplace(s) and with co-workers
- \_\_\_ To broaden my knowledge in general
- \_\_\_ To feel more a part of the nation
- \_\_\_ To be able to read books and documents in maqlaqsyals
- \_\_\_ To have a language that is only understood by other community members
- \_\_\_ To keep maqlaqsyals and culture alive
- \_\_\_ Other: \_\_\_\_\_

**3. Language Attitudes Questions for Community Language Goals**

3.1 It is important for members of our community to know their language:

- |                          |                          |                          |                          |                          |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| Disagree<br>Strongly     | Disagree<br>Somewhat     | Neutral                  | Agree<br>Somewhat        | Agree Strongly           |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

3.2 Our language is vital to our identity and existence as a people:

- |                          |                          |                          |                          |                          |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| Disagree<br>Strongly     | Disagree<br>Somewhat     | Neutral                  | Agree<br>Somewhat        | Agree Strongly           |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

3.3 Our language is worth saving:

- |                          |                          |                          |                          |                          |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| Disagree<br>Strongly     | Disagree<br>Somewhat     | Neutral                  | Agree<br>Somewhat        | Agree Strongly           |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

3.4 Our language is difficult to learn:

- |                          |                          |                          |                          |                          |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| Disagree<br>Strongly     | Disagree<br>Somewhat     | Neutral                  | Agree<br>Somewhat        | Agree Strongly           |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

3.5 Our community should work hard to teach maqlaqsyals to people who don't know it:

- |                          |                          |                          |                          |                          |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| Disagree<br>Strongly     | Disagree<br>Somewhat     | Neutral                  | Agree<br>Somewhat        | Agree Strongly           |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

3.6 It would be a good idea to provide classes for families on how to keep their language in use at home:

Disagree Strongly	Disagree Somewhat	Neutral	Agree Somewhat	Agree Strongly
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

3.7 Our language should be taught in schools:

Disagree Strongly	Disagree Somewhat	Neutral	Agree Somewhat	Agree Strongly
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

3.8 It is important that our language is encouraged and used in workplaces:

Disagree Strongly	Disagree Somewhat	Neutral	Agree Somewhat	Agree Strongly
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

3.9 Our language should be encouraged and used in community gatherings:

Disagree Strongly	Disagree Somewhat	Neutral	Agree Somewhat	Agree Strongly
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

3.10 It is important that our language is encouraged and used in traditional or ceremonial gatherings:

Disagree Strongly	Disagree Somewhat	Neutral	Agree Somewhat	Agree Strongly
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

3.11 It is important that our language is encouraged and used in our Tribe's government activities:

Disagree Strongly	Disagree Somewhat	Neutral	Agree Somewhat	Agree Strongly
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

3.12 Please rank the following groups in terms of the priority for providing opportunities to learn maqlaqsyals (1 meaning first priority, to 5 meaning lowest priority):

Children	_____
Teens	_____
Elders	_____
Students	_____
Families	_____

3.13 It does not matter how maqlaqsyals is written:

Disagree Strongly	Disagree Somewhat	Neutral	Agree Somewhat	Agree Strongly
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

3.14 I would be willing to assist in a language program:

Disagree Strongly	Disagree Somewhat	Neutral	Agree Somewhat	Agree Strongly
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>