Summary of qʷiˑqʷiˑdiččaq (Makah) attitudinal pilot study[1]

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Language surveys are an important part of language planning. This paper presents a summary of the 2005 Makah Attitudinal Pilot Study, a pilot survey of the attitudes of qʷidiččaʔaˑtx̌ (the Makah people) toward qʷiˑqʷiˑdiččaq (the Makah language). Carried out with the cooperation and assistance of huʔiˑyap qʷaˑbitoˑwisiq, the survey examines attitude as one factor in language decline and restoration, updates the findings from an earlier qʷidiččaʔaˑtx̌ study, and prepares for an upcoming main study. The main question of q(M)APS is: *What is the attitude of the qʷidiččaʔaˑtx̌ toward qʷidiččaʔaˑtx̌?* As anticipated, the findings of this study were that a positive attitude obtains, though the survey population was a convenience sample and cannot be considered unbiased.

1 Introduction

This paper presents a summary of Makah Attitudinal Study[2] (Barrett, 2005), a thesis detailing a pilot study into the attitudes of the qʷidiččaʔaˑtx̌ (Makah people) toward qʷiˑqʷiˑdiččaq (the Makah language). To evaluate different aspects of the main question of q(M)APS *What is the attitude of the qʷidiččaʔaˑtx̌ toward qʷidiččaʔaˑtx̌?*, 10 research questions were formed and a survey was designed to answer the research questions. This paper uses the findings from four survey questions to evaluate four representative research questions. Positive results are found, and then suggestions are made for the main survey. It is hoped that this paper will be of use to language planning programs implementing language surveys.

[1] My thanks to my university advisors Alicia Beckford Wassink and Sharon Hargus for the encouragement to continue on with this project. Also to my advisor Alice Taff for the practical suggestions and encouragement. ʔuˑšuˑyakšʔalic to Adam Werle for advice on a great many issues. ʔuˑšuˑyakšʔalic also to the qʷidiččaʔaˑtx̌ and huʔiˑyap qʷaˑbitoˑwisiq for their warm manner and kind assistance.

[2] Referred to as q(M)APS, from the original title, qʷiˑqʷiˑdiččaq (Makah) Attitudinal Pilot Study.

2 Background

A practical guide to language planning in an endangered language setting is provided in Hinton (2001).[3] She places language surveys in stage 3 "preplanning and research" as means for planners to understand what the community's concerns and interest level are. The 1997 Acoma Language Use Survey (Sims 2001) was thus implemented to apprise the linguistic status quo of the Acoma Pueblo community. Although educational materials had been developed and introduced into the local elementary school curriculum beginning in the late 1970s, problems such as discontinuity in funding, a lack of community involvement, and a decreasing number of acomaphonic children raised concerns about Acoma language vitality. The Use Study provided solid documentation showing that the community wanted to increase Acoma use and education as well as indicating that inadequate adult fluency was behind children not learning the language (*ibid*, p. 67).

When undertaking attitudinal surveys, two major issues must be addressed: (1) obtaining a complete picture of each subject's attitude and (2) avoiding incorrect attitude assessment due to subjects altering their responses as an effect of the survey process.

To obtain a complete picture of a subject's attitude, attitude may be analyzed into the components of cognition (knowledge), affectivity (evaluation), and conation (behavior or action) as in Lambert and Lambert (1964), Rokeach (1968), and Fishbein (1967). The CAC model is reviewed with respect to language attitudes is provided in Agheyisi and Fishman (1970). Martín (2002) uses this approach in her detailed study of Gibraltarian language attitudes of the stigmatized language Yanito (Llanito). Her definitions of each component are the basis for the definitions used here.[4]

The cognitive component encompasses thoughts, beliefs, and desires of the respondent with respect to the situation that obtains in the social setting. The affective component refers to feelings on an individual basis and feelings regarding social interactions; whereas cognition includes forethought and consideration of the outcomes of interpersonal dealings, affectivity encompasses that part of the psyche with a directly emotive element. In contrast to these, the conative component describes how linguistic choice is mediated by the social situation at hand as well as activities in which the speaker takes part.

By balancing the CAC elements used in research instruments, an integrated picture of attitude can be obtained. This model also assists in accessing respondents' true attitudes even when altered due to the observation process. This issue is next described, particularly with respect to values running contrary to the dominant culture.

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[3] For a theoretical discussion on language planning, the reader is directed to Haugen (1972) and Fishman (1974).

[4] Dalvit (2004) also provides a practical description of the CAC model.

Accommodation theory was developed in the 1960s and 1970s to address how speakers modify their behavior depending on their interlocutor (Giles and Powesland 1997) and is explored with respect to interlocutor perception in Street and Hopper (1982). When a question attempts to access a view not sanctioned by society at large, a respondent may be inclined to converge to social norms, repressing that view. Attitudes cannot therefore be expected to be internally consistent or uniform across a variety of situations. This multi-valued aspect of attitudes is explored in depth in Fishman (1968), showing how differences in language use correlate to issues such as life plans and background, and in Lambert *et al.* (1960), showing how subjects make personal evaluations based merely on the language variety spoken. An accurate assessment of attitude can therefore be difficult to make due to the complex sociolinguistic factors governing communicative interactions.

In his explication of differences in linguistic practices between groups of urban youths, Labov (1972) defines overt as referring to "norms of the dominant class". Overt prestige is a positive evaluation reflecting supralocal valorization and is typically openly expressed. In opposition is covert prestige, the positive evaluation expressed only in in-group settings. Speakers are typically not comfortable expressing these feelings of covert prestige openly, instead, expressing them in settings emphasizing solidarity or shared local identity between interlocutors.

Stigmatized language varieties such as creoles (Rickford and Traugott 1985) are convenient for exploring overt and covert prestige in language. Beckford Wassink (1999) uses a three-pronged approach to investigate attitudes toward Jamaican Creole (JC), such a stigmatized language variety. In her study, questions were classified into (1) attitudes toward JC in general, (2) opinions regarding the use of JC, and (3) reactions to hearing JC spoken by a third party. The questions in (1) were direct questions about the language, accessing overt attitudes. Those in (2) were also accessing overt attitudes because speakers negatively evaluating JC are unlikely to report a willingness to use it as that would reflect badly on themselves. The indirect questions in (3) circumvented this by allowing the respondent to openly express covertly held attitudes in a positive manner by psychologically placing the stigma of language use on a third party. This study shows how people can hold both a positive overt attitude toward a local standard as well as a positive covert attitude toward a stigmatized language variety.

Table 1 is a matrix showing the four possible permutations of overt and covert attitudes that can obtain along with examples as they pertain to languages (Beckford Wassink 2006). In this OvCov matrix, the rows show overt prestige, with a positive overt attitude toward a language equated with official sanction, and a negative overt attitude with public proscription. The columns indicate covert prestige, corresponding to in-group sanction and proscription. In the upper left box, then, Mandarin in China is judged as having support both in the public sphere and the local community/individual. Similarly, an endangered language such as Hebrew that has successfully revitalized has the support in

both the public and private spheres. In contrast to this, in the upper right box, Gaeilge (Irish) is seen as publicly sanctioned as per its official status granted in the Irish constitution (People of Éire 1937), but lacking a high valuation in private as evidenced by its decline in use as of 1996 (Cotter 2001). The public sanctioning of English in the qʷidičča?a·tx̌ nation during the assimilationist period by the US government despite the unwillingness of the local community to use it is also shown in this box (see section 3.1). The lower left box shows languages without government support, but with personal/community prestige; thus JC as described above is included here as are Native American languages when revitalization begins at the local level. The remaining box shows languages whose use is desired neither publicly nor privately. Lacking prestige either covertly or overtly, languages lose speakers and become obsolescent.

Table 1. OvCov Matrix

	+covert (in-group)	-covert (in-group)
+overt (public)	Publicly and privately sanctioned	Publicly sanctioned, privately proscribed
	Mandarin, Hebrew	Gaeilge; English at start of assimilationist period in di·ya·
-overt (public)	Publicly stigmatized, privately sanctioned	Publicly and privately proscribed
	JC; Native American languages at initial stage of revitalization	Tocharian; qʷi·qʷi·diččaq at end of assimilationist period

To gap the difference between attitudinal attitudes on the micro and macro levels, Silverstein (1995) describes a medium of indexicality, essentially a construct whereby speakers analogize by projecting micro-level concerns on a macro-level social map that serves as a guide for social interactions. The general process is that language users associate certain linguistic behavior with attributes of the social domain, situation, or speaker; the former attributes are then taken to be indicative of the latter linguistic behavior. This association provides language users with a tool to interact and comprehend language on social levels. Therefore, sociological and linguistic issues can be expected to be projected through the CAC components of attitude, so questions can be distributed to access covert attitudes. Indexicality can also be used to explain why speakers converge or diverge as they express themselves using such analogies to indicate their intent on the social level.

In this section, the CAC components cognition, affectivity, and conation were defined, and their application to obtain a complete picture of a speaker's overt and covert attitudes was discussed. The next section discusses the community where q(M)APS was implemented.

3 qʷidičča?a·tx̌ nation

The qʷidičča?a·tx̌ are a people whose language continuity is in question. The language traditionally spoken there is qʷi·qʷi·diččaq, the southernmost language in the South Wakashan family. As described below, geographical isolation, historical circumstance, and recent ethnolinguistic developments make the qʷidičča?a·tx̌ community an interesting case for examining language attitudes. After introducing the community, a historical language survey is discussed to situate the linguistic situation in the past.

3.1 Overview of the qʷidičča?a·tx̌ nation

Sources such as Renker and Gunther (1990) as well as Peterson and the Makah Cultural and Research Center (2002) provide a solid overview of qʷidičča?a·tx̌ culture and history and are the basis for the brief history here.

qʷidičča?a·tx̌i·c kʷiči·ya· (the Makah Reservation) is located on the extreme northwestern tip of the Olympic Peninsula in Washington State. After the qʷidičča?a·tx̌ signed a treaty with the United States in 1855, assimilationist schools were introduced in which the use of qʷi·qʷi·diččaq was punished, restricting the language. Likely in connection with the ethnic revival of the times, qʷi·qʷi·diččaq began to be taught informally in the 1960s. The opening of the Makah Museum in the 1970s led to a cultural renaissance, and the informal qʷi·qʷi·diččaq lessons were made official with the inception of the Makah Language Program in 1978 (Riedel 1992). The last two native speakers considered to be truly fluent in qʷi·qʷi·diččaq passed away in 2002 (Werle 2002). Nevertheless, language classes in the form of *Head Start* for children, public school education, and adult evening classes continue to this day, with two new instructors added in 2006 (Riedel 1992; Pascua 2006). Werle (*ibid*) also indicates there are two children whose mother talks to them in qʷi·qʷi·diččaq, though they are not believed to be mother tongue speakers.

The geographic isolation of the qʷidičča?a·tx̌ nation, the recent linguistic and cultural revitalization, and the language survey of 1980 described in the next section provide unique sociolinguistic circumstances useful as a case study of language revitalization.

3.2 ?usid?i (Renker) language study

A household language survey was conducted on qʷidičča?a·tx̌i·c kʷiči·ya· by ?usid?i (Ann Renker) in 1980 to assess the language situation at di·ya· (Neah Bay). A brief description is provided here of the findings of The Makah Language Survey (Renker 1980) and the survey materials (collectively referred to herein as the 1980 Report) as they pertain to q(M)APS; a more detailed overview and account of the data from that survey is provided in Barrett

(2006). In the discussion of the survey below, it is found that qʷi·qʷi·diččaq was apparently being transmitted, and attitudes toward language revitalization.

In the 1980 Report, various questions were asked that provide information about observed domain use for children (q(M)APS research question 1). Variables 79 and 80 found that 28% of children used qʷi·qʷi·diččaq when speaking with parents and 20% with friends. Variable 81 queries specific domains of children using qʷi·qʷi·diččaq with friends. The most common responses were at school, other, and at pow-wows. Variables 89 and 90 found that only 9% of the parents tell stories in qʷi·qʷi·diččaq to their children, while all do so in English. The percentage rises to 38% in variable 91 in response to singing to their children, perhaps a reflection of the importance of songs as a part of *tupa·t* (cultural property rights).

With respect to community resources (research question 4), seven questions inquire about instituting an educational program. Of these, variable 92 asks whether a program should be set up and had a 97% agreement rate. The most preferred venue for the program (variable 93) was a school at 43%, 20% in conjunction with the senior citizens' program, 14% in the community, and 8% at home. Variables 97 and 98 ask about the respondent's interest in being involved with the program. 78% were interested, more than 25% wanted to learn the language, and approximately 20% wanted to teach.

With respect to who should learn qʷi·qʷi·diččaq (research question 5), variable 84 asks whether the respondent wants their children to speak qʷi·qʷi·diččaq and variable 85 whether the respondent has attempted to teach their children qʷi·qʷi·diččaq. The levels of affirmative answers were 94% and 31%, respectively. Presumably teaching means taking an active role in directing a child's attention to qʷi·qʷi·diččaq equivalents to English words.

No data is available that corresponds to the relationship of language to identity (research question 8).

In this section, historical data found in the 1980 ?usid?i study that relate to three of the four research questions was discussed. While actual language use was found to be 28% to 38%, interest in a language program was nearly unanimous as was the desire for respondents' children to learn the language. Overall, the ?usid?i study demonstrates a strong enthusiasm for language revitalization in the community. In the next section, four sample research questions are discussed thematically, and null hypotheses are set.

4 Research questions and null hypotheses

In order to explore the main question of the survey, *What is the attitude of the qʷidiččaʔaˑtx̌ toward qʷiˑqʷiˑdiččaqʔ*, four themes were developed as a framework for constructing the research questions of q(M)APS. These themes are designed to provide insight into respondents' social worlds and how language fits in their ideology. The themes are concerned with the interaction of language and the four areas of use, resources, education, and identity. Each

theme is briefly described below, followed by a representative research question and null hypothesis for each theme. Appendix A provides a listing of all 10 research questions, the null hypotheses, and corresponding survey questions.

The first theme concerns the use of language. Domains in which speakers feel language use is appropriate and actually use language are indicative of how respondents view the role of language in their social world.

In "Diglossia", Ferguson (1959) discusses communities in which two languages serve specific social domains in complementary distribution. One language is referred to as the "High" variety, which is typically used for public domains such as sermons, instructions to workers, and university lectures, while the other "Low" variety is typically used for personal letters, conversations with familiars, and folk literature. In his monograph on language reduction and simplification in the dying language Arvanitika, Trudgill (1976-1977) refers to the use of a language in only particular situations as *restriction.*

Before the Revival of Hebrew beginning in the nineteenth century, Hebrew was restricted to a few domains such as synagogue and fiction (Nahir 2002). The expansion to the domestic domain brought about an increase in the customary settings where Hebrew was used, thereby providing new opportunities to learn and expand the language. Tracking domains of language use is thus important to understanding the status quo of a language, particularly an endangered one as a change in the domains of use may indicate an expansion or restriction of the language.

The domains of language use are thus a telling indicator of attitude toward that language. Although a positive overt attitude toward a language might obtain in a community not using that language[5], and a negative overt attitude obtain toward a language in use (such as English during the assimilationist period when q^{w}i·q^{w}i·diččaq was prohibited in school), the domains of language use are useful as evidence of language attitude. The representative research questions designed for this theme is:

Research question 1:	In what sociolinguistic domains is q^{w}i·q^{w}i·diččaq currently in use?
Null hypothesis:	q^{w}i·q^{w}i·diččaq is used in all sociocultural domains to varying degrees.

The second theme is the allocation of resources for language. All human activities have economic costs such as time and money, so studying attitudes toward the distribution of resources to language provides understanding into how individuals value language with respect to other activities. A positive orientation toward budgeting community resources for a language program may be taken as a positive attitude held toward that language. The degree of a positive or negative attitude toward a language should result in a greater or

[5] For example, a positive attitude is commonly found toward Latin in the United States.

lesser willingness to allocate limited resources to language activities. The representative research question addressing this is:

Research question 4:	To what extent do qʷidičča?a·tx̌ feel community resources should be dedicated to language training and revitalization?
Null hypothesis:	qʷidičča?a·tx̌ feel more time and money should be allocated to ensure a future for the qʷi·qʷi·diččaq.

The third theme of education includes understanding what respondents view as an appropriate range of people for learning the language. In a community where language education is provided (including, for example, English in the United States), assessing the attitude people of the community have toward that language education is an important part of understanding the overall attitude toward the language. The selection of particular demographic groups as appropriate or inappropriate for learning a language provides insight to the social positioning of that language.

In a community whose language use is in a diminished state, education may play a critical role in the continuity of the language. An important aspect of this theme is understanding what the attitude is toward people of various demographic groups learning the language. The representative research question for this issue is:

Research question 5:	In their self-reports, who do members of the qʷidičča?a·tx̌ community feel should learn qʷi·qʷi·diččaq?
Null hypothesis:	Members of the qʷidičča?a·tx̌ community feel that all adults regardless of age ought to learn qʷi·qʷi·diččaq.

The final theme is that of language and identity. The use of language for communication with social variation brings about a complex relationship in how people present themselves and how they are viewed by others. Also, the manner in which identity is perceived as integrated with language will be reflected in language use. Nevertheless, while language may be a part of identity, it need not be so.

Daily routine is predicated on concepts such as earning wages (working), acquiring food (shopping), and child rearing (including parental leave from work), around which people plan their lives. Language is an all-pervasive medium utilized for these everyday activities, whether in interactions with others or as a means of considering tasks mind-internally; it is the interface people use to communicate with and understand the world. According to Liebkind (1999), language is one means by which individuals bond their personal identity with their collective ethnic one. A culture or ethnicity may thus

be paired or identified with a language as found in studies such as the "Report on Actual Conditions of the Ainu People in Hokkaido", where approximately 37% of Ainu respondents noted language as being a part of the Ainu culture despite their inability to speak the language (Sawai 1998). Language is not necessarily an important characteristic of ethnic group membership, however, as may be found among minority ethnicities in Canada (Anderson 1979). Moreover, a case study on the Arvanites notes a change in progress from a view that Arvanitika is essential to the culture to one where it is not (Trudgill and Tzavaras 1977). As the authors describe, this shift has occurred after centuries of stable lingua-ethnic identity, resulting in a change in the construction of that ethnic identity. The examination of identity may therefore lead to a better understanding of how a community is socially situated in its environs, and the degree to which language is found as critical to ethnic identity may indicate the tenacity with which a people will work at language maintenance in an endangered situation.

Thus, while qʷiˑqʷiˑdiččaq may be an integral part of qʷidičča?aˑtx̌ identity, it is not necessarily the case. Even so, it may nevertheless maintain a valued position as a part of the community's cultural heritage. The representative research question posed for this theme is:

Research question 8:	What is the role of qʷiˑqʷiˑdiččaq in the self-perception of ethnic identity?
Null hypothesis:	qʷidičča?aˑtx̌ feel qʷiˑqʷiˑdiččaq is a necessary component of ethnic identity.

In this section, language use in sociolinguistic domains, the allocation of resources for language programs, language targets, and the relation of language to identity were considered as the four main themes of q(M)APS. Research questions and null hypotheses were set as means to answer the main question of q(M)APS. The next section describes the data collection methods.

5 Methods

Because my outsider status would have made data collection difficult, both because the community is closely knit and due to accommodation factors, it was decided the surveyors would be Tribal members. huʔiˑyaˑp qʷaˑbitowisiq (the Makah Cultural and Research Center) agreed to allocate time for three employees to conduct the survey interviews as data resulting from the survey can be used for the Makah Language Program. As 12 surveys were desired for the pilot, each surveyor was asked to select and survey five respondents to allow some room in case errors occurred in the survey process. All 15 surveys were collected and tabulated.

Because of the pro-revitalization orientation of the huʔiˑyaˑp qʷaˑbitowisiq and MLP, there were concerns that the people selected by the

surveyors might have a bias in favor of language revitalization and that convergence toward revitalization attitude might result in the interviews. This issue was briefly discussed with the surveyors, and they were requested to gather data from as varied a group as possible. The surveyors were also told that a variety of opinions both negative and positive would be most helpful in assessing the current status of the language situation. Selection of respondents was left entirely up to the surveyors, and no information was gathered regarding actual respondent selection. The surveyors all had prior survey experience, so only a short meeting was held to discuss data collection methodology.

Enabling participants to withdraw from the study even after the interview while ensuring the privacy of individuals was a paramount concern. The consent form was used to address both of these concerns. Two copies of the consent form were prepared for each survey, one labeled "File Copy" to be returned to me and the other labeled "Subject's Copy" for the subject to keep. A reference number was written on the subject's copy and the survey response form, but not on the file copy. The consent form also provided contact information for me by which they could request removal from the study by identifying only the reference number.

The survey work was carried out over a period of about three weeks between 18 April and 28 June 2005.

Before beginning the survey, the respondent gave provided informed consent for the responses to be used. With the exception of the demographic section, the survey questions were read aloud by the surveyor, who then recorded the answer provided. The surveyors were instructed to provide the respondent with a reading copy of the survey so they might follow along with the surveyor if desired.

The end of the main survey section ended with a feedback and comments question. The surveyor then read instructions that recapitulated the confidential nature of the questionnaire and requested demographic data.

The respondent was instructed to fill out the demographic section so as to be out of view of the surveyor, then fold and hand it to the surveyor for direct placement in an envelope. This process not only provided a visual reassurance of the security of the survey, but also ensured that personal information such as household income and age would not be disclosed to the surveyors, fellow members in the fairly close-knit qʷidičča?a·tx̌ community.

When all the surveys were complete, they were delivered to me, at which point I inventoried them. After the inventory verification process, the responses were recorded and analyzed on Excel worksheets.

6 Results

Having established the theoretical issues for the survey and described the setting in which it was carried out, the data obtained is described next. The methods and results of three of the demographic questions are followed by four

survey questions and their results, with one survey question for each theme-research question. All of the survey questions are provided in Appendix B, a condensed version of the actual survey form.

6.1 Composition of the sample

As discussed above, the population surveyed was a convenience sample, so the sample should not be considered statistically valid. Correlations between the demographic variables age, gender, and income were not found to the survey questions here.

Age was elicited by asking respondents for their year of birth. The calculation for age was made by subtracting that from 2005. The range in ages was 27 to 67. The median age was 38, and the mean 44. A visual representation of ages is shown in Figure 1. Although individual ages are reasonably evenly distributed throughout the range, there are two major disjoints from 38 to 44 and from 44 to 54. An etic grouping of decades such as 21-30 leaves a large gap from 20 to 26 on the low end, only one data point in the 40s, and a small gap from 68 to 70 on the high end. Two emic groupings were made using 40 as the division point, roughly dividing the older group in the era when informal language classes were organized in the 1960s, and the younger too young to remember or not yet born.

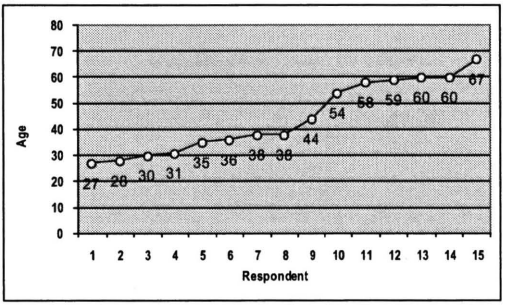

Figure 1. Age of respondents

This placed 8 respondents in the younger group and 7 in the older group. The demarcating age of 40 may also obtain a meaningful distinction as the point at which people's life outlook changes.

The next demographic variable is gender. As shown in Figure 2, the responses from the survey showed a female-male ratio of two-thirds (10) to one-third (5) out of the 15 respondents. This skewing is thought to be an artifact of the small size of the sample and the respondent selection process, though Barrett (2006) shows there is some skewing in the population.

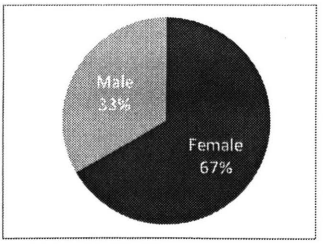

Figure 2. Gender

Annual household income was used as an indicator for socioeconomic class. Respondents were provided with nine ranges of income from zero to $49,999 in $5,000 blocks, plus an additional box for higher income. These income ranges were designed to identify nine socioeconomic levels, and were selected based on the US Census 2000, modified slightly to form rounded figures. As shown in

Figure 3, there was skewing toward the middle three income categories. One category each in the bottom and top third had zero respondents, and the mode was 2 respondents. The lower three classes thus had three 4 respondents, the middle 8, and the upper 3.

The demographics of the convenience sample thus showed a bias in two out of three of these variables. While the age distribution in the younger and older groups was fairly even, there were twice as many females as males and the middle socioeconomic class was over-represented. In the next section, the results of the survey questions are shown.

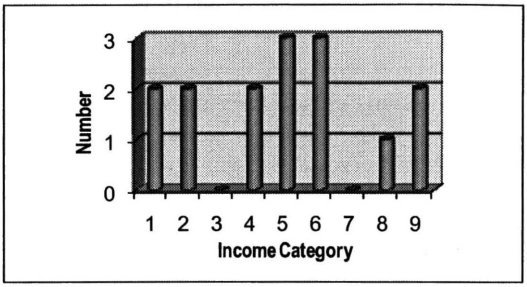

Figure 3. Number of respondents by income category

6.2 Results of survey questions

Four survey questions were selected to evaluate each of the research questions. The results from those survey questions are discussed here and generally show a positive outlook toward q^{w}i·q^{w}i·diččaq.

Q3: Name circumstances of q^{w}i·q^{w}i·diččaq use

This question asked for situations which q^{w}i·q^{w}i·diččaq was used or its use was observed over the previous six months. This question was categorized as being conative because it addresses the question of language choice within the private and public spheres as well as the choice of media, that is, how linguistic choice is mediated by the social situation at hand as well as activities in which the speaker takes part.

This question is intended as a rough gauge of the extent to which q^{w}i·q^{w}i·diččaq is used in daily life. Writing was not queried in this pilot as it was believed to constitute only a minor portion of the overall uses of q^{w}i·q^{w}i·diččaq. A number of examples and general classifications (person, place, reading material, and occasion) were supplied to prime the respondents and to better help them understand what sort of data was being requested. Information on whether that experience was spoken, read or heard was also elicited.

All of the respondents provided at least one example, with one respondent giving 11 instances. Many people responded with a place. Seven respondents provided 8 circumstances of q^{w}i·q^{w}i·diččaq use at the Community Hall. All of those reported hearing q^{w}i·q^{w}i·diččaq, most included using it (speaking), and one included reading as well. Dinners, potlatches and "other

gatherings" were cited as occasions when qʷiˑqʷiˑdiččaq was used at the Community Hall.

A summary of those responses (97 total) that could be classified according to a location is provided in Table 2. The Community Hall is home to gatherings such as potlatches, parties, and memorials, and likely includes some of the items in the "Gatherings/potlatches" category. The latter was included as a location category because of its cultural significance and because the locations included have a common location theme. The "Other public buildings" classification includes the WIC (a government-sponsored organization to provide nutrition for low-income children), the Makah Senior Center, and the tech center. The "Home" category included instances of visiting other people at their homes as well as respondents' own homes. The "School" category included language lessons.

Table 2. Circumstances of qʷiˑqʷiˑdiččaq use (by location)

Location	Responses (%)	Location	Responses (%)
Home	23	Church	6
Community Hall	18	Museum	5
Workplace	13	Market	3
Other public buildings	12	Public (signs, clothing)	2
Gatherings/potlatches	11	Total: 99% (97 responses)	
School	6		

The responses show that qʷiˑqʷiˑdiččaq is used in a wide range of domains, both public and private. Cultural type locations (the Community Hall and gatherings) were the most common locations at a combined 29%. Behind this was the home at 23% and work at 13%.

To get an idea of how qʷiˑqʷiˑdiččaq is used, the responses to Q3 were also classified by use, again where appropriate or possible. Assemblage categories including "Gatherings" and "Memorials" were included as these are important cultural institutions with specific language use. Greeting, announcing, and singing also have special cultural significance in the qʷidiččaʔaˑtx̌ culture, though the former two categories may not necessarily be cultural activities. All three responses (4%) indicating hearing qʷiˑqʷiˑdiččaq on CD were cases of respondents listening to CDs to learn qʷiˑqʷiˑdiččaq. The speaking category in Table 3 includes all activities noted as a form of speaking (such as visiting with neighbors), but does not necessarily include the activities checked as oral.

Table 3. Circumstances of q^{w}i·q^{w}i·diččaq use (by use)

Use	Responses (%)	Use	Responses (%)
Learning q^{w}i·q^{w}i·diččaq	15	Religious	7
Speaking	15	Reading	6
Gatherings	11	Memorials	5
Greetings	11	CDs	4
Potlatch/party	10	Announcing	1
Singing	8		
Signs	7	Total: 100% (84 responses)	

Here, the large percent of learning and speaking are notable (15% each). Although a strong cultural use (gatherings, potlatches, singing, memorials, and announcing) is still seen, everyday and educational uses are significant as well.

Q25: Use of funds for classes and revitalization

This question was aimed at ascertaining an initial look at the economic attitudes of the q^{w}idiččaʔa·tx̌ toward language revitalization. This question was categorized as being cognitive because the issue of using public funds is an issue related to sociopolitical ideology, that is, a desire with respect to the situation in the social setting.

All responses were in favor of using Tribal funds for language programs. Two responses were particularly strongly in favor, with 1 placing q^{w}i·q^{w}i·diččaq classes/revitalization on part with health in terms of importance, and the other placing it as the top priority for the Tribe as an activity that benefits all q^{w}idiččaʔa·tx̌. In addition to this, 9 respondents indicated the importance of using Tribal funds, and 4 others that an increase in Tribal funds should be made. One further respondent mentioned funding should be maintained throughout people's lifetimes.

Q22: Who should learn q^{w}i·q^{w}i·diččaq?

Respondents were asked who they thought should learn q^{w}i·q^{w}i·diččaq. This question was categorized as being affective because it involves the question of how the respondent feels about group identity, that is, individual feelings regarding social interactions.

This question was included to gauge the attitude people hold concerning who should learn q^{w}i·q^{w}i·diččaq. Although the question was trying to assess principal of interest was whether a certain age group is considered a more important target of education, the form of the question was left open in order to encourage unanticipated answers for further development on the main survey.

Figure 4 shows classification of the responses based on four criteria: mention of "everyone" or "anyone," "Makah" or "q^{w}idiččaʔa·tx̌," "non-Makah," and people invested in the community. Some responses mentioning "everyone" also indicated whether they intended to include non-Makah, though others did not. Community investment was a common theme in 5 responses, 1 of which

said, "All members who are invested in the community...." Other such responses included mention of attorneys, linguists, and ministers. Twelve respondents mentioned "everyone," and 12 respondents specifically mentioned "Makah" or "qʷidiččaʔaˑtx̌." Eight respondents indicated non-Makah.

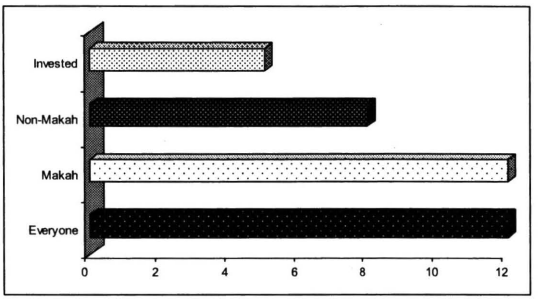

Figure 4. Who should learn qwiˑqwiˑdiččaq?

No respondent specified a group of people who should not learn qʷiˑqʷiˑdiččaq. Only one respondent addressed the issue of age, indicating that Head Start through 12th grade should include Makah instruction, and that adults should be provided with the opportunity to learn Makah.

Q5: Self-Identification as qʷidiččaʔaˑtx̌

Respondents were asked to state factors which contribute to identification of a person as qʷidiččaʔaˑtx̌. This question was also categorized as being affective because it addresses issues involving group identity.

A total of 52 factors were identified, only 3 of which were language. More common were cultural activities (15 citations), ancestry and blood (8), and areas of knowledge including oral history (5).

In this section, the group results were tallied for four representative questions. qʷidiččaʔaˑtx̌ was found to be used in a variety of circumstances, unanimous accord was found for using Tribal funds for language programs, and a liberal view toward language learners obtained, though language was not listed often as an element of ethnic identification.

6.3 Individual results

From the sample, two individuals were selected as illustrative examples in the community. The first is strongly pro-qʷiˑqʷiˑdiččaq, advocating it as the primary language of the community. The second is also pro-qʷiˑqʷiˑdiččaq, though not as enthusiastic as Respondent J. A summary of their responses follow.

Respondent J was a female over 40 who felt strongly about the issues being addressed in this study (no question was left unanswered) and was concerned about imparting her opinion about the states of English and Makah in Neah Bay. At one point, she added to a response to an earlier question, emphasizing the measures already in place that indicate Makah is a living language.

While she expressed a positive attitude toward the use of Makah, typical of other respondents, she went much further, demonstrating a desire to

reverse the use of English in the community back to Makah. For Q22, she said that "every single Makah in the village" should learn. She believes that this language program should be funded to the same extent as "we fund our health program/s."

Respondent J also stated that language is a factor in self-identification as a Makah in Q5, listing that along with blood and the treaty between the Makah and the US.

In sum, Respondent J feels strongly that Makah should be restored to its traditional place as the medium of communication among the Makah. To do this, she believes qʷiˑqʷiˑdičča̱q education should be given a high priority in the Tribal budget.

Respondent F was a male with a household income at the high end of the scale. He was in the over-40 group. Respondent F seemed enthusiastic about speaking Makah and uncomfortable with the current status quo of the language. He feels that language access should be available for all people, particularly children. He has spoken, read, and heard Makah at work in the six months preceding the survey. He placed language education as the top priority for Tribal funds.

7 Conclusions

This section discusses the conclusions of q(M)APS. Although three out of four of the hypotheses were proven, it must be kept in mind that the survey sample population is not a statistically valid sample, so the findings here must be considered tentative. The hypotheses of q(M)APS are evaluated below.

Null hypothesis 1: qʷiˑqʷiˑdičča̱q is used in all sociocultural domains to varying degrees.

This hypothesis was supported by the results. The basis for this determination was question Q3 (conative). Although frequency was not polled, Q3 indicated the use of language over a wide range of sociolinguistic domains.

Null hypothesis 4: qʷidičča?aˑtx̌ feel more time and money should be allocated to ensure a future for the qʷiˑqʷiˑdičča̱q.

This hypothesis was supported by the results. The basis for this determination was question Q25 (cognitive). The support of using public funds for language programming in Q25 indicates strong evidence for this hypothesis.

Null hypothesis 5: Members of the qʷidičča?aˑtx̌ community feel that all adults regardless of age ought to learn qʷiˑqʷiˑdičča̱q.

This hypothesis was supported by the results. The basis for this determination was question Q22 (affective). The responses for Q22 of

"everybody" and anybody who wants to learn with respect to who should learn qʷiˑqʷiˑdiccaq is clear with respect to adults.

Null hypothesis 8: qʷidiccaʔaˑtx̌ feel qʷiˑqʷiˑdiccaq is a necessary component of ethnic identity.

This hypothesis was not supported by the results. The basis for this is Q5 (affective). With only 3 citations of language out of 52 factors provided in response to Q5, the hypothesis was not supported in this question.

Out of four hypotheses discussed, then, three were supported by the data. The hypothesis not proved, 8, found that qʷiˑqʷiˑdiccaq is not a necessary component of ethnic identity. In contrast to this, a wide range of domains, unanimous support for resource allocation, and high support for adult learning obtain. Overall, then, the answer to the main question, *What is the attitude of the qʷidiccaʔaˑtx̌ toward qʷiˑqʷiˑdiccaq?* is found as being positive. As with the individual hypotheses, it must be remembered that the surveyors are connected to the Makah Language Program, so the selection of respondents as well as their responses may be biased toward qʷiˑqʷiˑdiccaq more than the population in general and more than they might have responded to people not connected to the program.

8 Most important findings

In addition to the conclusions of the previous sections, the most important findings to come out of q(M)APS are as follows:

(1) In the 1980 Study, a strong consensus (97%) was found for instituting an educational program. q(M)APS found a unanimous consensus for using Tribal funds for language revitalization, an indication that interest in language remained strong during the 25-year interval of the two studies.

(2) In the 1980 Study, a strong interest (94%) in having children learn qʷiˑqʷiˑdiccaq was found. In q(M)APS, 80% said that everyone should learn the language. Again, interest over the long-term is found in revitalizing the language through learning.

(3) An aspect of language ideology that was not anticipated to emerge in this pilot study was the placement of language within the local culture and the relation to extralocal elements. Although language was not seen as a necessary element in identity, it was perceived as being extremely important. Moreover, several people indicated that non-qʷidiccaʔaˑtx̌ can or should learn qʷiˑqʷiˑdiccaq. It seems, then, that ethnolocal language has a central place in the community that anyone (insider or outsider) can or should utilize when dealing with the community.

9 Directions for further research

From the positive findings, the question immediately arises of why qʷiˑqʷiˑdiččaq remains an endangered language. Although the CAC model was used to balance the main question of this survey, detailed answers concerning use were collected only for the affective component; neither detailed data concerning qʷiˑqʷiˑdiččaq proficiency nor detailed frequency data for use was collected. Detailed conative and cognitive data concerning actual use is necessary to better diagnose the state of language use. The findings here suggest that at least the potential for expansion of use is present based on the strong affective component for use. One possible approach to obtain a more in-depth understanding of the community is the interviews described by Labov (1984).

While the 1980 Report found that school, "other", and pow-wows were the most common locations for children to use qʷiˑqʷiˑdiččaq, q(M)APS found that home and the community hall were the most common locations for adults, with gatherings/potlatches and school garnering 11% and 6% of responses, respectively. As the former results were for children, the higher scoring of school is to be expected. Storytelling was 9% and singing 38% in the earlier report. q(M)APS did not specifically query storytelling, but 8% of the respondents mentioned singing. In both cases, the 1980 Report was based on closed questions with preset answers, while q(M)APS used an open format. Further research is needed to see if there is a trend in domain use among children as well as if there is a trend in the adults now who would have been children at the time of the earlier survey.

As described above in the discussion of Trudgill and Tzavaras (1977), language is not necessarily a part of ethnic identity. The finding that language is not a required element of ethnic identity is an interesting finding that requires further investigation to explore the relationship of language to ethnic identity and culture among the qʷidiččaʔaˑtx̌.

The finding that a positive attitude toward qʷiˑqʷiˑdiččaq obtains leads to an important question for future research: Is the positive attitude being translated into a shift whereby the decline of qʷiˑqʷiˑdiččaq has been arrested or reversed, and if not, why not? Possibilities of why language use is not widespread despite positive attitudes are social awkwardness that may be present when using qʷiˑqʷiˑdiččaq or avoidance of qʷiˑqʷiˑdiččaq out of the fear of making production errors. Additionally, activation of language use may be key to understanding the discrepancy between the positive attitude found and the status of language use. These issues should be a major focus in the main survey.

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Appendix A. Research Questions, null hypotheses and corresponding survey questions

Main question of q(M)APS: *What is the attitude of the q^{w}idičča?a·tx̌ toward q^{w}i·q^{w}i·diččaq?*

Theme	Null Hypothesis	Hypothesis Demonstrated?	Survey Question Number
Language & Use	1. q^{w}i·q^{w}i·diččaq is used in all sociocultural domains to varying degrees.	Yes	3, 9, 14
	2. q^{w}idičča?a·tx̌ want to see q^{w}i·q^{w}i·diččaq used freely across all sociocultural domains.	Yes	19, 20, 24, 26
Language & Resources	3. 40% of the people are willing to commit 1 to 2 hours a week for q^{w}i·q^{w}i·diččaq revitalization.	Yes	16, 17, 18
	4. q^{w}idičča?a·tx̌ feel more time and money should be allocated to ensure a future for q^{w}i·q^{w}i·diččaq.	Yes	17, 18, 25
Language & Education	5. Members of the q^{w}idičča?a·tx̌ community feel that all adults regardless of age ought to learn q^{w}i·q^{w}i·diččaq.	Yes	20, 22
	6. Participation in a q^{w}i·q^{w}i·diččaq class leads to higher valuation of q^{w}i·q^{w}i·diččaq.	No	13
	7. Members of the q^{w}idičča?a·tx̌ community want to use all approaches to language learning.	Yes	21
Language & Identity	8. q^{w}idičča?a·tx̌ feel q^{w}i·q^{w}i·diččaq is a necessary component of ethnic identity.	No	1, 2, 5, 11, 12, 23
	9. q^{w}idičča?a·tx̌ consider q^{w}i·q^{w}i·diččaq to be an important cultural asset.	Yes	1, 2, 4, 11, 12, 17, 18, 24
	10. The absence of native (mother tongue) speakers increases the value q^{w}idičča?a·tx̌ place on q^{w}i·q^{w}i·diččaq.	Yes	7

Appendix B.Condensed survey form

qʷiˑ qʷiˑ diččaq or Makah Language Attitudinal Survey
Master's Thesis of Benjamin Barrett, University of Washington

Reading Copy

RESEARCHER CODE: _____ **SURVEY NUMBER:** _____

You have been asked to participate in a pilot study for a language attitude survey. This survey is being carried out by Ben Barrett, a graduate student at the University of Washington in cooperation with the community. The aim of the survey is to identify language attitudes in the community.

This survey is completely voluntary, and you may quit at any time for any reason. This survey is confidential. Your personal information is confidential, and the answers you give will NOT be associated with your name. Please note that you may not keep this survey sheet.

The surveyor will read the questions and note your answers. You may read along on this sheet.

1) What do you prefer to call the ancestral language of the Neah Bay area?
qʷiˑqʷiˑdiččaq ☐ | Makah language ☐ | No preference ☐ | Other _____

2) What do you prefer to call the ancestral people of the Neah Bay area?
qʷidiččaʔaˑtx̌ ☐ | Makah ☐ | No preference ☐ | Other _____

General Language Use

3) In what circumstances have you spoken, read or heard qʷi·qʷi·diččaq in the past six months? (For example, the grocery store, a textbook, at work, a ceremony)

Person, Place, Reading Material, etc.	Spoken	Read	Heard	Occasion
ex. With a friend on the bus	✓	☐	☐	Made a joke
ex. Read a sign in my friend's office	☐	✓	☐	Not applicable
ex. Heard a cousin and a friend greet each other	☐	☐	✓	A get-together

4) List at least three traditional cultural activities in order of importance to you, with 1 being the most important. What factors come to mind in identifying yourself as a qʷidičča?a·tx̌? (For example, ancestry, knowing traditional skills, etc.)

6) There are believed to be no more first language (mother tongue) speakers of qʷi·qʷi·diččaq. Would you agree, and how do you see the situation? (IF YOU DISAGREE, PLEASE SKIP TO QUESTION 8, OTHERWISE CONTINUE TO NUMBER 7.)

7) If you agree there are no first language speakers of qʷi·qʷi·diččaq, compared with when there were first language (mother tongue) speakers, how does this fact make you feel about what the future of qʷi·qʷi·diččaq should be? (For example, no difference, it should be allowed to fade away, it is even more important to revitalize qʷi·qʷi·diččaq.) (SKIP TO QUESTION 9 AFTER THIS QUESTION.)

8) How many first language (mother tongue) speakers of qʷi·qʷi·diččaq do you know of?

9) What Websites, if any, have you seen that have qʷi·qʷi·diččaq? (Please be as specific as possible.)

Personal Language Use

10) How much qʷi·qʷi·diččaq do you know? (For example, greetings, numbers, animals, body parts.) (If you don't know any, please indicate "not applicable" and skip to question 12).

11) How do you feel about speaking qʷi·qʷi·diččaq?

12) How do you feel when other people use qʷi·qʷi·diččaq? If you never hear other people speak the language, please mark "not applicable".

13) What schools have you attended, and did you take a qʷi·qʷi·diččaq class there?

School type	Name of school	Did you take any qʷi·qʷi·diččaq classes there?	Amount of time learning Makah (indicate approximate number of hours, weeks, quarters, years, etc.)
Pre-school		Yes ☐ No ☐	
Elementary school		Yes ☐ No ☐	
Junior high		Yes ☐ No ☐	
High school		Yes ☐ No ☐	
College		Yes ☐ No ☐	
Other school		Yes ☐ No ☐	
Other school		Yes ☐ No ☐	
Other school		Yes ☐ No ☐	

14) Did you attend a school where qʷi·qʷi·diččaq was not allowed to be spoken, and if yes, for how many years?

15) If you know some qʷi·qʷi·diččaq, how did you learn it? (Check all that apply.)

Friends ☐ Parents ☐ Grandparents ☐ Other relatives ☐ (please specify)

_____

Books ☐ Informal classes ☐ Other ways ☐ (please specify)

_____

16) How many hours have you spent in the last month learning qʷi·qʷi·diččaq or working on qʷi·qʷi·diččaq revitalization? If you don't spend any time, please indicate "not applicable".

17) What factors, if any, motivate you to learn qʷi·qʷi·diččaq or work on qʷi·qʷi·diččaq revitalization? (For example, fun to learn, important part of my heritage, etc.)

18) What factors, if any, influence you to not learn qʷi·qʷi·diččaq or not work on qʷi·qʷi·diččaq revitalization? (For example, no time, difficult, TV, etc.)

Future Language Use

19) Please describe what situations and where you think qʷiˑqʷiˑdiččaq should be used. (For example, on road signs, in church, greeting a friend, telling a traditional story.) If you don't think there are any, please indicate "not applicable".
20) How do you feel about qʷiˑqʷiˑdiččaq being taught in classrooms?
21) What sort of qʷiˑqʷiˑdiččaq classes do you think should be available?
22) Who do you think should learn qʷiˑqʷiˑdiččaq?
23) How much qʷiˑqʷiˑdiččaq should a qʷidičča?aˑtx̌ know?
24) What should the future of the qʷiˑqʷiˑdiččaq be?
25) How do you feel about Tribal funds being used for qʷiˑqʷiˑdiččaq classes/revitalization? (For example, more funds are needed, money used for language should be used on other programs. Please be as specific as possible.)
26) How should the use of English and qʷiˑqʷiˑdiččaq be balanced in the community? (For example: English should be used in classrooms and qʷiˑqʷiˑdiččaq at home; or qʷiˑqʷiˑdiččaq should be used in ceremonies and greetings and English the rest of the time. Please feel free to think of other examples.)
27) Please provide the surveyor with any comments or feedback you have about this survey.

Demographic Information Sheet

RESEARCHER CODE: _____ **SURVEY NUMBER:** _____

Thank you for your time in completing the main section of this survey! We appreciate your cooperation.

In order to analyze your answers for statistical trends, we would like to now ask some personal questions. Please remember this survey is confidential and your name will not be associated with any information in this survey. If you have any questions concerning the purpose, uses, confidentiality or other issues concerning this survey, please do not hesitate to contact Ben Barrett. His contact information is available on the CONSENT FORM.

Demographic Information

28) What is your year of birth? ____

29) What is your gender? Female ☐ Male ☐

30) What is your annual household income in US dollars?

Up to 4999 ☐	5000-9999 ☐	10,000-14,999 ☐	15,000-19,999 ☐
20,000-24,999 ☐	25,000-29,999 ☐	30,000-34,999 ☐	35,000-39,999 ☐
40,000-49,999 ☐	50,000 or higher ☐		

31) How many people are in your household? _____

32) Do you have any suggestions or comments for this survey?

_____

_____

_____

Please fold this survey in half and return to the surveyor. Thank you for your time and participation!