Writing a Grammar of Inupiaq Emphasizing Language Revitalization, Pedagogy, and Inupiaq Education

by

Myles Creed

B.A., Lewis & Clark College, 2011

M.A., University of Amsterdam, 2012

A Dissertation Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

in the Department of Linguistics

© Myles Creed, 2024

University of Victoria

All rights reserved. This dissertation may not be reproduced in whole or in part, by photocopy or other means, without the permission of the author.

We acknowledge and respect the Lək̓ʷəŋən (Songhees and Esquimalt) Peoples on whose territory the university stands, and the Lək̓ʷəŋən and W̱SÁNEĆ Peoples whose historical relationships with the land continue to this day.

Writing a Grammar of Inupiaq
Emphasizing Language Revitalization, Pedagogy, and Inupiaq Education

by

Myles Creed
B.A., Lewis & Clark College, 2011
M.A., University of Amsterdam, 2012

Supervisory Committee

Dr. Ewa Czaykowska-Higgins, Supervisor
Department of Linguistics

Dr. Megan Lukaniec, Departmental Member
Department of Linguistics

Dr. Tim Anderson, Outside Member
Department of Curriculum and Instruction

Abstract

Indigenous language grammars in the linguistics field have historically been developed in a linguist-centered model with little regard to the needs of particular Indigenous communities. Moreover, Indigenous methodologies have rarely been considered in developing Indigenous language grammars. This dissertation therefore reflects upon the theory and practice of reframing the concept of what constitutes a "grammar". Theory and practice are operationalized through the development of a collaborative grammar project documenting and describing King Island Inupiaq (Ugiuvaŋmiutun) grammar and creating language learning resources for the purposes of Inupiaq language revitalization, with a particular focus on adult language learners. The grammar curriculum developed in this dissertation, as a collaboration between a linguist and King Island Inupiaq community members, emphasizes Inupiaq education and values, an adult language learner pedagogy (using a *focus on form* approach), and community-based research models of language documentation, description, and revitalization. The grammar curriculum produced through this collaborative project thus illustrates a way of approaching grammar writing to reflect the needs of the Inupiaq language community, including the overlapping needs of the development of pedagogical materials, materials for language revitalization, and materials that are grounded in Inupiaq education.

Table of Contents

Supervisory Committee .... *ii*

Abstract .... *iii*

Table of Contents .... *iv*

List of Figures .... *vii*

Acknowledgments .... *viii*

Chapter One: Introduction *1*

1.1 Introduction **1**

1.2 Self-positioning **3**

1.3 Key definitions **6**

1.4 Iñupiat Nunaŋat **9**

1.5 Rationale and research questions **13**

1.6 Organization of dissertation **17**

Chapter Two: Grammars, Language Revitalization, and Documentation *19*

2.1 Grammars **19**

2.1.1 Reference grammars 21

2.1.2 Learners' grammars 25

2.1.3 Comparing reference grammars and learners' grammars 30

2.2 Indigenous perspectives on linguistics and documentation **36**

2.3 Indigenous ways of teaching and learning **37**

2.4 Language and wellness **40**

2.5 "Endangerment" narratives **43**

2.6 Inupiaq grammar **46**

Chapter Three: Language Learning Research *51*

3.1 Second/Additional language acquisition (SLA/ALA) **51**

3.2 Pedagogical theory **54**

3.2.1 Focus on meaning 55

3.2.2 Focus on formS 57

3.2.3 Focus on form 58

3.3 Pedagogy in Indigenous language revitalization **63**

3.3.1 Indigenous adult language learning 64

3.3.2 Language classes 67

3.3.3 Master-apprentice model (Mentor-apprentice model) 68

3.3.4 Language House 69

3.3.5 Language on the Land 70

3.3.6 Learning by teaching 71

3.4 Other language learning methods **73**

3.4.1 Grammar-translation ... 74
3.4.2 Total Physical Response (TPR) ... 75
3.4.3 Teaching Proficiency through Reading and Storytelling (TPRS) ... 76
3.4.4 The Natural Approach ... 77
3.4.5 Task-based instruction ... 79

3.5 Learning polysynthetic languages ... 81

3.6 Conclusion of literature review ... 84

Chapter Four: Methodology ... 86

4.1 Introduction ... 86

4.2 Theory ... 86
4.2.1 Iñupiat Iḷitqusiat ... 87
4.2.2 Indigenist framework ... 93
4.2.3 Community-Based Research Model ... 100
4.2.4 Meaning-focused instruction with a focus on form ... 105

4.3 Methods and ethics ... 106

Chapter Five: Reflection and conclusion ... 115

5.1 Introduction ... 115

5.2 Research question #1 ... 115
5.2.1 Approach ... 117
5.2.2 Audience ... 120
5.2.3 Grammatical information ... 124
5.2.4 Organization ... 126
5.2.5 Design ... 127

5.3 Research question #2 ... 128
5.3.1 Inupiaq education ... 128
5.3.2 Inupiaq activities ... 129
5.3.3 Language learners/teachers ... 130
5.3.4 Focus on adults ... 132

5.4 Research question #3 ... 133
5.4.1 Indigenous methodologies ... 133
5.4.2 Working collaboratively ... 134
5.4.3 Focus on pedagogy ... 135
5.4.4 Moving outside the "linguistics" pigeonhole ... 136

5.5 Limitations ... 137
5.5.1 COVID-19 pandemic ... 137
5.5.2 Positionality ... 138
5.5.3 Print resource ... 139
5.5.4 University limitations ... 140

5.6 Further directions ... 141

5.7 Conclusion ... 142

Appendices ... 143
Appendix A: Ilisazaqta Inupiaqtun Beginning Curriculum for Learning and Teaching Inupiaq Pronunciation and Word Structure ... 143

Appendix B: North Slope Iñupiaqatigiigñiq 260
Appendix C: Bering Straits Inupiaq Values 261
Appendix D: Northwest Arctic Iñupiaq Values 262
Appendix E: North Slope and Qawiaraq Month Names 263
Appendix F: Ugiuvak Month Names 265

References........ 267

List of Figures

Figure 1: Inupiaq Dialects……………………………………………………………………………………………………14

Acknowledgements

This dissertation project would not be possible without the contributions of many people and communities over several decades. This dissertation does not belong to me, but to the many individuals and communities who have graciously shared their knowledge with me over the decades. I would like to dedicate this dissertation to the Ugiuvaŋmiut Utuqanaat (Inupiaq Elders of King Island), who have entrusted us with their words and knowledge through this project. This dissertation would certainly not have been possible without Yaayuk Bernadette Alvanna-Stimpfle, who is the co-author of Ilisazaqta Inupiaqtun, the outcome of this dissertation project. This dissertation would not have been possible without her profound contribution to this research. I hold her guidance and friendship over the years close to my heart. Furthermore, Kiminaq Madelyn Alvanna-Stimpfle and her Inupiaq students have been a major inspiration for this dissertation, and I am continually motivated by her commitment to teaching Inupiaq. I would like to thank my committee members, for their patience and guidance through this often-challenging writing process, Dr. Ewa Czaykowska-Higgins, Dr. Megan Lukaniec, and Dr. Tim Anderson. I would like to thank Dr. Paniattaaq Edna Ahgeak MacLean and Dr. Lawrence Kaplan for their decades of Inupiaq scholarship and mentorship throughout the years, for which this dissertation would not be possible. I want to give a big thanks to my dear friends Qiġñaaq Cordelia Kellie and Annauk Olin, who have continually inspired me and supported me throughout this entire project. Other people and organizations I would like to thank and acknowledge are Hattie Iviilik Keller, Heather Payenna, Melanie Banhke, King Island Native Community Council and Elder's Council, Kawerak, Inc., Kipiġniuqtit Iñupiuraallanikun, Iḷisaqativut, Northwest Campus UAF, Northwest Arctic Borough School District, Nikaitchuat Iḷisaġviat, Alaska Native Heritage Center, Alaska Native Language Center, and the UVic Linguistics and Indigenous Education Departments. I would like to thank all the Inupiaq teachers who have taught us over the years, including the late Tatqaviñ Ruthie Sampson, the late Kuutuuq Fannie Akpik, Aġnik Polly Schaeffer, Tarruq Pete Schaeffer, Kapniaq Lorena Williams, and Dr. Paniattaaq Edna Ahgeak MacLean. Finally, I would like to thank my family, John Creed, Susan Andrews, Tiffany Creed, Trevor Creed, and Deirdre Creed for all their love and support.

Chapter One: Introduction

1.1 Introduction

"Language documentation has the potential—and many would say the responsibility—to contribute to decolonial and anticolonial projects within and beyond Indigenous communities."

Daisy Rosenblum and Andrea Berez-Kroeker, 2018

Linguists working in language documentation, description, and language revitalization are living through a critical time where the colonial structures that upheld linguistic practices for centuries are beginning to be questioned, and documentation practice is beginning to shift from exploitation and extraction to collaboration and reciprocity (Czaykowska-Higgins, 2009; Rosenblum & Berez-Kroeker, 2018). I argue in this dissertation that these efforts to decolonize linguistic practice are also directly applicable to the creation of 'grammars' for the purposes of language revitalization. Not only can the processes involved in grammar creation be reconfigured and reconsidered, but I also believe that the definition of a 'grammar' could be entirely reshaped. The purpose of this dissertation is to theorize and exemplify the practice of creating a grammar through a collaborative grammar documentation, description, and pedagogical project. While most grammars are based on Euro-American canons of linguistic documentation and description, this project will be focused on the needs of a particular Indigenous community, with particular attention to pedagogical materials and the needs of a culturally relevant and locally situated curriculum. Most specifically, the goal of this research is to develop a theory and outline a process on how one could prepare a learners' grammar of the Inupiaq language.

In seeking to reconfigure the theory and process of grammar writing, this resource is

rooted in foundations that respond to the needs of an Indigenous pedagogy. For the purposes of this research, these foundations are specifically: 1) Inupiaq education, 2) a focus on form communicative pedagogical approach, and 3) documentation/description for the purposes of language revitalization. In this study, I theorize the process and development of an introductory grammar of Inupiaq— specifically in Ugiuvaŋmiutun, or King Island Inupiaq[1], which will be the primary source of language examples for this dissertation—as a resource that would primarily be geared towards adult second-language learners (ilisazaqtuat)[2], with particular attention to learner-teachers (i.e., those who are teaching Inupiaq but are simultaneously second-language learners themselves). This target audience is important to keep in mind throughout this study. This dissertation thus provides a possible example of how to reimagine grammar writing in a way that is better focused on the needs of Indigenous communities and for the purposes of language education, through the eyes of a non-Indigenous linguist working in partnership with colleagues from an Indigenous community to revitalize their language.

Grammar writing in the past (and often still in the present) as carried out by academic linguists has tended to deemphasize and/or ignore Indigenous ways of knowing, pedagogical approaches, and grammars for the purposes of language revitalization (Grenoble, 2009; Rice, 2009). Situating this work within the movement towards a responsible linguistics (Hale et al,

[1] Inupiaq is spelled without the tilde in this Iñupiaq variety. I will explain more about the usage of Iñupiaq versus Inupiaq later in §1.4.

[2] In 2021, Kawerak, Inc. in collaboration with Sandhill.Culture.Craft published an Inupiaq language glossary developed at the *Indigenous Language Gathering: Research, Science, and Policy Terminology Glossary* held December 17-18, 2019 as part of their broader efforts on Knowledge Sovereignty and Indigenization. The gathering brought together Inupiaq, St. Lawrence Island Yupik, and Yup'ik language experts to develop a glossary of Indigenous language terms that researchers should utilize when working with Indigenous communities in the Bering Straits region. The Inupiaq language experts included Bernadette Yaayuk Alvanna-Stimpfle, Sylvester Ayek, Esther Bourdon, and Josephine Bourdon. Facilitators included Larry Kaplan and Meghan Siġvanna Topkok. Throughout this dissertation, I will use Inupiaq terminology that is provided in this glossary (usually in parentheses) (Kawerak, Inc, 2021).

1992) that includes decolonizing the field through collaborative and community-based methods of documentation and description (e.g., Leonard 2020, Czaykowska-Higgins 2009, 2018), I argue that there needs to be a shift to a decolonial approach to grammar writing as well. And in this dissertation, I give examples of what this kind of grammar could look like. In a grammar of Inupiaq, in particular, principles of Inupiaq education certainly need to be brought to the forefront. Inupiaq education emphasizes the importance of observational and experiential learning, awareness of the natural world and the seasons, and relationships to one another and to the land; any resource for learning Inupiaq language should understand and utilize *Iñupiat Iḷitqusiat* (Inupiaq values) in its creation. Because of the limitations of time and resources for undertaking this research, the resource being exemplified here is not a *full* grammar of Inupiaq but will provide an example and theoretical framework for what a *full* grammar of Inupiaq could look like.

1.2 Self-positioning

It is important for readers to understand a researcher's (nalunaiqti) background and personal story to understand how they came to this research and the potential biases, as well as insights, that they may hold in relationship to their research. This practice of self-positioning in research comes from Indigenous scholars who have spoken to the need for research to not be separated from the researcher and for researchers to be forthright about their background and point of view (Kovach, 2010). This practice is also influenced by Davies and Harré's (1990) theory on self-positioning in research that emerged in the 1980s and 1990s. I believe that this self-identification should be presented as early as possible in the research, so that the reader can understand the perspective and frame of reference used in approaching this work.

I come to this study as a non-Indigenous American researcher (a settler of English, Irish, and French ancestry). I grew up most of my childhood in the community of Qikiqtaġruk[3] in Northwestern Alaska, on the land of the Qikiqtaġruŋmiut Iñupiat (federally recognized as Native Village of Kotzebue), where my parents were professors at Chukchi Community College, a branch of the University of Alaska Fairbanks, teaching English and Journalism. In Qikiqtaġruk, I was exposed to the Iñupiaq language in weekly classes throughout elementary school and through hearing the language spoken by my friends' parents and grandparents. Unfortunately, Iñupiaq classes stopped in middle school in Qikiqtaġruk, and I had little exposure to Iñupiaq in the following decade. I attended Mt. Edgecumbe High School, a public boarding school (and former Bureau of Indian Affairs school) in Sitka, Alaska. There were no Indigenous language classes offered at Mt. Edgecumbe, but I was lucky enough to take Mandarin Chinese there. As a college student outside of Alaska and afterwards, I studied languages such as Mandarin, as well as Dutch, Spanish, German, and Vietnamese. Learning these languages helped me to develop an appreciation for the importance of language and the inextricable relationship between language and culture.

Returning to Alaska in 2014, I soon became involved with the Iñupiaq language revitalization community, having other friends who were also interested in learning Iñupiaq. A close Iñupiaq friend of mine Cordelia Qiġñaaq Kellie and I started a Iñupiaq language circle in Dgheyey Kaq'[4], which later evolved into us becoming employees with the Alaska Native

[3] *Kotzebue* in English, meaning "peninsula" in Iñupiaq (MacLean, 2014). Throughout this research, I present the Indigenous names of communities first, with a footnote of the English name at the first mention.
[4] *Anchorage* in English, the largest city in Alaska. Dgheyay Kaq' is the Dena'ina name, meaning "stickleback mouth", referring to the mouth of Ship Creek (Kari, 2014).

Heritage Center's Urban Iñupiatun/Yugtun Language Revitalization Project. As a teacher in the project, I learned basic Iñupiaq from Dr. Edna Ahgeak MacLean, the foremost Iñupiaq linguist and educator, and author of the comprehensive Iñupiaq dictionary.

In my role at the Alaska Native Heritage Center, I worked with my colleagues to develop Iñupiaq language curriculum and lessons for the Dgheyey Kaq' community during a three-year grant period. Since then, I have been involved with other Iñupiaq language efforts, including *Iḷisaqativut*[5], (Ilisazaqativut in Ugiuvaŋmiutun) an annual summer Iñupiaq language intensive and broader language learning community, and *Kipiġniuqtit Iñupiuraallanikun*[6], a coalition of language activists working to unite Iñupiaq language efforts across regional boundaries. I have been particularly involved with language work in the Sitŋasuaq[7] community in Northwest Alaska, including assisting with Yaayuk Bernadette Alvanna-Stimpfle's Inupiaq classes.

I am a Ph.D. student in Linguistics at the University of Victoria, on the traditional and unceded territories of the Songhees, Esquimalt, and W̱SÁNEĆ peoples. I realize in this work, I hold privileges as a non-Indigenous person studying an Indigenous language, as well as being a person with the socioeconomic means to be able to undertake this research. I approach this work bearing in mind my limitations of understanding from my identity and history and I approach this work humbly, seeking to serve the needs of the Iñupiaq language community. I welcome the ability to learn and be respectful about the conclusions I make while undertaking this research.

[5] Website and more information can be found here: www.ilisaqativut.org
[6] Website and more information can be found here: www.kipigniutit.org
[7] Nome in English. Also written as Siqnazuaq, in Ugiuvaŋmiutun.

1.3 Key definitions

Before proceeding, I think it is important to define some key terms that will be used throughout this dissertation. Wesley Leonard (2017) provides a strong framework for considering the different modes of *language work* and how linguists can be involved with *language documentation*, *language revitalization*, *language reclamation,* and *decolonization*. These terms will be referenced throughout this dissertation, and it can be helpful for a reader to refer to them when needed.

Leonard (2017) defines *language work* as an umbrella term that includes "language documentation, description, teaching, advocacy, and resource development" (p. 16).

Oxford Bibliographies defines *language documentation* as "the subfield of linguistics that deals with creating multipurpose records of languages through audio and video recording of speakers and signers and with annotation, translation, preservation, and distribution of the resulting materials" (2012). Woodbury (2011) defines *language documentation* as:

1. The creation annotation, preservation and dissemination of transparent records of a language
2. Complex and multifaceted in practice and for various purposes
3. Draws on concepts and techniques from, and poses challenges in, fields such as linguistics, ethnography, computer science, recording arts, information and archival sciences (p. 129)

Woodbury furthermore writes that "...humans experience their own and other people's languages viscerally and have different stakes, purposes, goals and aspirations for language records and language documentation" (2012, p. 129). Himmelmann (2006) defines *language*

documentation as a "lasting, multi-purpose record of a language" (p. 1). Himmelmann writes that this definition is broad because it is "based on the idea that it is possible and useful to dissociate the compilation of linguistic primary data from any particular theoretical or practice project based on this data" (p. 2).

I define *language description* as illustration or explanation of particular aspects of language, whether those are pronunciation, grammatical characteristics, or the manners and situations in which language can be used. This does not necessarily mean it describes everything or that it is the only way of describing a language, but it can be a snapshot of a particular illustration of a language and the context in which it is spoken. Himmelmann (1998) views documentation and description as distinct practices in the linguistics field.

Leonard furthermore makes a distinction between *language revitalization* and *language reclamation,* whereby *language revitalization* involves efforts focused on promoting more speakers of a language and *language reclamation* is a "larger effort by a community to claim its right to speak a language and to set associated goals in response to community needs and perspectives" (Leonard, 2012, p. 359). Language reclamation is thus not just about revitalization of the language, but is a restoration of culture, identity, and community and begins with "community histories and contemporary needs" (Leonard, 2017, p. 19). Throughout this paper, I do use *language revitalization* more than I use *language reclamation*, as the former term continues to be the dominant one in language work, but I do believe that *language work* should always be working towards *language reclamation* according to Leonard's definition.

Leonard furthermore defines *decolonization* as "a process which entails identifying and resisting the imposition of Western values and knowledge systems that contribute to the subjugation of Indigenous peoples" (2017, p. 16).

One aspect of defining terms that will become more apparent throughout this dissertation is that I believe the term *language documentation* has some room to grow. I find that a wider definition of *language documentation* could be any writing down or recording of language (audio and visual) for a multitude of different purposes. I think it is important to view language documentation as both an *activity* and a *field*, recognizing that many people engage in language documentation without working in academia or having university-based linguistic training. This means that I consider *language description* and materials developed for *language revitalization* as inherent acts of *language documentation*, perhaps diverging somewhat from Himmelman (1998)'s definition. While I recognize that *language description* and *language documentation* have different definitions, the reasons and focus of one's *language description* work will certainly influence what kind of *documentation* they will do. Taylor-Adams (2019) writes about how language teachers often create language materials for their communities and classrooms that truly is language documentation work. Taylor-Adams thusly advocates for linguists to have stronger collaboration with *language revitalizers* (also referred to as *language revitalists* or *language revitalization practitioners*) to support language documentation and language revival. Hopefully, these definitions will serve the reader throughout this dissertation.

1.4 Iñupiat Nunaŋat

Throughout this dissertation, I will refer to the Iñupiaq language in various ways, because there is complexity around the term Iñupiaq itself. Inupiaq is an Inuit language spoken in what is known today as Alaska and Western Canada. The main dialect division is between Seward Peninsula Inupiaq (which includes the Bering Straits and Qawiaraq dialect groups) and Northern Alaskan Iñupiaq (which includes the North Slope and Malimiut dialect groups). Northern Alaskan Iñupiaq is spoken in the Northwest Arctic and North Slope region of Alaska and uses palatalization of several consonants more extensively than any other Inuit dialects. Hence, the use of the tilde ñ (referred to in Iñupiaq as the qavlu 'eyebrow'). Seward Peninsula Inupiaq, like most Inuit dialects, does not extensively use palatalization, hence the rendering of Inupiaq, without the tilde. Moreover, in the Inupiaq language (and often in English), Inupiaq refers to one Inupiaq person, while Inupiat refers to three or more people. Inupiak is the dual form (two people). The Inupiaq language can be referred to as Iñupiaq or Inupiaq, or sometimes as Iñupiatun (lit. 'like an Inupiaq', fig. 'in the Inupiaq language'). In English, Inupiaq can also be used to refer to the language and as an adjective, e.g., Inupiaq education, Inupiaq dancing. This dissertation will by primarily based on King Island Inupiaq (Ugiuvaŋmiutun), which is one variety of a collection of dialects referred to by linguists as Bering Straits Inupiaq, which together with Qawiaraq Inupiaq form Seward Peninsula Inupiaq.

Inupiat/Iñupiat in Alaska live in many communities in *Iñupiat Nunaŋat* (Inupiaq lands) which are today jurisdictionally divided into the regions of the North Slope Borough, Northwest Arctic Borough, and Nome Census Area (part of the unorganized borough in Alaska) which also correspond with three Alaska Native corporations formed by the Alaska Native Claims

Settlement Act of 1971: Arctic Slope Regional Corporation (ASRC), NANA Corporation, and Bering Straits Native Corporation (BSNC). In the Bering Straits region, and in Sitŋasuaq in particular, many Yup'ik and St. Lawrence Island Yupik people also live in the region. All Iñupiat regions also have a substantial minority of non-Indigenous Alaskans, as well. Many Inupiat also live outside of Iñupiat Nunaŋat, in urban hubs or outside of Alaska. Inupiat today face many challenges, including climate change (silakut ałłaŋuqtuaq), continued encroachment on tribal sovereignty and hunting and fishing rights, in addition to language loss.

Inupiaq has been spoken in Alaska and parts of Western Canada since time immemorial and was passed on uninterrupted from generation to generation until very recently. European colonization of Alaska precipitated rapid language loss of Inupiaq in just the last century. From the late nineteenth century, the Alaska territorial and subsequent state government supported a strict English-only policy in Alaska schools. Use of Inupiaq and other Alaska Native languages was forbidden, and Alaska Native children were frequently punished with severe physical and mental abuse for using their languages (Easley & Charles, 2005). The Bureau of Indian Affairs boarding schools operated in Alaska until the 1970's when the Molly Hootch decision forced the State of Alaska to open local schools in rural communities (Sharp & Hirshberg, 2005). Since the 1980's Inupiaq was reintroduced in classrooms, but usually in the earlier years as a conduit to learn English or today as an elective. Inupiaq has not been spoken as a first language for at least a generation (or perhaps two or three in the Nome region). A recent survey estimated 1,250 highly fluent speakers of Inupiaq (Kipiġniuqtit Iñupiuraallanikun, 2023). Harcharek and Rexford (2015) explain that the imposed Western educational system still disregards Iñupiat knowledge, which continues to be a huge hurdle to reclaiming Inupiaq language and culture.

Although Iñupiat today face many obstacles to reclaiming their language, culture, and land, there are concerted efforts across *Iñupiat Nunaŋat* and beyond to reclaim Iñupiaq language, traditions, and sovereignty. In 2000, the first Inupiaq language immersion school Nikaitchuat Iḷisaġviat was founded in Qikiqtaġruk and operates to this day. In 2014, Inupiaq was recognized as an official language of Alaska, with 19 other Alaska Native languages. Some recent efforts have been the creation of an Iñupiat Nunaŋat-wide language coalition named *Kipiġniuqtit Iñupiuraallanikun*, an annual Iñupiaq language academy called *Iḷisaqativut*, and the fall 2020 opening of the Ilisazaqta Inupiaqtun Kindergarten Inupiaq Immersion in Sitŋasuaq, still in operation today. The cultural immersion charter school Qargi Academy opened in fall of 2020 in Utqiaġvik, with language sessions held every morning. In 2021, a first-grade class was added on to the Inupiaq Immersion program in Sitŋasuaq.

Despite the considerable progress made in Inupiaq language revitalization in the last several decades, language learners (ilisazaqtuat) (and especially adult language learners) have few resources for learning Inupiaq grammar. Edna MacLean' First- and Second-Year North Slope Iñupiaq Grammar (1993, 1994) is currently the best resource for learning Iñupiaq grammar, and adult second language learners have been using the resources for decades. However, MacLean has said that she designed the grammar with first-language speakers in mind to learn the inner workings of Inupiaq, rather than for second language learners (p.c., 2017). Furthermore, North Slope Iñupiaq differs in substantial ways from the varieties of Inupiaq spoken in the Seward Peninsula region, with very different phonological and morphological processes existing between varieties. Yaayuk Bernadette Alvanna-Stimpfle has developed some worksheets on Inupiaq grammar based on MacLean's grammar, and Larry Kaplan has written academic papers

(1982, 1985, 2000) about King Island Inupiaq grammar and on other Inupiaq varieties in the region, but as of today there are no published pedagogical materials for learning King Island Inupiaq grammar that I am aware of. Though there are a fair number of resources for teaching children Inupiaq, including full several-year curricula produced by Nikaitchuat Iḷisaġviat, there are comparatively few resources for adult language learners of Inupiaq.[8] The grassroots language collective Iḷisaqativut was founded in 2017, with the core belief that adult language learners are a key constituency whose needs are not being met through current language programming. Since 2017, Iḷisaqativut has held six Iñupiaq language intensives, focused on adult Iñupiaq language learners, with a particular focus on learning Iñupiaq grammar.

More resources for adult learners can also help support parents of children currently enrolled in language classrooms. The Ilisazaqta Inupiaqtun Kindergarten Immersion program started in Fall 2020, with one head teacher, Kiminaq Madelyn Alvanna-Stimpfle. More resources for adult language learners will help parents whose children are attending Ilisazaqta Inupiaqtun. Moreover, these resources could also help support future teachers (ilisaurit). For the immersion program to expand beyond kindergarten, there are more resources needed to develop more adult second language speakers, who could soon become classroom teachers in subsequent grades[9]. The immersion program currently has kindergarten and first grade classrooms but would eventually like to expand beyond these grades.

In particular, there are few resources for learning the King Island Inupiaq variety. The

[8] A more extensive look at how Indigenous adult language learners acquire language can be found in §3.3.1.
[9] This model mirrors that of language immersion school development over time in Hawai'ian, Māori, and SENĆOŦEN language revitalization efforts, for example.

particular community I am working with in this research is the Ugiuvaŋmiut (King Island Inupiat) and their language, Ugiuvaŋmiutun (King Island Inupiaq language). Ugiuvaŋmiut lived on King Island (Ugiuvak) since time immemorial and followed a yearly calendar of harvesting by land and sea and great celebrations on Ugiuvak (Ellanna, 1988). American and French colonization occurred at Ugiuvak in the early 20th century, and today most Ugiuvaŋmiut are Catholic. The Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) operated a school on Ugiuvak starting in 1931, but they shut down the school in 1961 (Braem, 2004). According to BIA archives, the school closing occurred due to the "expense and inconvenience" of operating the school on the island. Braem (2004) writes, however, that by closing the school, the BIA's goal was to assimilate Ugiuvaŋmiut by forcing them to move to Sitŋasuaq, fitting the established BIA policy across the United States. The BIA had long wanted the community to be moved to the mainland (tapqaq), and families with school age children had no choice but to move to Sitŋasuaq. Remaining families had all moved to Sitŋasuaq by 1966. Some Ugiuvaŋmiut continue to visit Ugiuvak in summertime to hunt and gather on the island, but the island is otherwise uninhabited today. The school closure and removal has negatively affected many people to this day. Ugiuvaŋmiut are politically represented today by the King Island Native Community, a federally recognized Tribal Nation.

1.5 Rationale and Research Questions

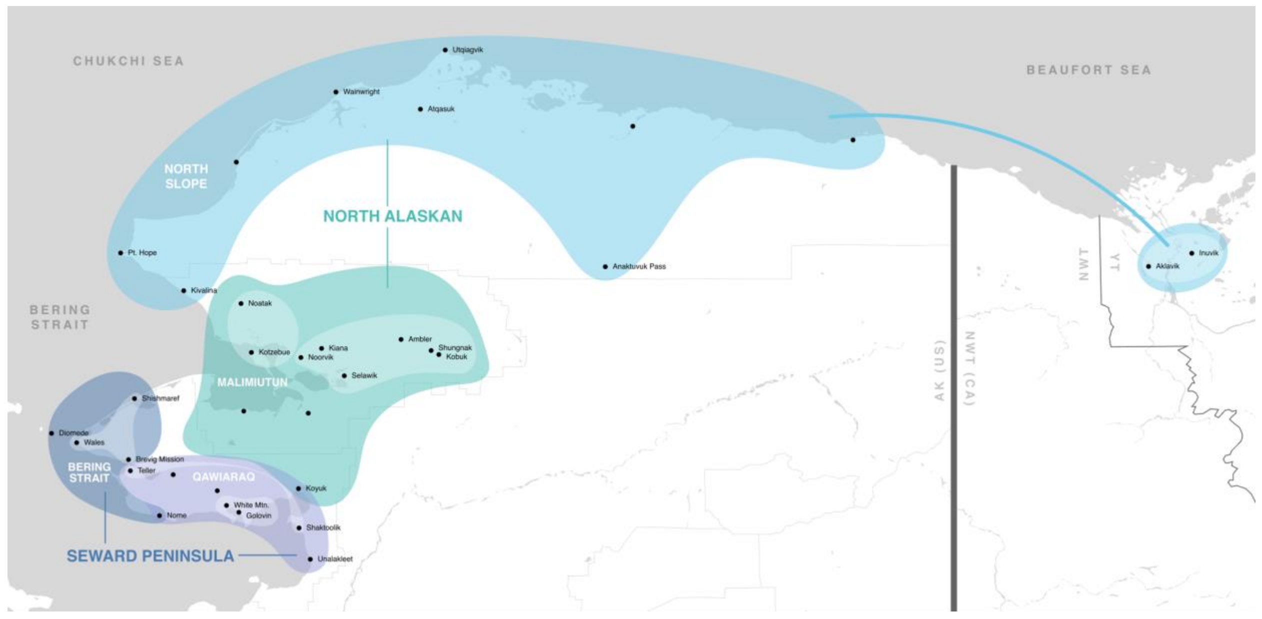
I come to this research being privileged to have attained a level of education that provides me the opportunity to pursue what is often viewed as the apex of Western academic achievement: a doctoral degree of philosophy. I have also been lucky enough to have worked with Iñupiaq language communities throughout my life and have gained an intermediate

knowledge of the Iñupiaq language and its grammar. These privileges that I have been afforded necessitate acts of reciprocity; I ask myself how I can best repay those in my life who have supported me and brought me to this moment. In this research, my foremost goal is to do work that is practical in nature and useful for the purposes of language revitalization by the Inupiaq community. The relationships I have with Inupiat necessitate that my dissertation would work to reciprocate the gifts I have been granted in connection to the Inupiaq language revitalization movement. Furthermore, I hope and believe this research will be of benefit to the larger community of applied linguistics, language revitalization, and language documentation.

This research fills gaps in previous literature for several reasons. First, there are scarce existing resources for learning Inupiaq grammar and there is sparse documentation of Seward Peninsula Inupiaq grammar as a whole (and King Island Inupiaq [Ugiuvaŋmiutun] in particular). Seward Peninsula Inupiaq is made up of two main dialect groupings: Bering Straits and Qawiaraq (see Figure 1). Bering Straits is a collection of closely related dialects, which includes King Island Inupiaq (Ugiuvaŋmiutun).

Figure 1

Inupiaq Dialects



Source: By Noahedits - Own work, CC BY-SA 4.0, https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=110783958By Noahedits - Own work, CC BY-SA 4.0, https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=110783958

The most recent grammar of an Inupiaq dialect was published in the 1980's and, as mentioned above, was designed with fluent speakers of Inupiaq in mind rather than second-language learners (ilisazaqtuat) (Edna MacLean, p.c., 2017). To the best of my knowledge, resources for Inupiaq grammar for the Bering Straits region specifically focused on language learning have not been published.

Furthermore, looking towards the wider linguistics community, there is a lack of diversity in the way linguistic and pedagogical grammars have been designed. Most grammars written for Indigenous languages tend to be constructed from a European positivist perspective (meaning that grammars are usually built around the assumption that academic linguists'

grammatical analyses and their presentation are objective in nature—a Eurocentric approach), rarely with Indigenous methods or Indigenous pedagogies incorporated or even considered. Leonard (2017) writes that academic linguists turn language into "data" and tend to emphasize structure at the expense of social practices.

Furthermore, grammars of Indigenous languages tend to be linguistic rather than pedagogical, ignoring the practical needs of language documentation for the purposes of language revitalization that many communities seek. Indeed, Leonard (2017) writes that grammars produced for linguists are just simply called 'grammars', because academic audiences are seen as the default. (If written for other audiences, they take longer names, like "pedagogical grammar" or "community grammar"). Paradoxically, languages which require the most need for pedagogical resources seem to be the least likely to have grammars written with pedagogy in mind.

Finally, a reframing of what constitutes a "grammar" is necessary if the field of linguistics is to decolonize its practice: specifically, this dissertation seeks to deliberately challenge and expand the traditional framing of the definitions of "linguistic grammars" and of "language documentation". Non-Indigenous linguists working with Indigenous languages must work to ensure that academic linguistic practice is decolonized so that grammars are accessible, useful, and are wanted by Indigenous communities. Furthermore, grammars must be grounded in Indigenous pedagogies and epistemologies. Otherwise, the value systems of dominant world languages continue to be viewed as the norm and as the ideal (Leonard, 2008, 2011; Moore, Pietikäinen, & Blommaert, 2018).

The research questions for this study are thus as follows:

1. How can the idea of what constitutes a "grammar" be reconsidered and reshaped?
2. How could an Inupiaq grammar, in particular, be constructed to privilege principles of Inupiaq education and language acquisition for beginner adult language learners?
3. What lessons does this project hold for language documentation/description and language revitalization practice?

Although there is a significant amount of research related to aspects of this dissertation, very little has been written about the intersections of these topics. Indeed, there is significant lack of research on designing learners' grammars, particularly for the purposes of language revitalization.

1.6 Organization of Dissertation

In Chapter 2 of this dissertation I lay out my literature review, providing the background and context for this research and a review of the relevant literature regarding grammars, language revitalization, and language documentation and description. In Chapter 3, I continue a literature review looking at language learning research. In Chapter 4, I lay out the methodology and research process in undertaking this study. Chapters 5 is a self-reflection and theoretical discussion on the grammar creation process and how it could serve to speak to greater needs in the linguistics and language revitalization community. The practical results of this research are made up of grammar learning resources that have been created in collaboration (igayataġiit) with Yaayuk Bernadette Alvanna-Stimpfle and with feedback from the wider community. This

learners' grammar curriculum (named Ilisazaqta Inupiaqtun) can be found in Appendix A. Though traditionally the grammar curriculum would be included in the body of this dissertation, due to university regulations around multiple authorship, and for ease of community use (i.e., that the grammar curriculum can be easily extracted from the broader dissertation), I have placed the grammar curriculum in the appendices section of this dissertation. This choice is also a reflection of the fact that the grammar curriculum was co-created with Yaayuk Bernadette Alvanna-Stimpfle, with input from other community members as well.

Furthermore, I have named this resource a "grammar curriculum" because it only covers two chapters on Inupiaq pronunciation and grammar, so it might not be considered a full, comprehensive "learners' grammar". The use of "curriculum" also identifies the grammar learning resource as one that can be utilized for pedagogical purposes. Beginning this research, the intention was to call the resource a "learners' grammar" but due to the aforementioned reasons, it did not seem that that terminology was as accurate as it could be. I speak more about this use of terminology in §5.2. I encourage readers of this dissertation to refer to the grammar curriculum whenever possible, and it might make sense for the reader to read the grammar curriculum in the appendix before reading Chapter 5. Throughout this dissertation, I refer to resources such as the grammar curriculum in various ways, sometimes as learners' grammars, pedagogical grammars, or grammar curricula.

CHAPTER 2: Grammars, Language Revitalization, and Documentation

In this chapter, I introduce the context and background of this research and survey a review of the relevant previous literature. I first seek to define and describe language "grammars", and I argue how a re-evaluation of the concept may be necessary. Secondly, I review the literature on Indigenous methodologies and theories of particular interest to this research. Thirdly, I review the relevant pedagogical and language learning research that informs this research. Lastly, I cover previous work undertaken documenting Inupiaq grammar.

2.1 Grammars

In approaching this work, I have come across the difficult question of defining "what is a "grammar"? Evans and Dench (2006) write that grammars are "our main vehicle for representing the linguistic structures of...languages. Each grammar seeks to bring together, in one place, a coherent treatment of how the whole language works" (p. 1). I am presenting this broad definition intentionally, as the definition of a grammar depends on the purpose and design of a grammar, and grammars have looked very different and have changed a great deal over centuries. Mithun (2005) emphasizes that a grammar will look very different depending on the target audience, meeting diverse needs and perspectives. Considering the target audience, I argue that what constitutes a "grammar" should change to better represent a necessary decolonial shift in the field of linguistics. In this section, I briefly review the development of linguistic grammars in the past few centuries, and how the conception of what *does* and *does not* constitute a linguistic grammar over the years has changed and may change into the future.

I begin by looking particularly at a key division in how grammars are frequently categorized: reference grammars and learners' grammars. In the case of reference grammars, the focus is primarily *linguistic,* while in the case of learners' grammars, the focus is primarily *pedagogical.* However, this division is somewhat artificial, and more likely there exists a continuum of grammars from purely referential to purely pedagogical. I intend for the "grammar" in this dissertation to be in the latter category, and furthermore argue the importance for language documentarians to try to consider situating their work more toward the pedagogical side of the spectrum (when that would be most appropriate approach).

It is very true that academic linguists[10] are typically not trained to do pedagogical work, and typically create records primarily for scientific purposes, and secondarily for language learning needs (Leonard, 2018). Often, academic linguists working with Indigenous languages are trained to write linguistic descriptions that are usually inaccessible to those who need them most: Indigenous language learners (Grenoble, 2009). However, Leonard (2018) notes that there are a number of recent projects that are examples of successful collaborations with outside researchers, and community engagement is starting to be a requirement for North American and international language documentation grants. In my opinion, this shift is not happening quickly enough and outsider linguists working with Indigenous languages need to do

[10] In this dissertation I refer to linguists in certain ways that are not always perfect terminology. I sometimes use outsider linguist, meaning a linguist that is not a member of the Indigenous language community they are working with. However, the outsider/insider dynamic is not a perfect one, as there are ways in which outsider linguists may have insider roles as well. Furthermore, academic linguist is not a great term either, as there are many academic linguists who are members of Indigenous communities as well. Finally, there are many language activists, teachers, and other community members who are not always called linguists, but they are certainly documenting, describing, and revitalizing their languages and could certainly be called linguists as well. In this dissertation, I tend to use outsider linguist, academic linguist, and linguist interchangeably throughout, understanding well the limitations of these terms.

more to examine their roles in perpetuating colonial documentation practices and the outputs of those practices.

2.1.1 Reference Grammars

For most of the last 100 years, linguistic fieldwork with Indigenous languages in North America has been undertaken following a linguist-focused model, interested primarily in the descriptive and theoretical interests of outsider linguists working “on” Indigenous languages (Czaykowska-Higgins, 2009).[11] In this model, Indigenous people have little input or control over the manner of documentation and/or description, what is being recorded, or the final output of the fieldwork. For the most part, linguists did not consider the needs or wants of Indigenous peoples in this model of language work. Exemplified in the work of Franz Boas (Grenoble & Furbee, 2010; Davis, 2016), “salvage linguistics” was the dominant linguistic ideology in North America; linguistic description in this tradition was undertaken under the premise that Indigenous languages were doomed to disappear, and that linguists should record and describe the languages before they died out. This traditional model assumed that a language would be “best” recorded by a linguist who would then write a dictionary, a grammar, and a series of texts (Epps, Webster, & Woodbury, 2017) translated into a European language—these outputs were often called the “Boasian trilogy” or “Boasian trifecta” after Franz Boas (Woodbury, 2011).

[11] I find it somewhat problematic when linguists say they are working “on” a particular language. The problem in my mind with this terminology is that working “on” something implies that there is some sort of deficit with the language that a linguist is working “on” or fixing. Furthermore, the directionality of “on” presumes a hierarchical relationship between linguist and language. I would promote saying that one is working “with” a language or language community. It demonstrates that one is not working from a place of hierarchy in which one's work is being placed “on” a group of people. Rather one’s work should be aligned with the goals of an Indigenous community; working collaboratively means working “with” people, not “on” them.

In recent decades, there have been shifts in the linguistics field about the purposes and goals of language fieldwork. Hale et al. (1992) argued that linguistics as a field has a responsibility to the needs of communities and that the field should work to address language communities' needs. Furthermore, Himmelmann's (1998) landmark article proposed that language description was a different activity than language documentation and that linguists had a responsibility to engage with language documentation as an important field in its own right. This meant not just a description of language in the vein of the "Boasian trilogy" but that there was an importance and a duty for linguists to record unrecorded languages through collection of primary "data" (i.e., audio, video, and written records). Since Himmelmann, literature on how to undertake documentary research in an ethical way has begun to be an important part of the linguistics field (Czaykowska-Higgins, 2018). Educational settings such as the Institute for Collaborative Language Research (CoLang) have taught workshops on the importance of ethics, data sovereignty, and social justice in language documentation, as well as in university classrooms and language communities (Czaykowska-Higgins, 2018). Though this shift in the linguistics field was ground-breaking in many ways, the emphasis on documentary linguistics continued to be focused on data collection for the purposes of researchers and institutions (Brant, 2023).

Leonard argues that this "salvage linguistics" ideology still permeates much of language documentation practice today (2018). In this model, linguistic grammars are developed primarily for the purpose of linguists to be able to understand the inner workings of a language from a linguistic lens (Indigenous languages included), and, often, such grammars are inaccessible to those without advanced degrees in linguistics. I myself, even as a Ph.D. student

with years of experience in learning linguistic terminology, have tried to look through several grammars with utter bewilderment at the lack of intelligibility of some of these resources. Such grammars are often called “reference grammars” or “descriptive grammars,” in that they are not designed primarily for purposes of education, but rather are for the purposes of reference for linguists or others primarily interested in knowing *about* a language rather than *how to use* a language. Evans and Dench (2006) define descriptive grammars as texts that seek “to capture the essential structural features of a language, and in codifying these present them to a diverse and critical audience” (p. 1). They write that grammars seek “to bring together, in one place, a coherent treatment of how the whole language works” (p. 1). Furthermore, with a few notable exceptions, most grammars written by non-Indigenous linguists are written without the author having advanced proficiency in the language they are working with (Alvarez & Hale, 1970). Thus, these linguists cannot speak authoritatively about how to use such a language without proficiency in the language itself.

Much literature on reference grammars focuses on their organization and development. Rice (2005a) writes that theoretical considerations must be taken into account in any grammar writing process (sometimes called grammaticography). Furthermore, Rice (2005b) considers what constitutes a “good” grammar, surveying several grammars of different languages. Rice finds that what makes a good grammar depends on answers to many different questions, including: 1) what does the grammar include; 2) how is the grammar presented; 3) who is the grammar intended for; and 4) what are the goals in writing a grammar. Each of these issues should be considered in the development of any good (reference) grammar. Rice also writes that grammars should be clear, comprehensive, concise, careful, coherent, accessible, and rich

with illustration (2005b). Moreover, grammars need to consider how to deal with inevitable language variation and need to have theoretical underpinnings, meaning they should hold and express the grammar writer's particular theoretical ideology. Both issues are relevant to this research, as choosing a dialect to work with and how to describe and deal with variety even within the same dialect is of concern for this project. Furthermore, as Rice notes, it is necessary to have a particular theoretical frame for grammar writing (I will talk more about my own theoretical frames in Chapter 3).

Furthermore, Cristofaro (2006) evaluates how grammars should be organized, considering form-to-function (language description should proceed from particular forms and should describe a range of meanings of those forms) versus function-to-form approaches (proceed from functional domains and describe the range of forms that can be used to encode those functions). Cristofaro writes that poor organization of a grammar can lead users to miss important pieces of information, and that sometimes grammars may fail to give adequate information about the phenomenon being described. Such issues can be avoided by including certain tools like indexes, and resumptive tables or links (for electronic grammars). Noonan (2006) also provides an extensive list of dos and don'ts for grammar writers that is worth considering. Some of these dos and don'ts are to 1) avoid theory-specific terminology, 2) provide a detailed index and table of contents, 3) divide into numbered and titled sections and subsections, with cross-referencing throughout, 4) provide plenty of examples, 5) provide interlinear morpheme translations, 6) provide a typological sketch, and so on. These dos and don'ts adhere very much to a "linguist-focused" model of designing grammars but are

important for understanding the general perspective from linguists on how to devise a linguistic grammar.

2.1.2 Learners' Grammars

A second category of grammars is *learners' grammars,* of which the Inupiaq grammar curriculum in Appendix A would be an example of (existing on a spectrum from reference grammars to pedagogical grammars). Learners' grammars are primarily focused on the goals of language learning. Learners' grammars may also be known as *teaching grammars* or *pedagogical grammars* (depending on the audience). Camp et al. (2018) define a *pedagogical grammar* as:

> ...a grammar for learners of the language. It is usually ordered for the ease of learning, so that simpler aspects of the language are introduced before more complex ones. Usually, a pedagogical grammar also includes exercises designed to facilitate language learning. (p. 275).

In this research, I will be using the term *learners' grammars* to refer to this type of grammar, because I find the term *learners*' to be more accessible and user-friendly than *pedagogical*.[12]

In undertaking this research, I have found that the vast majority of learners' grammars have been designed for European languages or other majority languages around the world (Odlin, 1994; Chalker, 1994), and that comparatively few Indigenous languages have been

[12] Admittedly, the term pedagogical encompasses both aspects of teaching and learning, whereas *learners'* focuses primarily on learners, not teachers. Calling it a *learners' and teachers' grammar* seems to be a bit too unwieldy, however, at least for the purposes of this research.

described in pedagogical grammars. Some examples of pedagogical grammars for Indigenous languages in North America include Ophelia Zepeda's Tohono O'odham grammar (1983), Timothy Henry's Ventureño Chumash grammar (2012), Montler's Klallam Grammar (2012), Mithun and Henry's Wadęyę́stanih: A Cayuga Teaching Grammar (2008), and Edna Ahgeak MacLean's North Slope Iñupiaq Grammar (1993, 1994).

A good example of a pedagogical grammar is Ophelia Zepeda's Tohono O'odham grammar (1983). Zepeda, a Tohono O'odham speaker and linguist, developed the Tohono O'odham grammar because there was no textbook in existence at the time for teaching her language. The grammar is based on actual classroom application and is scaffolded from more basic grammar concepts to more advanced. The lessons were designed to be understood by those with little background in linguistics or in Tohono O'odham. In Part I and II of the grammar, chapters are organized by grammatical structure, with vocabulary listed at the beginning of each chapter. Exercises to practice the grammatical structures are provided at the end of each chapter. Part III provides dialogues in Tohono O'odham, with accompanying vocabulary and exercises. Part IV summarizes the grammatical elements explained in the grammar and provides a glossary of terms. Linguistic jargon is used, but usually in terms familiar to those with knowledge of English grammar like "imperfective", "interrogative", or "intransitive". A language tape was prepared to accompany the text as well.

Another example is Edna MacLean's (1986) North Slope Iñupiaq Grammar, which is a significant inspiration for my own language learning and for this dissertation itself. MacLean has been a mentor and friend, and reading her grammar was one of my first forays into Inupiaq linguistics. MacLean, an Iñupiaq speaker and linguist, developed the grammar for fluent

speakers to better understand the linguistics of the Iñupiaq language and to be able to better understand and teach Iñupiaq word structure. It has also been used by second language learners of Iñupiaq for the last several decades. MacLean's grammar is organized by grammatical element and provides several examples to the reader of each grammatical piece. Extensive exercises are included at the end of each chapter as well as the new vocabulary used in that chapter. Audio recordings by Mumigaaluk James Nageak are recorded for the vocabulary sections of each chapter. Glossaries of stems (roots), postbases (affixes), and enclitics are provided at the end of the book.

Another example is the Watęwayę́stanih: A Cayuga Teaching Grammar (Mithun & Henry, 2008), which was a collaboration between two linguists, one Indigenous and one non-Indigenous. The chapters are each introduced by a dialogue (or a series of dialogues) that set the topical and grammatical themes for the chapter, with vocabulary from the chapter included at the end. There are opportunities to practice with exercises in each chapter as well. The chapters are written in more of a narrative style that seems to avoid overly linguistic terminology.

Beyond the definition of "learners' grammars" presented by Camp, et. al (2018), I would further argue for including "grammar-focused educational materials" in the category of "learners' grammars", which perhaps have not been considered to be "grammars" in previous literature. Such resources include language textbooks, curricula, computer programs, and websites. These resources are essential grammar-learning resources which are too frequently undervalued in academic linguistics and have a valid, if not *more* valid role to play in development of grammars for Indigenous languages than traditional reference grammars. I

make this addition because although “grammar-focused educational materials” are not usually considered to be “grammars”, they are still clearly resources for learning the grammar of a particular language.

Just because a resource does not call itself a “grammar” in the traditional sense, does not mean it does not contain primary and pertinent grammatical and linguistic information. Furthermore, such resources are often constructed in a particular way that reflects important scaffolding in the learning of grammar, which is frequently absent from many reference grammars. Some examples of grammar-focused educational materials of Indigenous languages include *Diné bizaad bínáhoo'aah*, a Diné (Navajo) language textbook (Yazzie & Ruffenbach, 2007), the six textbooks of the Nsyilxcn Paul Creek curriculum (Johnson, 2017) or the online resource of *ʻŌlelo Online*, an online resource for learning Hawaiʻian grammar (oleloonline.com).

Another example is from Danita Bilozaze Lewis (2020), who developed a unit plan for Dënesųłiné, guided by community members and fluent Dënesųłiné language speakers for a public-school curriculum. Obtained through interviews with Dënesųłiné culture bearers, the unit plan shares important teachings, ceremony, culture, Dënesųłiné language and worldview. The unit plan was designed to foster understanding between the public school district and Dënesųłiné speakers to build up a supportive learning environment for Dënesųłiné language learners. Resources such as these “grammar-focused educational materials” provide critical information for learning a language’s grammar, despite not often being considered “grammars” in the traditional sense.

Learners’ grammars are often underpinned by a particular second-language acquisition theory or by a particular language teaching methodology. For example, de Reuse (1997)

compares two Apache language textbooks: one that is primarily grammar-translation based, and a second that is primarily Total Physical Response (TPR)-based. (I speak more about these methodologies below). In this paper, de Reuse considers in which ways these textbooks work well for Western Apache and in which ways they are not well suited for teaching the Apache language. Though such education-focused grammars are primarily geared towards pedagogy, this does not necessarily mean that education-focused grammars are successful or that they are underpinned by Indigenous ways of teaching and learning (further sections will consider how grammars can be developed following Indigenous and "Indigenist" principles). In my research, I consider tenets of both "learners' grammars" and "grammar-focused educational materials". I would argue that to better serve populations of Indigenous language speakers, it is instructive to further break down the arbitrary lines that exist between the disciplines of linguistics and education (though applied linguistics fields do sometimes break through these barriers).

These previous learners' grammars give significant inspiration for developing Ugiuvaŋmiutun grammar resources. There are key examples of how to interweave language learning with grammar description, as well as having particular themes for particular grammar chapters. Of inspiration is Danita Bilozaze Lewis' educational materials, with chapters that are guided by fluent speakers for implementation in a public-school setting. Looking to previous examples of learners' grammars produced for Indigenous languages, sometimes in collaboration between academic linguists and language activists, will be a good starting point and inspiration for this research.

2.1.3 Comparing Reference and Learner's Grammars

In what ways do reference and learners' grammars incorporate Indigenous methodologies? Though reference grammars tend to be mainly about linguistic description, the issue of incorporating culture in reference grammars has also been explored. Hill (2006) surveyed the work of Americanist linguists such as Boas, Sapir, and Whorf and considers their attempts to integrate cultural information in their descriptive grammars. For example, a linguist can include background material on the history and culture of the language community, illustrate examples using culturally grounded terms, and pay explicit attention to how grammatical categories might imply cognitive or cultural categories. However, this approach still considers culture as an afterthought in grammar writing, rather than viewing language and culture as inherently interwoven. In contrast, Leonard (2018) calls for a decolonial approach to language documentation where language and peoplehood are heavily intertwined and documented, and language is not isolated from its cultural context.

With this concern, among others, some linguists have begun to question the role of reference grammars, particularly with respect to Indigenous languages. Baraby (2012), for example, considers how a grammar can alternatively be designed to maintain the role of speakers as the main actors in language maintenance and transmission. Baraby proposes writing grammars with multilevel descriptions, providing a more pedagogical description for language learners (in their case, with Innu language teachers) as well as a more linguistic-focused description aimed towards linguists. In this example, language learners in addition to linguists are considered to be invested in such a language description. Mosel (2005) also writes that it is important to make specialized knowledge accessible.

However, even reference grammars that consider speakers in their development are still primarily based around linguistic description rather than being resources for language learning. Noonan (2006) writes that reference grammars have two sorts of audiences: those who use a grammar to learn a language and professional linguists interested in typological or theoretical studies. I would argue, however, that the primary audience for most grammars of endangered languages continues to be linguists rather than language learners. Though linguistic description may be of primary concern for a linguist, and certainly can be for many language learners, linguistic description *without* accessibility for language learners tends to leave language documentation to the realm of academic hobbyism. Undertaking language description of an Indigenous language (including writing language grammars) should mean doing work that language speakers would like for their own language community, not just what is asked by the field of linguistics and academic institutions. This is another example of how language documentation, language description, and language revitalization can be seen as parts of one goal: language continuity. Creating language learning materials or a learners' grammar are certainly parts of language documentation that need to be considered more keenly as a key part of that field; they are also clear examples of descriptive linguistics work.

As mentioned above, paradoxically, languages most in need of resources for language revitalization seem to be the languages least likely to have learners' grammars at their disposal, though reference grammars seem much more plentiful. This paradox comes from the longstanding approach in documentary linguistics referred to earlier that viewed Indigenous languages as unlikely to survive and that linguists should "salvage" information about these languages before they disappear. There are also many other reasons why linguists tend to opt

for reference grammars over pedagogical grammars. For one, linguists are very rarely trained in pedagogy, and may view education as a quite separate discipline from linguistics. Others may not view language revitalization efforts as interesting to them personally and prefer something they are more familiar with. Moreover, many linguists may not have interest in *actually learning the language itself*, only being interested in investigating the language's linguistic structure. Without having experience in attempting to learn and gain proficiency in the language, this would hinder them from being able to write a grammar based in real-world communication and pedagogy.

Furthermore, academic institutions tend to not view pedagogical work as worthy of tenure or promotion, and may privilege reference grammars for those purposes. However, the Linguistic Society of America (2018) put out a statement expressing support for the recognition of language documentation "as scholarly contribution to be given weight in the awarding of advanced degrees and in decisions on hiring, tenure, and promotion of faculty" (p. 1). Included in a list of types of "documentation" were "pedagogical works designed for the use of speech communities" (p. 1). Though there would not be a need to put out a statement such as this if such documentation (and development of pedagogical materials) were already highly valued by the field of linguistics in academia, this proclamation was an important step in recognition of documentation being central to the linguistics field and reflects a shift towards responsible and collaborative linguistics. It would be exciting to see a similar statement released specifically recognizing language revitalization work in the same vein.

In recent decades, community-based research models (Czaykowska-Higgins, 2018; Galla, 2021; Leonard, 2018) that value the needs of language description and documentation for the

purposes of language reclamation have helped to reformulate conceptions of “what counts” in the field of documentary linguistics. This dissertation is situated within a shift towards community-based research in linguistics. I speak more on community-based research models in §4.2.3.

Furthermore, there is a growing question of whether grammars belong to the field of language documentation or language revitalization. Himmelmann (1998) wrote that grammars actually do not belong to language documentation at all, in that grammars are primarily *language description*, and not language documentation as such. In Himmelmann’s eyes, language documentation is the process of text collection, but not the analysis of those texts.

So, a better question may be whether grammars belong to the language description or language revitalization fields? I would contend that they certainly belong to both, and we need to break down the barriers that exist between the two fields. The role of language documentation in language conservation has changed in the last twenty years, particularly in the North American context. Documentation has shifted (or at least should shift) to acknowledge and better respect the Indigenous communities whose languages are being “documented” (Berez-Kroeker & Rosenblum, 2018). Rehg (2014) writes that reference grammars can be of use to language conservation and revitalization. Rehg argues that linguists can have a role in supporting language conservation efforts through the development of linguistic grammars and provides the example of working with the Pohnpeian community, who also developed their own community grammar based on the reference grammar. Rehg argues that linguists should try to combine their documentary work with conservation work, providing more *applied* forms of work that is more than just theoretical or documentary.

Berez-Kroeker and Rosenblum (2018) push further, contending that responsible linguistic documentation requires that community members should be the central figures in language documentation and that most users of documentation and archival research are community members, rather than linguists. Moreover, they argue that documentation should contribute to decolonization by making sure that documentary practices are additive to language communities rather than extractive. Austin and Sallabank (2018) write that active participation by community members in documentary linguistics is important and that a deeper recognition of the relationships between fieldworkers and speech communities is growing, albeit slowly. They admit, however, that the "lone wolf" linguist model continues to dominate the documentary linguistics field globally. It is important for me to ensure that my documentary practice is being undertaken in a good way— that it is additive rather than extractive.

Leonard (2018), furthermore, explains how Eurocentric language documentation practices reinforce colonial hierarchies and work against the needs of Indigenous communities. Eurocentric language documentation practices impose colonial norms of analyzing language, obscure the proper cultural contexts of language, improperly label language as "data", develop linguist-focused materials that are often inaccessible or misaligned to community needs, and prioritize the needs of the linguist over the needs of the language community (p. 58).

Considering these contexts, I argue for a model of "language documentation *as* revitalization", within community-based research, meaning that documentation's *primary* purpose should be to support efforts of language revitalization. I believe this shift is necessary and overdue. Academic linguists, and particularly applied linguists, do have a particular set of knowledges that can be useful to language revitalization, but ideologies that prioritize "salvage

linguistics" (Grenoble & Furbee, 2010) are sincerely outdated and need to change. Language documentation should prioritize the needs of those who represent the language community, rather than the needs of the documentarian.

Though these realities and preferences for reference grammars over learners' grammars by non-Indigenous linguists are real, I believe that there needs to be a further breakdown of the boundaries between the walls of linguistics, education, and Indigenous language revitalization (ILR).[13]

Non-Indigenous linguists working with Indigenous languages should evaluate whether reference grammars are the most useful resources from the standpoint of the Indigenous communities they are working with. This is not to argue that reference grammars do not have value or that they should not be undertaken, but one needs to consider the authority of what Indigenous communities want for their own communities when it comes to grammar documentation.

In particular, grammars for learners are generally considered by community members to be more useful and more practical. For example, Akumbu (2018) contends that, in the context of writing grammars of endangered languages, if outputs do not reach the respective language community, research has only been partially completed; publications end up as "excellent publications on bookshelves" (p. 1) and not in the hands of speakers. Camp et. al. (2018) write

[13] Although there are some important intersections between these fields, such as applied linguistics sometimes being housed in education departments and "educational linguistics" being a field as well, McIvor (2020) argues there is a lot more room for knowledge from fields of applied linguistics to engage and share knowledge with Indigenous language revitalization practice.

that some language documentarians take it as a given that they should provide both a scholarly grammar and a pedagogical/practical grammar in their research.

2.2 Indigenous perspectives on linguistics and documentation

In building a grammar of an Indigenous language, it is imperative that Indigenous perspectives on linguistic practice are brought to the forefront. In this section, I reflect upon ways in which Indigenous linguists might approach language documentation, grammar, and linguistics differently from those typically followed by other linguists, and how as a non-Indigenous linguist myself, I must be cognizant of these differing perspectives. As a non-Indigenous linguist working with Indigenous languages, how can one better employ Indigenous methodologies in one's practice?

Wesley Leonard (2018, 2021) reflects upon colonial and decolonial practices in language documentation and how language documentation can better practice decolonialism in its work. Leonard (2021) writes that linguistic anthropology as a field has been largely created and defined by the white linguistic anthropologist, "rendering dominant colonial and Eurocentric norms of knowledge production" (p. 220). According to Leonard, language documentation in North America, as practiced in academic work, emerges from the Euro-American colonial tradition, and as such, linguists often cast their gaze on speakers, rather than respecting speakers as the primary knowledge holders themselves. Leonard explains the problematic ways in which documentary linguists micro-analyze language, remove language from broader contexts, and leave documentary materials that are misaligned with community needs, upholding colonialism and inequity. Leonard writes that the hegemony of Eurocentric

knowledge is so engrained in academia that Indigenous ways of knowing are often not even mentioned (2021, p. 222).

In addition, Beth Leonard (2001) argues that the documentation of Indigenous languages for the purposes of second-language learners is very different from documentation that centers linguistics from the Western tradition. Oftentimes in recording language, there is a lack of cultural information or context considered, and language documentation is seen as a purely "linguistic" endeavor, focusing narrowly on the structure of language and not on communication or context for using the language. For second-language learners, utilizing this type of linguistic documentation for the purposes of trying to learn the language becomes especially problematic. Students of the language may be unaware of how to ask questions or learn the language in a culturally appropriate and respectful way. According to Wesley Leonard (2018), Beth Leonard (2001), and others, linguistic documentation needs to be viewed holistically within the proper social and cultural contexts of language revitalization.

In summary, grammars should be written in ways that do not obscure the cultural and communicative contexts for Indigenous languages. They should be additive in their purposes for upholding Indigenous cultural values and language abilities, rather than extractive, and they should be centered in the Indigenous values and epistemologies of the particular Indigenous community.

2.3 Indigenous ways of learning and teaching

Indigenous education is an enormously broad field, spoken to by many Indigenous scholars (e.g., Cajete, 1994; Whitinui, 2008; Ball & McIvor, 2013; Battiste, 2017), but suffice it to

say that any grammar of an Indigenous language should be underpinned by a deep understanding of Indigenous methodologies around language learning and education, or in other words, Indigenous pedagogies. In this dissertation, I incorporate Indigenous education principles, particularly Alaska Native and Inupiaq perspectives on education, and more will be expanded upon in my methodology section in Chapter 3.

Euro-American social structures and institutionalized forms of cultural transmission have firmly interrupted Indigenous modes of education. While Euro-American education emphasizes "compartmentalized knowledge that is often decontextualized and taught in the detached setting of a classroom...Indigenous people have traditionally acquired their knowledge through direct experience in the natural world" (Barnhardt & Kawagley, 2005, p. 11). Indigenous people have "through long observation...become specialists in understanding the interconnectedness and holism of our place in the universe" (p. 12).

In Alaska specifically, there has been a long effort to document Alaska Native knowledge to allow for more culturally responsive curriculum, schools, and teachers as part of the Alaska Rural Systemic Initiative (AKRSI). Part of this effort has been to document what Western Science (Naluaġmiut ilisimaniguat) and Traditional Native Knowledge Systems have in common and where they differ.

The fusing of Western knowledge (Naluaġmiut ilisimaniguat) with Indigenous science (itquziptiŋnik ilisimaruaq) is of core concern to this research, as the attempt is to combine Western methods of linguistic analysis within an Inupiaq framework of teaching and learning and understanding language in a more holistic way— one that is geared toward the purposes of communication and cultural perpetuation. Barnhardt and Kawagley (2005) demonstrate that

while some Western and Indigenous knowledge systems may conflict, there are also ways in which they overlap. Snively and Williams (2018) write that by braiding together Western and Indigenous science, we acknowledge that both ways of knowing are legitimate and can coexist in and outside the classroom. These overlaps or braids are key to understanding how non-Indigenous linguists working with Indigenous language can better undertake language documentation within the frameworks of Indigenous knowledge systems (itquziptiŋnik ilisimaruaq).

Place-based education is furthermore of prime concern in Indigenous education (Cajete, 1994; Woodhouse & Knapp, 2000; Penetito, 2009; Scully, 2012; Tuck et al., 2014). Barnhardt and Kawagley (2005) write:

> The importance of linking education to the physical and cultural environment in which students and schools are situated has special significance in Indigenous settings, where people have acquired a deep and abiding sense of place and relationship to the land in which they have lived for millennia. (p. 19)

In Euro-American discourse, there is a continuing perception that land is separate from people instead of "emphasizing the relationality and connectivity that comes from living together in a place for a long time" (Donald, 2009). Scully (2012) writes that "Indigenous place-stories and mapping conventions – recognize the land as relative and citizen". The design of an Inupiaq grammar that seeks to be Indigenous education-based *must* incorporate place-based learning and Indigenous perspectives on education into its creation. Indeed, the grammar resources created in this research consider place-based learning objectives as key in their

creation. An Inupiaq grammar should be taught in a way that allows for language to be taught on Inupiat Nunaat (Inupiaq lands).

2.4 Language and wellness

Indigenous peoples across North America have suffered forced removal and relocation, banning of religious practices, mass kidnapping, and institutionalism of children into boarding schools where Native children were prohibited and abused for practicing their languages and customs (Grayshield et al., 2015). Canada's Truth and Reconciliation Commission Report (TRC) found Canada guilty of cultural genocide in its use of residential schools to punish and abuse Indigenous children for speaking their languages. "These measures were part of a coherent policy to eliminate Aboriginal people as distinct peoples and to assimilate them into the Canadian mainstream against their will", the TRC reported (APTN, 2015). For example, Raymond Hill, who was a student at the Mohawk Institute in Brantford in the early years of the twentieth century, said, "I lost my language. They threatened us with a strapping if we spoke it, and within a year I lost all of it. They said they thought we were talking about them." (TRC, 2015, p. 52)

The centuries-long linguicide to which Indigenous peoples have been subjected carries on in the form of historical trauma, which is "unresolved trauma resulting in grief that continues to impact the lives of survivors and subsequent generations" (Grayshield et al., 2015, p. 296). One Elder in Grayshield et. al.'s study (2015) interviewing boarding school survivors said that:

> "[With respect to the government's attempts to] Christianize and civilize and assimilate our people, we lost a lot. There's some generations where some of our people weren't able to learn the language, weren't able to learn a lot of things about who we were, our traditional ways...That's where we lost many of our values and cultural ways...pretty much forced into the assimilation." (Grayshield et al., 2015, p. 302)

Another Elder in this study discussed language learning in terms of healing:

> "Relearning [language], That's what more or less healed me. Seeing a different part of myself. I'm not this real bad labeled person from the dominant society." (Grayshield, et. al. 2015, p. 303)

The importance of understanding the sociohistorical effects of colonization on language learning and transmission when approaching language documentation and revitalization work cannot be overstated. The biggest barrier to language learning and language revitalization for many Indigenous communities in North America may be the psychological effects of colonization on language speakers and learners. Indeed, Rosborough and Rorick (2017) have argued that the greatest barrier for language revitalization may be "many of us have been so shamed and so convinced of the invalidity of Indigenous voices that we react adversely when we hear our own people speaking our language and speaking about our teachings" (p. 15). Johnson (2017) states that "[t]eachers must contend with higher levels of learner anxiety due to various factors resulting from colonization, including language decline, older teaching techniques ... and tensions and oppositions in community" (p. 512). Dauenhauer and Dauenhauer write furthermore:

> In reality, many people are afraid of the traditional language. It is alien, unknown, and difficult to learn. It can be a constant reminder of a deficiency and a nagging threat to one's image of cultural competence. For others, the mere thought of the language stimulates a fear of unplugging evils of the past, real or imagined. While we consider such lines of reasoning to be fallacies, some people are clearly tormented by them as real or potential. (Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer, 1998, p. 65)

These barriers to language learning and teaching and lingering historical trauma are important to understand and countering these effects takes a holistic approach to language learning guided by Indigenous knowledge (itquziptiŋnik ilisimaruaq).

Although intergenerational language trauma can be a large barrier to language learning, there is a burgeoning amount of research demonstrating a link between language revitalization and better health outcomes. Chandler (2012) writes that "cultural wounds require cultural medicine" (as cited in Taff et al., 2018). Though there has not been nearly enough published research on the connection between healing and language learning, Whalen, Moss, and Baldwin (2016), Taff et al. (2018), and Whalen et al. (2022) summarize studies that have demonstrated a link between healing from trauma and language learning.

Taff et al. (2018) look at the ways in which Indigenous communities and Western communities do not always view the concept of health in the same way; many Indigenous cultures may not have a word for health, viewing it as part of a larger whole (2018). In Ugiuvaŋmiutun, a possible word for health is naguatun inniguq "state of wellness" (Raymond-Yakoubian & Raymond-Yakoubian, 2021). Walsh (2018) similarly surveys the literature on the link between language revitalization and health, with particular attention to Australia, though

finding most of the evidence to be qualitative and calls for more longitudinal and quantitative studies. Hallett et al. (2007) found the youth suicide rate for Indigenous nations in British Columbia significantly lower in communities where 50% of the community was conversationally fluent compared to less fluent communities. A survey in California (Hodge & Nandy, 2011, p. 797) found that those who could speak their language were more frequently classified in a "good" wellness group than those who could not speak the language. In a study based in the Mentor-Apprentice Program, participants explained how the negative impacts of language loss had impacted their well-being, but also the healing benefits that getting the opportunity to return to their language gave them (Jenni et al., 2017). Other studies have shown links between lower rates of diabetes (Oster et al., 2014) and higher graduation rates (Wilson, 2012; Nikaitchuat Iḷisaġviat, p.c.) with language retention. Taff et al. (2018) in addition to surveying these quantitative studies, looks at qualitative evidence through eyewitness accounts where language learners have expressed improved spiritual and physical health outcomes in themselves or in their Elders through language learning and use. Furthermore, there is strong evidence that bilingualism in general is supportive of brain function and reversing aging effects (Taff et al., 2018). Whalen et al. (2022), through a realist review of literature found a clear indication that Indigenous language use (no matter the proficiency level) has positive health effects. Though more research is needed, there is increasing evidence linking language revitalization with mental and physical health outcomes.

2.5 "Endangerment" narratives

It is also important to look at the popular narratives about Indigenous and languages under pressure and how it might be prudent to bring into question some of these narratives.

For example, the terms *endangered language*, *language loss*, and *language death*, although emphasizing the urgency of the situation for many languages, are fatalistic in nature and such framing can have negative consequences for those working to reclaim their languages (Errington, 2003). Perley (2012) writes that metaphors used by linguists of death, endangerment, and extinction can have unintended consequences for Indigenous peoples trying to revitalize their languages. Such language, as well as the narratives around "saving a language" through recording and documentation, can prove to be a barrier for Indigenous peoples to remain hopeful and positive about their languages, in the face of outsider narratives that cast the language as dying or dead. Some Indigenous scholars have proposed speaking about language endangerment using forward looking terminology encompassing a larger set of goals involved with language revitalization such as *language reclamation* (Leonard, 2012) or *language survivance* (Davis, 2017).

Meissner (2018), furthermore, speaks to the paradoxical relationship that language revitalization can have in that it maintains a settler dependence discourse and a wounded people discourse. Meissner argues that narratives of language revitalization and endangerment cast Indigenous people in the role of the wounded in need of being saved. For example, UNESCO makes Indigenous communities define their language as endangered to have available access to resources[14].

Furthermore, Meissner (2018) writes that university archives often function either as gatekeepers to information or allow access permitted to all, in either case deprivileging

[14] In addition, the Endangered Languages Documentation Programme (ELDP), Endangered Languages Fund (ELF), National Science Foundation – Documenting Endangered Languages (NSF-DEL/DLI) operate similarly.

Indigenous intellectual control. This gatekeeping continues to dispossess Indigenous peoples of their languages and forces Indigenous peoples to ask permission of primarily non-Indigenous institutions to have continued access to documentation of their languages. It is important to recognize the effects of historical trauma without casting Indigenous people in a wounded people narrative.

Fitzgerald (2017) also calls for more "holistic and inclusive notions of language and language vitality" (p. 280), i.e., ones that recognize language revitalization acts as protective factors and examples of resilience (naguasauġuminaatuq). Fitzgerald argues that a "resilience-based" framework for language revitalization rather than a deficit model should be how we approach language vitality; it is important to continue to treat Indigenous languages as resilient and strong, despite the centuries of intense external pressure and institutional racism. Fitzgerald argues that the best framework for understanding language reclamation should be one where we view language revitalization as adaptive and fulfilling many different roles in Indigenous communities. A holistic approach also means determining the success of language revitalization not merely numerically by the number of speakers or an idealized version of what a language community should look like; each community is different and language revitalization success should be measured by that communities' own goals. These goals could be, for example, better outcomes in health and education, and stronger identity and pride (Fitzgerald, 2017), rather than just a numerical number of fluent speakers.

All the issues connected to colonization and language trauma are critical to understand the modern situation for many Indigenous languages, yet I would speculate that the vast majority of reference grammars written by academic linguists do not take considerations of

historical trauma into account when considering how to design a grammar. The effects of historical trauma and the social-emotional challenges of learning one's language need to be considered in the design of any grammar for a language that has been systematically oppressed. In considering these aspects, I believe it is imperative to consult the language community one is working with about how to be sensitive to these concerns in developing a language grammar. A possible idea is to emphasize in an introduction to the grammar and continually throughout to be gentle with oneself while going about learning, take as many breaks and time as you need in learning, and continuing to remember that every small investment is a good one. Providing reference to self-care, motivation, emotions, and understanding that language learning is not always an easy or straightforward endeavor, could be helpful for language learners utilizing a learners' grammar.

2.6 Inupiaq Grammar

Finally, it is important to look at previous literature that has covered documentation and description of Inupiaq grammar. I am fortunate that this dissertation is not the first foray into Inupiaq linguistics and grammar and there exists a lot of previous work done in Inupiaq language documentation and materials development, though much of this documentation has come from more of a "linguist-focused model" of documentation. A handful of Inupiaq and non-Inupiaq linguists have developed language resources for learning Inupiaq linguistics and grammar. Foremost among these individuals is Dr. Edna MacLean (1981, 1993, 1994, 2010, 2014) an Iñupiaq linguist, and Dr. Larry Kaplan (1978, 1981, 1982, 1984, 1985, 1994, 2000, 2001, n.d., n.d.) a non-Indigenous linguist who has worked with the Inupiaq language for many

decades.

Kaplan's (1981) dissertation covers the phonology of North Alaskan Iñupiaq (North Slope and Malimiut dialects). Though it does not cover Seward Peninsula Inupiaq, there will be valuable insights on how Inupiaq sounds work across all dialects. Kaplan (1978) looks at consonant assimilation in Inupiaq, across different dialects. Kaplan (1982) explains how certain consonants alternate in Inupiaq (although primarily focused on Northern Alaskan Inupiaq). This is useful in understanding when certain sounds alternate in Inupiaq and/or geminate. Kaplan's (1985) paper covers the consonant gradation system of Seward Peninsula Inupiaq in depth. Basic stress patterns for the Ugiuvak dialect of Inupiaq are highlighted. This consonant gradation system depends on "syllable strength" – i.e., "weak" and "strong" syllables. The first syllable is considered strong if it contains a long vowel or diphthong or it is closed (followed by consonant cluster or geminate consonant). Weak and strong syllables then alternate throughout the word, in contrast to Northern Alaskan Iñupiaq, which does not have this consonant gradation system. Krauss (1987) also investigates Bering Straits consonant weakening based on what corresponds to unstressed vowels in Yupik. Understanding this consonant gradation system and describing this phonological process in an accessible way will be essential for this learners' grammar and is a large goal of grammar description in Chapter 3.

Other research has looked at other phonological processes in Inupiaq relevant to this grammar. Kaplan (1994) speaks specifically to the appearance of the fourth schwa vowel in Fish River Inupiaq as well as the consonant palatalization that occurs after the "strong i" (an important concept in Inuit linguistics, particularly for Inupiaq). He also provides much information about the typology of Seward Peninsula Inupiaq, which has been very helpful for

discussing Inupiaq grammar generally. Compton and Dresher (2011) also explain palatalization and the “strong i” concept across Inuit dialects, particularly Iñupiaq. A dissertation that dealt specifically with Iñupiaq grammar is Lanz (2010) which covers an extensive look at morphology and syntax of Iñupiaq, with examples from Northwest Arctic Iñupiaq. Much of the content is covered in Edna MacLean’s grammar, but with Lanz focusing more deeply on syntax and some insights on how the language is changing under influence from English today. Others have looked at agentive and patientive verb bases in Inupiaq (Nagai, 2006) and the semantics and pragmatics of the Inupiaq postbase *+niq* (Berthelin, 2012).

The most comprehensive look at Inupiaq grammar comes from MacLean’s *First Year Inupiaq Grammar* (1993), whose Chapters 4, 6, 8 and 12 prove a strong inspiration for the grammar resource developed alongside this dissertation. MacLean’s *Second Year Inupiaq Grammar* (1994) is also instructive.

MacLean (2010) looks particularly at how the structure of the Iñupiaq language reflects the Iñupiaq environment. For example, MacLean explains the relational aspect of Iñupiaq grammar:

> The concept of interdependence stands out in the structure of the Iñupiaq and Yupik languages. Each word has a marker which identifies its relation to the other words in the sentence. There is no set order of words in a sentence just as there is no way of determining what will happen next in nature. Man cannot control nature. But as each event happens, a causal effect occurs which creates special relationships between the components of the happening. The following Iñupiaq statement *aġnam aitchuġaa aŋun*

suppunmik – "the woman is giving the man a gun" — can be said in an additional eleven ways without changing the meaning (p. 5)

Moreover, detailed knowledge of snow and ice is "essential to the success and survival of a hunter", and as such, "the language is rich in terms for different types of snow and ice" (MacLean, 2010, p. 6). The demonstrative system of Iñupiaq is extremely complex, a reflection of the landscape in which Iñupiat live:

> The sea and land that people depend on for their sustenance are almost totally devoid of landmarks. These languages have therefore developed an elaborate set of demonstrative pronouns and adverbs which are used to direct the listener's attention quickly to the nature and location of a particular object. In place of landmarks, words serve as indicators for the location of an object. Each stem gives information about proximity, visibility or vertical position and implies whether the object is inside or outside, moving or not moving, long or short. For example, Iñupiaq has at least twenty-two stems which are used to form demonstrative pronouns in eight different cases and demonstrative adverbs in four cases. American English has two demonstrative pronouns, *this* and *that* (plural forms *these* and *those)* with their respective adverbs *here* and *there.* (MacLean, 2010, p. 7)

MacLean reflects on how Iñupiaq grammar is not simply a surface description of internal structure, but a deep connection to the environment in which Iñupiat live, and any grammar of Inupiaq should understand this important principle.

There have also been several Inupiaq dictionaries (MacLean, 1981; Sun, et al., 1979; Krupnik & Weyapuk, 2010; MacLean, 2014; Seiler, 2016; Kaplan, unpub. a.; Kaplan unpub. b.),

phrasebooks (Kaplan & Williams, 2000, Alvanna-Stimpfle, 2007), and countless readers, curricula and books written in Inupiaq.

Chapter 3: Language Learning Research

In creating a "learners' grammar", it is essential to be versed in the literature about language learning research. Learners' grammars should be informed by research on second language learning and teaching and should take into consideration ways in which different languages are acquired (Rice, 2005a) (i.e., second/additional language acquisition). Moreover, McIvor (2020) writes about the importance of breaking down the wall between the fields of language revitalization and applied linguistics, as the two fields have much to learn from one another, and it will be important to understand the ways in which applied linguistics knowledge could aid the fields of language documentation and revitalization. In the following sections, I look at several different questions of second language acquisition, language learning methods and methodologies, with a particular focus on those that have been employed for teaching the Indigenous languages of North America.

3.1. Second Language Acquisition/Additional Language Acquisition (SLA/ALA)

In development of a learners' grammar, having strong pedagogical underpinnings and understanding of additional language acquisition is naturally of prime concern. Second/Additional language acquisition is a field of linguistics that seeks to understand the processes whereby people learn and use an additional language (Douglas Fir Group, 2016). There has been some movement away from the term "second" language acquisition in the field of applied linguistics, understanding that many people are multilingual and may be learning a third, fourth, or fifth language (and so on) (Block, 2003; Mitchell & Myles, 2004). Moreover, I would argue that for Indigenous language learners learning one's heritage language, calling a

language “second” to English seems to deprivilege one’s Indigenous language as a learner's language of identity, even if it is not one’s primary language. I will refer to SLA for these reasons in the rest of this proposal as additional language acquisition (ALA).

The Douglas Fir Group (2016) provides a framework for ALA that is centered in 10 fundamental themes. (These examples are paraphrased from Douglas Fir Group (2016) and my own explanations are provided in parentheses following each point):

1. Language competencies are complex, dynamic, and holistic.
2. Language learning is semiotic learning. (This means that all language learning is the learning of signs whether oral, visual, or societal).
3. Language learning is situated and attentionally and socially gated. (This means that how we learn language is dependent on the social situation which we are in).
4. Language learning is multimodal, embodied and mediated.
5. Variability and change are at the heart of language learning.
6. Literacy and instruction mediate language learning. (Inupiaq, though previously only oral, is now in written form, and written literacy has to be considered today as well).
7. Language learning is identity work.
8. Agency and transformative power are means and goals for language learning.
9. Ideologies permeate all levels. (The beliefs that one has about language permeates the whole learning process).
10. Emotion and affect matters at all levels. (Douglas Fir Group, 2016, pp. 26-36)

Moreover, an important part of understanding SLA/ALA is the debate over "a critical period" and the question of why it seems that children are able to acquire language more easily than adults. However, there are many more effects than just age that affect language acquisition, including bilingualism effects, cognitive aging, and individual differences in learning (Birdsong, 2018). There is mounting evidence that adults can learn and acquire languages just as well as children, but other issues of motivation and lack of immersion environments might be more salient than cognitive arguments.

The relationship between ALA and language revitalization is one that has been considered more and more in recent years. O'Grady and Hattori (2015), for example, comment on the relationship between additional language acquisition and language revitalization, arguing that there are four major issues to consider in ALA for successful intergenerational transmission: the amount of extensive exposure to a language, the difficulties posed by language attrition of speakers, the challenges of bilingualism, and the reality of age-related decline in ability to pick up a second language. This "age-related decline" statement is a contentious one and is O'Grady and Hattori's argument, not my own; there may be other factors involved (Birdsong, 2018).

The challenge of building a grammar will be to build a solid foundation of language learning that reflects these issues of ALA. However, despite these foundations, very little ALA research has been based in Indigenous knowledge, and Indigenous language programs have often had "a lack of exposure to relevant and accessible theoretical knowledge and practical skills of second language learning" (McIvor, 2020, p. 81). There is a need to make sure to bring

theoretical knowledge of language acquisition into the creation of a language grammar, but also to interweave that knowledge with Indigenous methodologies.[15]

For particular language communities, certain aspects of ALA will be more important than others. Take, for example, the principles presented above by Douglas Fir Group in reference to an Inupiaq learners' grammar. For instance, questions of identity construction, language ideologies and emotion might be more important aspects of ALA of Inupiaq, while questions of print literacy could be seen as less essential. Principles of ALA for an Inupiaq grammar need to be funneled through an understanding of Inupiat Iḷitqusiat (discussed further in a later section of this chapter).

3.2 Pedagogical theory

In approaching pedagogical theory, I am making two assumptions about this learners' grammar curriculum developed in this dissertation research: 1) It is built with adult second-language learners (who may also be teachers themselves) in mind, and 2) immersion is the best environment for learning and teaching to build proficient speakers.[16] These assumptions are important to understand how to approach ALA in the context of building an Inupiaq learners' grammar or Inupiaq language grammar materials.

Bearing in mind Rice's (2005a) position that theoretical considerations have to be taken into account in any grammar writing process, I would suggest that for any *learners'* grammar, it

---

[15] More will be explained on this topic in the following chapters.

[16] This is not to say that immersion is the be-all and end-all for successful additional language learning (ALA). Successful immersion for adults requires intentional scaffolding and is just one element of language learning that depends on many other variables to be successful.

is essential to have a particular *pedagogical* theoretical background. Much focus on Additional Language Acquisition (ALA) has made reference to the continuum between teaching through immersion (*focus on meaning*) and explicit grammar instruction (*focus on formS*), while a third way of *focus on form* seeks a middle ground by drawing attention to grammatical structure through communicative tasks (Long, 1991). I look closely at *focus on form* as my main approach to Additional (or Second) Language Acquisition. As I discuss below, focus on form presents a third way in the dialectic between *focus on formS* and *focus on meaning*. *Focus on formS* focuses on explicit and decontextualized instruction of grammar while *focus on meaning* exclusively focuses on meaning with no attention to grammatical structures. In the following sections, I will describe *focus on meaning*, *focus on formS*, and *focus on form*, and explain why I assume *meaning-focused instruction with a focus on form* is a useful pedagogical theory through which to view this project. It is important to understand that *focus on form* was introduced as a pedagogical approach but has since come to be viewed as a set of procedures for attracting attention to form while learners are engaged in meaning-focused activities (Ellis, 2016).

3.2.1 Focus on meaning

The theoretical standpoint of *focus on meaning* (FoM) places an emphasis on meaning rather than structure and might often be applied through the Natural Approach or TPR/TPRS [17]. In *focus on meaning*, learners are exposed to the target language based on a particular topic, theme, or activity, and little attention is shown to the grammatical structures or patterns of

[17] More will be said on the Natural Approach, TPR, and TPRS in §3.4.

such communication. This swing to a *focus on meaning* approach emerged in the 1970s and 1980s as the reaction to the grammar-translation method[18] and its lack of success for developing successful second language learners. The rationale of this approach was that second-language learning should closely mirror that of first language acquisition, picking up language in an immersive, naturalistic setting. Some scholars have written about the successes of these types of methodologies in teaching Indigenous languages (Alvanna-Stimpfle, 2007, Billy, 2003). Alvanna-Stimpfle (2007) writes about some of the advantages of the Natural Approach for Inupiaq language learners, while Janice Billy (2003) writes about the successful use of TPRS in teaching Secwepemctsin stories.

However, research has shown that teaching through *focusing-on-meaning* alone is not enough to gain full native-like competence (Long, 1991; Swain, 1991). Furthermore, *focus on meaning* without an additional focus on form/grammatical structures may be challenging for adult language learners of Inupiaq. For adult Inupiaq language learners, there are very few domains where one could be fully immersed in the language; domains for Inupiaq immersion thus must be constructed somewhat artificially. Especially for second-language teacher-learners (those who are teaching the language while still learning it), who are also getting a grasp on the structure of the language, FoM may prove too nebulous when immersive environments often have to be carefully planned and constructed to ensure an immersive learning experience. Hinton (2003) writes that learner-teachers have to always keep one step ahead of their students, and must plan *all components* ahead of time, so that they can continue to keep everything in the target language. Fostering a classroom environment with free-form language

[18] More will be said on the grammar-translation method in §3.4.1.

based on meaning, rather than focused activities is very challenging for teachers who are still learning the target language themselves. Teachers (ilisaurit) must build up their skills in task-based teaching[19] to support their students effectively, by planning and practicing the lessons ahead of time, using gestures and contextual clues to support communication where the teacher is missing vocabulary, and increasing knowledge of classroom language, directions, and patterns[20] (Hinton, 2003).

Furthermore, *focus on meaning* alone without a focus on form can also sometimes be opaque to language learners (ilisazaqtuat). Research shows that teaching in immersion contexts requires the appropriate instructional techniques and intentional scaffolding to be effective for new learners (Blanc et al., 2012).

3.2.2 *Focus on formS*[21]

Unlike *focus on meaning*, *focusing on formS* (FoFS) means spending most of the time during the language learning process looking at linguistic structure (Long, 1998). *Focus on formS*, or form-focused instruction, emphasizes the explicit instruction of grammar and has been associated with approaches such as the grammar-translation method. There are ways in which this approach comes up short for the purposes of this grammar. First, *focus on formS* has been shown often to be of limited interest to those who are not grammar-oriented learners. It is a common trope for students to dislike or even hate learning grammar (Blair, 2013).

[19] More on task-based teaching can be found in §3.4.5
[20] "Informal language that comes in between everything else" (Hinton, 2003, p. 80). For example, "what should we do now?", or "Let's see."
[21] The capitalized "S" at the end of the word is used to distinguish from *focus on form*, to make the *focus on formS* distinction clear.

Furthermore, *focus on formS* approaches can be extremely opaque to those who have not studied linguistics extensively. Students may end up learning a lot about *linguistics* or even a lot about the inner workings of their language but may be confused and frustrated when trying to apply that knowledge to speaking ability. Finally, *focus on formS* has been argued to be ineffective for building second language learners in Indigenous language contexts; Johnson (2016) and Sarkar and Metallic (2009) found this to be true for teaching Nsyilcxn and Mi'gmaq, respectively. Sarkar and Metallic write that though many young people have learned Mi'gmaq songs, stories, and counting in non-immersion classes, they do not feel confident speaking Mi'gmaq outside the classroom (2009). Johnson (2016) writes that Indigenous language teachers find it difficult to stay in immersion due to relying on English to provide grammatical explanations, among other disadvantages.

3.2.3 Focus on form (FoF)

Michael Long (1998), however, argues in support of *focus on form* instead of *focus on meaning* or *focus on formS,* where a meaning-focused lesson is constructed to direct a learner's attention to a particular linguistic form. In this approach, there continues to be *meaning-focused instruction* but with an explicit *focus on form.* It is a central construct in task-based language teaching (Ellis, 2016), as well as content-based language learning. Though the definition of *focus on form* has shifted and expanded significantly since Long, Ellis (2016) identifies some key characteristics of *focus on form* (among others):

1. Focus on form is a set of procedures for attracting attention to form.

2. Focus on form can include both interactive (e.g., recasting) and non-interactive ways (e.g., pre-planning) of drawing attention for both before and after a task.
3. There is a meaning-focused task that provides the context for the focus on form. Limited capacity of working memory constrains what learners can pay attention to while learning, and so there is a psycholinguistic dimension to focus on form. (Ellis, 2016)

Nassaji (2000) proposes that *focus on form* can be achieved through *process* or through *design*. *Focus on form* through *process* occurs during natural communication in the classroom when the learner's primary focus is directed to particular forms as they occur naturally. *Focus on form* through *design*, on the other hand, is deliberate and achieved through the design of tasks that are of explicit grammatical focus. This means that attention to structure is designed and "baked in" to the lesson ahead of time. For the Inupiaq grammar resources in this dissertation, the *focus on form* approach is through *design*, where tasks will be designed to focus on a particular grammar concept, while doing activities relevant to *inuusiq (*an Inupiaq way of life), e.g., sewing, ice fishing, storytelling, berry picking, etc. For example, the language learning lessons will be set up ahead of time for the language learners, with a clear elucidation of the language learning through the grammar structures inherent to the lesson.

Some essential conditions for acquisition of these grammatical forms in FoF are:

1. learning, noticing and continued awareness of target forms
2. repeated meaning-focused exposure to input containing them
3. opportunities for output and practice

(Nassaji & Fotos, 2004)

It is also acknowledged that successful acquisition of forms requires time, repetition, and lots of practice (Nassaji & Fotos, 2004).

I find this approach the most compelling for the context of this project for several reasons. For one, current research indicates that corrective feedback is necessary for additional language learners to gain high proficiency in the language they are learning (Nassaji & Fotos, 2004). Correction of learner's errors while they are communicating can be an effective way to draw attention to form, facilitating acquisition (Ellis, 2016).[22]

There are also some possible benefits of *focus on form* for Indigenous language contexts. Firstly, it exposes students to grammatical patterns, but in a way that emphasizes communication, allowing the benefits of immersion, but with grammar knowledge also acquired. This can help adult language learners to both feel confident in their grammar knowledge (to be able to replicate novel sentences more easily) while also having the confidence to teach that knowledge to other adults or to children. With explicit grammar knowledge, structures can be taught to others more easily. However, in contrast to *focus on formS*, *focus on form* does not necessarily *require* explicit attention to grammar (or at least does not require a large amount of metalanguage about grammar), and grammar acquisition is intended to be brought out through pattern recognition. Furthermore, teachers and students do not *necessarily* need to fully understand grammar patterns to teach or acquire them. Indeed, understanding grammar patterns in this pedagogical approach is secondary to partaking in the task at hand, and the completion of the speech act is more important than fully

[22] However, "recasts" (repeating back of a learner's error but in the correct from) can often be missed if the learner is not aware of their error or not concerned with it (Ellis & Sheen, 2006), so this approach should not be taken as always reliable.

understanding the grammar pattern. That said, there is ample opportunity to point out or highlight grammar patterns, if the teacher or student so wishes, and a successful activity should allow the learner to both grasp communicative function and the underlying structural pattern.

Furthermore, *focus on form* potentially allows learning through more culturally relevant language learning activities. For example, an important aspect of Alaska Native ways of learning and teaching is an emphasis on observation (naipatuġniq) and the recognition of patterns. *Focus on form* requires that language learners be conscious of the patterns they see in language learning and helps to bring out grammatical patterns in a communicative context. Students will observe language learning activities, while doing instructive Inupiaq activities such as sewing or fishing, for example, and be able to recognize the language patterns through careful observation, listening, and modeling. There is evidence of stronger effectiveness of focus on form when teachers participate in small group work than in a whole-class interaction (Nassaji, 2013). Furthermore, *focus on form* mirrors the apprenticeship relationship found in Inupiaq education models. Students (ilisazaqtuat) observe teachers (ilisaurit) patterning out a particular form in in a communicative context. The goal is for the mentor to model the language for the apprentice to be able to pick up (which is best in a one-on-one or one-on-few model according to Nassaji).

For languages with few fluent first-language speakers, domains for immersion and language practice have to be constructed more than is the case for more dominant languages. For dominant languages, one can travel to a country where most everyone can speak the language and finding immersion spaces can be much easier than in an endangered language situation. This means immersion settings must often be planned ahead of time, especially in

classrooms where language teachers themselves are not fluent (Hinton, 2003). In the Inupiaq context, immersive spaces for speaking Inupiaq are increasingly rare (in particular in Sitŋasuaq[23], Alaska, where there has been a large non-Native population since the early 1900's). This means there is a need creating opportunities for language learning that are communicative, but also illustrative of grammar patterns. Such an approach is essential for language learners who often have to construct their own immersive domains for learning and, furthermore, may want to replicate knowledge of grammar in their own teaching of the language to others.

Lastly, one of the goals of the grammar constructed in this dissertation is to serve two purposes: it is to be a resource for language learners, and a resource for language teachers who themselves are continuing learners. Having a language learning approach that is based in communication but illuminates underlying grammar patterns is useful for these teachers, as they can acquire the language forms, while also understanding the grammar patterns, to be able to pass on that knowledge to other language learners. There are parallels here to communicative language teaching (CLT), which emphasizes communication while still addressing form (Ellis, 2015). Learners can gain new linguistic forms through exposure and through their attempts to use these new linguistic forms in communication.

The challenge for using a *focus on form* approach for an Indigenous language such as Inupiaq is that most of the research on *focus on form* has been based in English as an Additional Language (EAL) research. Applied linguistics tend to be heavily skewed towards the teaching and acquisition of dominant languages such as English. There are realities in the Indigenous

[23] Nome in English

language revitalization (ILR) field that applied linguists are not always keen to consider. McIvor (2020) explains some of these realities: the fact that in ILR there are often very few (or sometime no) speakers of the target language, that there are fewer ready-made resources and curricula, that teachers are often language learners themselves, and that there are barriers due to language trauma. Furthermore, because Indigenous language teaching pedagogies take different approaches than Western pedagogies, a grammar of Inupiaq would need to analyze the assumptions made in previous *focus on form* research and see if they still work for Indigenous language contexts. In utilizing a *focus on form* approach to this research, the approach needs to be revised to the realities of ILR. As previously mentioned, applied linguistics as a field has a role to play in Indigenous language revitalization (McIvor, 2020), but it needs to respond more closely to the specific community needs and the broader needs of ILR as a field.

3.3 Pedagogy in Indigenous Language Revitalization

In addition to understanding theoretical approaches from ALA for language teaching, understanding the background in which Indigenous languages have been taught according to different models over several decades is important to understand. Many models and methods for Indigenous language learning have been used for Indigenous language revitalization efforts, particularly for those focused on adult language learning. These topics are important to highlight as they had influence in the direction and use of the grammar developed in this research. The grammar was intended to be used in multiple different types of language teaching contexts, and so understanding many various concepts in language learning research is essential to see how the grammar can be adapted to different teaching situations. In addition,

language learning on the land and language learning in the home is particularly important to this research I intend and hope that the grammar resources in this dissertation are ones where language learners can learn outside the classroom, and on the land (nuna), where language learning may be more meaningful and richer than language learning within the confines of an academic classroom. However, an additional benefit to this research is that while most activities are intended to be land-based or home-based, they could also be replicated to be taught in a classroom or home setting, moving from *realis* to *representation*[24].

3.3.1 Indigenous Adult Language Learning

Adult language learners, particularly those who are current or future language teachers, are the main audience for the Inupiaq learners' grammar presented in this dissertation, and I would contend that this dissertation's learner's grammar could be utilized in several different immersive language program models. While a good amount of research on additional language acquisition focuses on the high value of immersion education for Indigenous languages, research frequently only focuses on the benefits of learning in an immersive environment through the lens of *child* language acquisition (Johnston & Johnston, 2002; McIvor & Park, 2015). There is also a strong lack of research on adult language learning of *Indigenous* languages in particular, with the applied linguistics field almost entirely focused on immigrant, heritage, and foreign language learners (McIvor, 2020).

[24] For example, a lesson on berry picking could either be done out on the land picking real berries or could be *represented* in the classroom, simulating berry picking while still indoors.

McIvor (2012) moreover writes that most previous Indigenous adult language learning research up until then had focused on individual adult learning (in contrast to cohorts of learners) and new adult language learning (in contrast to adult language learners who are latent speakers[25]). The Mohawk adult immersion programs are well-known examples of adult Indigenous language immersion, but other reported programs are summer immersion camps or school year-based immersion programs. McIvor writes that adult language learners have not been a priority for the Indigenous language revitalization movement of the past few decades. Some call these adult learners of professional or parental age the "missing generation" (Jenni et al., 2017, p. 25).

McCreery (2013) found through interviews with Cree adult language learners that their most significant difficulties in language learning were affective challenges (such as anxiety) and the lack and nature of resources available to learners and teachers. Furthermore, McCreery found the methodologies used to teach adult language learners were limiting for students and offered some recommendations for teaching adult language learners:

1. Focus on target language context, rather than English
2. Focus on using longer examples earlier, and having student produce longer conversation (however simple)
3. Expand the scope of language acquisition to encompass culture

[25] A latent speaker, sometimes referred to a 'silent speaker' is an "individual raised in an environment where the ancestral language was spoken but who did not become a speaker of that language" (Basham & Fathman, 2008, p. 577), perhaps because of past language trauma or because of more general societal language attitudes. Elijah (2020) writes how Cognitive Behavioral Therapy in British Columbia, and the Ka'nikonhrakétskwas Uplifting the Mind Condolence Ceremony in the Kanien'kehá:ka community have been able to promote language healing for silent speakers employing culturally relevant therapies.

4. Focus language revitalization on changing speaker attitudes towards the language as much as on creating new learners
5. Have learners teach
6. Emphasize to teachers and learners the importance of self-determination in learner success
7. Develop a clear scope of language that is readily available to learners and teachers
8. Change the focus from teaching *about* language to facilitating language development
9. Curriculum needs to be usable by learners on their own, without access to a fluent language speaker
10. Greater involvement by applied linguists and practitioners

(McCreery, 2013, pp. 89-92)

McCreery's recommendations are an excellent guide and resource for implementing adult immersion education in an Indigenous context. These previous studies that have looked at Indigenous adult language learning (Jenni et al., 2017; McCreery, 2013; McIvor, 2012; McIvor 2020) have provided some guidance for how to develop resources for adult language learners. However, it is also clear that there is still a lack of research on Indigenous adult language learning, particularly in immersion teaching settings.[26] This research is hopefully another

[26] A large SSHRC grant awarded to scholars at the University of Victoria is funding the NEȾOLṈEW̱ project ('one mind, one people') which aims to understand adult language learning efforts across Canada, looking at five themes: NILLA, assessment, sites of adult Indigenous language learning and teaching, sites of contribution, and language health and well-being. I have been a Research Assistant and Coordinator for this project, particularly focused on assessment. Research results of this project are forthcoming. The co-leads are Dr. Onowa McIvor and Dr. Peter Jacobs. More information about the project can be found at netolnew.ca.

example of how to develop adult language curriculum that can be useful for both learners and teachers.

Though general research on adult Indigenous language learning is somewhat scarce, there is some published research demonstrating different learning models that have been used by Indigenous language learners and teachers in the past several decades, with most demonstrating that immersive language contexts have proven to be most successful for building fluent speakers. The following sections provide information about different adult Indigenous language learning *models* that will be useful in understanding the development of a learners' grammar of Inupiaq.

3.3.2 Language classes

Non-immersive classroom education has been the dominant model for teaching Indigenous languages to adults and young adults in North America until the most recent decades (Ball & McIvor, 2013; Johnson, 2016). This model, where the language is taught as a subject or as an elective, is sometimes referred to as "exposure classes". In many Indigenous language contexts in North America, "exposure classes" are held to teach students aspects of the language and culture. Though there is potential for students to feel pride in holding more knowledge about their language or culture, Ball and McIvor (2013) write that there is "little evidence to prove that this model of teaching the language as a subject or elective is effective in creating new speakers" (28). Michelle Johnson (2016) notes that the language class approach is the least effective method in creating new speakers; while there have been community language classes for 30 years in the Nsyilxcn community, not one fluent Nsyilxcn speaker has

been created in Canada with this approach (Cohen, 2010, p. 194). Language classes have been the main mode of teaching Inupiaq in schools and colleges in Iñupiat Nunaŋat for the last several decades and there has been a desire to move to more immersive models in recent years. Because this model has been shown to have little evidence of creating new speakers, the grammar constructed in this dissertation would not incorporate much from this model. However, for teachers who are beginning learners themselves, this model might prove the most salient for their capacity and having a stronger understanding of the pronunciation and grammar of Inupiaq could be successful for teachers who are more comfortable in teaching in less immersive contexts. Furthermore, the grammar curriculum presented in this dissertation does employ translations in its written form, though translation is not suggested in teaching contexts.

3.3.3 Master-Apprentice model (Mentor-Apprentice model)

Though the most popular language learning models for Indigenous languages have focused on child language learning, the Master-Apprentice model (sometimes called Mentor-Apprentice model or MAP) (Hinton, 2001; Hinton et al., 2002) recognizes the need for developing more adult language learners who can become teachers. For many Indigenous communities, many language teachers and fluent speakers are elderly, and there exists a need to develop more adult speakers who are of professional and parental age (Hinton et al., 2018).

Originally developed with languages in California, MAP has spread in popularity to British Columbia, Oklahoma, and Australia, among other places (Hinton et. al., 2018). MAP consists of a situation where highly motivated language learners commit to practicing speaking

with a fluent speaker for 300 hours per year for three years, in the earlier versions of the model. This one-on-one model mirrors traditional apprenticeship learning in many Indigenous education systems (including Inupiaq) and has been shown to be very effective in teaching adult learners in British Columbia through the Mentor-Apprentice Program delivered by First Peoples' Cultural Council (FPCC) (McIvor, Anisman & Jacobs, 2017). The learners' grammar of Inupiaq (see Appendix A) could certainly lend itself well to language learning in an immersive Mentor-Apprentice Model, where a learner may intend to communicate with a speaker in a task-based environment.

3.3.4 Language House

MAP is not the only model of language learning to address the needs of adult language learners. Another such model that has been successful in British Columbia is the language house model. The Syilx Language House is a four-year, 2,000-hour program to create adult Nsyilxcn speakers (Johnson, 2017). The program employs strategies that "prioritize effective immersion, frequent assessment and a high level of classroom safety" (Johnson, 2017, p. 509). The language house follows a sequenced curriculum (called the Paul Creek method[27]) with detailed lessons plans, where students and teachers meet two full days a week, with 11 hours of instruction per week. The importance of a sequenced curriculum in this model cannot be overstated, as effective immersion will wane without a clear curriculum that fosters immersion.

[27] According to Morin (2018) the Paul Creek Method is "a resource for second language adult learners that incorporates language acquisition methods such as the direct-method, Total Physical Response (TPR), TPR-Storytelling, repetition, immersion, games, and visual aids of this method. The entire curriculum takes approximately 1,000 classroom hours, or roughly the equivalent of two full years of university instruction." (p. 4)

In this model, teachers are frequently learners themselves, and elders are also present as co-teachers and/or advisors. The Inupiaq grammar planned here could certainly be used in a language house model, though again, it is not built particularly with this model in mind. Instead, the grammar is built in such a way to be applicable to several different types of adult Indigenous language learning models.

3.3.5 Language on the Land (Nuna)

Each of the previous models has been designed primarily for indoor language instruction (apart from MAP which could be seen as more multispatial). However, understanding the importance of language on the land (nuna) as an important aspect of Indigenous language learning is key (Cajete, 1994; Johnson et al., 2013, Woodhouse & Knapp, 2000; Penetito, 2009; Scully, 2012; Tuck, et. al., 2014). Jansen et. al. (2013) write that place-based curriculum grounds students' learning in their local spaces and builds community connections to traditional ways of life. Parker (2012) writes that in interviews with Indigenous language and culture experts (ilisimaruat), they spoke of four facets of language's relationship to land: living on the land, learning from the land, belonging to the land, and respecting the land. Rorick (2019) writes about the development of a language on the land course for learning Hesquiaht, a dialect of Nuu-chah-nulth. In this course, she wanted to explore the four domains of Hesquiaht language use: the beach, the longhouse, the land, and the sea. Rorick writes that there is a need to concentrate Hesquiaht-centered content in a Hesquiaht environment. She developed this course through experience learning from MAP and the Paul Creek method. Moreover, Child (2016) writes about the efforts to teach language in a Youth Leadership Camp Framework. She

writes, “when we get our youth back on the land, in touch with their spirituality, in holistic camp settings that involve multi-generational activities...this will feed their spirits and lay the foundation for them to develop inner strength and resilience” (p. 47). Jansen et. al. (2013) finds that students’ self-esteem and identity can be strengthened by a place-based curriculum. Place-based learning can create a shift from learning *about* one’s culture to learning *through* one’s culture (Barnhardt & Kawagley, 2005). The Northwest Indian Language Institute (NILI), in collaboration with several language communities developed an Identity Through Learning (ITL) framework that is a place-based learning model guided by ways of life in Indigenous communities (Jansen, et. al, 2013), and emphasizes community-centered, experiential, and collaborative learning. Indigenous language learning should be centered in each of these three tenets, and place-based language learning is essential for having positive language learning outcomes for Indigenous language learners. As previously mentioned, Inupiaq education is experiential, observational, and relational; all these aspects are important in building a grammar that is Inupiaq and place-based. This dissertation’s grammar particularly intends for language learning activities to occur outdoors and include language lessons that can be held outdoors.

3.3.6 Learning by teaching

As Michelle Johnson (2017) writes, little has been written about learning by teaching. By “learning by teaching”, I mean the increasingly common phenomenon of Indigenous language learners being placed into language teacher status, even without fluency in the language, and often with insecurities about their lack of fluency. For most Indigenous languages in the United

States, fluent speakers, as mentioned above, tend to be over the age of 60, and non-fluent "teacher-learners" are having to come into the position of being language teachers without full fluency in the language. Hinton (2003) explains that non-fluent teachers can maintain classroom immersion as much as possible with solid preparation of 1) the lesson proper, 2) rituals (repetitive language to use for each class), 3) review of previous lessons, 4) classroom management language, and 5) classroom patter (the informal language to signify moving from one activity to another or filler words like "um", "let's see", or "well.") Johnson wrote in her dissertation (2014) that "the benefits of teaching for learners are well-known among teachers ("if you want to learn, teach.") (p. 186) Grzega (2005) found that teaching can benefit learners by requiring increased attention to material, more focus on grammar skills, as well as the added benefit of soft skills like group interaction, group planning and high-level thinking. Another study found that the success of "non-specialist" French teachers in British Columbia classrooms depended on human and material resources, including strong training, access to materials, and curriculum integration which would allow teachers to feel comfortable as the grew in their linguistic competence (Swansborough, 1993). Johnson (2017) found teaching to be highly beneficial to her own language learning – having to produce and repeat hundreds of full sentences to prepare for classes. SX̱EDȾELISIYE (2014) similarly discussed the pedagogy and success of the acceleration of their own learning ability through the experience of classroom teaching. McCreery (2013) found that learning by teaching was a very tangible way for learners to take on their own agency in language learning, which was good for personal motivation. It also put language teachers and language learners on equal footing, that can support a shared language group identity, McCreery found.

However, I also know from first-hand experience, as well as second-hand discussions from Inupiaq teachers (ilisaurit), the intense pressure learning by teaching can put upon a learner. There is an expectation that you will get everything right, and you often have roadblocks, especially when trying to teach in immersion, where your access to lexicon , grammar, and semantic knowledge has limits. I intend for this dissertation's learners' grammar to be geared toward adult language learners of Inupiaq, and many in this audience will be "learning by teaching" as well. A good learners' grammar of Inupiaq should reflect this potential dual purpose by providing a resource that is not only built from the perspective of a language learner, but also from that of someone who may be teaching or may soon become a teacher. Grammar resources should be accessible for language learner-teachers to adapt for their teaching and learning journeys.

3.4 Other language learning methods

In addition to looking at Indigenous language revitalization in the context of adult learners, it is also important to consider language learning methods that are relevant to this project that were not necessarily developed for Indigenous language revitalization contexts. These are important to highlight, because Inupiaq grammar resources can be used in a multitude of different teaching environments and could be adapted to already existing or future praxes of Inupiaq language teaching.

Though there are countless language learning methodologies that have been used in both Indigenous and non-Indigenous language learning contexts, and many more that have guided in the creation of language grammars and language curricula, I focus particularly in this

section on methods I think will be most relevant to this research. Some of these methods are relevant to this research because they have been used in the past and the present to teach Iñupiaq in Inupiat Nunaŋat. Others are included because, although they have not been widely used in teaching Inupiaq in the past, I find that these approaches may be instructive in helping develop a learners' grammar of Inupiaq, due to their use in other adult Indigenous language learning contexts. These methodologies include: the grammar-translation method, Total Physical Response (TPR), Teaching Proficiency through Reading and Storytelling (TPRS), the Natural Approach, and Task-based Language Teaching (TBLT).

3.4.1 Grammar-translation

For much of the history of language teaching in a Eurocentric model, grammar-translation was the dominant method of language teaching. The Grammar-translation method pairs explicit grammar instruction with practice of forms by translating from the target language to English. This method was based primarily on the scholarly pursuit of learning Greek and Latin and has been argued by Indigenous scholars and SLA/ALA researchers to be the least effective method for teaching Indigenous languages (Ball & McIvor, 2013; Johnson, 2016). The grammar-translation method, I would say, tended in previous decades to the most dominant mode of teaching in Inupiat Nunaŋat, although there seemed to be a larger emphasis on translation than on grammar. This seems to be the dominant mode of teaching in "exposure classes", but other teaching methods have been incorporated in the teaching methods of Nikaitchuat Iḷisaġviat, Qikiqtaġruk's immersion preschool and the former Iñupiaq immersion in Utqiaġvik, Alaska, such as TPR and TPRS. There has been interest from Iñupiaq teachers

(ilisaurit) in moving away from teaching through the translation method (Alvanna-Stimpfle, Maclean, p.c., 2020). Because of the lack of evidence in the ability of the grammar-translation method to produce fluent speakers and the Inupiaq community's wanting to move away from this older style, the grammar resources produced in this research avoid this type of language learning methodology.

3.4.2 Total Physical Response (TPR)

Total Physical Response, developed by James Asher (1996), relies on the use of commands to teach language in an environment where student production of language is held off and students' affective filters are kept low through receptive language learning. Learners are expected to listen carefully to commands and respond appropriately to them, while production of language usually comes later in the method. TPR has been used as a teaching method at Nikaitchuat Iḷisaġvik (an Iñupiaq immersion preschool) in Qikiqtaġruk, at the former Iñupiaq Immersion School in Utqiaġvik, and by teachers (ilisaurit) such as Yaayuk Bernadette Alvanna-Stimpfle in Sitŋasuaq. Cantoni (1999) considers how TPR is and is not useful in Native American language contexts. One downside of TPR is that it tends to be limited to receptive language learning (where productive ability is deemphasized); however, the emphasis on kinesthetic learning and the low affective filter may prove useful for Indigenous language contexts. Sarah Kell (2016) writes that TPR has been adopted in classrooms for teaching Hul'q'umi'num' in British Columbia, and incorporates body movement, lowers students' affective filter, and makes language learning less stressful. However, Kell also writes that teaching through TPR *alone* very rarely develops proficiency with meaningful communication due to its focus on receptive

learning and on nouns and imperative forms, and that TPR as a teaching tool tends to be limited to teaching the grammatical imperative form, limited vocabulary, and passive listening skills. Alvanna-Stimpfle (2007) writes that she tried teaching Inupiaq using TPR and felt that it was difficult to move onto regular sentences from commands. She writes that the movement was good for children, but at a college level, the adults did not really get into it with the commands. Leonard (2001) writes that the use of TPR for learning Deg Xinag (a Dena language in Alaska) is problematic, because "commands" in Deg Xinag are reflected upon in a way that is more akin to asking a question than a command, reflecting a deeper value system. Though TPR has been used in teaching Iñupiaq in the past, I believe that its potential conflict with Indigenous ways of learning may not lead it to be the best method to base a learners' grammar on, and therefore I do not take TPR as a foundational methodology in this grammar resource.

3.4.3 Teaching Proficiency through Reading and Storytelling (TPRS)

Teaching Proficiency through Reading and Storytelling (TPRS) is an extension of the principles of TPR, but with the added task of telling stories in the target language. Vocabulary in a story is taught using gestures and personalized questions, and then is incorporated in a spoken story. Checks for comprehension throughout are necessary. However, as Janice E. Billy (2015) points out, TPRS lacks an Indigenous cultural component. Billy adapted TPRS to fit the frame of Secwepemc worldview, designing language lessons through six Secwepemc principles that support an overarching principle of *etsxe* (vision quest) and the use of *stsptekwle*, a traditional Secwepemc storytelling genre which uses "a magical cast of animals that incorporate the teaching of history, geography, values and culture" (Billy, 2015, p. 1). As previously

mentioned, storytelling is very important in Inupiaq culture, particularly in the winter season, and a storytelling lesson built around TPRS could be a valuable aspect of an Inupiaq learners' grammar. A specific chapter of the learners' grammar could be built around storytelling, with TPRS principles being included. In the two example chapters of this grammar, however, a chapter focused on storytelling has not been included, but is considered in the sample table of contents as a particular chapter suited for the winter months— storytelling was often an activity to pass and enjoy the long winter nights in Iñupiaq communities.

3.4.4 The Natural Approach

The Natural Approach is a language teaching method based on second/additional language acquisition theory promoted by Stephen Krashen and developed by Tracy Terrell (1983) and is heavily influenced by L1 acquisition theory. The Natural Approach fosters naturalistic language acquisition by emphasizing communication while decreasing focus on grammar teaching (also called *focus on meaning*). There is also a lack of explicit correction of student errors. Billy (2003) found a "combination of the Communicative and Natural Approach to language acquisition" helpful since "they are the most compatible with how Secwepemc people acquired their language naturally" (pp. 10-11). Though the Natural Approach may be most similar to how infants and children learn language naturally from parents and other adults, there have been mixed results about the actual outcomes of this as a formal approach. For instance, Swain (1991) found that even after years of immersive instruction in French using the Natural Approach, middle school-aged students continued to have many grammatical errors in their French. I would argue that for Indigenous languages under pressure, the ability

and efficacy of the Natural Approach may be further limited by the frequent necessity of constructing domains for language immersion (often with teachers still working on their own language proficiency). For many endangered languages, one cannot simply move to a different region of the world to be immersed in the language (as one might do to learn French or Japanese, for example); often language learners must create intentional domains where language learning spaces can be immersive. When such immersion environments have to be somewhat artificial, the demand for more explicit understanding of grammatical structures (particularly for those who may become teachers themselves) becomes higher.

Moreover, the Natural Approach places an emphasis on lack of correction of mistakes (corrective feedback). Often for Indigenous language learners, there is a high affective filter and Indigenous language learners often report a deep fear of making mistakes, for fear of being criticized by fluent speakers (Hinton & Ahlers, 1999; Littlebear, 1999). Indigenous language learners often really care about being respectful to their Elders and of the language, being especially concerned with having pronunciation faithful to their Elders' speech (Bird & Kell, 2017).

Mackey (2006) writes that ALA research has argued that feedback during conservational interaction *can* certainly facilitate language learning and explicit correction can lead to less errors in subsequent speech, but it can also negatively impact fluency and the learner's motivation. Moreover, issues that may arise with the Natural Approach for the purposes of Inupiaq are lack of fluent speakers who are teachers (ilisaurit) of Inupiaq. For the Natural Approach to be a useful teaching technique, teachers need to be quick on their feet to supply an immersive environment and respond in a natural way to student concerns. The issue, I

believe, with this approach is that many learners of Inupiaq would need to quickly become teachers themselves, and the Natural Approach is not easily attained by a language learner who is still working on their own proficiency in the language. The Natural Approach has good points as a methodological framework for an Inupiaq learners' grammar, but it falters in perhaps not being a good fit for adult learners who may also need to become teachers soon.

3.4.5 Task-based instruction

Task-based instruction (TBI), also known as task-based language teaching (TBLT), focuses on the use of language to complete a meaningful task, for example: going to the doctor, ordering a coffee. It is largely considered to have come out of communicative language teaching (CLT) (Ellis, 2017). Assessment in TBI is based on the outcome of the task, rather than the accuracy, i.e. Did the student successfully complete the task? Like in the Natural approach, there is "meaning-focused instruction", where the production of successful communication is viewed as more important than grammatical accuracy. However, TBI contrasts with the Natural Approach by building in the importance of feedback and *focus on form* where the Natural Approach does not.

Riestenberg and Sherris (2018) evaluated a TBLT approach to teaching in two Indigenous language contexts: a Macuiltianguis Zapotec classroom in Oaxaca, Mexico, and a teaching workshop for teachers of Salish Qlipse in Montana. They found that in both language contexts, learner investment was heightened by four principles of TBLT: learning by doing, respect for the order of individual language learning, cooperative learning, and individualized instruction. The reported positive feedback for both learning situations after TBLT was implemented.

Hermes and King (2019) looked at the use of TBLT to teach adult language learners of Ojibwe, trying to understand how task-based learning might address some difficulty adult language learners were experiencing. They found that TBLT can be useful for Indigenous language contexts because it focuses on a non-language goal that requires meaningful communication. Hermes and King found that these conversational tasks providing learners the opportunity to practice less common verb forms, promote engagement in interactional processes that can foster second language acquisition, and allowed learners to practice according to their own level of comfort.

My own research looked at the ways in which TBI's principles compare with Alaska Native ways of learning and teaching (Creed, 2016), finding that the use of practical knowledge and the focus on communication as a connection to one's way of life were key points of harmony between the two frames of learning. However, while TBI treats all four domains of language learning (speaking, listening, reading, and writing) as equal, there is stronger emphasis on qualitative oral knowledge in Alaska Native ways of education. The theoretical benefits to viewing language as the ability to carry out activities may be useful for an Inupiaq-based learners' grammar. This learners' grammar is based around Inupiaq activities such as sewing, ice fishing, and so on, and a task-based instruction framework is certainly instructive for this grammar. The grammar constructed here is based in culturally relevant tasks, where successful communication is key along with a *focus on form*.

3.5 Learning polysynthetic languages

Finally, I think a point needs to be made about learning and teaching polysynthetic languages. A *polysynthetic* language is a language where words tend to be composed of several morphemes (units of meaning). Fortescue, Mithun, and Evans (2017) explain that *polysynthesis* is "generally understood in linguistics as extreme morphological complexity in the verb" (p. 1). This can result in fairly long words representing what would be the equivalent of clauses or sentences in other languages. Polysynthetic languages contrast with languages that are more *isolating*, such as Vietnamese, in which words typically contain one or very few morphemes or more *synthetic* languages, such as English, in which words typically contain multiple morphemes, but not to the extent of polysynthetic languages. Furthermore, Inupiaq is an *agglutinative* language, which means morphemes in these languages typically represent only one unit of meaning and the boundaries between morphemes are usually quite transparent. This contrasts with more *fusional* languages, such as Dene languages, where morphemes are often fused together, and it is more difficult to see the boundaries between these morphemes.

The reason the concepts behind learning polysynthetic languages is important to bring up is that most Inupiaq language learners today have English as their first language. English is a more *isolating language* in comparison to Inuit languages, and it can be a large cognitive jump to structure language in a *polysynthetic* fashion for second-language learners.

Sarah Kell (2014) outlines some recommendations for language instruction for polysynthetic languages[28]:

---

[28] Some of these recommendations are not relevant to the Iñupiaq language, because of Iñupiaq word structure, and as such, are not listed here.

1. Build awareness of word frames as well as sentence frames. In other words, model particular word morphology alternations for building words and sentences.

2. Teachers should pay attention to sound changes that may occur when morphemes are combined.

3. Encourage building new Indigenous words, when appropriate.

4. Create resources with less reliance on English sources. Using translated English-language resources privileges both English language structures and a Eurocentric worldview.

5. Focus on the context of word structure use within stories.

Kell (2014) also writes that second language learners of polysynthetic languages who gain a command of word-building patterns are freed from having to memorize long lists of vocabulary.

Peter Jacobs (as cited in Kell, 2014, p. 39) emphasizes furthermore that the key to learning linguistic patterns is to make sure to keep circulating the morphology concepts, returning to them, and building upon them each year. The Root-Word Method (Green & Maracle, 2018) has also demonstrated the ways in which knowledge of polysynthetic structures can aid in language acquisition. They recommend sequencing the learning of suffixes in predicable order, which should allow learners to speak in sentences quicker and with more ease. These guides are critical for considering the structure and philosophy behind these Inupiaq grammar resources developed in this dissertation, as Inuit languages are among the most polysynthetic languages in the world.

Furthermore, understanding the deeper literal morphological meanings of polysynthetic words fosters appreciation for Indigenous languages. Trish Rosborough (2012) writes:

> Understanding literal meanings and constructs of Kwak'wala fosters appreciation, joy, and motivation in the work and propels it forward, because it reinforces and teaches us about who we are as Kwakwaka'wakw people. The language lives in relationship with the spirit of Kwak'wala. (p. 236)

The acquisition of polysynthetic languages is of key concern to this research as well, and there has also been research particularly focused on the acquisition of Inuit languages. Kelly et al. (2014) find that morphological complexity does not always mean acquisitional complexity in their literature review on acquisition of polysynthetic languages. Allen (2017) looks particularly at Inuktitut and Kalaallisut (Greenlandic) L1 acquisition by children. Allen explains the acquisition process for learning Inuit languages and the differences from acquiring English:

> Children learning Inuit languages begin by producing one recognizable morpheme per utterance, usually somewhere between 1;0 and 1;6. From that point, their development is far more focused on morphology within words than on individual words. Inuit children between ages 2 and 6 years produce an average of 2.2 morphemes per word. Much of that complexity is focused on verbs, which start with two morphemes (root plus inflection), but gradually contain more derivational affixes between the root and inflection as the children's language abilities increase. (p. 470)

Moreover, Fortescue and Lennert Olsen (1992) found that Kalaallit children early on move from single-morpheme utterances to acquisition of new affixes. Inuit children acquire complex morphology very early in comparison to English speaking children, according to Fortescue and Lennert Olsen.

While the language learners focused on in these studies are child first-language

speakers, the research in this dissertation focuses on adult second-language learners. Nonetheless, these principles of Inuit first language acquisition could be relevant to understanding in what ways adults learn Inuit languages. For example, teaching morphemes and inflections for beginning adult second language learners could mirror the same acquisition for younger language learners, though without any research with Inuit adult language learners, it makes it difficult to know this with any certainty. There is unfortunately a current lack of research looking at how adults acquire polysynthetic languages and how that might differ from children.

3.6 Conclusion of Literature Review

Chapters 2 and 3 have provided an introduction to this dissertation and a review of the literature relevant to creation of the grammar resources found in Part II. It has also provided the foundation for understanding what would constitute a good learners' grammar for Inupiaq adult language learners. I argue that a good learners' grammar for Inupiaq adult language learners has the following components: it 1) follows principles of Inupiaq education, 2) puts an emphasis on speaking and using the language (with immersive environments as most ideal), 3) is applicable for many different types of learning methodologies and environments, 4) is geared towards land-based learning (but also with the possibility of replication indoors), and 5) should be useful for the purposes of learning by teaching. These principles were proposed from the very beginning of the process of working with King Island Inupiaq community and were followed to the best of our ability in the creation of the grammar resources in Appendix A.

As we have previously explored, learners' grammars need to have theoretical and pedagogical underpinnings, and these should be laid out clearly for the reader to understand. In the following chapter, I dive further into these methodological underpinnings—the theoretical underpinning and process that led to the development of the Inupiaq grammar resources laid out in Appendix A.

Chapter 4: Methodology

4.1 Introduction

In the previous chapters, I laid out the context for undertaking this research, including the rationale, literature view, and broader context of this work. In this chapter, I provide the methodology for this study including the epistemological underpinnings of this research, which include 1) Iñupiat Iḷitqusiat (Iñupiaq values), 2) an Indigenist framework, 3) a collaborative research framework, and 4) *meaning-focused instruction with a focus on form*. Moreover, I speak to the methods employed in this study, including a description of the collaborative process and the ethical considerations.

4.2 Theory

As discussed in Chapter 2, Rice (2005a) writes about the importance of a theoretical basis for designing a good grammar. While Rice was speaking specifically about linguistic theory, I agree that grounding one's research in a theoretical basis is very important. Kroskrity (2015) notes that linguists and language speakers alike have language ideologies that emerge from their sociocultural situations. Clarifying one's ideologies in language work is important to understand how the grammar resources will be presented. For me, this means having a strong understanding of why I am undertaking this work and what a good grammar of the Inupiaq language should like.

4.2.1 Iñupiat Iḷitqusiat

To the greatest extent possible, this research is underpinned by Iñupiaq Values, which are formalized differently in different Iñupiaq regions. In the North Slope region, the values are called *Iñupiaqatigiigñiq* (See Appendix B). In the Northwest Arctic region, Northwest Arctic Iñupiat Elders (utuqqanaat) in the 1980's formalized Iñupiaq values as the *Iñupiat Iḷitqusiat* (See Appendix C), passed down through generations of Iñupiat (Topkok, 2015). Rachel Craig, an Iñupiaq elder, wrote about the Iḷitqusiat:

> Iḷitqusiat is "the way people are." Their spiritual characteristics motivate their attitudes and actions. Inupiat Iḷitqusiat actually means "how the Eskimo are." Your iḷitqusiaq is motivated by your spirit: happy spirit, sad spirit, fighting spirit, calm spirit. (VNN, 1996)

Having grown up in the Northwest Arctic, I am most familiar with the *Iñupiat Iḷitqusiat* and so I have the tendency to refer to concepts of Iñupiaq Values in this way, with recognition that other regions may refer to them differently. The Seward Peninsula region (also known as the Bering Straits region) also has values compiled by the Sitnasuak Native Corporation (Appendix B). Yaayuk Bernadette Alvanna-Stimpfle has shared Inupiat Irrusiat, developed by King Island Elders, which underpins the grammar resources developed in Appendix A.

INUPIAT IRRUSIAT
King Island Inupiaq Traditional Values
Shared by **Ugiuvaŋmiut Utuqanaat** (King Island Elders)

- **Aŋuniaqtuat pissatut -** Hunter Success - Pass down traditions of hunting and sharing
- **Piłġuziit tamaatatuat ayuqatuutilugit.** – Show our way of doing things that are getting lost.
- **Anaktaqtuat ililuit, saviġnatautit aŋuniaġnamik. -** Learn the games that strengthens for training and hunting.

- **Inupiat ilitpalaaġa.tut iluqatigiiknin, riiġutaunatit.** - Inupiat learn better from one another than from books
- **Iglazaaq -** Humor
- **Ilisimanatut aŋuniaġutit. -** Know safety when hunting.
- **Taluġilugit Utuqanaavut. -** Honor our elders.
- **Iliġanaqtuat aitatuqtuat umialiuratut.** - Share what you have. Giving makes you rich.
- **Sawitpaglutin** - Hard Work
- **Taluġilugit Ałłat -** Show Respect to Others
- **Ilisimaluit ilaiyaatin** - Know Family Roles
- **Ilipnik ilisimalutin suli nagin piruatin** - Know who you are and where you come from.

Furthermore, important to the *Iñupiat Iḷitqusiat* is the yearly calendar which Inupiat follow according to *inuusiq* “way of life”. Edna MacLean (2010) writes how the Iñupiat traditionally followed a calendar that “revolved around the seasons and the abundance and availability of resources that changes with them” (p. 2) and she explains the activities that followed the seasonal Iñupiat calendar. North Slope Iñupiaq month names (as well as Qawiaraq month names) can be found in Appendix E. Paul Tiulana explains the names of the months on Ugiuvak (Senungetuk, 1998). Yaayuk Bernadette Alvanna-Stimpfle (2007) further explains the yearly subsistence activities (piniaġniq) that occur in the Bering Straits region. The names of the months follow closely the activities of Iñupiat according to *inuusiq* (see Appendix F). Alvanna-Stimpfle explains other activities that occur throughout the year below:

> Related winter activities include trapping, hunting, dog sledding, Native dancing, and potluck celebrations, storytelling, sewing parkas, mukluks, mittens, slippers, ruffs and carving with ivory, wood, or baleen. Sports-related activities include basketball, volleyball, and wrestling. Native games include the World Eskimo Indian Olympics games such as the High Kick and Finger Pull.

> Related spring activities include bear hunting, hunting out in the sea ice, drying meat, making seal oil, and preparing for summer fish camp. Many hours are spent preparing and putting away dried foods.
>
> Related fall activities include ivory carving, hunting, skin sewing, knitting, weaving grass baskets, ice fishing and preparing for the winter holidays. Some communities can practice Native dancing and children can do different sports related to the curriculum (Native games).
>
> Related summer activities include fishing, going to fish camps to prepare dried salmon, picking various greens, picnics, put away dried fish and meat, store edible greens and seal oil, freeze berries for the winter. Communities have their own techniques to prepare salmon and greens–have students research that in their communities.
>
> Related summer activities include fishing, going to fish camps to prepare dried salmon, picking various greens, picnics, put away dried fish and meat, store edible greens and seal oil, freeze berries for the winter. Communities have their own techniques to prepare salmon and greens–have students research that in their communities.
>
> I know there are many activities I have left out from this list. Teachers can add them with their students. (Alvanna-Stimpfle, 2007, Appendix B)

A good grammar of Inupiaq language should incorporate the Inupiaq calendar and months (*taqqit*) into its design and recognize the importance of the land-based, season-based, and activity-based calendar to any design of an Inupiaq language curriculum. Several works

have talked about the importance of learning on the land for Indigenous languages (Cajete, 1994; Johnson et al., 2013, Woodhouse & Knapp, 2000; Penetito, 2009; Scully, 2012; Tuck, et. al., 2014). Because of the limits of time and resources for developing this dissertation, not all the activities provided by Alvanna-Stimpfle are included in the learner's grammar resources in Appendix A, but particular activities can lend themselves well to the creation of a seasonal curriculum as well as to the elucidation of some of the grammar concepts in a learner's grammar.

Furthermore, principles of Inupiaq education beyond language are important to understand how Iñupiat Iḷitqusiat informs the development of this Inupiaq grammar. Principles of Inupiaq education have been explored by several Inupiaq scholars, particularly in relationship to language. Ongtooguk (2000) writes about different aspects of traditional Iñupiaq education and how they conflict with Western schooling practices. He writes that the most important tenets in Inupiaq education are observation, apprenticeship, and the principle of the community as school. Education is also varied, highly disciplined, and dependent upon complex relationships. He writes that these principles are only a fraction of the traditional education system, and much of the knowledge of this system has been lost.

Education today in classrooms dominated by Western-style instruction frequently conflicts with the traditional Inupiaq education and Inupiat students suffer because of it. This reality applies directly to language learning, where the best approaches to Inupiaq language learning would be those that promote learning by observation, apprenticeship learning, and community centered learning. Furthermore, language learning should be varied, with multiple avenues for language learners to be able to approach language learning. In terms of curriculum,

an Inupiaq grammar should emphasize learning through observation (and recognition of patterns through observation), both in teaching language and in teaching Inupiaq activities. Furthermore, the ability to learn as an apprentice through one-on-one learning, particularly of a skill or activity of interest to a student, should be emphasized. Finally, language learning lessons should take place in environments where community can come together to learn together, and where students can give back to their community through their gifts of learning.

Okakok (2010) explains the history of education in the North Slope Borough (the most northern of Iñupiat lands), and how it has influenced Iñupiat education today. First, she explains the importance in differences in values to how Western people view education versus how Iñupiat view education. The history (aipaani quliat) of institutionalized education in Iñupiat country began in the 1930's with English-only policies and punishment for speaking Iñupiaq. In the 1970s, the development of the North Slope Borough School District finally allowed for Iñupiat home rule of education in that region. However, Okakok writes that Iñupiat home rule of education did not presuppose principles of Iñupiat education being implemented in schools. Okakok further explains several aspects of Iñupiaq education, among them the belief in Inupiaq culture as foremost and the distinction for Iñupiat between *education* and *schooling* (*education* is the passing down of a society's values to children, allowing them to *iñuġuq-* "become human beings", whereas *schooling* is the institutionalized imposition of learning from a Western perspective). Furthermore, Iñupiat emphasize individualized learning (viewing the talents and interests of individuals and fostering those interests and talents), the importance of excellence—not just survival, parental involvement, and the importance of cultural identity to one's success. These principles apply to language learning in particular and language lessons

should be varied according to students' interests and talents, lessons should be tied closely to Iñupiaq cultural identity, and parents should be able to be intimately involved in their children's language learning. This is not to say that there are not areas of overlap with Western education practices (especially recently), but only to maintain that these principles in Iñupiaq education are essential to the design of this grammar and should be to any Iñupiaq learning resource.

Harcharek and Rexford (2015) write a deeply personal narrative about the creation of the Iñupiaq learning framework for the North Slope Borough School District. They explain how the history of education of Iñupiat since Western colonization has been deeply problematic, in being an entirely Outsider-imposed conception of education. The creation of the Iñupiaq Learning Framework in the 2010s was intended to create an education system that was meaningful and culturally responsive for the Iñupiat students of the North Slope Borough in Alaska. The Iñupiaq Learning Framework was built from Iñupiaq values and from consulting elders' knowledge over a long period of time. The Iñupiaq Learning Framework is based upon four realms of the Iñupiat *mapkuq* (blanket used in celebration of a successful whaling season): environment, community, history, and the individual. Harcharek and Rexford speak to the continuing obstacles of implementing the Iñupiaq learning framework in that teachers from Outside are not comfortable teaching the culture. In addition, deeper involvement of the wider community is needed.

MacLean (2010), moreover, explains the rapid changes Inupiat have faced since Western colonization. The Iñupiat traditionally followed a calendar that "revolved around the seasons and the abundance and availability of resources that changes with them" (p. 2) and she explains the activities that followed the seasonal Iñupiat calendar. Furthermore, she explains how oral

literature reflects what was important for Iñupiat and, therefore, the wisdom of that society was transferred through legends (*unipkaat*), stories of life experiences in a more recent settings *(quliaqtuat),* and songs *(atuutit),* drumming, and dance*.* These aspects of Iñupiaq education are essential for the production of an Inupiaq learner's grammar; language learning lessons should be grounded in an Iñupiaq seasonal calendar (taqqit) and promote Iñupiaq wisdom (izumatuq) through Iñupiaq legends, songs, drumming, and dance.

As Leonard (2017) explains, language reclamation is not just about restoring linguistic patterns or heightening the number of language speakers, it also means incorporating Indigenous epistemologies and restoring the social-cultural spaces in which language can thrive. Restoring Iñupiaq language inherently means restoring Iñupiat Iḷitqusiat, and because of this, this grammar takes Iñupiat Iḷitqusiat and Iñupiaq education as the foremost underpinning to the learner's grammar resources developed through this research. This means privileging Inupiaq values, following an Inupiaq calendar, and incorporating principles of Iñupiaq education throughout.

4.2.2 Indigenist framework

Much has been written on Indigenous methodologies since Linda Tuhiwai Smith's landmark *Decolonizing Methodologies* (1999), including Wilson (2008) and Kovach (2010), and I certainly do not have enough space to do the topic justice here. However, it is important to be grounded in Indigenous research methodologies when undertaking work with Indigenous languages and in collaboration with Indigenous people. Writing a grammar of an Indigenous

language needs to be undertaken with care and attention to Indigenous research methodologies and with those methodologies incorporated to the best of one's ability.

Indigenous research is as diverse as Indigenous peoples, but Johnston, McGregor and Restoule (2018) speak of certain touchstones of Indigenous research. Indigenous research offers a commitment to recognize diversity, nationhood, and intellectual self-determination. It recognizes Indigenous knowledge traditions (itquziptiŋnik ilisimaruaq), the value of community leadership and support, and community ownership of knowledge.

As a non-Indigenous researcher doing work with an Indigenous language community, I find it essential to be very intentional in undertaking work that seeks to be decolonial in nature. Outsider linguists often believe ourselves to be "objective" observers of language, when in actuality, we often come to our practice with assumptions based on a Western point of view on language, on education, and values and perspectives. Furthermore, there needs to be a conscious understanding that colonialism is not over. Turner and Simpson (2008) write:

> For Indigenous people colonialism is *not* an historical period that is now over; it continues to define the relationship between our people and the European newcomers. In this respect Indigenous peoples live with the practical, and philosophical, effects of colonialism in the *present.* (p. 8)

A decolonial approach to research means understanding that one is not just working to "recorrect" the wrongs of the past, but it is an active effort to push against the colonialism happening in the present. Moreover, "decolonization is not a metaphor" (Tuck & Yang, 2012). This means that efforts towards decolonization of education and linguistics must also come with an understanding of a rematriation of land and Indigenous sovereignty. Tuck (2011)

highlights the language of rematriation rather than "repatriation", referencing many matrilineal Indigenous societies and returning to mother earth. Tuck writes that a curriculum of rematriation would deepen considerations of place, space, and context.

When developing a grammar of an Indigenous language, an outsider linguist, like myself, needs to seek to understand the priorities, ideologies, and histories of the Indigenous language communities with which they are working, more specifically, but also the broader context of Indigenous research methodologies on a global scale. This understanding includes learning about Indigenous education, including Indigenous ways of learning and teaching, place-based education, and the history of Indigenous education since European contact. Furthermore, McIvor (2020) maintains that for partnerships to work with academic linguists, the collaborations should be self-determined and self-governed by Indigenous peoples. Rorick (2019) concurs that researchers should employ decolonizing practice and privilege Indigenous knowledge bases (itquziptiŋnik ilisimaruaq) to guide their work.

Shawn Wilson's (2007) Indigenist research paradigm is of keen interest for me in undertaking this work, particularly for myself as a non-Indigenous person. He writes that he uses *Indigenist* rather than *Indigenous* for naming this research paradigm, because he believes that it can be used by anyone who chooses to follow its tenets, not only Indigenous people. McIvor (2020) agrees, writing that taking a decolonial approach does not need to be reserved to only Indigenous people. McIvor and Anisman (2018) write that "[t]he First Peoples of this land have been burdened with the responsibility of ensuring that Indigenous languages do not die, but partners and allies need to do more to also ensure this outcome" (McIvor & Anisman, 2018, p. 102).

Wilson (2007) furthermore writes that researchers must place themselves and their work in a relational context. We cannot be separated from our work, nor should our writing be separated from ourselves. Our own relationship with our environment, families, ancestors, ideas, and the cosmos around us shape who we are and how we will conduct our research. A few of the principles in this Indigenist research paradigm designed by Wilson and other Indigenous scholars are:

1. Respect for all forms of life as being related and interconnected.
2. Conducting all actions and interactions in a spirit of kindness and honesty; compassion.
3. The reason for doing the research must be one that bring benefits to community.
4. The foundation of the research question must lie within the reality of the Indigenous experience.
5. Any theories developed and proposed must be grounded in an Indigenous epistemology and supported by Elders and the community that live out this particular epistemology.
6. It will be recognized that transformation within every living entity participating in the research will be one of the outcomes of every project.
7. It is recognized that the language and cultures of Indigenous peoples are living processes and that research, and the discovery of knowledge is an ongoing function for thinkers and scholars of every Indigenous group. (Wilson, 2007, p. 195)

There are of course more tenets to this Indigenist research paradigm than are shared here, and Wilson is only one of many Indigenous scholars who have spoken to Indigenous

research methodologies, but I believe Wilson's framework to be essential. I use Wilson's framework for a few reasons. One, his Indigenist research paradigm allows for non-Indigenous people to take part in using Indigenous research methods, which I find important for research seeking to build bridges between Indigenous methodologies and Western ideas around language documentation. Furthermore, Indigenist research, according to Rigney (2006), focuses on three principles: resistance as an emancipatory imperative, the maintenance of political integrity, and privileging of Indigenous voices.

Furthermore, I believe in Wilson's (2007) emphasis on the relational aspect of research; he writes that there are three Rs of Indigenous methodologies in research: respect, reciprocity, and relationality. Wilson furthermore emphasizes "relational accountability", meaning that methodologies need to be based in a community context and be relational. If the researcher is disconnected from their research and their relationships, the research does not follow an Indigenous paradigm: "The research will not show respect for the relationship between research participants and topic" (Wilson, 2007, p. 101). Kirkness and Barnhardt (1991) moreover write of the four Rs of First Nations peoples and higher education: respect, relevance, reciprocity, and responsibility. Restoule (2008) also applies these four Rs of Indigenous education to research. Researchers (nalunaiqtit) must behave with respect, which means expressing humility, asking permission, and ensuring that everyone participating in research is doing so voluntarily. They must acknowledge the sources of information shared and ensure an honest representation of the individuals' and communities' knowledge. Responsibility means taking responsibility as a human working within many different relationships. A researcher (nalunaiqti) must take responsibility for research, to make sure it is not misused and does not

cause any harm. Relevance means research is initiated by an Indigenous community which has expressed a need for research and accountability to a broader community. Reciprocity means feeding back the results of the research to those who contributed and aim for research to improve conditions for Indigenous communities.

Two keynotes at the 2021 International Conference on Language Documentation & Conservation spoke to the needs of relational accountability in language work. Leonard (2021) argues that relational accountability in language work can be found when linguists privilege Indigenous community definitions of language and that relationality is a foundational principle when planning and assessing language work. Candace Kaleimamoowahinekapu Galla (2021) furthermore explains that relational accountability means respecting proper citational practices (acknowledging the diverse intellectual genealogies of information), extending relationality to the environment, the land, and kinship among us, following established protocols, and always being reflexive in one's work, among other recommendations.

I have had relationships and friendships with people in the Inupiaq community throughout my life and have received so much through these relationships. In this work, I strive to be a humble learner and advocate for the Inupiaq language, with the hope that I am living up to and honoring the relationships to which I have been privileged. I reflect on my own practices and actively work to make them better, knowing that relational accountability is a lifelong practice.

This Indigenist approach can be directly applied to language documentation. Decolonial practices in language documentation value centering details in whole systems, focusing on relationships and reciprocity, and actively engaging with community needs, among other

positive practices (Leonard, 2018). This means language communities need to be recognized as the core stakeholders in documentary linguistics, and countering colonialism in linguistic study means addressing colonial structures and employing decolonial attitudes and practices.

Moreover, a decolonial approach to *education* is just as important. A particular influence in this regard is Ray Barnhardt and Angayuqaq Oscar Kawagley's *Indigenous Knowledge Systems and Alaska Native Ways of Knowing* (2005). They write that:

> Indigenous peoples around the world have sustained their associated knowledge systems for millennia, even while undergoing major social upheavals as a result of transformative forces beyond their control...Actions currently being taken by Indigenous people in communities throughout the world clearly demonstrate that a significant "paradigm shift" is under way in which Indigenous knowledge and ways of knowing are recognized as complex knowledge systems with an adaptive integrity of their own...Non-Native people, too, need to recognize the coexistence of multiple worldviews and knowledge systems, and find ways to understand and relate to the world in its multiple dimensions and varied perspectives" (p. 9)

Traditional education for Alaska Native people was undertaken by "observing natural processes, adapting modes of survival, obtaining sustenance from the plant and animal world, and using natural materials to make their tools and implements" (Kawagley, 1995). This was accompanied by thoughtful stories in which lessons are embedded. Decolonial linguistics means not only that pedagogical needs for Indigenous languages are considered, but also that those pedagogies are in themselves rooted in decolonial, Indigenist approaches.

An Indigenist approach to language learning is also important. Language learning should be conducted in a spirit of compassion and kindness, and it should be community centered. The same approaches to an Indigenist research methodology can be applied to the language learning methodology and practice that results from the research. This research must be relevant to the needs of the community which I am working with (for the purposes of this dissertation, the Ugiuvaŋmiut (King Island Inupiaq) and the broader Iñupiaq community). I am responsible for whatever effects this research has on Inupiat people, and I do not take that responsibility lightly.

These principles of an Indigenist research framework guide my research and collaboration with the Inupiaq language community. This means looking towards Indigenous perspectives on linguistics, grammar and documentation, language learning, language ideologies, and identity construction. All these aspects of Indigenous perspectives on linguistics and language learning, and Inupiaq perspectives on language learning will be essential while undertaking this research.

4.2.3 Community-Based Research Model

Thirdly, my research will be guided by a Community-Based Language Research Model (CBLRM), conceptualized in detail by Czaykowska-Higgins (2009). A natural next step to approaching research from an Indigenist perspective is considering how to conduct research in a way that is collaborative and does research that is "*for, with* and *by* the language community within which the research takes place and which it affects" (Czaykowska-Higgins, 2009, p. 24). I have previously outlined ways in which linguist-focused models in linguistics research and

documentation have remained dominant over the years. A Community-Based Language Research Model democratizes knowledge: community knowledge and ways of knowing are highly valued by all parties (Czaykowska-Higgins, 2009). Furthermore, a Community-Based Language Research Model recognizes that linguistic work with Indigenous communities is a social, cultural, and political act. Linguistic research, in this model, should be seen as "social action and social change for the purpose of achieving social justice" (Strand et. al, 2003, p. 8). McIvor (2020) moreover contends that engaging in a community-based research model is a social justice opportunity for those involved in the field of applied linguistics, who are not always thought to be social justice actors.

A central part of community-based research is how collaboration looks between participants (Czaykowska-Higgins et al., 2018). Stakeholders can go beyond just the researcher and speaker, but also involve "learners, speakers, other stakeholders, Elders, insider and outsider linguists" (Czaykowska-Higgins, et. al, 2018, p. 68). Collaboration means *meaningful consultation* with community stakeholders. Consultation (ilisimaaqtuaq aviġiluu) will only be meaningful if relationships and trust are built up between researchers and community. One of the key aspects of meaningful consultation is the inclusion and valuing of expertise of community Elders (ilisimaruat) (Czaykowska-Higgins, et. al, 2018). Czaykowska-Higgins et. al, define *meaningful consultation* as containing elements of:

> ...relationship, trust, patience, good will, honesty, taking time, having compassion, thinking locally and academically, taking responsibility and being open to change, learning to learn, learning who to take guidance from, valuing the expertise of language

community members and especially of Elders, and working according to principles of respect. (p. 78)

Other practical aspects of this model may be setting up a Memorandum of Understanding signed by the community and university partners, or Researcher Contracts (Czaykowska-Higgins, et. al 2018).

Relationship building is key in a Community-Based Language Research Model, as it is in an Indigenist theoretical framework. Relationship building takes time, patience, humility, and good will, and it is important to understand that relationship building can be a long process, and one that will not always be easy (Czaykowska-Higgins, et. al, 2018).

Linguists furthermore must recognize that they are only one set of partners in a CBLRM, and that the needs of the academic institution (as most linguists are usually affiliated with an institution of some sort) should be secondary to the needs of the language community. Rice (2006) writes that "collaborative working arrangements are not truly collaborative if the linguist still controls the content and framework of the research, and the form in which it appears" (pp. 149-150). Community partners should be involved with the research goals, methods, and assignment of roles in the research program (Leonard & Haynes, 2010). Linguists do have expertise and Native communities can benefit from outsider linguists' expertise in language documentation and knowledge of language acquisition and pedagogy, but all parties should have equal agency in the formation and carrying out of the research (Leonard & Haynes, 2010). Too often in linguistic research, collaboration is thought of as an afterthought, instead of being central to the research from start to finish.

One way outside linguists can approach research from a collaborative standpoint is just to listen. Myra Johnson explains:

> Linguists shouldn't march in. They really need to be able to be quiet, sit and listen and be able to gain the knowledge of the people, and understand them first...And that doesn't mean that all tribes have the same cultural sensitivities or cultural norms, you know, so it's different in every community (in Leonard & Haynes, 2010, p. 287).

Burge (2019) writes about the importance of building reciprocal practices from within communities themselves, and that research should be incorporated "into the same cultural structures of reciprocity that already exist in whatever community a partnership is being built within" (p. 11). Burge explains:

> Monetary compensation is not enough. Providing records of data collected, or a grammar produced is not enough. Creating pedagogical material without input from the language learning community itself is not enough. Acknowledging the importance of traditional ways of knowing as potentially useful to our own narrow understanding of language, culture, and our place in it, is not enough. (Burge, 2019, p. 6)

Burge writes that it is not needed to reinvent the wheel to establish meaningful reciprocal relationships; for many Indigenous communities, such procedures or values are already well established. Appropriate reciprocal relationships lie within communities themselves (Burge, 2019, p. 7).

This type of reciprocal relationship has been built into the methods and ethics evaluation of this research. In developing a relationship with Kawerak, Seward Peninsula's regional non-profit tribal consortium, I have maintained that I would support the needs of the

Inupiaq language community with their forthcoming Inupiaq classes and with co-collaborator Yaayuk Bernadette Alvanna-Stimpfle's own dissertation work for Inupiaq, and in any further needs making sure this research would be accessible to the Inupiaq language learning community in Sitŋasuaq and elsewhere. In a broader sense, I have also tried my best in the last decade since first becoming involved in Iñupiaq language revitalization to contribute to the development of resources, building of curriculum, and teacher training over the last seven years. I helped establish and develop Iḷisaqativut and Kipiġniuqtit Iñupiuraallanikun, helped develop an Iñupiaq language learning app, and have developed Iñupiaq language curriculum for the Alaska Native Heritage Center and the Iḷisaqativut Institute. Since beginning this dissertation, I have also developed curriculum for the Sitŋasuaq Inupiaq classroom, developed an online Inupiaq language phrasebook, and continually supported Inupiaq language efforts where I can be of use. Having grown up in an Iñupiaq community, I know that humility is also an important value, and I feel somewhat awkward to list these involvements as evidence of a reciprocal relationship but want to make sure to establish strong intentions of good relations according to Iñupiat Iḷitqusiat.

Lastly, a Community-Based Research Model also means reflecting upon one's own positionality regarding one's research. Kell (2016) explains how her "linguist" knowledge and student" knowledge made an unusual combination in approaching a collaborative Hul'q'umi'num' language project to develop experiential grammar teaching resources:

> I find myself questioning when or whether it is my place to speak a language which is not mine. I am both afraid of getting it wrong, and afraid of getting it right. I am keen to share what I have learned, but I do not want to make Hul'q'umi'num' learners

uncomfortable, or appear to show off. I am also very aware of how much I don't know, both in terms of Hul'q'umi'num' cultural background and in terms of informal language conventions for home and school domains. (Kell 2016, p. 19)

Here, Kell explains the importance of humility and self-awareness as a linguist working in an Indigenous language context. Gerdts (2010) explains the sometime competing and incongruent goals that university linguists have with language communities. For example, working in Indigenous language contexts requires collaboration, humility, and sometimes an understanding of working in a collectivist manner. In contrast, "competitive and individualistic efforts are often fostered and rewarded in the university setting" (p. 175). Moreover, collaborative work can be time-consuming and emotionally demanding (Leonard & Haynes, 2010). Collaboration can be hard and often uncomfortable, and it is important for outsider linguists to be realistic about the challenges of doing collaborative work, understanding that the work will not be easy and might not be comfortable much of the time. My background as a non-Indigenous person leads me to pay close attention to all these factors, and I must be observant and cognizant at all times about what my role and place in language documentation, description, and revitalization should look like, in accordance with *Iñupiat Iḷitqusiat* and the trust people put in me to honor my relationships and commitments to reciprocal research.

3.2.4 *Meaning focused instruction* with a *focus on form*

As highlighted in the literature view, this research is underpinned by a language learning approach of *focus on form*, or more specifically *meaning-focused instruction* with a *focus on form*, meaning that the lessons in this grammar are presented in a way to provide for

communicative language learning in a culturally relevant context, with a special attention to grammatical form, particularly in the design of the lessons. This approach acknowledges the needs of both context-based curriculum and knowledge of grammar for second language learners of Inupiaq (ilisazaqtuat).

4.3 Methods and Ethics (Maliġuaġnatuat)

The development of this dissertation has been underway for many years. I think it is instructive for readers to understand how I come to this work, to get a better understanding of the context to how I have gotten involved in this research and the relationships with individuals and institutions I have developed over the years. I therefore provide a chronological overview of the build-up to this project in the following paragraphs. There is some overlap here with my self-positioning at the beginning of this dissertation, but I think it is important to repeat some of this information to have a whole sense of who I am and how I come to this research.

My connection to this research begins growing up in Qikiqtaġruk, Alaska. My family's ancestry is English, Irish, and French, and my parents grew up in Massachusetts and Pennsylvania and Maryland, respectively. My father moved to the region in the 1970's and my mother moved to Qikiqtaġruk with my father in the mid 1980's. In Qikiqtaġruk, I was exposed to Iñupiaq language throughout elementary school and by visiting my friends' grandparents. Iñupiaq language classes were not offered in Qikiqtaġruk beyond elementary school, however, and I did not have much direct connection to Iñupiaq language for some years beyond self-study.

In 2014, I returned to Alaska after a few years abroad teaching English and studying foreign languages. I already had friends in the Inupiaq language learning community and was interested in being more closely involved. My good friend Cordelia Qiġñaaq Kellie and I decided to begin a weekly language circle in Dgheyay Kaq', where Iñupiaq language learners (ilisazaqtuat) learned together using the "Where are your Keys" method and Total Physical Response. After several months of holding this language circle, we joined the Alaska Native Heritage Center's language grant "Urban Iñupiatun Language Revitalization Project" (UILRP) as teachers and language mentees, under the guidance of Dr. Edna Ahgeak MacLean.

In 2015, while holding a Iñupiaq Immersion weekend camp with UILRP, I met Yaayuk Bernadette Alvanna-Stimpfle, who had agreed to come down from Sitŋasuaq to help teach our students, in particular to help students to become aware of the Ugiuvaŋmiutun variety of Inupiaq. I again worked with Yaayuk in 2018, assisting with her spring Inupiaq course and language intensive at the Northwest branch of the University of Alaska Fairbanks in Sitŋasuaq; as well as attending the Alaska Native Language Revitalization Institute and Iḷisaqativut Language Institute together. I also worked with Yaayuk for Kawerak's Eskimo Heritage Program from 2018-2019, transcribing dozens of hours of recordings of Elders speaking in Inupiaq and English. Yaayuk's daughter Kiminaq Alvanna-Stimpfle is the head teacher at the Ilisazaqta Inupiaq Immersion Kindergarten in Sitŋasuaq, and the two of us have worked together for many years as well. In 2021 to 2023, I worked with Kiminaq on developing posters, books, and other resources for her Inupiaq classroom, along with Annauk Olin. Furthermore, at Iḷisaqativut 2019 in Qikiqtaġruk, Annauk Olin and I developed a curriculum for the two-week language camp, and several lessons of this curriculum were built around what serves as somewhat of an

inspiration for this project. For example, we did a particular lesson on cutting fish to learn indicative and interrogative transitive verb endings.

Regarding this dissertation, already understanding the lack of resources for learning Inupiaq in Yaayuk's region, in December 2017, I reached out to her to see if she would be interested at all in working together on my dissertation project, developing resources for learning Inupiaq grammar, and she was very excited about that possibility. We have been in connection about this work ever since. Yaayuk is also a Ph.D. student at the University of Hawaiʻi at Hilo and is studying how Inupiat acquire Inupiaq from infancy to adulthood. We have figured that our research projects would complement each other well and maintained that we would assist one other with each other's research. Throughout writing this dissertation, I have continually provided Yaayuk with assistance with her own dissertation work where I can be of help.

In addition to the personal relations I have built over the years with the Inupiaq language community, and with Yaayuk in particular, I also sought to establish formal relationships with a tribal government and regional organization before undertaking this research. Yaayuk is the Director of the Eskimo Heritage Program at Kawerak, Inc., which is the regional non-profit associated with the tribal governments in the Bering Straits region. In developing this project, I also wanted to allow for institutional review and approval of our collaborative project, ensuring that I am living up to the reciprocal values key to an Iñupiaq and Indigenist approach, and building a resource that is culturally appropriate and broadly approved by a regional authority. A Memorandum of Understanding was written between Kawerak, Inc. and myself to ensure a reciprocal, meaningful relationship between Kawerak and the University

of Victoria. Kawerak agreed to provide in-kind support allowing Yaayuk to do this collaborative work as part of her work duties. Furthermore, I sought to submit a cultural permit to be approved by King Island Native Community (KINC), the federally recognized tribal government of which Yaayuk is a member, and the dialect which this grammar resource is based upon. In January 2021, the cultural permit to KINC was submitted after being reviewed by Yaayuk and Kiminaq Alvanna-Stimpfle, and the Eskimo Heritage Project staff at Kawerak, Inc. The cultural permit was reviewed by the tribal government, and I presented the proposed project alongside Kiminaq Alvanna-Stimpfle during their January 2021 virtual meeting, with support from Iviilik Hattie Keller. I received some good feedback to write into the permit, ensuring that the resources are maintained as KINC's cultural property, that KINC will house physical and electronic copies within their institution, and that I would secure funding for any printing needs for the grammar to be distributed to tribal members. I revised the cultural permit based on those recommendations, whereupon it was approved. Due to the COVID-19 pandemic, it was difficult to have an in-person gathering to allow the cultural permit to be presented before the King Island Elders Council before August 2021. In August 2021, I was able to travel in-person to Sitŋasuaq and present the dissertation project before the King Island Elders' Council. The permit was thereafter approved by a unanimous vote. The King Island Corporation approved the permit, which is a dual permit between the King Island Tribe and King Island Corporation, in November 2021. After the development of the grammar resources (see Appendix A), "Ilisazaqta Inupiaqtun" was reviewed and approved by the King Island Tribal Council in June 2023.

Furthermore, the Inuit Circumpolar Council (representing Inuit in Russia, Alaska, Canada, and Greenland) and Kawerak, Inc. have established their own protocols and guidelines for

conducting research in Inuit communities (Inuit Circumpolar Council, 2022; Kawerak, Inc, 2021), which I have read in depth and followed attentively. ICC writes that research engagement with Inuit communities must be based on respect and understanding of Inuit values, understanding of Indigenous Knowledge systems, engagement of Inuit methodologies, and following established mechanisms for permissions (Inuit Circumpolar Council, 2021). Some common points for engaging with Inuit communities include:

1. All activities must be ethical, equitable, fair, just, and meaningful.
2. Inuit must have access to decision making pathways.
3. Engagement must recognize and foster Inuit self-determination and self-governance.
4. Inuit must have the right to accept or deny any engagement opportunities.
5. Direction must be taken from Inuit leadership.
6. Inuit must be involved from the beginning.
7. Cultural differences must be respected.
8. Engagement activities must give back to the community.
9. Transparency is critical.
10. All materials and products must be reviewed with opportunity for evaluation.

There are many other recommendations provided by ICC that can be seen in their synthesis report (Inuit Circumpolar Council, 2022).

Kawerak furthermore has established research processes with Indigenous communities in Western Alaska (Raymond-Yakoubian & Raymond-Yakoubian, 2021) as part of a series of workshops part of Kawerak's Social Science Program. The workshop recommended increased

local control over research, developing local and regional institutions to deal with research-related issues, stronger capacities for consent, research to have local benefit, meaningful community follow-up, and greater understanding of Inuit Knowledge and Traditional Knowledge. Furthermore, Kawerak has developed a glossary of Inupiaq terminology (Kawerak, Inc, 2021) to be used in research in Western Alaska communities (as well as glossaries of St. Lawrence Island Yupik and Yup'ik), and this dissertation has used this terminology throughout.

In addition, I applied to the University of Victoria's Human Research Ethics Board to ensure that this project was similarly following the ethical rules set out by the university and the project was approved in December 2020 (Approval #20-0534) and ethics approval was extended by the Ethics Board in 2021, 2022, and 2023.

In the choice to use Yaayuk's dialect of Inupiaq for this project, I had to consider some ethical considerations around learners' grammars. There is a danger of creating a "doculect"[29], by choosing to document one variety of Inupiaq over another or choosing to work with particular speakers over others. I have worked most closely with Ugiuvaŋmiutun, because there is more documentation and resources for learning Ugiuvaŋmiutun (King Island Inupiaq) than any another variety in the region, and because I have long-standing connections and relationships with Ugiuvak speakers. A way to avoid this potential ethical pitfall of creating a doculect is to listen to what the broader language community thinks and to ensure that even if working specifically with one variety of Inupiaq, that other varieties are be respected and commented on where appropriate. Throughout the grammar curriculum resource, there are

[29] A doculect is the variety or dialect that is documented (Cysouw & Good, 2013), and can sometimes erroneously be viewed as the "official" way to speak the language, but often it is just one way the language has been written down.

comments on how other varieties in the region differ from Ugiuvaŋmiutun. It is also important to state in the research that these resources are not representative of all varieties in the region or varieties of Inupiaq more broadly, though these resources could certainly be applicable to other varieties in the region with some adjustments.

After laying the groundwork for the outline of my research, I shared my idea for the grammar with Yaayuk and other members of the Eskimo Heritage Program at Kawerak, Inc., which included a project proposal emphasizing the principles set out in §3.6, for important aspect of an Inupiaq learners' grammar. It was of foremost importance in our collaboration that the grammar resources developed would be geared towards an Inupiaq way of teaching and learning. One key piece of feedback was to use the terms King Island Inupiaq or Inupiaq, rather than the term Bering Straits Inupiaq, which is better seen as a collection of closely related dialects, than one cohesive dialect. Beyond these pieces of feedback, they really liked the idea for the dissertation, as well as the research goals and outputs. Thereafter, I worked to establish an MOU with Kawerak, Inc. based on this research plan. Yaayuk particularly emphasized the need to have more resources for learning the "weak" and "strong" consonant system that seems to trip up a lot of learners (ilisazaqtuat). The MOU was approved by Kawerak, Inc. and signed by the President of Kawerak in January 2021.

In 2022, based on previous discussions with Yaayuk and Kawerak members about the content of the two chapters, I provided Yaayuk a preview of the grammar material for feedback for us to work off. Over the next few months, I worked with Yaayuk to ensure that the grammar resources were grammatically correct, culturally appropriate, and adhering to the values and principles we had set out before beginning this process. Others who provided valuable

feedback on the resource include Kiminaq Madelyn Alvanna-Stimpfle, an Inupiaq language immersion Kindergarten and first grade teacher in Sitŋasuaq and Yaayuk's daughter; Annauk Olin, an Inupiaq teacher, linguist, and close friend who I have worked with for many years on Inupiaq language efforts; Dr. Lawrence Kaplan, a non-Indigenous linguist who has worked with Inupiaq for many decades; and the King Island Tribal Council. It took many drafts of working together with Yaayuk and others (in person and over Zoom) to come to a final product in 2023.

Because there was already some documentation available and language learning resources to pull from, the grammar curriculum resource in Appendix A[30] draws on previous documentation and language learning resources, including: Alvanna-Stimpfle's (2007) *Ugiuvaŋmiuraaq̇tuakrat: Future King Island Speakers*, a Master's thesis and phrasebook; Kaplan's (1982) paper on consonant alternation in Inupiaq; Kaplan's (1985) paper on Seward Peninsula Inupiaq consonant gradation; the unpublished King Island dictionary; Krauss' (1987) article on Bering Straits prosody; several grammar sheets developed by Yaayuk Alvanna-Stimpfle and myself in 2018; several readers and books developed by the Alaska Native Language Center in the 1970s and 1980s; and PowerPoints on Ugiuvaŋmiutun grammar developed by Yaayuk and myself. For example, the sewing lesson in the pronunciation chapter is based on a lesson Yaayuk gave at an Iñupiaq immersion camp in Dgheyay Kaq', Alaska in 2015. The lessons on ice fishing are developed based on curricula I wrote along with Annauk Olin for an Iḷisaqativut language intensive in 2019. Kaplan's work (1985) provides several examples in the pronunciation chapter. We have also drawn example vocabulary from Yaayuk's

[30] I have named this a "grammar curriculum" in a reflection that the resource is limited to two chapters on Inupiaq pronunciation and grammar. I would be more comfortable naming a more extensive resource a "learners' grammar".

Master's thesis and from the unpublished King Island dictionary. Wherever I have used examples from previous sources, these are cited throughout the grammar curriculum. No language learning resource stands alone on its own, and this resource stands on the shoulders of previous Inupiaq work undertaken over the last several decades and the many Inupiaq speakers who have graciously shared their language since time immemorial. I am so grateful for all the previous resources and educators that have inspired this work.

Chapter 5: Reflection and Conclusion

5.1. Introduction

When beginning this dissertation project, I developed three main research questions in consultation with the project partners. These questions were:

1) How can the idea of what constitutes a "grammar" be reconsidered and reshaped?
2) How could an Inupiaq grammar in particular be constructed to privilege principles of Inupiaq education and language acquisition for beginner adult language learners?
3) What lessons does this project hold for language documentation and language revitalization practices?

In this chapter, I will expound upon these questions, reflecting on the current project at hand, the broader implications for this project on the wider linguistics and language revitalization community, and reflect upon the limitations and possible further directions of this research (ilisimaniguat). I will reiterate some of the points made in the literature review (Chapters 2 and 3) about different language learning and teaching approaches, focusing on what was actually undertaken in the development of the grammar curriculum.

5.2. Research Question #1

In developing these grammar resources, I have reflected upon the ways in which what is thought of as a linguistic "grammar" can and perhaps should be remolded to fit the needs of language revitalization. My first research question was: *How can the idea of what constitutes a "grammar" be reconsidered and reshaped?*

In development of these resources, I have found that “grammars” can be reconsidered and reshaped in several ways. I want to maintain that there is no “correct” way of writing a grammar, and grammars that are done in the more documentary positivist perspective do have value, but I do believe that in a modern academic context, the definition and idea of what constitutes a “grammar” can be expanded and reshaped to include grammars of many different varieties. Indeed, in the progression of this research project, I have struggled with even what to call the output of this collaborative research. Is it a “grammar”, “curriculum”, “language lessons”, “language documentation” or something else? Being that the resource is limited to two chapters, I did not feel it was extensive enough to call it a “learners’ grammar”. I settled on “grammar curriculum” for the purposes of referring to the resource, recognizing its purposes for language learning and teaching while also recognizing the focus on Inupiaq grammar, as well. I find that the difficulty in answering this question comes from the fact that “grammars” have historically been pigeonholed into a small subset of what we can consider to be a “grammar”. I argue in this section that grammars can be reconsidered in terms of their 1) approach, 2) audience, 3) grammatical information, 4) organization, and 5) design.

I have chosen these categories partially inspired by Rice (2005a), who argues grammar should be considered based on what are the goals in writing a grammar—i.e. ‘’approach”, who the grammar is intended for—i.e. “audience”, what does the grammar include— i.e. “grammatical information”, and how the grammar is presented— i.e. “organization” and “design”. I have divided “organization” and “design” into two categories, because I think they have distinct roles in the development of learners’ grammars. Typically, reference grammars do not consider design as much as learners’ grammars might, as there is not typically a goal of

presenting information in an engaging way in the same way a grammar used for pedagogical purposes might be.

5.2.1. Approach

As previously mentioned, Kroskrity (2015) maintains that those working in language documentation and revitalization all come to language work with their own language ideologies at hand. I believe having clear language ideologies at the start of grammar writing means maintaining an "approach" for what the grammar will look like. The approach of this "grammar curriculum" was to provide a resource for learning Inupiaq pronunciation and word structure that could be utilized by Inupiaq language learners (ilisazaqtuat) and teachers (ilisaurit), grounded in an Inupiaq pedagogy.

Though most linguistic grammars in North America are developed from a Eurocentric positivist theoretical standpoint, in developing this Inupiaq grammar, Indigenous and specifically Inupiaq perspectives were incorporated into the development of the approach to this grammar. Certainly, this grammar curriculum is a combination of Euro-American positivist linguistic theory alongside an Indigenous approach. Although the grammar curriculum was developed according to principles of Inupiaq education and values, there are aspects of a traditional Euro-American linguistic approach involved as well. For example, the dividing of words into discrete morphemes and the general tendency for linguists to divide aspects of language into specific categories could be seen as a more Euro-American linguist approach. Furthermore, the tendency to privilege the written word could also be seen as an approach from this perspective. Though there are attempts within the grammar resource to qualify these

tendencies (for example, comments on approaching Inupiaq words as full concepts and trying one's best to focus on speaking and listening), they exist nonetheless.

In conceiving this grammar curriculum, I do think it was useful to interweave Euro-American and Indigenous epistemologies, as there is something to be offered from all approaches. Snively and Williams (2018) write that interweaving Euro-American and Indigenous knowledge acknowledges that both ways of knowing are legitimate and that they can coexist in and outside of the classroom. For example, Indigenous (and specifically Inupiaq) ways of teaching and learning are presented as the best ways to utilize this grammar curriculum as a teacher and learner of Inupiaq. By following ayuqatuqtuun (teaching by example), teachers (and learners) engage with Inupiaq language learning *in an Inupiaq way.* Moreover, Inupiat Irrusiat (Inupiaq values) are presented as guiding knowledge for learning Inupiaq, and learning by doing (in the home, and on the land (nuna) and ice (sigu) underscores the holistic nature of learning in Inupiaq. Language learning is not seen as a separate endeavor from living an Inupiaq life.

At the same time, the approach of dividing up linguistic phenomena into parts does very much come from a Euro-American linguistic tradition, at least the one I have been trained in. I have tried to mitigate this by utilizing colour to draw attention to specific morphemes, rather than dividing up all the words and providing the reader with direction to make sure to think of Inupiaq words as full thoughts (rather than dividing them up into parts when trying to build words). The focus on a print resource also largely stems from the Euro-American linguistic tradition, but we have tried to encourage users of the grammar curriculum to utilize the resource in a communicative, contextual manner whenever possible.

However, I also think in developing an approach to writing a grammar of an Indigenous language, Indigenous perspectives should certainly be privileged. Furthermore, incorporated into the vision of this grammar was the idea that the resource should be accessible for purposes of learning and teaching (also known as pedagogy). Again, this is not to say that the "traditional" documentarian approach to grammar writing does not have value, but I think if that is to be the foundational purpose of the grammar, that should be asked for by the Indigenous community. For example, I could imagine that in the case of a highly endangered language with very few speakers, the priority of the language community might be a more traditional linguistic grammar that is focused on describing and presenting as much specific information on the language's grammar as possible. The focus might be more on specificity rather than accessibility in this potential example. However, even in instances such as this, it is important that this model is what is *asked for* by the language community.

Ultimately, I believe that what constitutes a "grammar" can be expanded to include pedagogical resources, even if they are not typically labelled a "grammar". As I stated in the literature review, paradoxically languages the most in need of resources for language revitalization purposes seem to be those least likely to have learners' grammars at their disposal. Again, this is not to say that reference grammars are not useful, and many may be seen as more comprehensive than pedagogical resources. A comprehensive reference grammar may be determined by language communities as what is specifically needed for their community. Although the grammar curriculum presented in this dissertation is only two chapters, a more extensive learners' grammar I think could stand on par with a reference grammar in terms of comprehensiveness. With an enlargement of what resources can be

considered “grammars”, I think we will enrich the field of linguistics and Indigenous language revitalization, simultaneously.

5.2.2. Audience

Another important aspect in the consideration of what a grammar should or could look like is who is the intended audience, i.e. *who is the grammar for?* Mithun (2005) contends that grammars will look very different depending on their target audience. Until fairly recently, language grammars were written with the intended audience of other linguists, rather than speakers or learners of Indigenous languages. Wesley Leonard (2021) writes that linguistic documentation still largely is geared towards a Euro-American colonial tradition, with the audience being other non-Indigenous linguists, rather than speakers or learners. Moreover, Beth Leonard (2001) argues that language documentation does not consider an audience of second language learners, without additional clarifying information about how to learn the language in a culturally appropriate way.

The audience of the Inupiaq grammar curriculum was clearly designed from the beginning to be learners and teachers of Inupiaq, rather than linguists. In consultation with the Inupiaq community, the focus and need of grammar description was on development of language learning resources for learners (ilisazaqtuat) and teachers (ilisaurit) (and learner-teachers) and clear elucidation of grammar concepts with minimal linguistic jargon (which has often served as barrier for learners).

One demonstration of this in the grammar was our determination to include linguistic jargon (e.g. *intransitive, transitive, modalis,* etc.) as footnotes rather than existing in the main

body of the curriculum. Another demonstration of this was the choice to name the resource a "grammar curriculum" rather than a "grammar". I think even the term " grammar" is one that is not often understood outside of the linguistics community. Naming the resource a "grammar curriculum" also demonstrates for the user the pedagogical intention of the resource.

Furthermore, the incorporation of Iñupiaq activities around a seasonal calendar was intentionally used to be of use for teachers and learners in Nome or in the surrounding areas of Inupiat Nunaat (Inupiaq lands). Moreover, the resource was developed knowing that it could be used in multiple modalities; there are instructions for teachers (ilisaurit) to use the resource with a class (inside or outside the classroom), in a one-on-one language learning situation with an Elder (utuqanaaq) (such as a Mentor-Apprentice program), or via self-study.

In the literature review of this dissertation I covered some of the multiple methods and methodologies that have been used in Indigenous language pedagogy including language classes, Mentor-Apprentice programs, Language House, Language on the Land, and Learning by Teaching. Although non-immersive classroom education has shown little promise for creating new language speakers (Ball & McIvor, 2013; Johnson, 2016; Cohen 2010), classroom instruction that is done in immersion may have some more positive outcomes. The grammar curriculum is specifically designed to foster language communication in context and without having to resort to using English. Teachers (ilisaurit) may utilize the curriculum in a classroom setting (by using pictures, pretend objects, or realia) to simulate the activities that might be otherwise done at home or out on the land or ice.

In addition, in the grammar curriculum, there is an opportunity to practice the lessons in a Mentor-Apprentice style (Hinton, 2001; Hinton, 2002), where learners can practice the

lessons one-on-one with a fluent speaker and/or Elder (utuqanaaq). Not only can the lessons be carried out in immersion, but there are specific sentences that ask for learner and fluent speaker interaction written in to the curriculum. Moreover, many of these activities in the grammar curriculum are task-based, and opportunities for task-based instruction are also possible.

I have not personally had experience with designing curricula for a Language House, but I can imagine utilizing the grammar curriculum for a Language House in a similar way to an immersion language class situation. Furthermore, Language on the Land is relevant to this grammar curriculum as one chapter is specifically designed to be undertaken on the Land (or more accurately on the ice). Barnhardt and Kawagley (2005) write that place-based learning can create a shift from learning *about* one's culture to learning *through* one's culture. Child (2016) write that learners are able to "feed their spirits and lay the foundation for them to develop inner strength and resilience" (p. 47).

Finally, the grammar curriculum was designed with "learning by teaching" in mind, meaning Indigenous language teachers who are put in the situation to become teachers while they are still in the process of learning their language (Johnson, 2017; Hinton, 2003). For example, grammar concepts are clearly delineated for learners but are provided in a communicative context so that teachers do not have to explain grammar concepts directly to their students. This way, there is an opportunity for "learner-teachers" to grasp and acquire more complex grammatical information without having to overwhelm their own students. In addition, the lessons are set up in a way for teachers to elicit specific responses from their learners, avoiding too much freeform language use that might be challenging for a "learner-

teacher”. Lastly, a large amount of repetition of phrases is included (and encouraged) so that learners (and teachers) can really grasp the phrases that are used over and over again. Hinton (2003) states that rituals (repetitive language to use each class) are essential tools for “learner-teachers”.

With Indigenous language revitalization occurring in multiple different spheres, it was important that this grammar curriculum be made available for those learning in many different ways, and a resource that could be of use to both learners (ilisazaqtuat) and teachers (ilisaurit) (or those who are learning the language with teaching simultaneously). Grammars certainly can and probably should be reconsidered based on the audience they are geared towards.

Additionally, the decision to take a theoretical approach of *meaning-focused instruction* with a *focus on form* was informed by the audience of learners and teachers for this grammar curriculum. The lessons in the grammar curriculum are presented in a way that promotes communicative language learning in a culturally relevant context. The attention to grammatical form is baked into the lessons, but “grammar” does not have to be explicitly taught; it can become elucidated through communicative context and structure can be explicitly pointed out when there are lapses in communication. Correction of learner errors or “recasting” of errors can draw attention to form (Ellis, 2016), without having having to use complicated linguistic terminology or metalanguage to elucidate grammatical rules.

This approach is specifically designed for second language learners of Inupiaq. It is also particularly geared towards adult language learners, often considered the “missing generation” when it comes to language revitalization efforts and in research on Indigenous language revitalization (Jenni et al., 2017).

It is clear to me that grammars need not be limited to audiences of other linguists or academics, and that they can have specific audiences based on the needs of a particular community. In this way, the idea of what constitutes a grammar can be expanded beyond reference grammars and even beyond traditional pedagogical grammars.

5.2.3. Grammatical information

One of the challenging aspects of developing a learners' grammar is determining how much grammatical information to include, understanding that there are often exceptions to grammatical rules and including too much grammatical information can make a resource more opaque for language learners (ilisazaqtuat) and teachers (ilisaurit). In the grammar curriculum, we tried to balance the description of grammatical structures in an organized way while 1) minimizing jargon to keep the resource transparent to second language learners and 2) providing information that can be used in a communicative and pedagogical context. Specific and minute grammatical information might be omitted for the sake of clarity and ease for teaching and learning. In developing this resource, we tried to use examples that were straightforward, without too many complex examples (or examples that were exceptions to the rule—such as duals and plurals that deviate from the grammatical norm), and a scaffolded curriculum that introduces less complex sentences and morphology before moving to more complex examples.

Additionally, the use of metaphor based on Inupiaq cultural activities can be a useful help for understanding complex grammatical concepts. In this Inupiaq grammar, we used the metaphor of "sewing" through a sentence to introduce the concept of "weak and strong

alternating consonants". This grammatical concept, unique to this region's Inupiaq speakers, is helpful in learning this variety of Inupiaq, but also is fairly opaque to understand (even with linguistic training). Use of metaphor tied to the activity in the lesson can break down some of those linguistic barriers and provide footholds for learners since there are parallels to cultural activities. Another choice in the demonstration of grammatical information was the use of colour to distinguish between different morphemes in an Iñupiaq word. This way we can show use of morphemes in agglutinative word formation, without slicing the words up unnecessarily. This way, too, the words continue to be seen as a whole, but specific grammatical information can still be highlighted.

Furthermore, grammars do not need to use linguistic jargon that can often serve as a barrier to language learning. One example in Inupiaq grammar is the linguistic terms *intransitive* and *transitive*, which have an important linguistic distinction in Inupiaq. One learner of Iñupiaq explained to me that after ten years of study, she still could not remember which one was which (Cordelia Qiġñaaq Kellie, 2023, p.c.). In the Inupiaq grammar resource, we specifically choose to leave linguistic jargon in footnotes. This way, those who are interested in the linguistic jargon can still access it, but where linguistic jargon might be an impediment to language learners, it has been deprivileged in this resource. When linguistic specificity impedes understandability of a resource, I think it is worth it to question whether that linguistic specificity and use of linguistic jargon does more harm than good for language learners and teachers. All of these considerations on the presentation of grammatical information can help us to understand the ways in which the idea of what constitutes a grammar can be reconsidered.

5.2.4. Organization

Grammar organization decisions are an extremely pertinent concern in writing grammars or curricula. Traditional grammars are usually constructed by linguistic category, rather than considering scaffolding for language learners. For pedagogical grammars, scaffolding grammatical concepts from easier to more complicated is of use to learners. For example, in the chapter on pronunciation, the progression goes from learning sounds (by where they are pronounced in one's mouth), to learning syllables, to learning full words. When more sounds are introduced, these can be included in the words to practice, but sounds that have not yet been introduced are not included in the word examples. The use of syllables for learning (for example, *kaa, kii, kuu, gaa, gii, guu, etc.)* was chosen because this is how Inupiaq children have been learning the language in Sitŋasuaq, a practice which was learned by Inupiaq teachers (ilisaurit) after visiting Hawaiian classrooms, and also is evocative of how Inuktitut is taught in syllables (syllabics) in Eastern Canada.

Moreover, for Indigenous languages, a calendrical organization can be instructive to move learning away from just the theoretical to the experiential. For instance, in the Inupiaq curriculum, the chapters focused on sewing and ice fishing are tied to late fall (ugiaq) activities. A full year's curriculum could be tied to seasonal activities for Inupiat learners. This can help to move language learning to the proper seasonal context. Even if the activity continues to be held inside the classroom, replicated with pictures or props, for example, the curriculum still can follow a seasonal calendar. Organization of a grammar according to a Inupiaq calendar will be more meaningful to Inupiaq learners than one based solely around grammatical categories.

Organization of grammars are another way in which the conception of what constitutes a "good grammar" can be reconsidered.

5.2.5. Design

Design considerations can also be very important in reconsidering what grammars can look like. Traditional reference grammars are typically designed without colour and without imagery. Use of images, colour, and audio can be useful for language learners to make a resource more engaging and lively. In this grammar, I was grateful to the Northwest Arctic Borough School District for donating the use of Inupiaq images that help to highlight the lessons and activities promoted throughout the grammar.

In addition, grammars should be easy to read and use for the purposes of language learning and teaching. They should be engaging and interesting to look at and they should have clear organization with good spacing. In my experience, it might be useful to design the chapters in lesson form, so that lessons could be individually removed from the curriculum for teaching purposes. Electronic form can include audio recordings for easy audio interaction. (Although audio was not included in the design of this resource, it could certainly be added fairly easily.[31] See §5.5.3 of this chapter for more on this).

Throughout this dissertation, I have maintained that the definition of what constitutes a "grammar" can be reconsidered; when we consider the ways in which grammars can look

[31] An example of a learners' grammar with sound is the online Oneida Teaching Grammar: https://www.uwgb.edu/oneida/oneida-teaching-grammar

differently for different populations, I think we open up linguistics to greater utility and greater introspection as a field.

5.3. Research Question #2

1) How could an Inupiaq grammar, in particular, be constructed to privilege principles of Inupiaq education and language acquisition for beginner adult language learners?

5.3.1 Inupiaq education

Indigenous language learners' grammars should privilege the ways of learning and education that come from those communities (unless those communities ask otherwise). As expounded upon in earlier chapters (see §4.2.1.), Inupiaq education is apprentice-based, learner-centric, observational, taught in a communicative context, and is family and community-based. These concepts were interwoven into the body of the Inupiaq grammar curriculum and Inupiat Irrusiat (Inupiaq Values) are presented as a guide for utilizing the grammar curriculum. For instance, throughout the Inupiaq grammar curriculum, guides for use of the curriculum in a Mentor-Apprentice program are provided so that language learners can utilize the curriculum working one-on-one with an Elder (utuqanaaq), a very Inupiaq way of learning. Moreover, the activities throughout the curriculum promote activities in which the teacher (ilisauri) teaches activities in a communicative, observational context, first presenting the language activity (perhaps repeating several times) before the student (ilisazaqtuaq) attempts the activity. Furthermore, the activities in the Inupiaq grammar curriculum promote activities that can be done in a culturally relevant context, undertaking activities such a sewing

and ice fishing. The design of the curriculum to be geared towards potential teachers and new parents (who can become teachers in the home) is a similarly family and community-based approach to language education. Although the resource is text-based, Inupiaq learn best from communicative approaches to language learning, and the resource tries its best to avoid reading and writing and instead present Inupiaq activities in an experiential context (in the best case scenario, free from translation to English).

5.3.2. Inupiaq activities

As previously stated, the Inupiaq grammar curriculum is based around a yearly Inupiaq calendar and activities carried out in that time of year. The grammar strives to be contextually and culturally appropriate for Inupiaq language learners and teachers. The first chapter, meant to begin around October (Siġmanaq), is based around sewing, an important Inupiaq activity done through fall (ugiaq) and winter (ugiuq). The second chapter is built around ice fishing, an important Inupiaq activity for late fall and winter (after the ice (sigu) has frozen). Not only are the topics designed to be culturally and calendrically relevant, but the language lessons also teach grammar structure through domains where cultural activities can be undertaken. Grammar learning becomes linked to an Inupiaq activity, hopefully “sticking” more meaningfully for Inupiaq learners. Though this grammar curriculum is only based around two months, an extended curriculum could exist through an entire year, or multiple years continually based around an Inupiaq calendar.

In addition, grammatical concepts can be presented in such a way that learners can engage in Inupiaq activities. In the chapter on pronunciation, the important fall and winter

activity of sewing is utilized as a metaphor for stringing pieces of words together. The grammar curriculum presents the "strong and weak" consonant system with a lesson that allows language learners to engage in a sewing activity while learning the language. The "weak" and "strong" consonant alternations mimic the in and out stitching that is done when sewing a garment. Furthermore, in the chapter on word structure, a metaphor of dog sled can help to elucidate how Inupiaq words are structured, which is much different than that of English. The use of culturally relevant metaphor can hopefully help make an opaque linguistic morphological concept clearer for learners. We also make an explicit choice to use Inupiaq terminology for presenting linguistic terms (for instance, paatnait for *diphthongs*, or uġałhuziq for *uvula*). Language revitalization is not just about learning linguistic information, it is also about restoring language, culture, and identity, and undertaking activities that can do all this in a grammar curriculum should be of greater use to Inupiaq language learning that a traditional linguistic grammar that does not include Inupiaq activities.

5.3.3. Language learners/teachers

Inupiaq is under threat from English, and language revitalization is key to continue to perpetuate Inupiaq into the future. The learners' grammar should reflect this fact and consider the historical and societal obstacles to learning one's language. The grammar curriculum is foregrounded by values provided by Iñupiaq language learning collective Iḷisaqativut (or Ilisazaqativut in Ugiuvaŋmiutun):

> We understand that you don't have to know everything to teach, you just have to know something different than the person you are teaching. By embracing this broader

definition of teacher, a generation can grow in learning together, hand in hand. Additionally, adult second-language learners understand acutely the journey of language acquisition, both the joys and the challenges.

We emphasize the importance of fostering a supportive environment which seeks to leave learning barriers at the door, such as the fear of criticism, ridicule, or getting something wrong. We appreciate that toddlers and youth are granted the grace to practice making the sounds of language and making mistakes; adult second language learners should be afforded the same privilege (ilisaqativut.org)

These values of recognizing every learner as providing value as a potential teacher are built into the grammar curriculum. As the number of second language learners of Inupiaq has increased in recent decades while the number of first language speakers has decreased, providing grammar curricula that understand this reality will be essential for Inupiaq language revitalization moving forward.

Moreover, in the grammar curriculum, there are deliberate places that acknowledge the challenge of learning one's language due to historical trauma. As described in this dissertation's literature review, when learning one's own Indigenous language, overcoming intergenerational language trauma is frequently an essential part (Grayshield, et. al, 2015; Rosborough & Rorick, 2017; Johnson, 2017). Johnson (2017) states that "[t]eachers must contend with higher levels of learner anxiety due to various factors resulting from colonization, including language decline, older teaching techniques ... and tensions and oppositions in community" (p. 512). In the Inupiaq grammar curriculum, there are intentionally included sentences that remind the language learner to breathe, take their time, and to remember that every small step someone

takes in learning their language is a positive one. Guides for approaching Inupiaq language work in a good way from Iḷisaqativut also preface the grammar curriculum to help learners stay grounded before even beginning to learn. Recognizing trauma, healing, and wellness (naguatun inniguq) in the creation of a grammar has not often previously been considered in grammar writing, but I think it ought to be considered an integral part of presenting a grammar of an Indigenous language in the North American context.

5.3.4. Focus on adults

The current situation of Inupiaq is that many of the fluent Inupiaq teachers are of retiring age or older, and there is a current lack of fluent second language learners to take their place. In this way, the Inupiaq language community needs more adult second-language learners (ilisazaqtuat) and teachers (ilisaurit). McIvor (2012) writes that adult language learners have not been a priority for Indigenous language revitalization in the past several decades. This is clear for Inupiaq as well, as most resources for learning grammar have been developed for youth education or for fluent speakers.

Moreover, there is a deficit of language learning resources, particularly in the Seward Peninsula Inupiaq region and particularly concerning grammar learning. Furthermore, for Inupiaq there has been stronger focus on children and school learning, but less focus on the key demographic of adult language learners who could be teachers of the language in schools or at home. This grammar focuses on adult language learners of Inupiaq, knowing that they are a key demographic to revitalizing Inupiaq in the coming decades.

5.4. Research Question #3

1) What lessons does this project hold for language documentation and language revitalization practices?

5.4.1. Indigenous methodologies

It might seem obvious that one should employ Indigenous or Indigenist methodologies in undertaking research with Indigenous languages, but that certainly has not been the modus operandi in most previous research related to Indigenous languages undertaken by non-Indigenous scholars. As previously stated, there has been a reluctance to engage with Indigenous or Indigenist methodologies by non-Indigenous researchers, for a fear of a loss of "objectivity" or for lack of training or knowledge. Again, this is not to say there is not value to more "traditional" approaches to grammar writing and/or language documentation, but to disregard Indigenous methodologies when undertaking research with Indigenous languages perpetuates the racist idea that Euro-American approaches to research are more "objective" or "scientific" than other approaches. To me, Indigenous methodologies mean honouring those who share their language and reciprocating those gifts that they have provided. It means recognizing language as sacred and powerful, and not taking research in Indigenous language revitalization lightly. At the very least, I think non-Indigenous linguists working with Indigenous languages should learn about Indigenous/Indigenist methodologies and try their best to employ them in their research. At best, they should incorporate Indigenous methodologies through every stage of their research.

Tsikewa (2021) writes that linguists can better undertake field research by explicit incorporation of Indigenous research methodologies and the recognition of Indigenous epistemologies. These research paradigms should "stand on equal footing with Western research paradigms and should be an essential and integral part of any research methodology course" (Chilisa, 2012, p. 7). Demson (2022) furthermore provides several recommendations for how Linguistics departments can better support non-Indigenous linguists engaging in Indigenous language work by challenging racism in the linguistics field, "acknowledging the value of Indigenous ways of knowing and the intellectual traditions of Indigenous language speakers" (p. 98) and "employing Indigenous and Indigenist methodologies as ways to do linguistic work" (p. 98).

I do not claim that this research and grammar outcome is a perfect use of Indigenous/Indigenist methodologies, and nor should non-Indigenous researchers expect that they will employ Indigenist research paradigms in a perfect way. But the deep reluctance to try to engage with Indigenous/Indigenist methodologies, I think echoes a deep problem in Western academia which still often assumes that non-Western methodologies are not valid.

5.4.2. Working collaboratively

Echoing Czaykowska-Higgins' (2009) work, I hope to extend the idea of moving from a "linguist-focused model" to a collaborative research model in undertaking grammar writing (grammaticography). Doing work in Indigenous language revitalization, even as a non-Indigenous person, is an inherently political act and one tied to social justice. Indigenous language research should be of benefit to a language community and its language needs, and it

should be undertaken according to the language community's asks. Leonard (2018) calls for a decolonial approach that starts with considering community needs in the conception of the language documentation project. It should involve building relationships with community partners, over years, decades, and even lifetimes. I believe I have a lifelong responsibility to the Inupiaq language community, based on the gifts I have been given by being trusted to do work with and for Inupiaq. Building relationships also means open communication with individuals, tribes, and local Indigenous non-profits of one's aims and outcomes in research. Surma (2022) writes that non-Indigenous linguists can better practice reciprocity by considering their own positionality, building strong relationships, and practicing values or respect, responsibility, and relevance. Surma (2022) also provides several recommendations for non-Indigenous linguists for how to incorporate reciprocity in language work including: be willing to learn, being willing to listen to adapt to feedback, aligning research with priorities of community initiatives, and volunteering their own skills to assist community language initiatives, among others. Building relationships is not easy, and it is not done overnight. Growing up in an Iñupiaq community has allowed me to build relationships with the Iñupiaq language community since I was a child, and I have worked closely with Iñupiaq language revitalization for over a decade now. I strive to do the best I can to be a partner in language revitalization, knowing that reciprocity is a lifelong journey, not a checklist.

5.4.3. Focus on pedagogy

Furthermore, the research represented in this dissertation has demonstrated the importance of doing research that is pedagogically focused in Indigenous language

documentation and revitalization context, where language learning and teaching is an important goal for that community. What is the ultimate purpose of language documentation of Indigenous and/or "endangered" languages? Is it only to preserve language "data" in archives? Or should its goals be social justice oriented? Tsikewa (2021) proposes that language documentation should employ decolonial approaches, including focusing on language learning topics, using culturally appropriate language, and engaging with community and cultural considerations. The consideration of community needs around language learning and teaching is key. Taylor-Adams (2019) writes that language teachers are frequently creating language materials that are truly language documentation in of themselves. Linguists who aim for stronger collaboration with language revitalizers to support more holistic approaches to "language documentation" can help support the pedagogical purposes of Indigenous language revitalization. Pedagogy will not be the main concern for every language community (for example, extensive documentation might be more critical for a language with very few speakers remaining), but for many it will be. And non-Indigenous linguists working in Indigenous language contexts need to be keen and educated to the needs of a language community.

5.4.4. Moving outside of the "linguistics" pigeonhole

Western academia tends to divide disciplines up into parts and to not be particularly holistic or interdisciplinary. I believe that the linguistics community could benefit from more interdisciplinary outreach in academia. Language revitalization is an area where different academic disciplines come together. Linguistics, education, history (aipaani quliat), biology,

health (naguatun inniguq), environmental science (among other fields) all have a role to play in language revitalization. Language revitalization is also not just about linguistic revitalization, it is also about Indigenous communities maintaining strong culture (Inupiat inniguat), health (naguatun inniguq), and identity in the face of continued colonizing forces. Often linguists who are afraid to step outside the box of the "linguistics" discipline can miss the importance language revitalization has beyond language acquisition and the breakdown of linguistic information. Leonard (2018) writes that viewing language as only an object to be studied reduces the language and people to their value for "science" (Naluaġmiut ilisimaniguat), rather than understanding language and peoplehood as heavily intertwined. This can impede the ability to do meaningful work in language documentation or revitalization. McIvor (2020) also argues that applied linguistics as a field has a lot to offer Indigenous language revitalization, but that the approach should be interdisciplinary and conducted from a place of respect.

5.5. Limitations

Like with most research projects, there are many limitations to this research, including interruptions due to the COVID-19 pandemic, limits based on my background, the limits of print resources, and limitations of working in academia.

5.5.1. COVID-19

The timeline of this project was interrupted significantly due to the COVID-19 pandemic that began in 2020. Not only was the collaborative work on this project delayed significantly, because of the COVID-19 pandemic, the ability to work in Sitŋasuaq and work directly with

Yaayuk and others was a challenge. We did overcome this challenge by working on Zoom in the moments where I could not meet in person, but there are certain possibilities in person that Zoom does not allow. There was also a long delay to meet with the King Island Elders' Council, wanting to ensure Elders' (utuqanaat) safety. In general, the COVID-19 pandemic impeded the ability to have a more collaborative approach to this research, but I think we tried our best to continue to work collaboratively during that period.

5.5.2. Positionality

A large limitation of this research is my own hand in guiding the project as a non-Indigenous researcher. It is likely that an Inupiaq person undertaking this research may have approached it in a different way, and my Euro-American background and largely Euro-American linguistic education certainly have influence on the outcome of this research. I have done my best to read and learn about Indigenous epistemologies and research methods, but nothing can replace an Indigenous person doing research with and for their own community. There was certainly a mix of Euro-American and Indigenous methodologies employed in this research, and it is possible that the Euro-American methodologies were overpowering, even when I did not notice this.

Despite this, I do think it is important for non-Indigenous linguists to work in solidarity with Indigenous communities, which means engaging to the best of abilities in Indigenist methodologies, knowing you will still make mistakes. Indigenous communities did not cause their languages to become endangered, and I believe there is a responsibility of non-Indigenous people living on Indigenous lands (even those not engaged in language work) to support

Indigenous language revitalization efforts, while always following Indigenous leadership. In doing work in Indigenous language revitalization as a non-Indigenous person, there will certainly be discomfort. I think embracing that discomfort and sitting with it is important, as we cannot continue to prioritize white peoples' comfort over Indigenous livelihoods. As non-Indigenous people living on Indigenous lands, we have enormous privilege to live and work on these lands, and solidarity with Indigenous peoples means going beyond merely acknowledging Indigenous lands but fighting alongside Indigenous peoples for restoration of Indigenous lands, languages, and cultures.

5.5.3. Print resource

One limitation to this project is that the resource outcome is a print resource. I was hoping to also do recordings for a possible online resource, but that became outside the scope of this project due to limited time and lack of funding. Print resources have immense value, but orality is how language revitalization will thrive into the future. The printed word is privileged in Euro-American scholarship and can often give the impression of an "official" form of a word, phrase, or grammatical rule. We know that there can be extensive variation, even from speakers of the same dialect and even from individuals. Print literacy often privileges certain forms over others; it is important to state in one's grammar that print form is not final authority and variation exists. We have included such information in the introduction to the grammar chapters. Moreover, inclusion of audio would certainly support some mitigation of the "authority of written word", and I would love if this project could expand with an audio component into the future.

5.5.4. University limitations

This project was undertaken according to university protocols, which sometimes limits the ability to do more collaborative, non-hierarchical work. For example, in Euro-American scholarship, dissertations are thought to be authored by one individual (the PhD candidate), whereas this dissertation truly has multiple authors, and the true authors of this resource are the Inupiaq speakers of past and present. I have tried my best to reciprocate the gifts given to me in this process by supporting Yaayuk's dissertation project, supporting Kiminaq's Inupiaq classroom, by volunteering my time to develop resources for the Inupiaq language community, and by always standing by as a support for Inupiaq language efforts whenever asked. I have also included information about the collaborators and acknowledgments of the Inupiaq community in the first page of this dissertation and cite contributions of others throughout this dissertation and throughout the grammar curriculum, but it continues to be a limitation of university research that dissertation authorship is thought to be limited to one individual. I hope this research can help demonstrate that academic research is the cumulation of knowledge from many different sources, people, and worldviews, and not just from that of one individual.

Furthermore, Surma (2022) writes that academic timelines often do not give enough time to develop and maintain reciprocal relationships with Indigenous communities. This dissertation took many more years to complete than is expected by the University of Victoria, and I had to extend my program multiple times. I do hope and believe that I have developed strong relationships with the Ugiuvaŋmiut community and with the Inupiaq language community at large, having been involved with the Inupiaq language community for most of my

life, but the short timelines imposed by university programs do not generally lend themselves well to collaborative research, in my opinion.

5.6. Further directions

Due to some of the limitations of this project, I can envision some further directions for this research. As mentioned previously, this grammar curriculum is limited to a two-month introduction to Inupiaq grammar. A more extensive resource could have multiple chapters that go beyond the basics of Inupiaq. One challenge in Inupiaq language revitalization has been beginning learners lacking resources to go beyond the basics. A potential full “grammar” could include a full year’s curriculum or even a multi-year curriculum that expounds upon more complex grammatical concepts in Inupiaq and includes a full year’s curriculum of Inupiaq activities that can be done in the language (preferably increasing in the level of difficulty and level of immersion). For example, there were several concepts in Inupiaq grammar curriculum that were left out: for example, rules for how postbases are added to stems (some delete the previous consonant, others are added directly, and for some it depends on the previous vowel or consonant) and consonant assimilation rules (how consonants change when other consonants are added to them). This lack of description of these phenomena does add some ambiguity to the current grammar resource, but we had decided that describing the weak-strong consonant system would be the most important because of its uniqueness to this variety of Inupiaq and its ubiquity in all Ugiuvaŋmiutun Inupiaq words. There are also more complex endings (conditional endings, coordinative endings, etc.) that were not included in this grammar curriculum that could be included in future editions.

Moreover, this resource was focused on King Island Inupiaq (Ugiuvaŋmiutun), but a more expanded grammar could provide inclusion of different Seward Peninsula Inupiaq varieties. We have tried our best to include notes about differences between Inupiaq varieties in Seward Peninsula, but a larger project could comment more on dialect diversity in the region.

6. Conclusion

In conclusion, this dissertation has reflected upon how to reframe the concept of what constitutes a "grammar". Grammars can look many ways based on the populations they serve and the purposes of their creation. For grammars developed for the purpose of Indigenous language revitalization, a focus on Indigenous methodologies and pedagogical purposes is important. Specifically, this research has been put into practice in the development of a King Island Inupiaq (Ugiuvaŋmiutun) grammar curriculum, creating a language learning resource for the purposes of Inupiaq language revitalization. The Inupiaq grammar curriculum developed through this project emphasizes Inupiaq education and values, an adult language learner pedagogy, and community-based research model of language documentation and revitalization. It is my fervent hope that this project will be of great use to the Inupiaq language community and for the linguistics and language revitalization community at large.

Appendix A: Ilisazaqta Inupiaqtun: Beginning Curriculum for Learning and Teaching Inupiaq Pronunciation and Word Structure

ILISAZAQTA INUPIAQTUN

Beginning Curriculum for Learning and Teaching Inupiaq Pronunciation and Word Structure

Images courtesy of Northwest Arctic Borough School District

QUYAANA

Iliġanamiik to Yaayuk Alvanna-Stimpfle for her work over several decades that helped make this resource a reality and the many years of work on this resource specifically. This resource is the result of collaboration between Myles Creed and Yaayuk Alvanna-Stimpfle, anchored by the previous work done by Inupiaq Elders, teachers, and speakers for decades and centuries before. The current and past speakers of Ugiuvaŋmiutun are the true authors of this resource.

Quyaana to Kiminaq Alvanna-Stimple and Anaŋaluutaq Annie Conger, whose Inupiaq language classrooms have inspired the development of this resource. Hopefully this resource can support the development of more teachers for the Siqnazuaq Inupiaq immersion program and be a resource for parents of students in the program. Quyaana to Kiminaq as well for sharing her language knowledge in our work together over the last several years. Quyaana also to Annauk Olin for graciously offering to look over these resources and provide feedback and for her previous work and friendship.

Quyaana to Dr. Edna Paniattaaq Ahgeak MacLean and Dr. Larry Kaplan, whose previous decades of work documenting Inupiaq and creating Inupiaq language learning resources are the precursor to this work. Quyaana to Larry for his years of work documenting Ugiuvaŋmiutun words, postbases, and endings and his willingness to review this resource as well. Quyaana to the many Ugiuvaŋmiutun speakers who worked with Larry over the decades. This resource would not be possible without them.

Quyaana to Kawerak, Inc. for providing in-kind donation for Yaayuk to be able to work on this project. Quyaana to King Island Native Community and the King Island Elders Council for approving the cultural permit to work with the Ugiuvaŋmiutun Inupiaq language.

Quyaana to Nikaitchuat Iḷisaġviat and particularly Aġnik Polly Schaeffer for graciously providing access to the template of this resources and many other grammar resources.

Quyaana to the Northwest Arctic Borough School District for graciously providing illustrations from the Uqapiaqta Inupiaq language learning series.

Finally, **quyaana** to all our Inupiaq teachers, past and present, including Yaayuk, Paniattaaq, Aġnik, Kiminaq, Anaŋaluutaq, Kapniaq Lorena Williams, the late Tatqaviñ Ruthie Sampson, and the late Kuutuuq Fannie Akpik. **Quyaanavak**.

INTRODUCTION

Ilisazaqta Inupiaqtun! The following curriculum will introduce you to the basics of pronunciation and word structure of Inupiaq.[1] Inupiaq is spoken from **Uŋalaliq[2]** (Uŋalaqłiq/Unalakleet) to **Ugiuvak** (King Island) to **Qigiqtaaruk** (Qikiqtaġruk/Kotzebue) to **Utqiaġvik** to **Inuuvik** (Inuvik) in Canada.

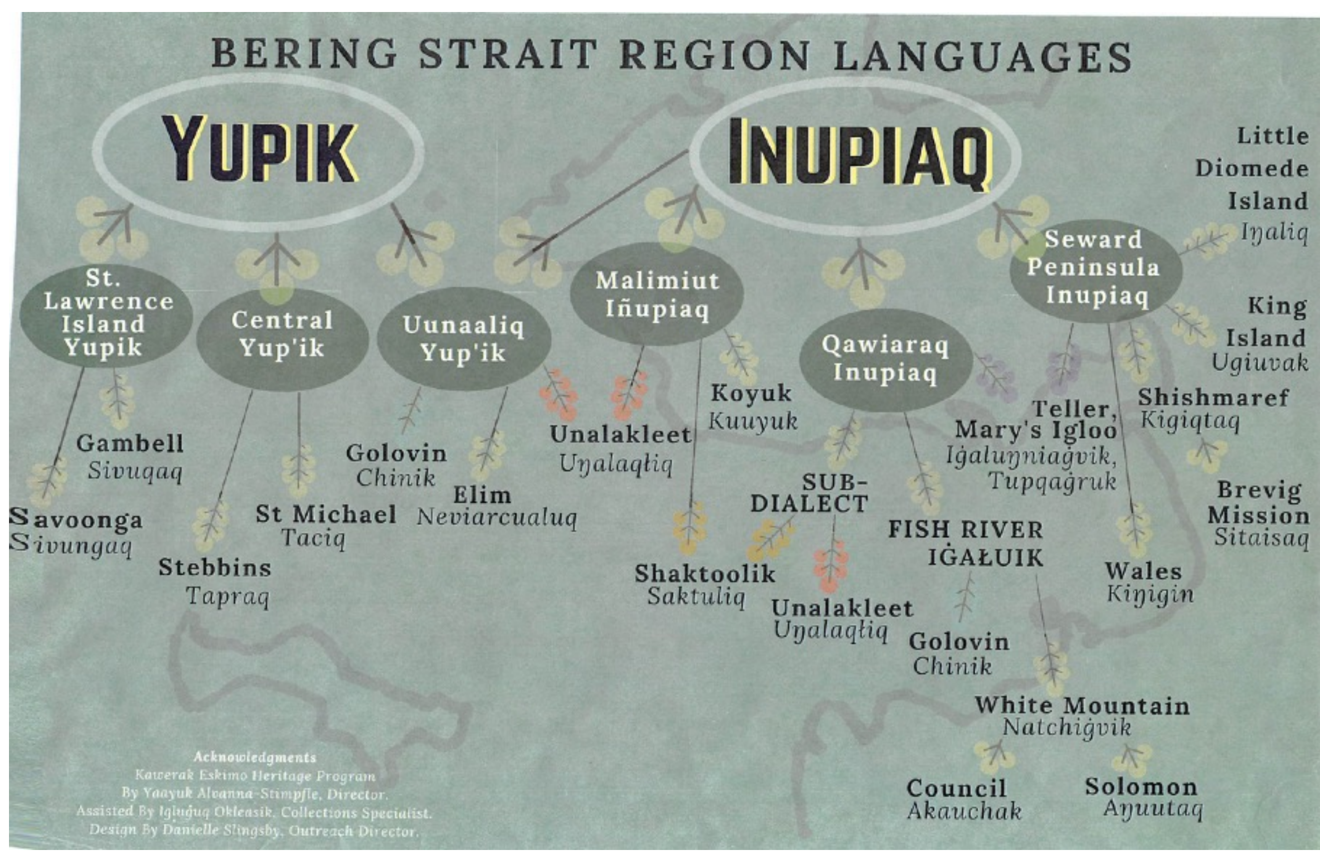


Figure 1: Bering Strait Region Languages. Photo courtesy of Kawerak, Inc.

Across **Inupiat Nunaat**, Inupiaq is spoken in many different varieties. In this grammar curriculum, we will be basing our learning on **Ugiuvaŋmiutun** (King Island Inupiaq), which is one variety of Inupiaq now spoken in **Siqnazuaq** (**Sitŋasuaq**/Nome) and originally on **Ugiuvak** (King Island). **Ugiuvaŋmiutun** is similar to other varieties of Inupiaq spoken in **Qigiqtaq** (Shishmaref), **Iŋaliq** (Diomede), **Kiŋigin** (Wales), and **Sitaisaq/Sinauraq** (Brevig Mission). Also on Seward

[1] As Inupiaq is a living and always changing language, this grammar curriculum is also living document and can be updated with more information at any time. Please contact the authors if you notice any mistakes or information that should be updated.

[2] Community names pronunciations are in Ugiuvaŋmiutun, with the local pronounciation (where they differ) and English name in parantheses.

Peninsula, varieties collectively known as Qawiaraq Inupiaq are spoken in **Iġaluŋniaġvik/Tala** (Teller), **Saktuliq** (Shaktoolik), **Kuuyuk** (Koyuk), **Nasirvik** (**Nachizrvik**/White Mountain), **Siŋik** (**Chiŋik**/Golovin), and **Uŋalaliq** (**Uŋalaqłiq**/Unalakleet). Altogether, these varieties are known as varieties of Seward Peninsula Inupiaq. Yup'ik and St. Lawrence Island Yupik are also spoken in the Bering Straits region, including in **Siqnazuaq**.

In the Northwest Arctic the **Malimiut** variety of Iñupiaq is spoken, which is also spoken on the Seward Peninsula in **Saktuliq** (Shaktoolik), **Kuuyuk** (Koyuk), and **Uŋalaliq** (Uŋalaqłiq/Unalakleet). Northernmost, there is North Slope Iñupiaq, spoken across the Arctic Slope. **Uummaġmiutun** (Uummarmiutun), spoken in **Inuuvik** (Inuvik) and **Akławik** (Akłarvik/Aklavik), is also very similar to Inupiaq spoken in Alaska, particularly to the Nunamiut variety spoken in **Anaqtuuvak/Naqsraq** (Anaktuvuk Pass). Further east, there are many more Inuit varieties across Canada and **Kalaałit Nunaat** (Greenland). Inupiaq is also related to Yupik languages spoken in Alaska and Siberia, and distantly related to Unangam Tunuu (Unangax̂), spoken on the Aleutian Islands.

QAĠNUZIT INUPIAQ VARIETIES

There are many ways of speaking Inupiaq, which differ in some ways from community to community, or even from speaker to speaker. We are using Ugiuvaŋmiutun for the examples used in this grammar curriculum. However, we sincerely believe that this grammar curriculum will be of great use to those learning their own varieties of Inupiaq on Seward Peninsula. It will likely also be of use to those learning Malimiut and North Slope varieties of Iñupiaq as well. We try our best to point out where other varieties of Inupiaq may differ from Ugiuvaŋmiutun. All ways of speaking Inupiaq are valid and welcome, and all Inupiaq varieties have underlying commonalities and structure. It is best to learn with every resource you have first, and you can ask Elders from your community if they say it differently. We have also taken great care to catch any spelling mistakes and to represent the diversity of Inupiaq spelling, but there may have been some mistakes that we have missed. We take responsibility for any spelling mistakes or missed variations and welcome any changes that could be made to future editions.

BACKGROUND

This grammar curriculum is different from most "grammars", for two reasons. First, this curriculum was built to be not only a grammar resource, but also a cultural resource. Each chapter of this curriculum follows a different **taqqiq** (month) in the **Ugiuvaŋmiut** calendar, and the activities and themes of each chapter are connected to the seasonal activities of Inupiat in the Bering Straits region. The two chapters in this resource are connected to **ugiaq** (falltime). The creation of this resource is guided by **Inupiat Irrusiat**, the values of what it means to be Inupiaq. **Inupiat Irrusiat** are written down differently in different Inupiat regions (Northwest Arctic: **Iñupiat Iḷitqusiat**; North Slope: **Iñupiaqatigiigñiq**), but all Inupiat regions share many of the same values, and many of these values are shared with other Alaska Native peoples.

Second, this grammar curriculum can be seen as a learning and teaching resource. It is not just Inupiaq grammar rules written down on a page, but it gives you resources and lessons to teach and learn Inupiaq by yourself and/or with others. It is important to learn *in an Inupiaq way*, focusing on communicative and experiential language learning, and using this resource as a guide. This grammar curriculum is particularly intended to be used by adult Inupiaq second language learners, including parents of young children and Inupiaq teachers. Inupiaq parents can use this resource to learn more Inupiaq to be able speak the language more at home with their little ones, who may be learning Inupiaq in school. It could also be useful for young adults and high schoolers who want to learn as well.

In 2020, **Siqnazuaq** began its first ever Inupiaq immersion kindergarten, led by Kiminaq Alvanna-Stimpfle. In 2021, the immersion program was extended to first grade, with Kiminaq taking the reins of the first-grade classroom while Anaŋaluutaq Annie Conger began teaching the immersion kindergarten. There is a need for more teachers, administrators, translators, resource developers, interns, and more parental involvement for the Siqnazuaq immersion program. To this end, this grammar curriculum can be a resource for our adult learners and teachers. Inupiaq teachers and those who wish to become Inupiaq teachers themselves can use this grammar curriculum as a resource to both learn the language and to teach it to others. Furthermore, parents whose students are in the immersion program can use this resource to better understand Inupiaq prounciation and grammar so they can speak more Inupiaq to their little ones **kiŋuniġmi** (at home).

For Inupiaq language teachers, you can also use this resource as a curriculum for teaching teenage and adult students. This curriculum can be implemented in several different ways in your classroom, at home, or out on the **nuna** (land) or **sigu** (sea ice). We have built this resource to be able to be used for self-study, with a friend or partner, in collaboration with an Elder or teacher (sometimes called a mentor-apprentice), in a classroom setting, or while doing activities out on the **nuna** or **sigu**. The

resource is also designed for language learners to become language teachers, being able to pass their learning on to others. You can get more practice learning Inupiaq while teaching at the same time.

Learning one's language, especially one that has been deliberately supressed and oppressed for more than a century like Inupiaq has been, can take a considerable emotional toll. In relearning your language, unexpected feelings may come up. It is important to listen to yourself, take your time when learning, and take breaks when you feel you need them, for as long as you need. Every one's language learning journey is different, and you should take as much time as you need to feel comfortable in practicing speaking Inupiaq. Remember that every small investment is a good one and to be kind to yourself and others. Every time you speak an Inupiaq sentence, you are fighting back against those who sought to eradicate Inupiaq and you honor your ancestors and Elders who fought to keep the language alive. That is powerful.

Remember to show respect and patience for your fellow language learners and teachers, and above all, laugh and have fun. Remembering that learning your language can be a joyful, meaningful, and powerful experience will help motivate you to keep learning.

Quitnak! (Don't give up!)
Naguaqpaasuatun pilutin. (Do the best you can.)

ILISAZAQATIVUT THOSE WHO LEARN TOGETHER

The language learning collective Iḷisaqativut (Ilisazaqativut in **Ugiuvaŋmiutun**) has graciously shared their values when undertaking Inupiaq language learning with us. May these values be a good guide for you to start or continue your Inupiaq language learning:

1. There is Room for Everyone to Learn their Language

We are learners who, recognizing the contributions of our celebrated language leaders, understand that the responsibility of reclaiming our language cannot and should not fall on the shoulders of a few. For our language to truly thrive, it will take efforts on all fronts, from a multitude of people.

There are many reasons why the language has not been passed on. As such, we acknowledge individual responsibility to meet our speakers where they are. Our language must once again be the language of the youth as well as the Elders.

We think there needs to be more language in our lives, not less — more efforts, more programs, more practice, and more discussion. We believe efforts by all learners should be encouraged, not diminished.

There is room for everyone to learn their language. Within the passage of one more generation, if we're not raising new first-language speakers, all Iñupiat will be learners.

2. Everyone Can Be a Teacher

We understand that you don't have to know everything to teach, you just need to know something different than the person you are teaching. By embracing this broader definition of teacher, a generation can grow in learning together, hand in hand. Additionally, adult second-language learners understand acutely the journey of language acquisition, both the joys and the challenges.

We emphasize the importance of fostering a supportive environment which seeks to leave learning barriers at the door, such as the fear of criticism, ridicule, or getting something wrong. We appreciate that toddlers and youth are granted the grace to practice making the sounds of language and making mistakes; adult second language learners should be afforded the same privilege.

3. All Varieties of Inupiaq are Valid

We recognize that while we largely speak the same language across regions, our local "styles" differ. There is everything beautiful about a linguistic style that provides connection to the land and place you are from and who you and your people are. There is everything beautiful about wanting to learn and preserve the exact ways of your family and community.

However, we remember that our ancestors traveled across the regions for game and for trade, and that they knew and still know a variety of dialects and ways of speaking. We also know that the grammatical workings of the language are shared across dialectical and regional boundaries. Learning more and different ways to speak Iñupiaq does not diminish our ability to learn our own dialects — it is all additive.

We have the capacity to learn the styles of our own communities, and that of others. We urge mutual sharing of the ways of speaking in each of our communities. It will only make our experience of the language richer and stronger (Iḷisaqativut, 2020).

AYUQATUQTUUN TEACHING BY EXAMPLE

Finally, this grammar curriculum attempts to interweave concepts of Inupiaq education with the field of linguistics (the study of languages). In this resource, there may be some terms about pronunciation or grammar that may be new to you, and it is okay if you are not familiar with them. Many of these linguistic terms are just tools to help in understanding pronunciation and grammar. You do *not* need to remember these terms to know how to speak Inupiaq. For example, you don't need to learn what the term "glottal stop" means to learn Inupiaq; you just need to be able to recognize the sound when you hear it.[3]

Furthermore, we are learning and teaching pronunciation and word structure through an Inupiaq approach to education. We learn and teach Inupiaq language *by doing – by demonstration.* Inupiat learn Inupiaq best by partaking in Inupiaq activities, by observing (**naipatuqtuun**), by being apprentices to our Elders, and by connecting our learning to our relationships with others and to the land. When using this grammar curriculum, learners will learn best by first observing and listening to the **ilisauri** (teacher) or **utuqanaaq** (Elder) demonstrate the lesson or activity in Inupiaq, and then trying it out themselves when they are ready, continuing to watch and learn closely from their **ilisaurit** throughout. In **Ugiuvaŋmiutun**, we say to teach by example is **ayuqatuqtuun**[4]. **Ayuqatuqłiuqtuut.** (We will teach by example). When we learn by example, we can take those examples as apprentices to then become mentors ourselves and pass on the knowledge to others.

Although this resource is in print, we encourage you to use it in a way that emphasizes the practice of *listening first* (perhaps several times), then *speaking*. Reading and writing skills are important too in today's world, but they can always come later. Inupiat learn best through experiential learning rather than reading from books, so to the greatest extent possible, use this resource to model and practice listening and speaking Inupiaq in context. As an instructor, try to avoid the use of reading and writing initially, which can be distractions when learning in context. Learning through ways that are inherent to Inupiaq ways of learning and teaching will be the best ways to revitalize Inupiaq language and bring back the language to our Inupiaq communities and return Inupiaq to the mouths of our **migiqłit**.

[3] It's like the catch in your throat when you say the word "uh-oh" in English.

[4] From Yaayuk Bernadette Alvanna-Stimpfle's dissertation project (in progress).

INUPIAT IRRUSIAT

King Island Inupiaq Traditional Values

Shared by Yaayuk Alvanna-Stimpfle working with **Ugiuvaŋmiut Utuqanaat** (King Island Elders)

- **Aŋuniaqtuat pissatut -** Hunter Success - Pass down traditions of hunting and sharing
- **Piłġuziit tamaatatuat ayuqatuutilugit** – Show our way of doing things that are getting lost
- **Anaktaqtuat ililuit, saviġnatautit aŋuniaġnamik. -** Learn the games that strengthens for training and hunting.
- **Inupiat ilitpalaaġa.tut iluqatigiiknin, riiġutaunatit.** - Inupiat learn better from one another than from books
- **Iglazaaq -** Humor
- **Ilisimanatut aŋuniaġutit. -** Know safety when hunting.
- **Taluġilugit Utuqanaavut. -** Honor our elders.
- **Iliġanaqtuat aitatuqtuat umialiuratut.** - Share what you have. Giving makes you rich.
- **Sawitpaglutin** - Hard Work
- **Taluġilugit Ałłat -** Show Respect to Others
- **Ilisimaluit ilaiyaatin** Know Family Roles
- **Ilipnik ilisimalutin suli nagin piruatin** - Know who you are and where you come from.

TAQQIT CALENDAR

Ugiuvaŋmiut Taqqit

Ugiuq
Winter

Sauya.tuġvik
December
Time of drumming and singing

Kaipsiq
January
Continuing drumming and singing from Dec.
*Old name: **Mumiktuik***
Month when people drum left-handed

Nassiaqsiq
February
When young seals are born

Uvaġnagzraq
Spring

Sanauġvik
March
Building and carving for spring hunting
*Old name: **Ilivaituwik***
Time of taking qayaq for repairs

Umiaqtuwik
April
Time of hunting by boats
*Old name: **Qayyitiġvik***
Time to begin making kayaks

Kuzrrinaġnaa
May
Time of rushing water

Uvaġnaaq
Summer

Aiġvit Taqqiat
June
Month of walrus hunting

Ikpiŋnailaq
July
"it can barely be sensed", referring to the cold

Aaqigzrivik
August
Time of storing foods

Early Fall
Ugiaksraq

Aŋuniaġvik Nunami
September
Time of hunting on land
*Old name: **Siġmanaq***
Time when ponds begin freezing

Ugiaq
Fall

Siġmanaq
October
Time when ponds begin freezing
*Old name: **Sigutuuġvik***
Time when ice forming on rocks along shoreline (on King Island)

Sigutuuġvik
November
Time when ice forming on rocks along shoreline
*Old name: **Mayuaqtuwik***
Time of climbing over hill behind King Island

This curriculum follows the Inupiaq **taqqit** "months" The image on the previous page shows the Ugiuvaŋmiutun **taqqit.** When Ugiuvaŋmiut were moved to the mainland in the 1960's, many of the names of the months changed. The names traditionally used on **Ugiuvak** are also listed under "old names". Due to modern climate change, the names of the months are now changing today. It may be the case that the names of the months, which reflect the natural events that occur during the year, may need to be changed again to reflect our rapidly changing environment.

In every season, there are activities that Inupiat follow in each season, as shared by Yaayuk Alvanna-Stimpfle (2007).

INUPIAQ ACTIVITIES

Season	Activities
UGIAQ Fall	Ivory carving, hunting, skin sewing, knitting, weaving grass baskets, ice fishing and preparing for the winter holidays, dancing, NYO
UGIUQ Winter	Trapping, hunting, dog sledding, Native dancing and potluck celebrations, storytelling, sewing parkas, mukluks, mittens, slippers, ruffs and carving with ivory, wood or baleen, Arctic sports
UVAĠNAGZRAQ Spring	Bear hunting, hunting out in the sea ice, drying meat, making seal oil and preparing for summer fish camp. Many hours are spent preparing and putting away dried foods.
UVANĠAAQ Summer	Fishing, going to fish camps to prepare dried salmon, picking various greens, picnics, put away dried fish and meat, store edible greens and seal oil, freeze berries for the winter.

KALAIT COLORS

Color coding is used throughout this Inupiaq grammar curriculum resource. It provides the learner with a visual tool to help understand the different parts of Inupiaq words and sentences. You will notice some new terms used below. These terms will become clearer throughout the grammar curriculum and it is not essential to know what these terms mean in order to learn Inupiaq grammar.

The following colors are used throughout:

■	kawiqtuaq red	unique sounds, verb stems, nouns
■	suŋaġaaqsiruaq green	single subject endings
■	suŋaqtuaq blue	subject+object endings
■	auranasiŋuaq orange	indefinite object
■	suŋaġaaqtuaq light blue	weak consonants, endings with weak consonants
■	tigluuraaqtuaq purple	postbases

SIĠMANAQ TIME WHEN PONDS BEGIN FREEZING

LEARNING INUPIAQ PRONOUNCIATION THROUGH SEWING

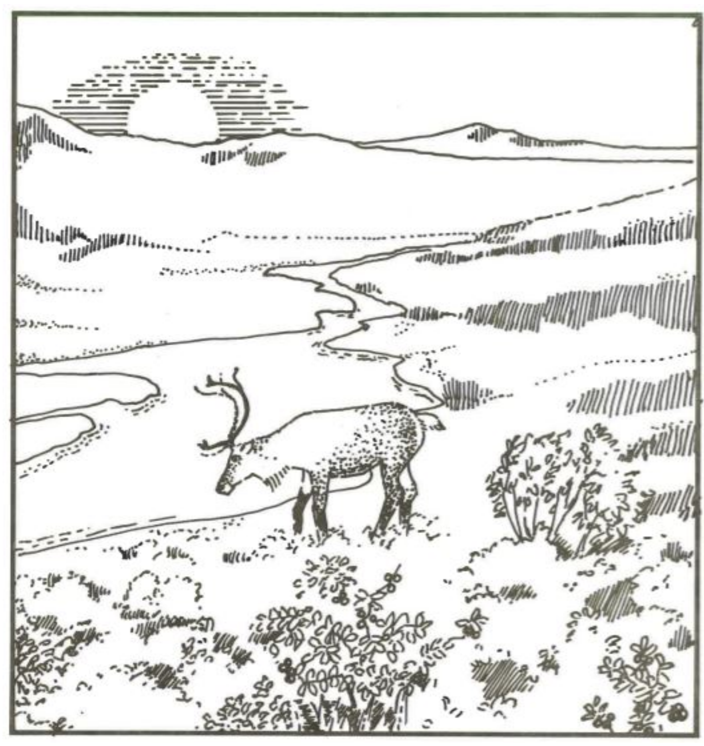


Image courtesy of Northwest Arctic Borough School District (NWABSD)

We are experiencing **Siġmanaq**, *time when ponds begin freezing.* This is **ugiaq** (falltime) where Inupiaq activities include ivory carving, hunting, skin sewing, knitting, weaving grass baskets, ice fishing and preparing for the winter holidays, dancing, and Arctic sports (Alvanna-Stimpfle, 2007). Sewing is an important Inupiaq activity throughout **ugiaq**, to have good clothing to last through **ugiuq** (winter). While learning the pronunciation of Inupiaq in this chapter, we will also be learning vocabulary and lessons for learning about sewing,

In this first chapter, we will be learning the pronunciation of Inupiaq, learning the basics of how to make the sounds of Inupiaq, and how these sounds fit together when you build sentences. We learn pronunciation in this first month, because without the foundation of pronunciation, we wouldn't be able to build full words and sentences in Inupiaq. Pronunciation of **Ugiuvaŋmiutun Inupiaq** boils down to learning four different parts:

1) the basics of pronunciation

2) vowel sounds

3) consonant sounds

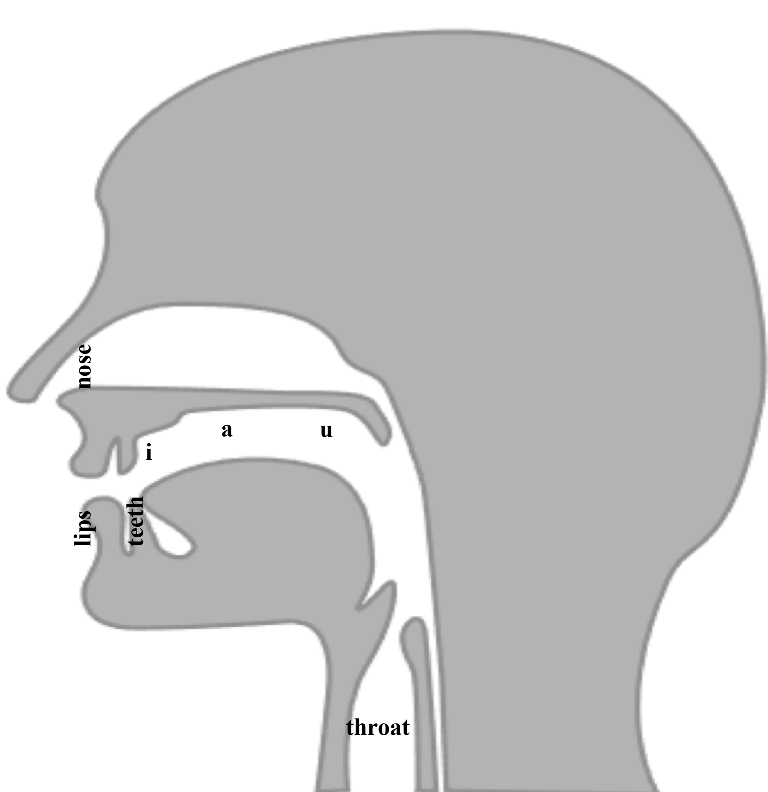
4) learning about *strong* and *weak consonants*.

Kii!

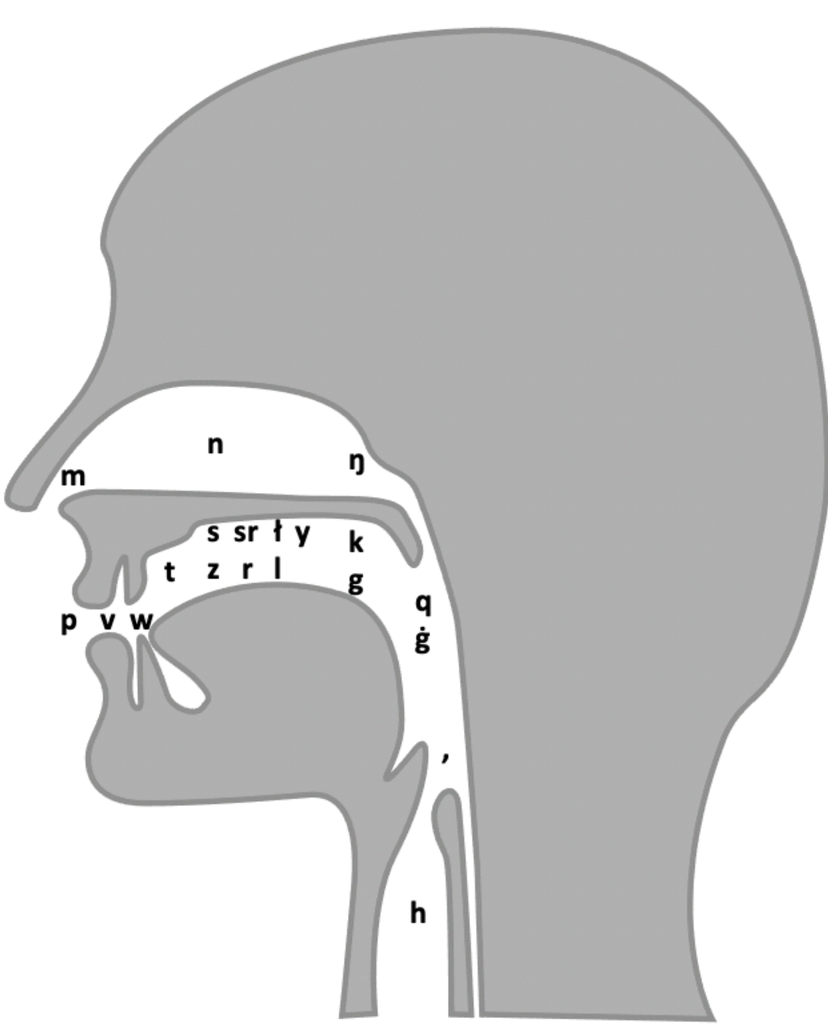
INUPIAQ PRONUNCIATION

In all languages, speech sounds are made by pushing air through your lungs, windpipe, and out your mouth and/or nose. These sounds can be divided into *vowels* and *consonants*.

Vowels are sounds made by passing air through your mouth, but you do not block the flow of air; you just shape your mouth in different ways by moving around your tongue and mouth. In Inupiaq, there are three vowel sounds: **a**, **i**, and **u**. In the image below, we can see where these three sounds are pronounced in your mouth. (We will explain more about how to make the Inupiaq vowel sounds later in this chapter).



Other sounds that are not *vowels* are called *consonants. Consonants* are sounds that can be modified based on restrictions or closures of your tongue and lips (MacLean, 1981). In the picture below, you can see all the places certain Inupiaq consonants are made in your mouth. Some of these sounds are made while vibrating your vocal cords, and some are made without the vibrating of the vocal cords. For example, **s** versus **z**. You can test this out by holding your hands at your throat and pronouncing **s** versus **z**. You should be able to feel the vibration when you pronounce **z**, but you shouldn't be able to feel it when you pronounce **s**. We will explain more about how to make these sounds in your mouth later in this chapter.



When we put these specific consonant and vowel sounds together, we build *syllables*. A syllable is one unit of a word (it usually has at least one vowel). For example, in English (we can say **Naluaġmiutun** in Inupiaq for "in English"), the word *pin* has one syllable, while the word *sew-ing* has two syllables. When we put syllables together, we can build words and sentences. If a word has more than one syllable, we often have specific *stress* in the word on specific syllables. This is where we give a stronger emphasis to one syllable over another in a word. For example, in **Naluaġmiutun** (English), in the word *parka,* we have more emphasis placed on the first syllable. We say *párka,* not *parká.*

NIPŁIUTIT VOWEL SOUNDS

Ugiuvaŋmiutun (King Island Inupiaq) and most Inupiaq varieties have three vowels. There are short and long versions of these three vowels:

> **Iŋaliq** (Diomede) Inupiaq has a fourth vowel – **e**, pronounced like the *u* in *uh*. Yupik languages also have this **e**.

NAITUURAT SHORT VOWELS

a	i	u
what	sit	to
aniu	igi	ulu

TAGISAIT LONG VOWELS

Long vowels are represented by doubling the vowel:

aa	ii	uu
yarn	needle	tool
aapa	siik-	kuuk

PAATNAIT VOWEL COMBINATIONS

Vowels are also combined to make six vowel combinations[5]:

ai	ia	au	ua
baleen	materials	bone	do a
aiviq	niaquq	auk	quaq

iu	ui
cute	phooey
niu	uiga

> In North Slope and Qawiaraq Inupiaq, **ai** is pronounced like *i* in *ivory.*
>
> In North Slope and Qawiaraq Inupiaq, **au** is pronounced like *ow* in *how.*
>
> In Malimiut Inupiaq, **ia** is like *a* in *baleen*, **ua** is like *o* in *bone,* and **iu** is like **ii**.

[5] Linguists often call these "diphthongs".

TAIYUUZIT CONSONANT SOUNDS

There are 20 Inupiaq consonants in Ugiuvaŋmiutun, two of which are written with two letters to represent a single sound: sr and zr. These are considered single consonants in Inupiaq. The Inupiaq consonant grid below shows where (the columns) and how (the rows) the sounds are produced in the mouth.

	Qaqługun Taiyuuzit	Kiutit Tunuani Ittuat	Qaġnum Qitqani Ittuat	Qaġnum Tunuani Ittuat	Uġałkuzimi Ittuat	Iggiam Ataani Ittuat
	Labials	Alveolars	Retroflex & Palatals	Velars	Uvulars	Pharyngeals
Stops[6]	p (b)	t		k	q	’
Voiceless Fricatives	(f)	ł s	sr	kh	qh	h
Voiced Fricatives	v	l z	r zr	g	ġ	
Nasals	m	n		ŋ		
Glides	w		y			

[6] This column has some more linguistic terms. *Stops* are where you block the air flow in your mouth and then let go. *Fricatives* are where you restrict the airflow in your mouth, causing friction. *Voiceless* means your vocal cords are not vibrating, while *voiced* means they are vibrating. *Nasals* are pronounced through the nasal cavity (the nose). *Glides* are sounds that are “semi-vowels”, meaning they might sound similar to vowels, but function like consonants.

We will look at each Inupiaq sound one by one using some new terms. These are **qaqługun taiyuuzit** (sounds made through your lips), **kiutit tunuani ittuat** (sounds made behind your teeth), **qaġnum qitqani ittuat** (sounds made in the middle of the mouth), **qaġnum tunuani ittuat** (sounds made at the back of the mouth), **uġałhuzimi ittuat** (sounds made at the uvula)**,** and **iggiam ataani ittuat** (sounds made below the throat)**.**

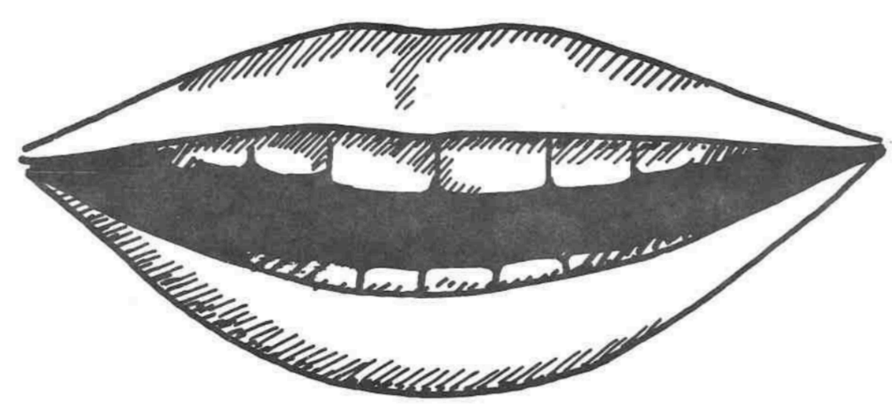


Image courtesy of Northwest Arctic Borough School District (NWABSD)

QAQŁUGUN TAIYUUZIT SOUNDS MADE AT THE LIPS

Qaqługun taiyuuzit[7] are sounds that are made at the lips (**qaqłuuk**).

Qaqługun taiyuuzit in Inupiaq are:

p **v** **m** **w**

p is pronounced like the **Naluaġmiutun** *p*, but without a puff of air expelled. A **Naluaġmiutun** example is the *p* in the word *split*. You can test this puff of air by putting a hand in front of your mouth and pronouncing **p.** If you feel a puff of air being expelled, you need to lessen the amount of air you are expelling for an Inupiaq **p.**

v is similar to the *v* in the **Naluaġmiutun** word *velcro*.

m is similar to the the *m* in *mend* in **Naluaġmiutun.**

w is like the *w* in the **Naluaġmiutun** word *weave.*

[7] Linguists call these "labial consonants".

If you are alone, practice pronouncing the syllables below aloud to yourself. If you are with a partner, pronounce them back and forth with your partner. If you know an **utuqanaaq** (Elder) who speaks Inupiaq, maybe ask them politely if they can help you to practice your pronunciation. If you are the **ilisauri** (teacher), you may want to first practice modeling the pronunciation for your students for them to observe and then practice.

1)	**pa**	**va**	**ma**	**wa**	**paa**	**vaa**	**maa**	**waa**
2)	**pi**	**vi**	**mi**	**wi**	**pii**	**vii**	**mii**	**wii**
3)	**pu**	**vu**	**mu**	**wu**	**puu**	**vuu**	**muu**	**wuu**
4)	**pai**	**vai**	**mai**	**wai**	**pia**	**via**	**mia**	**wia**
5)	**piu**	**viu**	**miu**	**wiu**	**pui**	**vui**	**mui**	**wui**
6)	**pau**	**vau**	**mau**	**wau**	**pua**	**vua**	**mua**	**wua**

Now, practice some of these words, by yourself, with a partner, or with an **utuqanaaq**. If you are an **ilisauri** (teacher), you can model the pronunciation for your students to say back.

1)	**aapa**	**ava**	**suwa**	**amma**	**aapii**	**pia**
2)	**pau**	**pai**	**uvvaa**	**imma**	**aapu**	**mam mam**
3)	**suuva**	**awaa**	**pava**	**aam**	**pamma**	**pavvaa**

KIUTIT TUNUANI ITTUAT SOUNDS MADE BEHIND THE TEETH

Kiutit tunuani ittuat are sounds made behind the teeth (**kiutit**).[8]

Kiutit tunuani ittuat in Inupiaq are:

t **s** **z** **n** **l** **ł**

t is pronounced like **Naluaġmiutun,** but just like with **p**, you should make sure not to expel a puff of air when you pronounce it.

s is like the *s* in the **Naluaġmiutun** word *s̲ew*.

z is like the *z* in the **Naluaġmiutun** word *z̲ipper.*

n is like the *n* in the **Naluaġmiutun** word *n̲eedle*.

l is like the *l* in the **Naluaġmiutun** *l̲eather.*

ł is pronounced somewhat like the *l* in *pl̲eat,* but with more air expelled. You can practice this sound by placing your mouth as if you were to pronounce an *l* sound, and then breathe out the sides of your mouth.

[8] Linguists call these "alveolar consonants".

If you are by yourself, practice pronouncing these syllables aloud to yourself. If you are with a partner, pronounce them back and forth with your partner. If you know an **utuqanaaq** who might be around, maybe ask them politely if they can help you to practice your pronunciation. If you are the **ilisauri**, try modeling the pronunciation for your students for them to first observe, and then practice.

1)	**ta**	**sa**	**za**	**na**	**la**	**ła**	**taa**	**saa**	**zaa**	**naa**	**laa**	**łaa**
2)	**ti**	**si**	**zi**	**ni**	**li**	**łi**	**taa**	**sii**	**zii**	**nii**	**lii**	**łii**
3)	**tu**	**su**	**zu**	**nu**	**lu**	**łu**	**tuu**	**suu**	**zuu**	**nuu**	**luu**	**łuu**
4)	**tai**	**sai**	**zai**	**nai**	**lai**	**łai**	**tia**	**sia**	**zia**	**nia**	**lia**	**łia**
5)	**tiu**	**siu**	**ziu**	**niu**	**liu**	**łui**	**tui**	**sui**	**zui**	**nui**	**lui**	**łui**
6)	**tau**	**sau**	**zau**	**nau**	**lau**	**łau**	**tua**	**sua**	**zua**	**nua**	**lua**	**łua**

Now, practice some of these words, with yourself, with a friend, your students, or with an **utuqanaaq**.[9]

1)	**siun**	**tiivii**	**Suuva?**	**Nuutizi.**	**Suwisi?**	**Sumiu?**
2)	**ałła**	**naumi**	**Suuvalu?**	**iwalu**	**suli**	**aasin**
3)	**Suwin?**	**Suwa?**	**samma**	**Nuutut.**	**ini**	**inimin**
4)	**inimun**	**tiivumun**	**allu**	**ila**	**ilumun**	**silami**

[9] Periods and question marks are used to show a full sentence.

QAĠNUM QITQANI ITTUAT SOUNDS MADE IN THE MIDDLE OF THE MOUTH

Qaġnum qitqani ittuat are sounds made in the middle of the mouth (**qaniq**).[10]

Qaġnum qitqani ittuat in Inupiaq are:

sr **r** **zr** **y**

sr is pronounced like the *sh* in *plush*.

Many other varieties of Inupiaq pronounce **sr** like the *shr* in shrink.

r is pronounced something like the *r* in the **Naluaġmiutun** *fur*, but the tongue is held further back in the mouth.

zr is like **r** but your vocal cords should be vibrating more. This will sound more like *sure* in the **Naluaġmiutun** word *measure.*

y is like the *y* in the **Naluaġmiutun** word *yellow*.

In **Qigiqtaq** (Shishmaref), **zr** is used very frequently, more than in other Inupiaq varieties.

[10] Linguists call these "retroflex consonants", except **y**, which is a "palatal consonant".

If you are alone, practice pronouncing the syllables below aloud to yourself. If you are with a partner, pronounce them back and forth with your partner. If you know an **utuqanaaq** who might be around, ask them politely if they can help you to practice your pronunciation. **Ilisaurit** may want to model the pronunciation for your students.

1)	**sra**	**ra**	**zra**	**ya**	**sraa**	**raa**	**zraa**	**yaa**
2)	**sri**	**ri**	**zri**	**yi**	**srii**	**rii**	**zrii**	**yii**
3)	**sru**	**ru**	**zru**	**yu**	**sruu**	**ruu**	**zruu**	**yuu**
4)	**srai**	**rai**	**zrai**	**yai**	**sria**	**ria**	**zria**	**yia**
5)	**sriu**	**riu**	**zriu**	**yiu**	**srui**	**rui**	**zrui**	**yui**
6)	**srau**	**rau**	**zrau**	**yau**	**srua**	**rua**	**zrua**	**yua**

Now, practice some of these words, with yourself, with a friend, your students, or with an **utuqanaaq**.

1)	**tavra**	**ilat**	**alapaa**	**ilaat**	**isrri**	**izri**
2)	**ilait**	**atpa**	**aliut**	**aniruatut**	**puya**	**Siułuuruq.**
3)	**Iyarut.**	**izrit**	**Anirut.**	**uurut**	**izripaliit**	**inuit**
4)	**ałłat**	**ittut**	**immuit**	**tuttut**	**Yai**	**siumiuri**

QAĠNUM TUNUANI ITTUAT SOUNDS MADE AT THE BACK OF THE MOUTH

Qaġnum tunuani ittuat are sounds made in the middle of the mouth (**qaniq**).[11]

Qaġnum tunuani ittuat in Inupiaq are:

k **g** **ŋ** **kh**

k is the similar to **Naluaġmiutun** *k*, but like with **p** and **t**, you should make sure not to expel a puff of air. Like the *k* in the word *skate.*

g is not the same as the **Naluaġmiutun** *g.* Instead of stopping the flow of air in the back of your mouth, you allow air to flow through the narrow passage. In this way, **g** sounds "breathier" than the Naluaġmiutun *g.*

ŋ is similar to the *ng* in the word *sewing* in **Naluaġmiutun**.

k can be combined with **h** to form **kh**, which sounds like **g**, but without your vocal cords vibrating.

[11] Linguists call these "velar consonants".

If you are alone, practice pronouncing these syllables aloud to yourself. If you are with a partner, pronounce them back and forth with your partner. If you know an **utuqanaaq** who might be around, ask them politely if they can help you to practice your pronunciation. **Ilisaurit** may want to model pronunciation for your **ilisazaqtuat** (students).

1)	**ka**	**ga**	**ŋa**	**kha**	**kaa**	**gaa**	**ŋaa**	**khaa**
2)	**ki**	**gi**	**ŋi**	**khi**	**kii**	**gii**	**ŋii**	**khii**
3)	**ku**	**gu**	**ŋu**	**khu**	**kuu**	**guu**	**ŋuu**	**khuu**
4)	**kai**	**gai**	**ŋai**	**khai**	**kia**	**gia**	**ŋia**	**khia**
5)	**kiu**	**giu**	**ŋiu**	**khiu**	**kui**	**gui**	**ŋui**	**khui**
6)	**kau**	**gau**	**ŋau**	**khau**	**kua**	**gua**	**ŋua**	**khua**

Now, practice some of these words, with yourself, with a friend, your students or with an **utuqanaaq**.

1)	**assaga**	**atiŋa**	**Yaayuk**	**iyaa**	**igiluit**	**Magitizi.**
2)	**ilagiik**	**pigiiga**	**uigiiga**	**atugu**	**aakigia**	**Ugiuvak**
3)	**uguak**	**ugua**	**assak**	**ayak**	**Iliuŋ.**	**tunua**
4)	**aggaa**	**naggun**	**iŋŋaa**	**uŋna**	**kiŋna**	**iŋna**
5)	**Iyaruk.**	**Aniruk.**	**Aŋirut.**	**aglait**	**Inupiak**	**Uuniruŋa.**

UĠAŁHUZIMI ITTUAT SOUNDS MADE AT THE UVULA

Uġałhuzimi ittuat are sounds pronounced at the uvula (the fleshy bit that hangs above your throat).[12]

Uġałhuzimi ittuat in Inupiaq are

q **ġ** **qh**

q is pronounced like **k**, but you further back in the throat at the **uġałhuziq**, or uvula (the fleshy bit that hangs above your throat). It sounds almost like a coughing sound.

ġ, like **q**, is pronounced at the back of your mouth at the **uġałhuziq** (uvula), but it is a fricative, so it should flow through a narrow passage. You can compare this sound somewhat to a gargling sound. Next to **m** or **n**, **ġ** will sound like a **ŋ**, but further back in the throat. (For example, **aġnaq** is pronounced like aŋ̇naq).

q combined with **h** forms **qh**, which sounds like **ġ**, but *without* your vocal cords vibrating.

[12] Linguists call these “uvular consonants”.

Try out these syllables:

1)	**qa**	**ġa**	**qha**	**qaa**	**ġaa**	**qhaa**
2)	**qi**	**ġi**	**qhi**	**qii**	**ġii**	**qhii**
3)	**qu**	**ġu**	**qhu**	**quu**	**ġuu**	**qhuu**
4)	**qai**	**ġai**	**qhai**	**qia**	**ġia**	**qhia**
5)	**miu**	**niu**	**qhiu**	**mui**	**nui**	**qhui**
6)	**mau**	**nau**	**qhau**	**mua**	**nua**	**qhua**

Now, practice some of these words, with yourself, with a friend, your students, or with an **utuqanaaq**.

1)	**naniq**	**Auŋain.**	**anaakaŋaa**	**Kiminaq**	**qimugin**	**uyaġak**
2)	**muusaq**	**Nuulutin!**	**tiŋmiaq**	**niaquq**	**inuinaq**	**Naluaġmiu**
3)	**nuniaq**	**iknuik**	**Siqnazuaq**	**Sitaisaq**	**qulit**	**niuvaniaġvik**
4)	**Saqtuliq**	**Uŋalaliq**	**Qawiaraq**[13]	**Qigiqtaq**	**Kiŋigin**	**Qigiqtaaruk**
5)	**Sumiugua?**	**Siqnasuamiuguruq.**		**Kaaŋniuqpin?**		**Kaaŋniuqtuŋa.**
6)	**Utqiaġviŋmiuguruq.**		**Siqnazuamiuguruŋa.**		**Qiġiqtaaruŋmiugurut.**	

[13] In **Ugiuvaŋmiutun**, **Qawiaraq** is pronounced **Qayauraq** or **Qayiaraq**. However, many in the Seward Peninsula region will be more familiar with the **Qawiaraq** (Kawerak) pronounciation.

IGGIAM ATAANI ITTUAT SOUNDS MADE BELOW THE THROAT

Iggiam ataani ittuat are sounds made in your throat.[14]

Iggiam ataani ittuat in Inupiaq are:

h '

h is like the *h* in the word *hair* in **Naluaġmiutun**. Remember that **h** combined with **k** (**kh**), or **q** (**qh)** make different sounds.

The **aglaum aulaiġutaa** (apostrophe) indicates a "glottal stop". A glottal stop represents a catch in your throat, like in the **Naluaġmiutun** word *uh-oh*.

[14] Linguists call these laryngeal consonants.

Try out these syllables:

1)	**ha**	**'a**	**haa**	**'aa**
2)	**hi**	**'i**	**hii**	**'ii**
3)	**hu**	**'u**	**huu**	**'uu**
4)	**hai**	**'ai**	**hia**	**'ia**
5)	**hiu**	**'iu**	**hui**	**'ui**
6)	**hau**	**'au**	**hua**	**'ua**

Here are some practice words. You can pronounce these aloud to yourself or to a partner, your **ilisazaqtuat** (students), or with an **utuqanaaq**.

1)	**ayaqhaaq**	**uġiłhaaq**	**piliqpiliqhiq**	**iłhuaġniq**		
2)	**ii'ii**	**ii'yaq**	**aa'aa**	**Iblin 'aa?**	**Niġi'nak.**	**Qaġu'minak.**

ILAATNI SOUNDS USED SOMETIMES

Finally, there are two sounds that only show up in certain places: (**b**) and (**f**).

(**b**) is only used before an **l, z,** or **zr,** where the sound would usually be a **v** sound in other varieties of Inupiaq. It is pronounced like the *b* in *bag* in **Naluaġmiutun**.

In **Qigiqtaq** (Shishmaref), this letter is pronounced like **b**, but written with an **v**. In **Ugiuvaŋmiutun**, we typically write out the **b** sound, especially for learners of Inupiaq.

(**f**) is pronounced like the *f* in the **Naluaġmiutun** word *fur,* but it is always written with a **v**, because its pronunciation is predictable based on the consonants next to it. It is pronounced this way when next to a **v**, **ł, s,** or **sr**, or **r** sound.

Here are some practice words. You can pronounce these aloud to yourself or to a partner, your **ilisazaqtuat**, or with an **utuqanaaq**.

1)	**ubluminin**	**iblin**	**kabluutit**	**ublaakun**	**ublaami**	**ublaaq**
	(uvluminin)	*(ilvin)*	*(kavluutit)*	*(uvlaakun)*	*(uvlaami)*	*(uvlaaq)*
2)	**qivraq**	**ivratuq**	**pivsi**	**ivruq**		
	(qifraq)	*(ifratuq)*	*(pifsi)*	*(ifruq)*		

INUPIAQTUN AGLAIT

The Inupiaq letters are called **Inupiaqtun aglait** and can be ordered in an alphabet:

Aa	**Bb**	**Gg**	**Ġġ**	**Hh**	**Ii**	**Kk**	**Ll**	**Łł**	**Mm**	**Nn**	**Ŋŋ**
Pp	**Qq**	**Rr**	**Ss**	**Srsr**	**Tt**	**Uu**	**Vv**	**Ww**	**Yy**	**Zz**	**Zrzr**

An alphabet song that includes the sounds of Iñupiaq from all regions has been developed by **Suzzuk** Mary Huntington, based on the **Atchagat** song used in Malimiut and North Slope Inupiaq regions (Douglas, et. al., 1979)[15] with sounds from the Bering Straits region added to the end. You can sing this song by adding an **a** to the end of your consonants. The syllable -**lu** means "and".

a **cha** **ga** **ġa** **ha** **i** **ka** **la** **ła** **ḷa** **ł̣a** **ma** **na**

ña **ŋa** **pa** **qa** **ra** **sa** ***(lu)*** **sra** **ta** ***(lu)*** **u** ***(lu)*** **va**

ya ***(lu)***

Puuyuqnak, *Don't forget,*

za **zra** **kha** **qha** **e** **wa**

Naagga suli, *And even,*

ba **fa**

Knowing these sounds should allow you the ability to eventually pronounce any Inupiaq word, as all Inupiaq words are spelled almost exactly as they sound.

[15] **Atchagat** is named because of the first letters of the Iñupiaq alphabet being **a**, **ch**, and **g**.

STRONG AND WEAK CONSONANTS

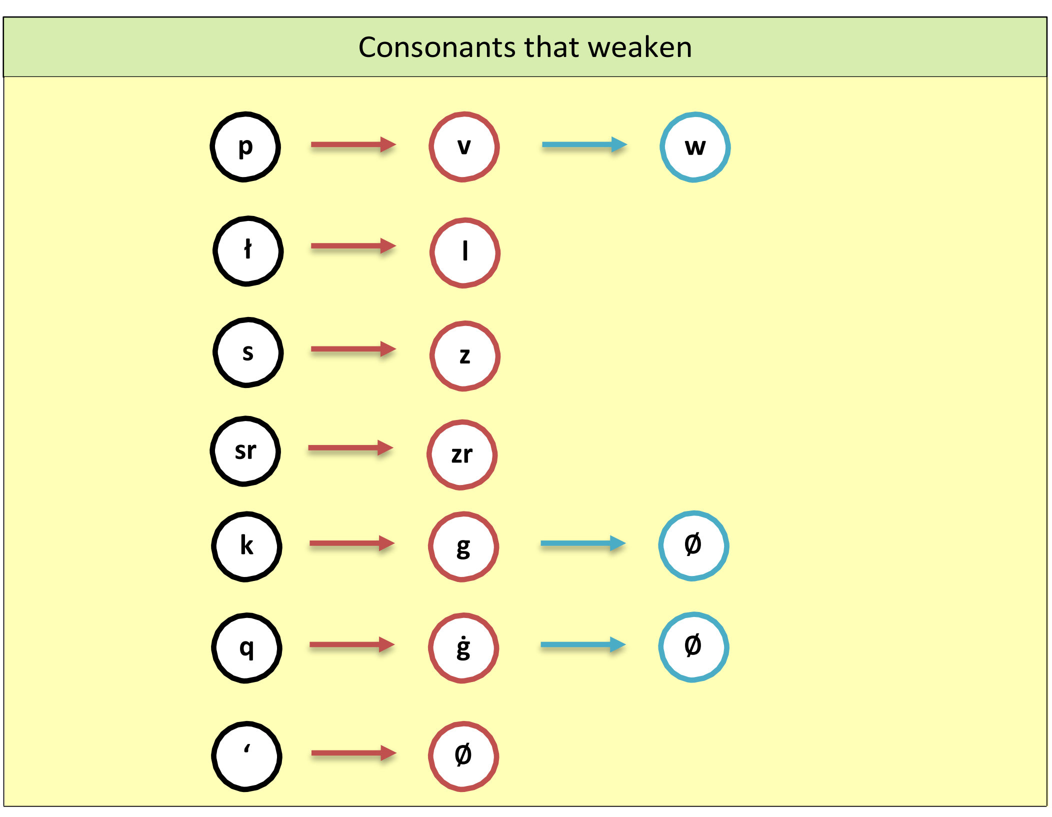
Now that you know the sounds of Inupiaq, you should be able to build words. However, in **Ugiuvaŋmiutun** (and in other Inupiaq varieties in the Bering Straits), there is an important process of *consonant weakening* that will help us to understand how to make full words and sentences.[16] We will try to learn this concept while also learning some vocabulary and phrases for sewing in Inupiaq, as well as doing a sewing activity at the end of this chapter. Much of this section is adapted from Larry Kaplan's 1985 article on the subject.

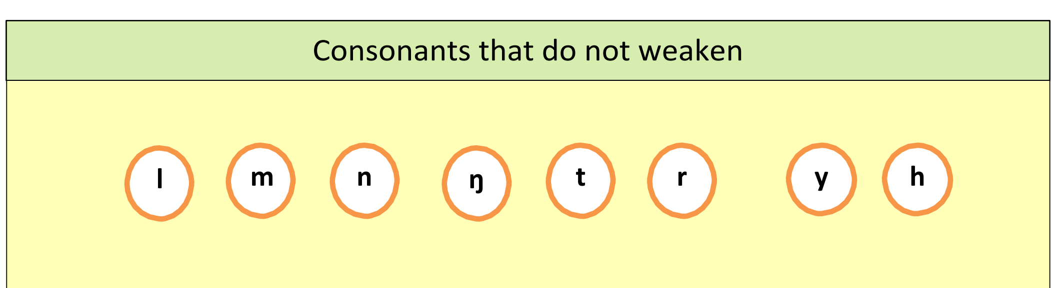
[16] North Slope and Malimiut Iñupiaq do not have this "strong and weak" consonant system like in Seward Peninsula. This weak and strong consonant alternation is possibly related to Yupik stress systems, and there is some evidence that this process came about because of the close interaction with Yupik language on Seward Peninsula (Kaplan, 1981). Qawiaraq Inupiaq does have some of this system, but it is much more limited than in the Bering Straits varieties of Inupiaq.

On the other hand, North Slope and Malimiut Iñupiaq have a process known as *palatalization*, which Bering Straits varities of Inupiaq generally do not. This is why **Ugiuvaŋmiutun** and (most) Seward Peninsula varieties do not have the sounds **ñ, ḷ, ł̣,** and **ch**.

STRONG AND WEAK CONSONANTS

What does it mean for a consonant to *weaken*? It means the consonant will change to another one in certain cases. We can look at the chart below to see how consonants change or *weaken* (based on a chart by Kaplan, 1981).[17]





[17] The ø sign in the chart means the sound will go away entirely.

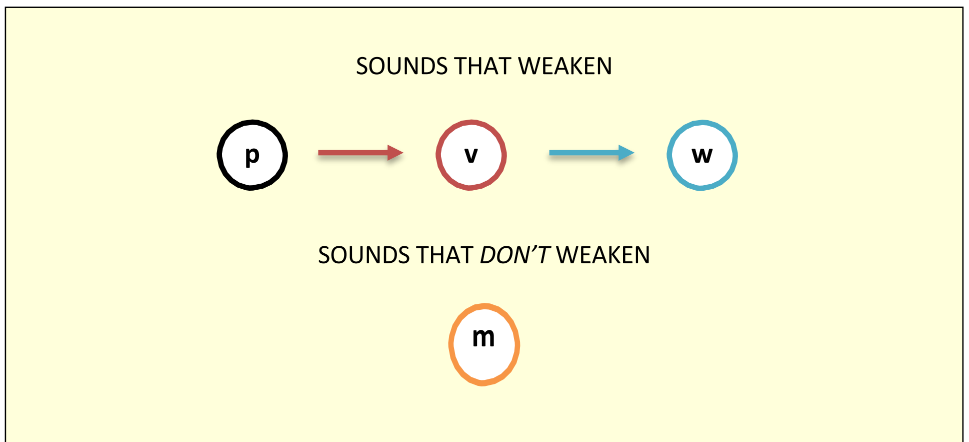
As you can see, there are certain consonants that *weaken*, and some that do not. Those in the first box with arrows *do* weaken, and those in the second box without arrows *do not* weaken (they do not change). Knowing what consonants *weaken* and which ones don't will help us to put together words in Inupiaq. We will look at this "weakening" by looking at the different types of consonants that we learned in the previous section. In the following section, we will learn when to know when consonant will weaken or not.

Let's start with **qaqługun taiyuuzit** (sounds made at your lips).

p weakens to **v.**

v weakens to **w**.

m does not weaken.



We can practice putting some words together to practice. Pay attention to the consonants in light blue to see if they should weaken or not. Answers are on page 60.

1) Aglak -**pa**?[18] → Aglagva? ____
Is s/he writing?

2) Aglak -**p**in? → Aglagvin? ____
Are you writing?

3) Su -**v**in? → ____
What are you doing?

4) niġġi -**v**ik → ____
place to eat

5) ałła -**m**iu → ____
person from another place

6) Su -**m**un? → ____
Where to?

[18] Notice the **k** goes to **g** too.

KIUTIT TUNUANI ITTUAT SOUNDS MADE BEHIND THE TEETH

Next, we have **kiutit tunuani ittuat** (sounds made behind the teeth).

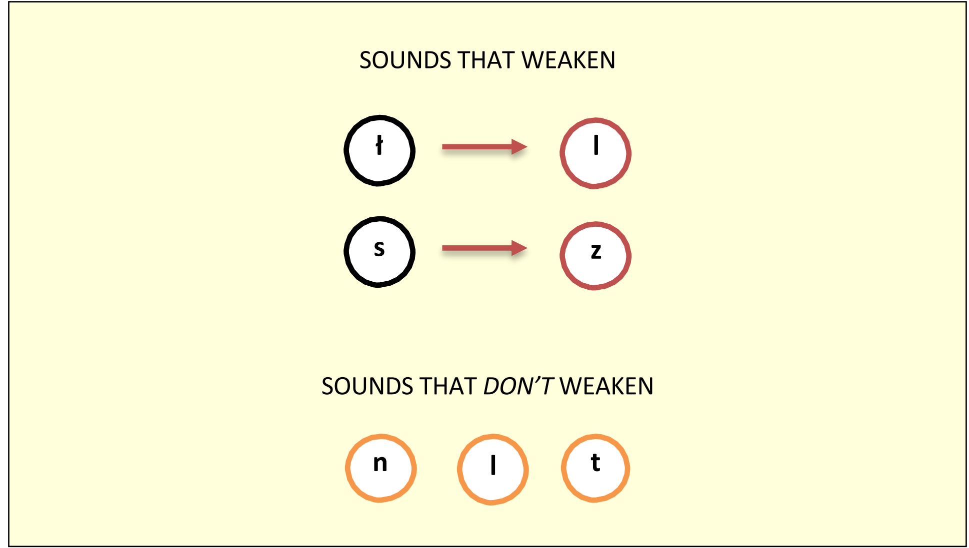
t does not weaken.[19]

s goes to **z**.

n does not weaken.

l does not weaken.

ł goes to **l**.



[19] It could sometimes sound a little bit more like a *d* sound.

Let's practice again with some more examples. Answers on page 60:

1) Su -tuqpa? → Sutuqpa?
What is s/he eating?

2) Atqa. -tuŋa. → ____________________
I am going down.

3) Tai -lusi → ____________________
You(3+) speak (command).

4) Naguu -lusi. → ____________________
You$_{3+}$ be good (command).

5) tuttu -nun → ____________________
to the caribou$_{3+}$

6) Su -nin? → ____________________
Where$_{3+}$ from?

7) uaŋa -lu → ____________________
me too

8) qimukti -luataq. → ____________________
a good dog

9) Aġġi -łiuqtut. → ____________________
They$_{3+}$ will Inupiaq dance.

10) Atqa. -łiuqtuŋa. → ____________________
I will go down.

QAĠNUM QITQANI ITTUAT SULI TUNUANI ITTUAT SOUNDS MADE IN THE MIDDLE AND BACK OF MOUTH

Next, we have **qaġnum qitqani ittuat** (sounds made in the middle of your mouth) and **qaġnum tunuani ittuat** (sounds made at the back of your mouth).

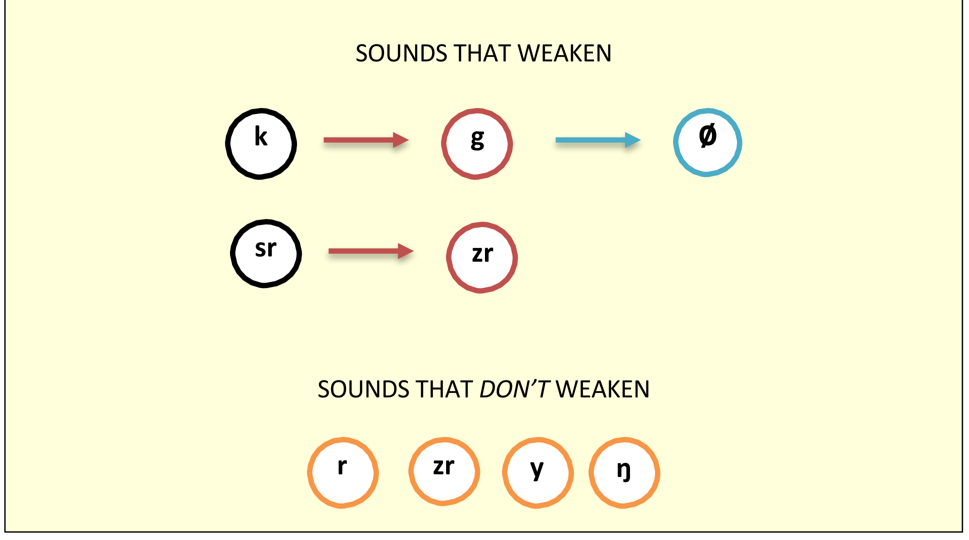
r, **zr**, & **y** do not change.

sr goes to **zr**.

k goes to **g.**

g goes to Ø. This Ø sign means the sound goes away completely.

ŋ does not change.



Let's practice again with some more examples. Answers on page 60:

1) Niġi -ra.tuq. → Niġiratuq.
S/he eats (habitually).

2) Puala -yuminaqtuq. → ________________
He can Inupiaq dance (men's dance).

3) Izri -qa.tuk. → ________________
They$_2$ have eyes.

4) Aggi -sriruq. → ________________
S/he brings (something) home.

5) qaqłu -kun → ________________
through the lips

6) iglu -kun → ________________
through the sod house

7) Aaka -giktut. → ________________
They$_{3+}$ have a good mother.

8) Iġalu -giktut. → ________________
They$_{3+}$ have good fish.

UĠAŁHUZIMI ITTUAT SULI IGGIAM ATAANI ITTUAT SOUNDS MADE AT THE UVULA AND THROAT

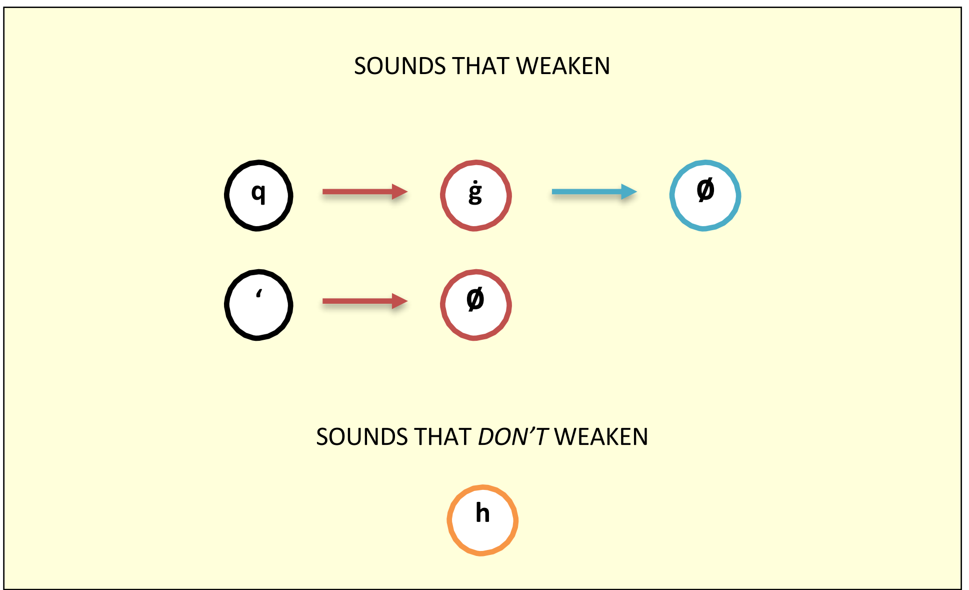
Lastly, we have **uġałhuzikuaqtat** (sounds made at the uvula) and **iggiakuaqtat** (sounds made in the throat).

q goes to **ġ.**

ġ goes to Ø. This Ø sign means the sound goes away completely. The only exception to this is when **ġ** is right after the first syllable of the word. For example: **Niġiruq** '*It is eating'.* stays as **Niġiruq.**

h does not change. (**h** is a rare sound.)

' (glottal stop) goes to Ø. Again, this Ø sign means the sound goes away completely.



Let's try some examples. Answers are on page 60.

1) Agvu -ġiga. → Agvuiga. ____________
I cut it up.

2) Niġipka -ġikpin. → ____________________
I feed you.

3) Iglu -qaqtuq. → ____________________
There is a sod house.

4) Su -qaqpin? → ____________________
What do you have?

5) Igla -'yaŋaruq. → ____________________
S/he intends to laugh.

6) Puala -'yaŋaruq. → ____________________
He intends to Inupiaq dance (men's style).

CONSONANT COMBINATIONS

Consonant combinations (two consonants next to each other) can also *weaken.* But keep in mind again that some consonants do not change in this process. Let's try out some examples. Answers are on page 60.

1) **kuvlupkun** → ______________________
through your thumb

2) **Qiniġipsi.** → ______________________
I will see you$_{3+}$.

3) **atigiksraq** → ______________________
material for making a parka

4) **Iġlikpaktuq.** → ______________________
S/he is very stingy.

5) **Paġliugikpin** → ______________________
I greet you.

6) **Paġliuġipsi.** → ______________________
I greet you all.

EXCEPTIONS

There are sometimes exceptions to these consonant weakening rules. For example, you might drop a **q**, making the **a** before it "half-long". This means that is is somewhere between **a** and **aa** in length. This is written with a dot (**a.**) or can sometimes just be written with two a's (**aa**).

In **Iŋaliq** (Diomede), this "half-long" **a.** would be a short **a**.

In **Qigiqtaq** (Shishmaref) and **Kiŋigin** (Wales), it would be a long a:

Diomede: **Iglatuq.**
Wales/Shishmaref: **Iglaatuq.**
(Kaplan 1985)

For example:

Iglaq- → **Igla.tuq** or **Iglaatuq.**

to laugh *S/he is laughing.*

Or sometimes, in this process, **i** will change to **a**. The **a** is not "half-long", like in the example above.

In **Iŋaliq** (Diomede) and in **Qigiqtaq** (Shishmaref) and **Kiŋigin** (Wales), there are differences as well.

Diomede: **Iglituq.**
Wales/Shishmaref: **Iglaituq.**
(Kaplan 1985)

For example:

Igliq- → **Iglatuq.**

to travel *S/he is traveling.*

Other times, in this process, **u** will change to **a**.

For example:

Igayuq- → **Igayatuq.**

to help *S/he is helping.*

In **Iŋaliq** (Diomede) and in **Qigiqtaq** (Shishmaref) and **Kiŋigin** (Wales), there are also differences.

Diomede: **Igayutuq.**
Wales/Shishmaref: **Igayautuq.**
(Kaplan 1985)

Let's practice some examples. Answers are on page 60.

1) **Naniqaq- -tuq.** → Naniqatuq.
S/he has a lamp.

2) **Umiqaq- -tuq.** → ______________
He has a beard.

3) **Aqłaq- -tuq.** → ______________
There is a draft.

4) **Puivraq- -tuŋa.** → ______________
I am swimming.

5) **Igliq- -tuŋa.** → ______________
I am traveling.

6) **Qivliq- -tuq.** → ______________
It is greasy.

7) **Apyuq- -tuq.** → ______________
It is smoky.

8) **Iqtuq- -tuq.** → ______________
It shatters.

PRACTICING WEAK AND STRONG CONSONANTS

Image courtesy of NWABSD

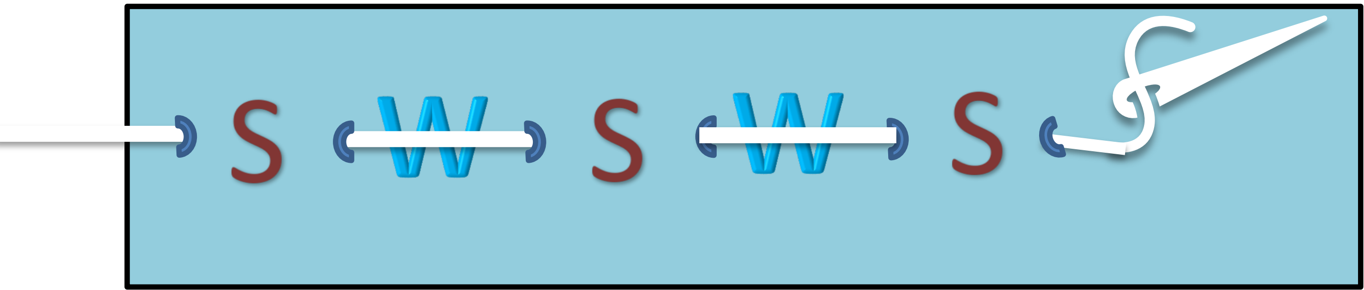
Now we know which consonants weaken and which do not. But how do we know when a consonant will weaken or not? Now that we know about *weak consonants*, we also need to know more about <u>*when*</u> these consonants will weaken.

When we want to think about how strong and weak consonants occur in a sentence, we can think of the process of sewing stiches: **killiaqtuatun**.

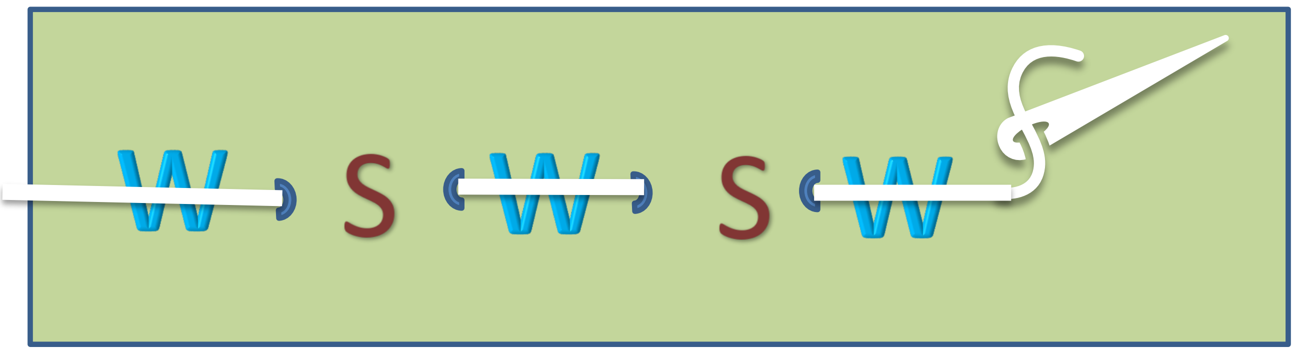
When sewing, we can either start by stitching under first, or by stitching over first. In looking at Inupiaq words, we can use this same idea.

If we must stitch under first, we can think of that particular **kiluk** *'stitch'* as *strong*. If it's a strong syllable, *it will <u>not</u> change.* You can see this displayed in the diagram below.

S stands for *strong* and **W** stands for *weak*.



But if we must go over first, we can think of that particular **kilik** 'stitch' as *weak*. *Weak consonants <u>will</u> change.* You can see this illustrated in the diagram below. Again, **W** stands for *weak* and **S** stands for *strong.* (See on the following page).



The first consonant(s) inside the word (not at the beginning) *won't weaken* if the first sound is (or is followed by):

1) a long vowel or vowel combination, like:

uuraq **suupaq** **paatnaq** **niuga** **Paatnaġaqtuŋa**

2) Or, two consonants: for example,

Ikna **aġġi-** **atqaq-** **mannik** **Manniġaqtuŋa.**

The first consonant inside the word *will weaken* if the first letter is (or is followed by):

1) a short vowel: for example:

manik **naniq** **iwalu** **iguun** **Maniqa.tuŋa.**

This *weak-strong* or *strong-weak* stitching will alternate through the whole word, *but* it will start over if you have another long vowel or vowel combination show up (for example, **uu**, **au**, **iu**).

Don't worry about remembering these rules! They may seem overwhelming at first but know that the pattern will come naturally over time where eventually you won't even have to think about it. Knowing the rules for weakening is a tool to be able to understand Inupiaq, but it is not important to memorize these rules to speak Inupiaq. Take your time in practicing these patterns and know that it will come to you naturally over time if you keep practicing.

EXAMPLE #1

Let’s practice this with an example **qivraq** ‘thread’. We will start with an example with a long vowel example (**ii**). The parts of this word are:

Kiizriq- ‘to sweat”

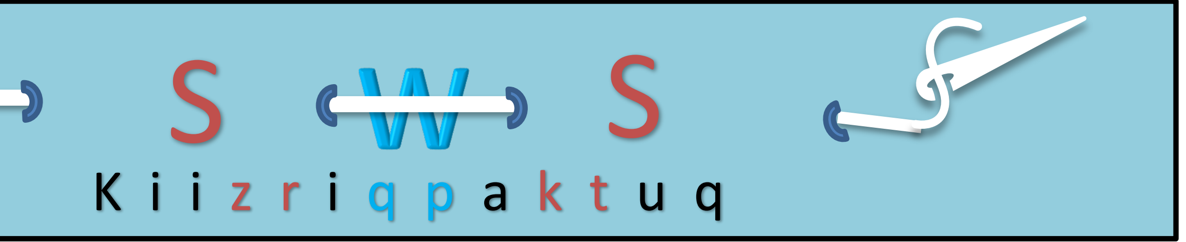
-**qpak** ‘a lot, very’

-**tuq** ‘she/he/it’

Kiizriq- -(q)pak -tuq

Because the second consonant follows a long vowel (**ii**), this makes the first consonant inside the word (**zr**) *strong*, so we will go underneath it, and the consonant will not be changed. (**zr** also never changes anyways).

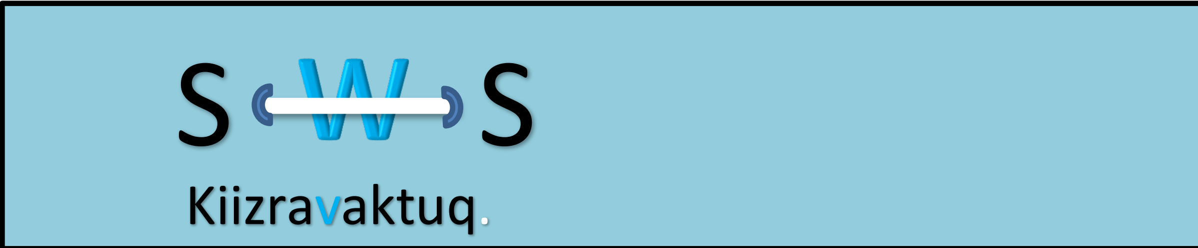
The second consonants we come across (**qp**) must be *weak* then, and then the final consonants (**kt**) will be *strong*.



So, in our sewing: The first consonant (**zr**) doesn’t weaken (strong), the second ones (**qp**) do change (weak), and the third ones (**kt**) don’t change (strong).

When you pull the stitches tight together, we have:

Kiizravaktuq. *‘S/he is sweating a lot’.*



EXAMPLE #2

Let's practice this with another example. We can start with our **qivraq**. We have our parts of the sentence:

allaq *'rip, hole'*

-qaq *'to have'*

-tuq *'he, she, it'.*

allaq -qaq +tuq

Because the first letter is following by two consonants (**ll**), this makes them *strong*, and we will go underneath them (meaning the consonant won't change). So, the next consonant (**q**) must be *weak*, and then the next consonants (**qt**) will be *strong*.

So, in our sewing, the only *weak* consonant we come across is (**q**), Since it's *weak*, it changes to (**ġ**).

When you pull these tight together, we get:

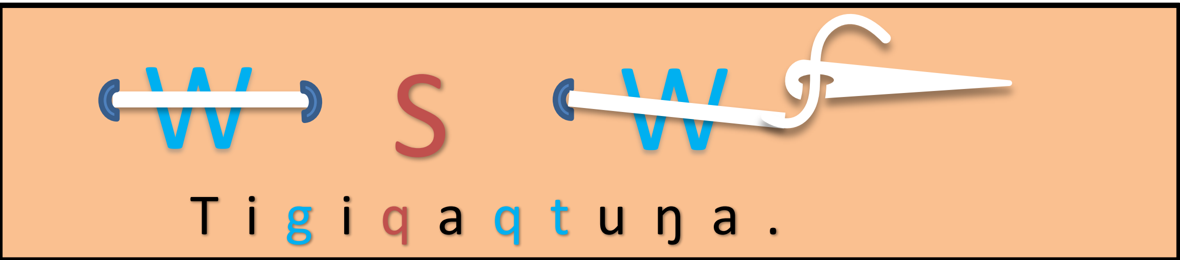
Allaġaqtuq. *'It has a hole'.*

EXAMPLE #3

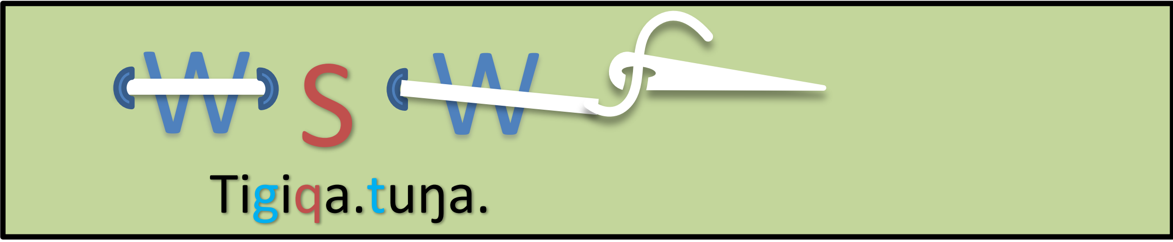
Now, let's try it out with a sentence where the *first* consonant inside the word is a *weak* one.

tigiq	'thimble'
-qaq	'to have'
-tuŋa	'I'

Tigiq -qaq +tuŋa.



We see that the first consonant (**g**) follows a single vowel, so we know that it is *weak*.[20] So, in our sewing process, we have **(g)**, which is already *weak.* (**q**) is strong and doesn't change, but (**qt**) weakens, so we drop the **q** and lengthen the vowel *half-long*.



When you pull these tight together, we get:

Tigiqa.tuŋa.[21] *'I have a thimble.'*

[20] One way we know that the **g** in **tigiq** is *weakened*, is that it would be pronounced **tikiq** in other varieties of Inupiaq that do not have these same weakening process (North Slope, Malimiut and Qawiaraq Inupiaq).

[21] This can also be written as **Tigiqaatuŋa**.

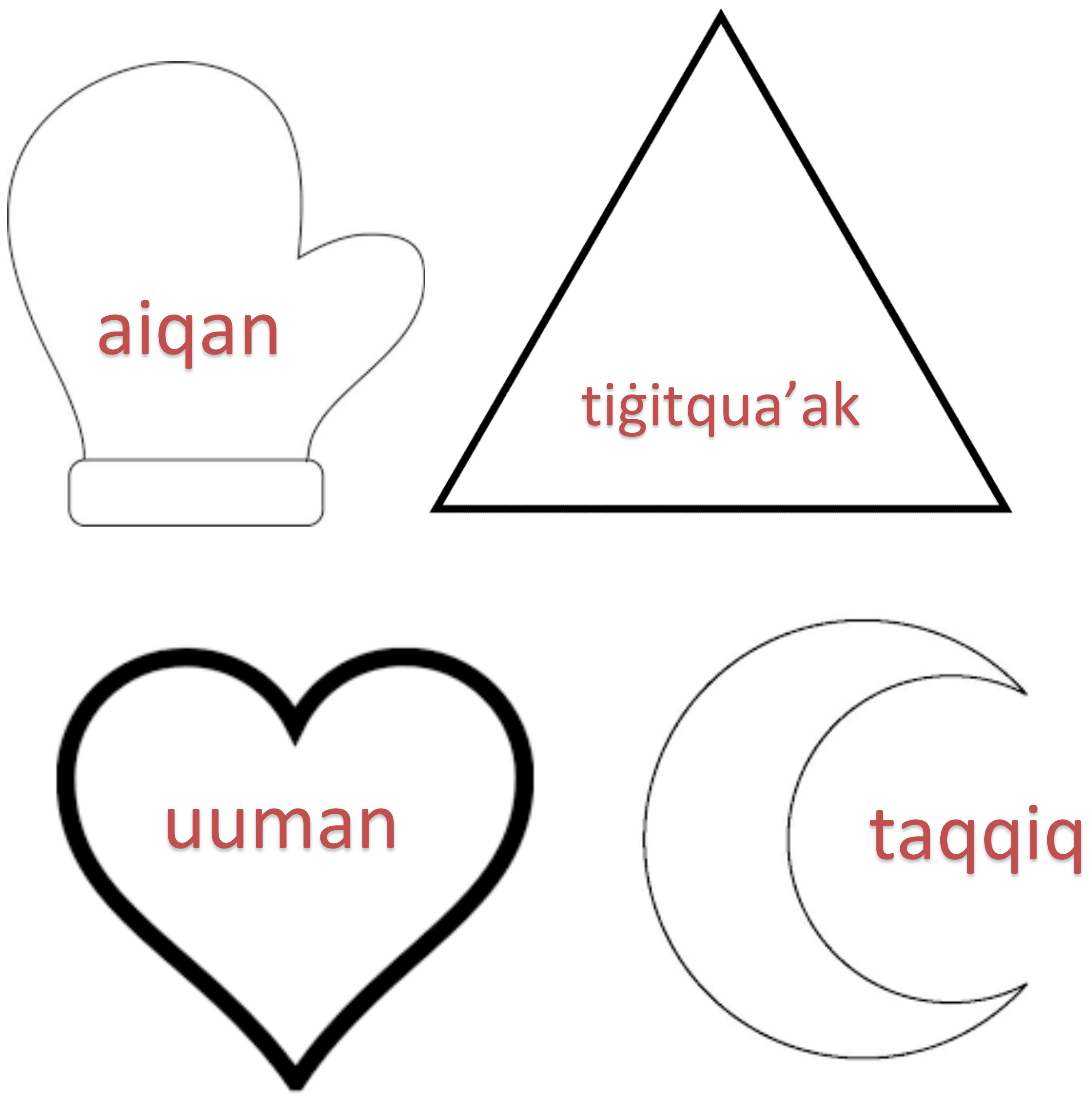
Through this sewing process, you should be able to start to understand how *weakening* works in Inupiaq. This process can be difficult to understand, and it is okay if you have trouble with it to start out. Knowing when to weaken consonants when stitching your Inupiaq sentence will come to you over time through practice speaking. If you listen to **Ugiuvaŋmiutun** speakers or speakers of Inupiaq from other Seward Peninsula varieties, you will begin to recognize the pattern more easily. Eventually, with speaking practice, you will do it without even thinking about the sewing process.

In the final section of this chapter, we include a lesson to practice out your “sentence stitching” while also doing some real sewing or **killiaqtuatun.**

Image courtesy of NWABSD

KILLIAQTUATUN SEWING

You can use the **iligautit** (patterns) on this page to cut out materials for sewing, such as felt or **ammit** (furs, pelts) or create your own **iligautit**.[22]



[22] This lesson was based on a lesson done by Yaayuk at the Alaska Native Heritage Center in 2015.

QAĠNUZIT VOCABULARY

iligaun		pattern
amiq		hide, pelt, fur
qivraq		thread
iwalu		sinew
qiliġniq		knot
kannuyaq		sewing needle
quagrulik		skin-sewing needle

SALILUU CUT IT

Our first word to stitch together is

Sali -**lu(g)u.** Cut it.

The first inside consonant we come across follows a single vowel, so we know (l) is weak, but (l) doesn't change.

The second l is in a strong position, so it doesn't change. But the next consonant (g) is *weak* and it is a consonant that does get weakened; so in this case, it is dropped.

Sali +lugu = Saliluu
W S W

(You) Cut it.

Work with a partner to follow the directions to cut out one of the patterns. Or if you are working with an **utuqanaaq**, you can politely ask them to direct you. If you are the **ilisauri**, you can direct your **ilisazaqtuat**. Don't translate to **Naluaġmiutun**, teach through example, and learn through observation.

A	Saliluu iligaun.	Cut out the pattern.
B	Kituq?	Which one?
A	Saliluu uumatiŋuaq. Saliluu aiqatiŋuaq. Saliluu taqqiŋuaq. Saliluu tigitqua'ak.	Cut out the (pretend) heart. Cut out the (pretend) mitten. Cut out the (pretend) moon. Cut out the triangle.
A	Saliluu qivraq. Saliluu iwalu.	Cut the thread. Cut the sinew.

NUILUU THREAD IT

Next, we have:

nui -lu(g)u. Thread it.

Because we have a vowel comibination (**ui**), the next consonant (**l**) is *strong*.

The next consonant (**g**) in **+lugu** is *weak*, so it is dropped.

Nui +lugu = Nuiluu

S W

(You) Thread it.

Then, direct your partner or student to thread the needle, or ask an **utuqanaaq** to direct you. If you are the **ilisauri**, you can direct your students with these phrases.

A	Nuiluu qivraq kannuyakun.	Thread the needle.
A	Nuiluu qivraq quagrulikun.	Thread the skin-sewing needle.

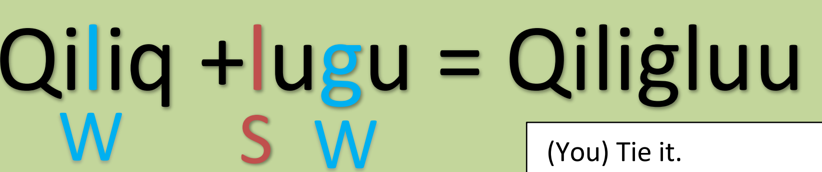
The next word to stitch together is

qiliq -**lu(g)u** Tie it.

Because the first inside consonant we come across (l) follows a single vowel, it is *weak*, but (l) never changes.

Next (l) is *strong*, so it doesn't change.

Finally, the (g) is *weak*, so it is dropped.



Next, direct your partner to tie the thread, or have an **utuqanaaq** direct you: **Qiliġluu.**[23]

A	Qiliġluu.	Tie it!

[23] For easier pronunciation, the **q** goes to **ġ**. A more expanded grammar curriculum in the future will talk more about this process.

KILLIAĠLUU SEW IT

The next word to stitch together is

killiaq -lu(g)u Sew it.

The first inside consonant(s) we come across are *strong,* because there are two of them (**ll**).

The second consonants (**ql**) is *also strong*, because we have a vowel combination which started the process all over again.

Finally, the (**g**) is *weak,* and so we drop it.

Image courtesy of NWABSD

Killiaq +lugu = Killiaġluu

S S W

(You) Sew it. (command)

Finally, you can direct your partner, or ask an **utuqanaaq** to direct you in sewing your **amiq** to the felt backing:

A	Killiaġluu.	Sew it.

The next word to stitch together (where we can practice the alternate ending using **+lugu**, you can use the stem **igayuq-**).

The next word to stitch together is

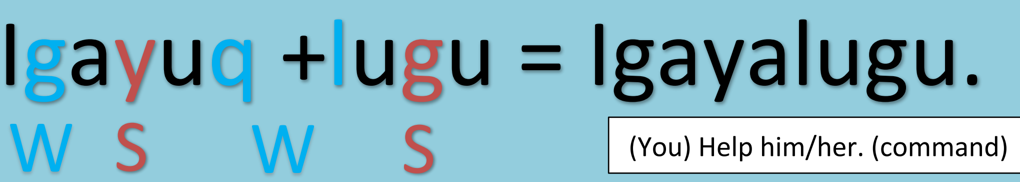
igayuq- **-lu(g)u** Help him/her.

The first inside consonant we come across is *weakened* (**g**).[24]

The second consonant (**y**) is *strong*, so it doesn't change.

Next, the (**ql**) is *weak,* and so we drop the **q** (and the vowel **u** shifts to **a** as well).

Finally, (**g**) is strong, so it doesn't drop.



If your **ilisazaqtuat** are having trouble, you can use this phrase for them to help each other.

A	Igayalugu.	Help him/her.

[24] One way we know that the **g** in **igayuq-** is *weakened*, is that it would be pronounced **ikayuq-** in other varieties of Inupiaq that don't have these same weakening process (in North Slope, Malimiut and Qawiaraq Inupiaq).

SUMIK SULIVIN? WHAT ARE YOU MAKING?

If you are the **ilisauri**, you can direct your students one at a time with these phrases below. You can teach and continue using some of these phrases while you are sewing to keep using Inupiaq during the activity.

Image courtesy of NWABSD

A	Killiaqpin?	Are you sewing?
B	Ii'ii, killiaqtuŋa.	Yes, I am sewing.
B	Naumi, killiaŋilaŋa.	No, I am not sewing.

A	Sumik sulivin?	What are you making?
B	Killiaqtuŋa uumatiŋuamik.	I am sewing a (pretend) heart.
B	Killiaqtuŋa aiqatiŋuamik.	I am sewing a (pretend) mitten.
B	Killiaqtuŋa taqqiŋuamik.	I am sewing a (pretend) moon.
B	Killiaqtuŋa tiġitqua'amik.	I am sewing a triangle.

NOUNS (SINGULAR)	ENGLISH	DUAL	PLURAL
aiqan	mitten	aiqatik	aiqatit
allaq	rip, tear, hole	allak	allat
amiq	fur, pelt, hide	ammik	ammit
iligaun	pattern	iligautik	iligautit
ilisauri	teacher	ilisaurik	ilisaurit
ilisazaqtuaq	student	ilisazaqtuak	ilisazaqtuat
iwalu	sinew		
kannuyaq	needle	kannuyak	kannuyat
kiluk	stitch	kiluuk	kiluit
qivraq	thread	qivraak	qivrat
qiliġniq	knot	qiliġniik	qiliġniit
quagrulik	skin-sewing needle	quagruliik	quagruliit
taqqiq	moon, month	taqqik	taqqit
tiġitqua’ak	triangle	tiġitqua’aak	tiġitqua’at
tigiq	thimble; index finger	tigiik	tigit
ugiaq	autumn, fall[25]	ugiak	ugiat
ugiuq	winter, year	ugiuk	ugiut
utuqanaaq	Elder	utuqanaak	utuqanaat
uuman[26]	heart	uumatik	uumatit

[25] The dual and plural of **ugiaq** and **ugiuq** can be used in the context of saying something happened over two winters, for example.
[26] Inupiaq nouns that end in **n** will delete the **n** and add **ti** in the dual and plural forms.

VERBS	ENGLISH
igayuq-	to help
nui-	to thread a needle
killiaq-	to sew
kiizriq-	to sweat
qiliq-	to tie
sali-	to cut with scissors
suli-	to make (something)
POSTBASES	ENGLISH
-ŋuaq	pretend, play, fake
-qaq [-ġaq, -qa.]	to have
-suk [-ġuk, -guk, -zuk -uk]	to want
OTHER	ENGLISH
ii'ii	yes
kituq?	which one?
Naluaġmiutun	in the English language, literally 'like a white person'
naumi	no

ANSWERS

QAQŁUGUN TAIYUUZIT (PG. 39)

1) Aglagva? 2) Uqpavin? 3) Suwin? 4) niġġiwik 5) ałłamiu 6) Sumun?

KIUTIT TUNUANI ITTUAT (PG. 41)

1) Sutuqpa? 2) Atqa.tuŋa. 3) Tailuzi. 4) Naguuluzi. 5) tuttunun 6) Sunin? 7) uaŋalu
8) qimuktiluataq 9) Aġġiliuqtuq. 10) Atqa.liuqtuŋa.

QAĠNUM QITQANIITTUAT SULI TUNUANIITTUAT (PG. 43)

1) Niġira.tuq. 2) Pualayuminaqtuq. 3) Izriqa.tuk. 4) Aggizriruq. 5) qaqługun 6) iglugun
7) Aakaiktut. 8) Iġaluiktut.

UĠAŁHUZIMI ITTUAT SULI IGGIAM ATAANI ITTUAT (PG. 45)

1) Avguiga. 2) Niġipkaikpin. 3) Igluġaqtuq. 4) Suġaqpin? 5) Iglayaŋaruq. 6) Pualayaŋaruq.

CONSONANT COMBINATIONS (PG. 46)

1) kuvluvgun 2) Qiniġivzi. 3) Igligtuq. 4) Igligvaktuq. 5) Paġliuġigvin. 6) Paġliuġivzi.

EXCEPTIONS (PG. 48)

1) Naniqa.tuq. 2) Umiqa.tuq. 3) Akła.tuq. 4) Puivra.tuŋa. 5) Iglatuq. 6) Qivlatuq. 7) Apyatuq.
8) Aitatuq.

SIGUTUUĠVIK TIME WHEN SEA ICE IS FORMING

Image courtesy of NWABSD

LEARNING INUPIAQ WORD STRUCTURE THROUGH ICE FISHING

We are now experiencing **Sigutuuġvik**, *time when sea ice is forming.* The old name for this month on **Ugiuvak** (King Island) was **Mayuaqtuwik**, *time of climbing over King Island to hunt on the northern side where ice is thick.* We are experiencing **ugiaq** (falltime) where Inupiaq activities include ivory carving, hunting, skin sewing, knitting, weaving grass baskets, ice fishing and preparing for the winter holidays, dancing, and Arctic sports (Alvanna-Stimpfle, 2007). One important activity in **Sigutuġvik** and **ugiaq** is ice fishing (although this falltime activity is certainly being threatened today by climate change).

Now that **sigu** (ice) is thicker, we can go out on the ice and go ice fishing. So, we will be trying to learn Inupiaq grammar through ice fishing and preparing fish. If you can't get outside on the ice, you can do these activities in the classroom, using props or pictures.

In this second chapter, we will be learning the basic grammar of Inupiaq, learning the basics of how to put together words in Inupiaq, particularly how to use verbs in Inupiaq. Basic grammar of Inupiaq boils down to learning three different parts:

1) the basics of Inupiaq words

2) single subject endings

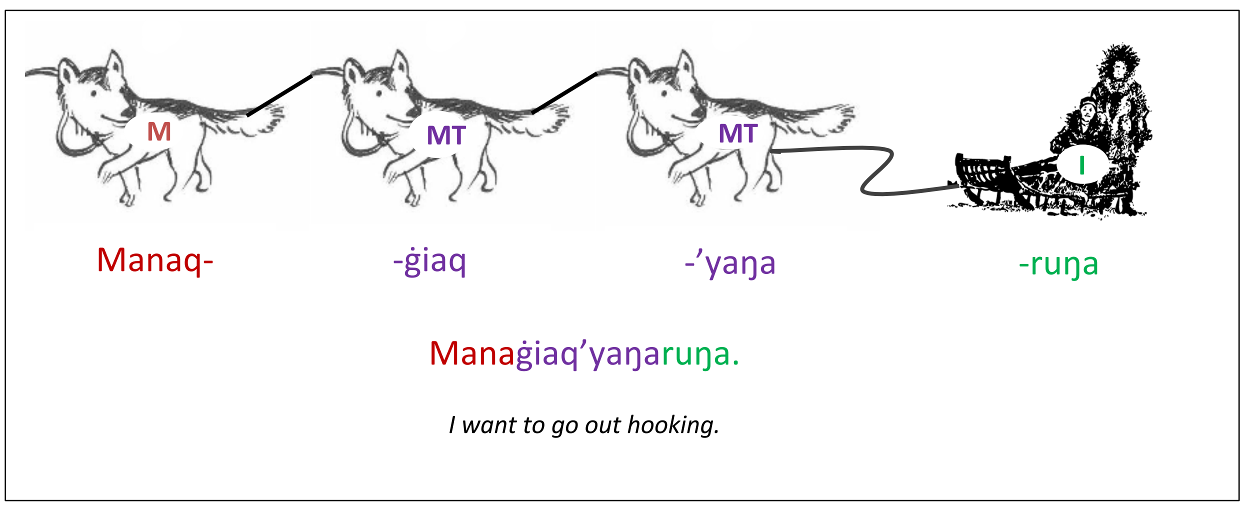
3) subject+object endings

Kii!

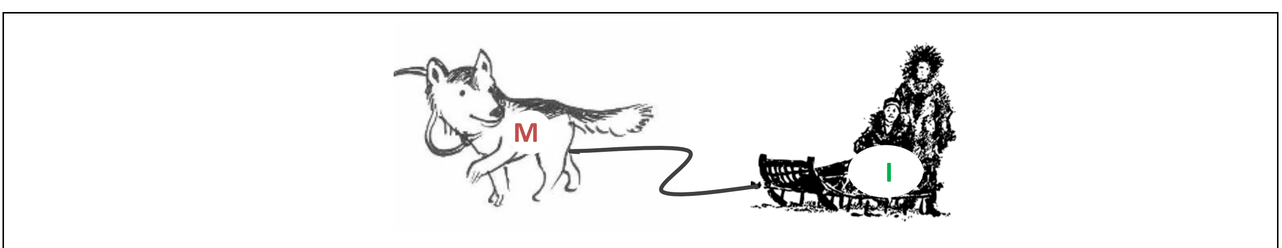
THE BASICS OF INUPIAQ WORDS

Inupiaq words are usually made up of three main parts:

1. **Maŋŋuq** (stem)
2. **Maŋŋum tuglia** (postbase)
3. **Izua** (ending)



We can try thinking about this using the imagery of a dogsledding team[27]. The *stem* is the lead dog, that holds down the base of the team. We always need at least one **siuliq** 'lead dog' to pull the sled (as you can see below).



[27] It's important to note that the lesson in this chapter is not about dogsledding. We are just using the image of a dogsled as a good metaphor for Inupiaq word structure.

The *postbases* are the **qimuktit** ‘dogs’ that come behind the **siuliq**. We can have zero to several postbases, as we can have zero to several other team dogs. Finally, we have our ending, which is where the musher and **uniat** **‘**sled’ are, bringing up the rear of the word. The example below shows the stem, postbases, and ending which make up whole words:

manaq-	‘to hook fish’
-ġiaq	‘to go to do’
-‘yaŋa	‘to want to’
-tuŋa	‘I, me’

Manaqtuŋa.	*I am hooking fish.*
Manaġiaqtuŋa.	*I went hooking fish.*
Manaġiaq’yaŋaruŋa.	*I want to go hooking for fish.*

Manaq + tuŋa.	Manaq + ġiaq + tuŋa.
Stem + ending	stem + postbase + ending
	to hook *go to* *I, me*

When we put the whole team together as one entity working together we have a whole word:

Manaġiaq’yaŋaruŋa. ‘I want to go hooking for fish.’

MAŊŊUT STEMS

Maŋŋut (stems) can be nouns (person, place, animal, thing, etc.) like:

iġaluk 'fish, salmon'

alluaq 'a fishing hole'

manaqutaq 'fishhook'

Or they can be verbs (action words) like:

manaq- 'to hook a fish'

mitiŋiq- 'to remove slush ice from a fishing hole with a *mitiŋiun*'

aġuvit- 'to sit down'

Verb stems cannot exist in a word on their own; they must always have an ending. When we are talking about a verb stem on its own, we use the dash sign (-) at the end to show that it is a verb stem and will have to take an ending. Below are some more examples of some verb stems organized by their endings:

Ends in a vowel:

iya-	to cook
niġi-	to eat
aġui-	to walk
inuu-	to live

ends in t:

tigit-	to arrive
qiut-	to be cold
sawit-	to work
it -	to be, exist

ends in k:

auk-	to bleed
aluk-	to lick
sinik-	to sleep
qimak-	to flee
alik-	to tear

ends in q:

qaniq-	to speak
riiq-	to read
qiniq-	to see
aqparuq-	to run
ilisazaq-	to learn, teach

ends in weakened k:

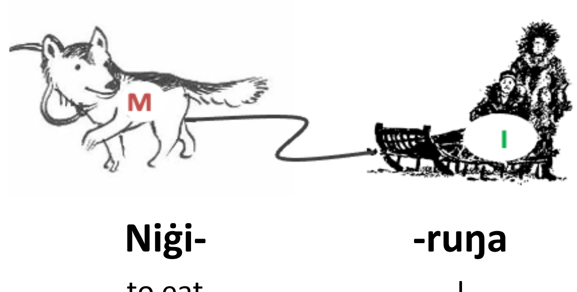
aglak-	to write
paŋałik-	to gallop
panalik-	to test ice, to spear
silaluk-	to be stormy

ends in weakened q:

atqa-	to go down
igayuq-	to help
atniq-	to get hurt
qanniq-	to snow
anuqłiq-	to be windy

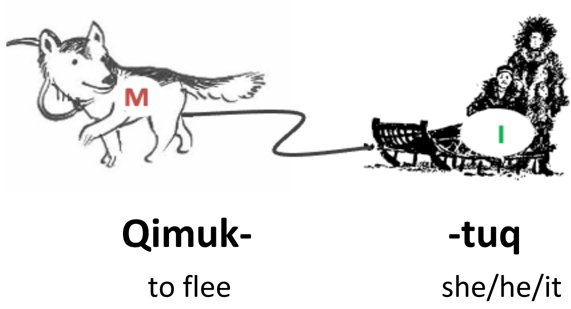
Here are some examples of stems with endings. The stem is represented by the **siuliq** (lead dog):

Niġiruŋa. (I am eating)



Niġi-	**-ruŋa**
to eat	I

Qimuktuq. (She/he/it is fleeing.)



Qimuk-	**-tuq**
to flee	she/he/it

MAŊŊUM TUGLIAT POSTBASES

Maŋŋum tugliat (postbases) come after the stem and can modify the meaning of the root. For example:

-łiuq 'will, going to'

Manaqłiuqtuŋa. I will go hooking.

-niaq 'go and get'

Suraniaqtuŋa. I am going to get sura.

-qaq[28] 'to have'

Iġaluġaqtuŋa. I have a fish.

For examples of many different **maŋŋum tugliat** in Inupiaq, please see the index on page 117.

Maŋŋum tugliat (postbases) are represented by the other dogs in the dog sled (not the lead dog) in the dog sled example.

Suraniaqłiuqtuŋa. (I will go pick sura).

Sura	**-niaq**	**-łiuq**	**-tuŋa**
willow greens	go get	will	I

[28] Because of weakening, -**qaq** always shows up as either -**qa.** or **-ġaq**.

IZUAT ENDINGS

Finally, we have our endings (**izuat**). These endings often say who or what is undertaking or undergoing an action. For example:

-tuŋa 'I'

Niġiruŋa. — I am eating.

-lugu[29] '(You) do it.'

Niġiluu. — (You) eat it. (command)

-giga[30] "I to it"

Niġigia. — I am eating it.

-ta "let's all".

Niġita. — Let's eat.

Important!: Before we put words together, it is important to note that Inupiaq words, although they are made up of parts, form whole ideas and thoughts. Focusing too much on the mechanics of putting words together can sometimes prevent you from practicing speaking more naturally. Realize that it is okay to make mistakes in putting words and sentences together and that you will eventually begin to form sentences more easily with more and more practice, and eventually it will become second nature. Listening to speakers speaking Inupiaq, you will eventully understand the patterns of how words fit together. Don't be too hard on yourself (or on your **ilisazaqtuat**) to get everything right on the first try.

[29] Because of weakening, **+lugu** is often **+luu**.

[30] Because of weakening, **+giga** is often **+gia.**

SIMPLE SUBJECT ENDINGS

In Inupiaq, we have *simple subject endings,* and we have *subject+object endings*[31].

Simple subject endings mean that some **izuat** (endings) only tell us about a *subject* (who or what is doing the action). These are what we are calling "simple subject endings".

We have seen some of these already:

-tuŋa (I, me)

Niġiruŋa.	I am eating.
Manaqtuŋa.	I am hooking fish.

-tuq (she/he/it)

Niġiruq.	S/he is eating.
Manaqtuq.	S/he is hooking fish.

Other endings show *BOTH* a subject and an object in the ending. These are the *subject+object endings* (we will talk about those more starting on page 102). In this section, we will try out some simple verb endings, by going ice fishing.

Here is an example of a simple subject ending in the dog sled structure:

Manaqtuq. (S/he is hooking fish).

Manaq- to hook

-tuq s/he

[31] In linguistics, these are called *intransitive* and *transitive*, respectively.

MANAĠIAQTA LET'S GO HOOKING

We will be learning how to make **alluat** (ice holes for fishing) while learning the 3rd person simple verb endings in this section. The tables below show us the simple verb endings in statement form[32] in 3rd person (3rd person is like *he, she, it,* or *they* in **Naluaġmiutun**). Singular means one, dual means two, and plural means three or more.

3rd PERSON SIMPLE SUBJECT ENDINGS SHE/HE/IT/THEY

	Stem ends in vowel	Stem ends in consonant	Stem ends in weakened consonant
Singular SHE/HE/IT	**Niġiruq.** She/he/it is eating.	**Manaqtuq.** S/he is hooking.	**Mitiŋatuq.** S/he is removing slush ice.
Dual THEY$_2$	**Niġiruk.** They$_2$ are eating.	**Manaqtuk.** They$_2$ are hooking.	**Mitiŋatuk.** They$_2$ are removing slush ice.
Plural THEY$_{3+}$	**Niġirut.** They$_{3+}$ are eating.	**Manaqtut.** They$_{3+}$ are hooking.	**Mitiŋatut.** They$_{3+}$ are removing slush ice.

As you can see above, if your **maŋŋuq** (stem) ends in a vowel the **izua** (ending) will (usually) start with an **r**. For example:

Niġiruq. She/he/it is eating.

If your **maŋŋuq** (stem) ends in a consonant, your **izua** (ending) will start with a with a **t**. For example:

Manaqtuk. They$_2$ are hooking fish.

[32] In linguistics, these statement forms are called *indicative.*

Sometimes though because of weakening, we can also have a stem that ends in a vowel but with a **t** ending.[33] For example:

Mitiŋatut. They$_{3+}$ are removing slush ice. (The **maŋŋuq** is **mitiŋiq-**).

We also have *simple subject endings* in question form[34]. You can see the 3rd person question forms of these endings in the table below.

3rd PERSON SIMPLE QUESTION ENDINGS SHE/HE/IT/THEY

	Stem ends in vowel	Stem ends in consonant	Stem ends in weakened consonant
Singular SHE/HE/IT	**Niġiva?** Is she/he/it eating?	**Manaqpa?** Is s/he hooking?	**Aglagva?** Is s/he writing?
Dual THEY$_2$	**Niġivak?** Are they$_2$ eating?	**Manaqpak?** Are they$_2$ hooking?	**Aglagvak?** Are they$_2$ writing?
Plural THEY$_{3+}$	**Niġivat?** Are they$_{3+}$ eating?	**Manaqpat?** Are they$_{3+}$ hooking?	**Aglagvat?** Are they$_{3+}$ writing?

If your root ends in a vowel, your ending begins with a **v**.

If your root ends with a consonant, your ending begins with **p.**

Due to *weakening*, you might sometimes have an ending begin with **v** following a consonant.

Let's try these *simple verb endings* out while learning ice fishing vocabulary.

[33] This is present in Ugiuvaŋmiutun and some other Inupiaq varieties in the Bering Straits region.
[34] In linguistics, these question forms are called *interrogative.*

QAĠNUZIT VOCABULARY

Introduce these words to your **ilisazaqtuat** before beginning the lesson. You can ask:

Suuva una? What is this one?

You can model the answers with another teacher or another student.

NOUNS

siguliaq	young ice (a few inches thick, possible to walk on)
panalin	spear point, used to test the ice
alluaq	fishing hole on the ice
tuuqpak	long-handled ice chipper
mitiŋiun	scoop to remove slush ice from hole
mitivik	ice crystals floating in a fishing hole

VERBS

panalik-	to test the ice with the point of a panalin
tuuq-	to use an ice chisel
mitiŋiq-	to remove slush ice from a fishing hole

SINGULAR FORM

Practice these phrases with your **ilisazaqtuat**. If you can't get out on the **siguliaq**, you can try the activity with props or pictures in your classroom. You can use these phrases to create an **alluaq.**

You can model this conversation with another teacher, and then have students try it out after you. Let students observe the conversation first and then practice it with your help. It is important to understand that these conversations are not very natural speech, but they will help your students to understand the language patterns. It is also important to not translate to **Naluaġmiutun**; students should learn the vocabulary from observation of sounds and recognition of the patterns.

Direct your co-teacher or a student:

Panaliglugu.	Test out the ice (direction to one person).

Model the following conversation with another co-teacher or a student, then ask it to all your other **ilisazaqtuat**.

Suwa una?	What is s/he doing?
Panaliktuq.	S/he is testing the ice with the point of a panalin.
Panaligva?	Is s/he testing the ice?
Ii'ii, panaliktuq.	Yes, s/he is testing the ice.

When **ilisazaqtuat** have learned these phrases, you can continue with the other two verb forms.

Direct your co-teacher or a student:

Tuuġluu.	Use the ice chisel on it (direction to one person).

Suwa una?	What is s/he doing?
Tuuqtuq.	S/he is using an ice chisel.
Tuuqpa?	Is s/he using an ice chisel?
Ii'ii, tuuqtuq.	Yes, s/he is using an ice chisel

Mitiŋalugu.	Remove the slush ice from it (direction to one person).
Suwa una?	What is s/he doing?
Mitiŋatuq.	S/he is removing the slush ice from the fishing hole.
Mitiŋava?	Is s/he removing the slush ice from the fishing hole?
Ii'ii, mitiŋatuq.	Yes, s/he is removing slush ice from the fishing hole.

DUAL FORM

If you would like to teach the dual and plural forms of these endings (perhaps as a lesson for a different day), you can use the examples below. For the examples below, you could have two individuals making two different **alluak** (ice holes) or if you are doing it in the classroom, you can use pictures or props.

Suwak uguak?	What are they$_2$ doing?
Panaliktuk.	They$_2$ are testing the ice with the point of a panalin.
Panaligvak?	Are they$_2$ testing the ice?
Ii'ii, panaliktuk.	Yes, they$_2$ are testing the ice.

Suwak uguak?	What are they$_2$ doing?
Tuuqtuk.	They$_2$ are using an ice chisel.
Tuuqpak?	Are they$_2$ using an ice chisel?
Ii'ii, tuuqtuk.	Yes, they$_2$ are using an ice chisel

Suwak uguak?	What are they$_2$ doing?
Mitiŋatuk.	They$_2$ are removing the slush ice from the fishing hole.
Mitiŋavak?	Are they$_2$ removing the slush ice from the fishing hole?
Ii'ii, mitiŋatuk.	Yes, they$_2$ are removing slush ice from the fishing hole.

PLURAL FORM

If you want to try out the plural forms of these endings, you can have multiple people making multiple **alluat** (ice holes) or if you are in a classroom, you can use pictures or props.

Suwat ugua?	What are they$_{3+}$ doing?
Panaliktut.	They$_{3+}$ are testing the ice with the point of a panalin.
Panaligvat?	Are they$_{3+}$ testing the ice?
Ii'ii, panaliktut.	Yes, they$_{3+}$ are testing the ice.

Suwat ugua?	What are they$_{3+}$ doing?
Tuuqtut.	They$_{3+}$ are using an ice chisel.
Tuuqpat?	Are they$_{3+}$ using an ice chisel?
Ii'ii, tuuqtut.	Yes, they$_{3+}$ are using an ice chisel

Suwat ugua?	What are they$_{3+}$ doing?
Mitiŋatut.	They$_{3+}$ are removing the slush ice from the fishing hole.
Mitiŋavat?	Are they$_{3+}$ removing the slush ice from the fishing hole?
Ii'ii, mitiŋatut.	Yes, they$_{3+}$ are removing slush ice from the fishing hole.

LET'S PREP THE MANAQ

We will now continue the activity, by preparing our **manaq** for fishing, connecting our line, tying it, and baiting it.

Now that we know the 3rd person singular in Inupiaq, we can continue onto 1st (I, we) and 2nd person (you, you all) for the simple subject endings.

1st PERSON SIMPLE SUBJECT STATEMENT ENDINGS I / WE_2 / WE_{3+}

	Stem ends in vowel	Stem ends in consonant	Stem ends in weakened consonant
Singular I	**Niġiruŋa.** I am eating.	**Manaqtuŋa.** S/he hooks a fish.	**Igla.tuŋa.** I am laughing.
Dual WE_2	**Niġiruuk.*** We_2 are eating.	**Manaqtuuk.*** $They_2$ hook a fish.	**Igla.tuguk.** We_2 are laughing.
Plural WE_{3+}	**Niġiruut.*** We_{3+} are eating.	**Manaqtuut.*** We_{3+} hook a fish.	**Igla.tugut.** We_{3+} are laughing.

*Sometimes sometimes these endings are: +**tuguk**, and +**ruguk**, when not *weakened.*

The same as the previous endings, you add +**t**, etc. to roots ending in consonants (and sometimes to vowels due to *weakening*) and add +**r**, etc. to roots endings in vowels.

Along these 1st person statement endings, we will also learn the 2nd person question endings.

1st PERSON SIMPLE QUESTION ENDINGS

	Stem ends in vowel	Stem ends in consonant	Stem ends in weakened consonant
Singular YOU	**Niġivin?** Are you₁ eating?	**Manaqpin**? Did you₁ hook a fish?	**Igla.vin?** Are you₁ laughing?
Dual YOU_2	**Niġivitik?** Are you_2 eating?	**Manaqpitik?** Did you_2 hook a fish?	**Igla.vitik?** Are you_2 laughing?
Plural YOU_{3+}	**Niġivisi?** Are you_{3+} eating?	**Manaqpizi?** Did you_{3+} hook a fish?	**Igla.visi?** Are you_{3+} laughing?

Remember that these endings can change due to weakening. For example:

Suwisi? What are you all doing?

Nuutpizi? Are you all moving?

QAĠNUZIT VOCABULARY

Introduce vocabulary to your **ilisazaqtuat** before beginning the lesson. (You could even do this in the classroom before going out to find ice fishing holes to fish in).

You can ask them:

Suuva una? What is this one?

You can model the answers with another **ilisauri** or another **ilisazaqtuaq**.

NOUNS

iviutaq	fishing line
manaq	ice fishing tackle
manaqutaq	fishhook
niġisaq	bait

VERBS

iviusiuq-	to attach a line
qiliqsi-	to tie a knot
niġisaliq-	to attach bait

SINGULAR FORM

Practice these phrases with your students. If you aren't able to get to the **siguliaq**, you can simulate the activity with props or pictures in your classroom. You can use these phrases prepare your **manaq** for fishing.

You can model this conversation with another teacher, and then have students try it out after you. It is important to understand that these conversations are not very natural speech, but will help your students to understand the language patterns. It is also important to not translate to **Naluaġmiutun**; students should learn the vocabulary and endings from observation of sounds and recognition of the patterns.

Suwin?	What are you$_1$ doing?
Iviusiuqtuŋa.	I am attaching a line.
Iviusiuqpin?	Are you$_1$ attaching a line?
Ii'ii, iviusiuqtuŋa.	Yes, I am attaching a line.
Maatna tavra.	That's good.

Suwin?	What are you$_1$ doing?
Qiliqsiruŋa.	I'm tying a knot.
Qiliqsawin?	Are you$_1$ tying a knot?
Ii'ii, qiliqsiruŋa.	Yes, I'm tying a knot.
Maatna tavra.	That's good.

Suwin?	What are you$_1$ doing?
Niġisaliqsiruŋa.	I am attaching a bait.
Niġisaliqsuwiin?	Are you$_1$ attaching bait?
Ii'ii, niġisaliqsiruŋa.	Yes, I am attaching bait.
Maatna tavra.	That's good.

Image courtesy of NWABSD

DUAL FORM

You can also try out the dual and plural endings for these. You can set it up so one student should be asking two other students, or three or more students. If you do not have enough students or you are learning independently, trying pronouncing these to yourself for practice with familiarity with these endings, or use pictures. The box below has the dual forms for these endings.

Suwitik?[35]	What are you$_2$ doing?
Iviusiuqtuuk.	We$_2$ are attaching lines.
Iviusiuqpitik?	Are you$_2$ attaching lines?
Ii'ii, iviusiuqtuuk.	Yes, we$_2$ are attaching lines.
Maatna tavra. / Ii'ii tani.	That's good. / Thanks again.

Suwitik?	What are you$_2$ doing?
Qiliqsruiruuk.	We$_2$ are tying knots.
Qiliqsruivitik?	Are you$_2$ tying knots?
Ii'ii, qiliqsruiruuk.	Yes, we$_2$ tying knots.
Maatna tavra. / Ii'ii tani.	That's good. / Thanks again.

[35] Can also be "**Suwitiik**?". Lengthening the last vowel adds emphasis and lets you know that you have to respond.

Suwitik?	What are you$_2$ doing?
Niġisaliuqtuuk.	We$_2$ are preparing the bait.
Niġisaliuqpitik?	Are you$_2$ preparing the bait?
Ii'ii, niġisaliuqtuuk.	Yes, we$_2$ are preparing the bait.
Maatna tavra. / Ii'ii tani.	That's good. / Thanks again.

PLURAL FORM

Finally, you have your plural forms for the 1st (we) and 2nd person (you all) simple subject endings. You can model these phrases and have students pronounce them.

Suwisi?	What are you$_{3+}$ doing?
Iviusiuqtuut.	We$_{3+}$ are attaching lines.
Iviusiuqpizi?	Are you$_{3+}$ attaching lines?
Ii'ii, iviusiuqtuut.	Yes, we$_{3+}$ are attaching lines.
Maatna tavra.	That's good.

Suwisi?	What are you$_{3+}$ doing?
Qiliqsruiruut.	We$_{3+}$ are tying knots.
Qiliqsruivizi?	Are you$_{3+}$ tying knots?
Ii'ii, qiliqsruruut.	Yes, we$_{3+}$ are tying knots.
Maatna tavra.	That's good.

Suwisi?	What are you$_{3+}$ doing?
Niġisaliuqtuut.	We$_{3+}$ are preparing the bait.
Niġisaliuqpizi?	Are you$_{3+}$ preparing the bait?
Ii'ii, niġisaliuqtuut.	Yes, we$_{3+}$ are preparing the bait.
Maatna tavra.	That's good.

MANAĠIAQTA LET'S GO HOOK FOR FISH

Finally, we have our final simple subject- endings. We will learn these by hooking for fish. (All these lessons can be done on different days, if you still have **alluat** that are open). You can start out by teaching some vocabulary. You can use pictures to teach the nouns if you don't have real fish, and you can use gestures to teach the verb stems. If you are working with an **utuqanaaq**, you can ask: Suuva una? *What is this one?* to ask for the names of fish.

NOUNS

iġiak	bullhead	
iġałuaq	tomcod	
iłhuaġniq	smelt	
iġalugvik	trout	
qaluaq	blue cod	
anaulaq	striking stick	

VERBS

aulazaaq-	to jig for fish at a fishing hole
manaq-	to hook a fish
anau-	to strike (the caught fish)

We will be learning our final sets of simple subject endings, by learning the 2nd person statement endings (you, you all) and the 1st person question endings (I, we). Notice that the plural 2nd person endings are the same as the 3rd person, you will have to distinguish these through context.

Below are the 2nd person (you) statement endings:

2nd PERSON SIMPLE STATEMENT ENDINGS YOU / YOU_2 / YOU_{3+}

	Stem ends in vowel	Stem ends in consonant	Stem ends in weakened consonant
Singular YOU	**Niġirutin.** You are eating.	**Manaqtutin.** You are hooking.	**Igla.tutin.** You are laughing.
Dual YOU_2	**Niġirutik.** You_2 are eating.	**Manaqtutik.** You_2 are hooking.	**Igla.tutik.** You_2 are laughing.
Plural YOU_{3+}	**Niġiruzi.** You_{3+} are eating.	**Manaqtuzi.** You_{3+} are hooking.	**Igla.tusi.** You_{3+} are laughing.

Below are the 1st person (I, we) question endings.

1st PERSON SIMPLE QUESTION ENDINGS

	Stem ends in vowel	Stem ends in consonant	Stem ends in weakened consonant
Singular I	**Niġivik?** Am I eating?	**Manaqpik?** Am I hooking?	**Igla.vik?** Am I laughing?
Dual WE_2	**Niġivinuk?** Are we_2 eating?	**Manaqpinuk?** Are we_2 hooking?	**Igla.vinuk?** Are we_2 attaching bait?
Plural WE_{3+}	**Niġivita?** Are we_{3+} eating?	**Manaqpita?** Are we_{3+} hooking?	**Igla.vita?** Are we_{3+} laughing?

Remember that due to *weakening*, **v** can sometimes become **w** for these endings. For example:

Suwik?	What am I doing?
Suwinuk?	What are we_2 doing?
Suwita?	What are we_{3+} doing?

SINGULAR FORM

We will be adding in another grammar element into this lesson: **-mik.**[36] This noun ending shows something that's *not specific* (for example, it could be any fish (**iġaluŋ**mik) or any seal (**niqsa**mik) you are talking about).[37]

This ending has multiple meanings and uses, for our purposes here we can compare it to a similar meaning of "a" or "some" in **Naluaġmiutun**. For example:

iġaluŋmik	a fish
tuuqpaŋmik	an ice chipping tool
niqsamik	a seal

To speak about a specific thing, we don't need to use the **-mik** ending.

iġaluk	the fish
tuuqpak	the ice chipping tool
niqsaq	the seal

[36] In linguistics, this is called an *instrumental* or *modalis* case ending.

[37] Linguistics calls this an *indefinite object*.

We will practice this ending when you catch a fish.[38] You can also simulate it with an already caught fish if nothing is biting. You can first model the language for the students to observe with a co-teacher or another student. If you are working with an **utuqanaaq**, you can ask them the questions in Inupiaq for their natural responses.

You can use this first dialogue if nothing is biting.

Suwik?	What am I doing?
Aulazaaqtutin.	You are jigging for fish.
Manaqpik?	Did I catch anything?
Naumi maatnami.	Not yet (not now).

Image courtesy of NWABSD

[38] This lesson was originally developed at an Indigenous Language Institute (ILI) training in 2018 by Myles Creed & Maktuayaq Mellisa Johnson.

You can use this second dialogue if you catch a fish. You can practice this with an already caught frozen fish for practice.

Suwik?	What am I doing?
Manaqtutin.	You hooked a fish.
Sumik manaqpik?	What did I catch?
Manaqtutin iġiaŋmik. Anauta.lugu. Maatna tavra.	You caught a bullhead. Strike it. Good job.

Suwik?	What am I doing?
Manaqtutin.	You hooked a fish.
Sumik manaqpik?	What did I hook?
Manaqtutin iġałuamik. Anauta.lugu Maatna tavra.	You hooked a tomcod. Strike it. Good job.

DUAL & PLURAL FORM

Because the dual and plural forms of these verb endings tend to be rarer and because this lesson wouldn't really make sense in dual or plural (people don't usually catch fish right at the same time), we won't be giving examples for these endings. But you can try to think up some other questions to practice these endings on your own!

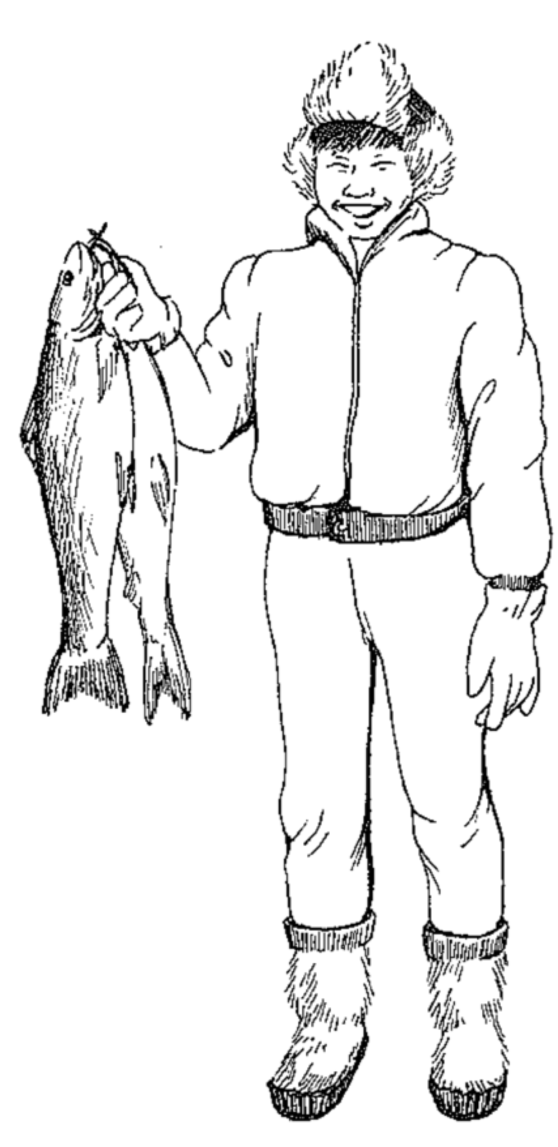


Image courtesy of NWABSD

REVIEW OF SIMPLE SUBJECT ENDINGS

SIMPLE STATEMENT ENDINGS Ending in a consonant (or weakened stem)

	Singular	Dual	Plural
1st Person	+tuŋa I	+tuguk +tuuk we_2	+tugut +tuut we_{3+}
2nd Person	+tutin you	+tutik you_2	+tut you_{3+}
3rd Person	+tuq he, she, it	+tuk $they_2$	+tut $they_{3+}$

manaq - *to hook*

Manaqtuut.

We_{3+} are hooking

Endings in blue show weakening (or deletion) of consonants.

STATEMENT STATEMENT ENDINGS Ending in a vowel

	Singular	Dual	Plural
1st Person	+ruŋa I	+ruguk +ruuk we$_2$	+rugut +ruut we$_{3+}$
2nd Person	+rutin you	+rutik you$_2$	+rut you$_{3+}$
3rd Person	+ruq he, she, it	+ruk they$_2$	+rut they$_{3+}$

niġi - *to eat*

Niġiruŋa.
I am eating.

Endings in blue show weakening (or deletion) of consonants.

SIMPLE QUESTION ENDINGS Ending in consonant

	Singular	Dual	Plural
1st Person	+pik I	+pinuk we_2	+pita we_{3+}
2nd Person	+pin you	+pitik you_2	+pisi +pizi you_{3+}
3rd Person	+pa he, she, it	+pak $they_2$	+pat $they_{3+}$

manaq - *to hook*

Manaqpa?
Did s/he hook?

Endings in blue show weakening of consonants.

SIMPLE QUESTION ENDINGS Ending in a vowel

	Singular	Dual	Plural
1st Person	+vik +wik I	+vinuk +winuk we_2	+vita +wita we_{3+}
2nd Person	+vin +win you	+vitik +witik you_2	+vizi +wisi you_{3+}
3rd Person	+va +wa he, she, it	+vak +wak $they_2$	+vat +wat $they_{3+}$

niġi – *to eat*

Niġivizi?
Did you_{3+} *eat?*

Endings in blue show weakening of consonants.

"SUBJECT+OBJECT" VERB ENDINGS

In the previous section, we learned about simple subject endings. These are verb endings that do not tell us about an object, only the subject of who or what is doing the action. A subject is who or what is doing the action and an object is who or what the action is being done to.

In this section, we will be learning about "subject+object" verb endings. These endings indicate BOTH the subject and the object of the sentence.

ADDING THESE ENDINGS TO VERB STEMS

	STEM	STATEMENT	QUESTION
1. Vowels			
	anau - *to strike*	Anaugaa. *S/he strikes it.* Add g before the ending	Anauvauŋ? *Does s/he strike it?* Change p to v
2. Verb Stems ending in k	siik - *to filet*	Siikaa. *S/he fillets it.* Add k before the ending	Siikpauŋ? *Doe s/he filet it?* Add the ending
3. Verb stems ending in q			
	manaq - *to hook*	Manaġaa. *S/he hooks it.* change q to ġ, before adding ending	Manaqpauŋ? *Does s/he hook it?* Add the ending
4. Verb stems ending in it			
	igit - *to light*	Igitkaa. *S/he lights it.* Add k before adding the ending	Igitpauŋ? *Does s/he light it?* Add the ending

Keep in mind that weakening processes can affect some of these endings.[39]

WEAKENED ENDINGS

Agvuq- *to cut up*	Agvuaa. *S/he cuts it up.* ġ drops due to weakening	Agvavauŋ? *Does s/he cut it up?* p goes to v
Niġipkaq- *to feed*	Niġipkaaa. *S/he feeds it.* ġ drops due to weakening	Niġipka.vauŋ? *Does s/he feed it?* p goes to v

Knowing these endings is key to understand actions in Inupiaq, where we are often working with objects in daily life. Remember not to get too overwhelmed by learning all these endings. Some are used more than others and you will slowly pick them up the more you are exposed to learning Inupiaq. You will learn these best by observing your **ilisaurit** and **utuqanaat** while they are speaking and by doing activities in Inupiaq, paying attention to the context in which they are used.

Here is an example of a "subject+object ending" used with the dog sled:

Anaugaa (S/he hits it).

anau-	**-gaa**
to hit	s/he to it

To learn our "subject+object" verb endings, we will continue learning about ice fishing by cutting, cooking, and sharing **iġaluit**.

[39] Remember that in Ugiuvaŋmiutun, weakening can cause a "half-long" a, or the "**a.**". This can also be represented by **aa** in if you don't want to use the **a.**

TIZRARUUT CUTTING FISH[40]

QAĠNUZIT VOCABULARY

Introduce the new vocabulary in much the same manner as you did before, but you can now introduce duals and plurals of certain nouns.[41] You can ilustrate this vocabulary with props or pictures if you do not have access to fresh or frozen fish. In this section we will be learning 3rd person "subject + object" endings.

NOUNS

iġałuaq	tomcod$_1$	iġałuak	tomcod$_2$	iġałuat	tomcod$_{3+}$
iłhuaġniq	smelt$_1$	iłhuaġniik	tomcod$_2$	iłhuaġniit	smelt$_{3+}$
iġalugvik	trout$_1$	iġalugviik	trout$_2$	iġalugviit	trout$_{3+}$
qaluaq	bluefish$_1$	qaluak	bluefish$_2$	qaluat	bluefish$_{3+}$
iġaluk	salmon/fish$_1$	iġaluuk	salmon/fish$_2$	iġaluit	salmon/fish$_{3+}$

VERBS

niaquiq-	to cut off the fish head
siik-	to cut up lengthwise, to filet
agvuq-	to cut up in pieces

[40] **Tiraruut** is an alternative spelling.
[41] This lesson was originally developed for the Iḷisaqativut 2019 Intensive at Camp Sivunniuġvik by Myles Creed and Annauk Olin.

SINGULAR FORM

Image courtesy of NWABSD

There are different words in Inupiaq for different types of fish cutting.

niaquiq-	to cut off a fish's head
siik-	to filet or to cut it lengthwise
agvuq-	to cut up into pieces

You can set up this activity by having someone cutting up fish and asking your students what one fish they are cutting up. Keep in mind that there should only be one person cutting up the fish for the examples, otherwise the endings will change.

The question endings being used here are

Niaquiqpauŋ? / Agvavauŋ?

and the statement endings being used here are

Niaquiġaa / Siikaa.

These endings indicate one 3rd person subject (she/he/it and one 3rd person object (him/her/it).

Image courtesy of NWABSD

A	Suna niaquiqpauŋ?	What is s/he cutting the head off of?
B	Iġałuaq niaquiġaa.	S/he is cutting the head off of the tomcod$_1$.
B	Iłhuaġniq niaquiġaa.	S/he is cutting the head off of the smelt$_1$.
B	Iġalugvik niaquiġaa.	S/he is cutting the head off of the trout$_1$.
B	Qaluaq niaquiġaa.	S/he is cutting the head off of the blue cod$_1$.
B	Iġaluk niaquiġaa.	S/he is cutting the head off of the salmon$_1$.

DUAL FORM

You can add on the dual form and try this with one person fileting two fish. The question endings used here are +**Siikpaik**?[42] / +**Agvavagik**? for example, and the statement endings here are **Niaqiuġaik** / +**Siikaik**, for example.

A	Suk siikpaik?	What is s/he fileting?
B	Iġałuak siikaik.	S/he is fileting the tomcod2.
B	Iłhuaġniik siikaik.	S/he is fileting the smelt2.
B	Iġalugviik siikaik.	S/he is fileting the trout2.
B	Qaluak siikaik.	S/he is fileting the blue cod2.
B	Iġaluuk siikaik.	S/he is fileting the salmon2.

[42] The g is dropped due to weakening.

PLURAL FORM

You can add on the plural form and try this with one person cutting up three or more fish into pieces. The statement endings here are, for example:

Niaquiġai / **Siikai**

The question endings are, for example:

Niaquiqpait?[43] / **Agvavagit**?

A	Sut agvavagit?	What is s/he cutting up into pieces?
B	Iġałuat agvuait.	S/he is cutting the tomcod$_{3+}$ into pieces.
B	Iłhuaġniit agvuait.	S/he is cutting the smelt$_{3+}$ into pieces
B	Iġalugviit agvuait.	S/he is cutting the trout$_{3+}$ into pieces
B	Qaluat agvuait.	S/he is cutting the blue cod$_{3+}$ into pieces.
B	Iġaluit agvuait.	S/he is cutting the salmon$_{3+}$ into pieces.

[43] The **g** is being dropped below due to weakening.

IĠALUŊNIK IYALUTA LET'S COOK FISH

Now, we will cook some fish using some endings that ask a question between "me and it". The singular ending is **igayuiga** or **aġuvigiga**, for example, but can also appear as **iyagia** or **igitkia**. You can model or practice all these steps completely in Inupiaq.

QAĠNUZIT VOCABULARY

NOUNS

qizruk	firewood$_1$	qizruuk	firewood$_2$	qizruit	firewood$_{3+}$
iġaluk	fish$_1$	iġaluuk	fish$_2$	iġaluit	fish$_{3+}$
iknuwik	stove/fire				
iggan	cooking pot				

VERBS

qizrriuq-	to chop firewood
igit-	to ignite, to set on fire
iya-	to cook

QIZRUIT FIREWOOD

A	Suwin?	What are you doing?
B	Qizrriuġia qizruk.	I am chopping up a piece of firewood.
B	Qizrriuġiga qizruuk.	I am chopping up $firewood_2$.
B	Qizrriuġiga qizruit.	I am chopping up $firewood_{3+}$.

IKNUWIK FIRE

A	Suwin?	What are you doing?
B	Igitkia iknuwik.	I am lighting the fire/stove.

IĠALUIT FISH

A	Suwin?	What are you doing?
B	Iyagia iġaluk.	I am cooking the $fish_1$.
B	Iyagiga iġaluuk.	I am cooking the $fish_2$.
B	Iyagiga iġaluit.	I am cooking the $fish_{3+}$.

NIĠILUTA LET'S EAT

Finally, it's an important Inupiaq value to share food with others. Let's practice the statement ending "me to you" and question ending "you to me". For example:

Niġipkaikpin. / Aġuvigikpin.

Niġipka.viŋa? / Payukpiŋa?

Remember that weakening can change parts of these endings.

QAĠNUZIT VOCABULARY

NOUNS

iġaluk	fish / salmon	
niġipiaq	Inupiaq food, "real food"	

VERBS

aituq-	to give (something to be kept)
payuk-	to give food, to give a gift to someone
niġipkaq-	to feed

SHARING FOOD

A	Sumik payukpiŋa?	What are you giving me?	
B	Iġaluŋmik payukigvin.	I am giving you some salmon.	
B	Niġipiamik payukigvin.	I am giving you some niġipiaq.	
A	Ii'ii tani.	Thanks again.	

FEEDING FOOD WITH CHILDREN

A	Sumik niġipka.viŋa?	What are you feeding me?	
B	Iġaluŋmik niġipkaikpin.	I am feeding you some salmon.	
B	Niġipiamik niġipkaikpin.	I am feeding you some niġipiaq.	
A	Ii'ii tani.	Thanks again.	

REFERENCE

The following pages have tables of the statement and questions “subject+object” endings (pg. 112 & 113). Arrows in the chart indicate that the endings in that box are the same from the endings immediately above or to the left.

Following these charts are vocabulary from this chapter (pg. 114 & 115) and a list of additional postbases (pg. 116).

Documenation by
Dr. Lawrence Kaplan

Statement Sub+Obj Verb Endings

OBJECT

SUBJECT

Subject to Object Transitive Verb Endings For Statements	First Person Singular me	First Person Dual us two	First Person Plural us all	Second Person Singular you	Second Person Dual you two	Second Person Plural you all	Third Person Singular him, her it	Third Person Dual them two	Third Person Plural them all
First Person Singular I				I to you +gikpin +gigvin	I to you two +giptik	I to you all +gipsi +givzi	I to him, her, it +giga +gia	I to them two +gika +giga	I to them +gitka +giga
First Person Dual we two				we two to you +giptigin +giptikin	we two to you two ⇒?	we two to you all ⇒?	we two to him, her, it +gikuk +giguk	we two to them two +givuk	we two to them all ⇒
First Person Plural we all				we all to you ⇓	we all to you two ⇓?	we all to you all ⇓?	we all to him, her, it +gikut +gigut	we all to them two +givut +giut	we all to them all ⇒
Second Person Singular you	you to me +gikma +giŋma	you to us two +giptiguk +giptiuk	you to us all +giptigut +giptiut				you to him, her, it +gin	you to them two +gikin +gigin	you to them all +gitin
Second Person Dual you two	you two to me +giptikŋa +giptiŋa	you two to us two ⇓	you two to us all ⇓				you two to him, her, it +giktik	you two to them two +gitik	you two to them all +gitik
Second Person Plural you all	you all to me ipsitfa +givzitŋa +gipsinŋa	you all to us two ⇓	you all to us all ⇓				you all to him, her, it +giksi +gigzi	you all to them two ⇓	you all to them all ⇓
Third Person Singular he, she, it	he, she, it to me +gaaŋa	he, she, it to us two +gaatiuk	he, she, it to us all +gaatiut	he, she, it to you +gaatin	he, she, it to you two +gaatik	he, she, it to you all +gaasi	he, she, it to him, her, it +gaa	he, she, it to them two +gaik +gik	he, she, it to them all +ait +git
Third Person Dual they two	they two to me +gaakŋa	they two to us two ⇓	they two to us all ⇓	they two to you ⇓	they two to you two ⇓	they two to you all ⇓	they two to him, her, it +gaak	they two to them two ⇓	they two to them all ⇓
Third Person Plural they all	they all to me +gaatŋa	they all to us two ⇓	they all to us all ⇓	they all to you ⇓	they all to you two ⇓	they all to you all ⇓	they all to him, her, it +gaat	they all to them two ⇓	they all to them all +gait

For verb stems ending in **t**, change **g** to **k**. For verb stems ending in **q**, change **g** to **ġ**.
Weakening may affect the way these endings look, sometimes significantly.

Documenation by
Dr. Lawrence Kaplan

OBJECT

Question Sub+Obj Verb Endings

SUBJECT

Subject to Object Transitive Verb Endings For Questions	First Person Singular me	First Person Dual us two	First Person Plural us all	Second Person Singular you	Second Person Dual you two	Second Person Plural you all	Third Person Singular him, her it	Third Person Dual them two	Third Person Plural them all
First Person Singular I				I to you +vigin +piin	I to you two +vitik	I to you all +visi +pizi	I to him, her, it +vigu +piu	I to them two +vik	I to them all +viit
First Person Dual we two				we two to you +vitiin +pitigin	we two to you two +vitiin +pitigin	we two to you all ⇒	we two to him, her, it +vitiku +pitigu	we two to them two +pitigik +vitiik	we two to them all
First Person Plural we all				we all to you +vitiin +pitigin	we all to you two +vitiin +pitigin	we all to you all +visi +pizi	we all to him, her, it +pitigu +pitiu	we all to them two	we all to them all
Second Person Singular you	you to me +piŋa	you to us two +pitiguk +vitiuk	you to us all +pitigut +vitiut				you to him, her, it +piuŋ	you to them two +vigik +piik	you to them all +vigit +piit
Second Person Dual you two	you two to me +pititŋa +pitinŋa	you two to us two ⇓	you two to us all ⇓				you two to him, her, it +pititku +vitigu	you two to them two +pitik +vitik	you two to them all +pititkik
Second Person Plural you all	you all to me +pizitŋa +pizinŋa	you all to us two ⇓	you all to us all ⇓				you all to him, her, it +piziuŋ +visiuŋ	you all to them two +pizigik +vitiik	you all to them all +pizigik +visiik
Third Person Singular he, she, it	he, she, it to me +paŋa(a)	he, she, it to us two +patiguk +patiuk	he, she, it to us all +patigut +patiut	he, she, it to you +patiin	he, she, it to you two +patik	he, she, it to you all +pasii +pazii	he, she, it to him, her, it +pauŋ	he, she, it to them two +vagik +paik	he, she, it to them all +vagit +pait
Third Person Dual they two	they two to me +patitŋa +patinŋa	they two to us two ⇓	they two to us all ⇓	they two to you ⇓	they two to you two ⇓	they two to you all ⇓	they two to him, her, it +vatku +pagu	they two to them two +patigik +vatiik	they two to them all ⇒
Third Person Plural they all	they all to me +patŋa +panŋa	they all to us two ⇓	they all to us all ⇓	they all to you ⇓	they all to you two ⇓	they all to you all ⇓	they all to him, her, it +paruŋ	they all to them two +patigik +vatiik	they all to them all ⇒

For verb stems ending in vowels, change **p** to **v**.
Weak consonants may change **p** to **v** or **v** to **w**.

NOUNS (SINGULAR)	ENGLISH	DUAL	PLURAL
alluaq	fishing hole	alluak	alluat
iknuwik	stove, fire	iknuwiik	iknuwiik
ilisazaqtuaq	student	ilisazaqtuak	ilisazaqtuat
iłhuaġniq	smelt	iłhuaġniik	iłhuaġniit
iggan	cooking pot	iggatik	iggatit
iġaluk	fish, salmon	iġaluuk	iġaluit
iġałuaq	tomcod	iġałuak	iġałuat
iġiak	bullhead	iġiaak	iġiaat
iviun	fishing line	iviutik	iviutit
izua	its ending	izuak	izuat
manaq	ice fishing tackle	mannak	mannat
manaqutaq	fishhook	manaqutak	manaqutat
maŋŋuq	stem, root	maŋŋuuk	maŋŋuit
mitiŋiun	scoop to remove slush	mitiŋiutik	mitiŋiutit
mitivik	ice crystals in fishing hole		
niġipiaq	Inupiaq food	niġipiak	niġipiat
niġisaq	bait	niġisak	niġisat
panalin	spear point, to test the ice	panalitik	panalitit
qimugin	dog	qimuktik	qimuktit
qizruk	firewood	qizruuk	qizruit
sigu	sea ice	siguk	sigut
siguliaq	new ice		
tuuqpak	long-handle ice chipper	tuuqpaak	tuuqpait
ugiaq	fall, autumn		
uniat	sled	uniak	uniat
utuqanaaq	Elder	utuqanaak	utuqanaat

VERBS	ENGLISH
agvuq-	to cut up into pieces
aġuvit-	to sit down
aituq-	to give (something that will be kept)
anaulaq-	to strike (a caught fish on the head, for example)
iya-	to cook
igit-	to ignite, to set on fire
iviusiq-	to attach a line
manaq-	to hook a fish
mitiŋiq-	to remove slush ice from a fishing hole
niaquiq-	to cut off the head (of a fish, for example)
niġipkaq-	to feed
niġisaliq-	to bait a hook
panalik-	to test the ice with the point of a panalin
qiliqsaq-	to tie a knot
qizrriuq-	to chop firewood
siik-	to cut up lengthwise, to filet
tuuq-	to use an ice chisel
POSTBASES	ENGLISH
-giaq	to go to do something
-łiuq [-liuq]	will, going to
-qaq [-ġaq, -qa.]	to have
-suk [-ġuk, -guk, -uk]	to want
OTHER	ENGLISH
Kii!	Let’s go, go for it, go ahead
manna	this one here (extended)
Naluaġmiutun	in the English language, lit. like a white person
una	this one here (restricted)

MORE POSTBASES[44]

ADD TO VERBS		ADD TO NOUNS	
- aqsi	to begin to	**- (a)pazuk**	big old, funny old
- giaq	to go to do	**- gii(laq)**	to be bad
- ġuq	to become	**- gik, -ġik**	to be good, beautiful
- lgu	to do well	**- giik, -ġiik**	pair, counterpart
- liuq	to make	**- i(laq)**	to have no
- luk	to do badly	**- liqaa**	any, every
- naq	to be able to be done	**- luataq**	well, good
- nik	to acquire	**- muq**	to go to
- ŋi(laq)	to not	**- niaq**	to go and get, hunt
- pallia	probably	**- ŋuaq**	pretend, play, fake
- qaaq	to do first	**- qaq**	to have
- qatigi	to do with someone		
- raq, -taq	customarily, habitually		
- sima	evidently		
- suk, -ġuk, -guk	to want		
- suu	to always do		
- tqik	to do again		
- uraaq	to do slowly, casually		
- yuminaq, -ġuminaq	to be able to		
ADD TO VERBS & NOUNS		ADD TO SENTENCE	
- piaq	real, really	**- guuq**	reported, "it is said"
- qpak	big, large, to do a lot		
- uraq	small, few, lightly, gently		

[44] Remember that these postbases can look different due to weakening. Documentation of these postbases was undertaken by Dr. Lawrence Kaplan.

Appendix B: North Slope Iñupiaqatigiigñiq (Iḷisaġvik.org, 2024)

Qikisiksrautiqaġniq Iñuuniaġviŋmun (Respect for Nature)
Aviktuaqatigiigñiq (Sharing)
Iñupiuraallaniq (Knowledge of Language)
Paammaaġiigñiq (Cooperation)
Iḷagiigñiq (Family and Kinship)
Piqpakkutiqaġniq suli Qiksiksrautiqaġniq Utuqqanaanun Allanullu (Love and Respect for our Elders and One Another)
Quvianġuniq (Humor)
Aŋuniallaniq (Hunting Traditions)
Naglikkutiqaġniq (Compassion)
Qiñuiññiq (Humility)
Paaqłakkutaiġñiq (Resolution of Conflict)
Ukpiqqutiqaġniq (Spirituality)

Appendix C – Bering Straits Inupiaq Values (Sitnasuak Native Corporation, 2018)

Culture
Spirituality – **Ukpaisrun**
Humility – **Qinuinnaq**
Reverence Toward Nature – **Kamakłui Nunamiituat**
Pride in Culture – **Puyaunau Inupiaqtun Iłłusiq**
Speaking Our Traditional Language – **Inupiuraaġluta**
Cultural diversity and innovation

Character
Honesty – **Naguatun Kulliaglutin**
Cooperation – **Katiiłutiŋ Sahuagat**
Patience – **Uttakiragagin**
Responsibility – **Aŋalataasran**
Hard Work – **Saġiknatuaq Sawaaq**
Obedience – **Kamakłui**
Open Communication – **Qaniġlusi**

Contribution
Avoidance of Conflict – **Aziusrat Sugunnai**
Commitment to the Family – **Munaqłui Kiŋunnaisi**
Love of Children – **Naguagiktut Ilagiit**
Respecting Others – **Inugilaqluit Ilagiit**
Respect of Elders – **Utuqanaat Kamagiralui**
Sharing – **Pikkaagupsi Aitturalui**
Humor – **Quyniuŋniq**

Appendix D – Northwest Arctic Inupiaq Values (Iñupiat Iḷitqusiat) (Topkok, 2015)

Iḷisimałiq Uqapiałiġmik – Knowledge of Language
Iḷisimałiq Iḷagiiḷiġmik – Knowledge of Family Tree
Aatchuqtuutiḷiq – Sharing
Atchiksuałiq – Humility
Kamaksriḷiq Utqqanaanik – Respect for Elders
Kamakkutiłiq – Respect for Others
Savaqatigiiyułiq – Hard Work
Piqpaksriḷiq Iḷiḷgaanik – Love for Children
Paaqsaaqatautaiḷiq – Avoid Conflict
Aŋayuqaaġiich – Family Roles
Kaŋiqsimauraałiq Irrutchikun – Spirituality
Quvianniułikun Tipsisaaġiḷiq – Humor
Kamaksriḷiq Nutim Iñiqtanik – Respect for Nature
Kiŋuniġmi Suraġatlasiñiałiq – Domestic Skills
Aŋunialgułiq – Hunter Success
Iñuuniaqatiunik Ikayuutiłiq – Responsibility to Tribe

Appendix E – North Slope and Qawiaraq Iñupiaq Month Names
(months in Iñupiaq are approximate to English months, Iñupiaq month names have today conformed somewhat to the Gregorian calendar)

Month	**North Slope** MacLean, Edna (2015). *Iñupiatun Uqaluit Taniktun Sivuniŋit*	**meaning**	**Qawiaraq** Kaplan, Larry (n.d.). *Qawiaraq Topical Dictionary.*	**meaning**
Jan	**Siqiññaatchiaq**	"new sun"	**Aunik**	"month when you open the door and steam rolls in"
Feb	**Siqiññaasugruk**	"longer sunshine"	**Natchiaqchiq** (FR)	"month when the seals migrate north"
March	**Paniqsiqsiivik**	"time for drying and bleaching skins"	**Umiituġvik** (FR, March-April)	
April	**Umiaqqavik**	"time for preparing for whaling season"	**Umiituġvik** (FR, March-April); Nuġġivik**;** **Nassiaqsavik**	"month when people go out with the boat (umiaq)"; "month when reindeer lay their fawns"
May	**Suvluġvik**	"ice break-up time"	**Nuġġiaqtuġvik** (FR)	
June	**Iġñivik**	"fawning time"	**Iłqhuaġniġvik**	"time when smelt travel upriver"
July	**Iñukkuksaivik**	"time when animals are raising their young"	**Ichaġuiqchiġvik** (FR)	
August	**Tiŋŋivik**	"'time when ducks fly south"	**Ichaġułaaġvik** (FR)	
Sept	**Amiġaiqsivik**	"time when caribou lose velvet on their	**Amiġaiqsiwik**	"month when reindeer lose their velvet"

		antlers”		
Oct	**Sikkuvik**	“ice freezing time”	**Abrakchaġvik** (FR)	“month when squirrels lap up the frost”
Nov	**Nippivik**	”sunset time”	**Aġġivik; Chauyaġvik** (FR)	“month of Eskimo dancing and joyous time after harvest”; “time of drumming”
Dec	**Siqiñġiḷaq**	”no sun”	**Kaipchaq**	“month of the homemade top, Christmas time”

Appendix F: Ugiuvak Month Names

Ugiuvak Month Names (as reported by Paul Tiulana)
(Senungetuk, 1998)

Month	Inupiaq name in English (Senungetuk)	Inupiaq name (Kaplan, n.d.)	Description pg. #
October	“icy month”	Siġmanaq (when new ice form on rocks below King Island village)	p.14
November	“going up to the back of the island to hunt there”	Mayuaqtuwik (refers to climbing over island to hunt on northern side when ice is thick)	p. 14
December	“dancing month”	Sauya.tuġvik (time of drumming, entertainment)	p. 17
January	“reverse dance month”	Kaipsiq; Mumiktuik (month when people dance and drum left-handed outdoors, different than usual, hence the stem mumik-)	p. 19
February	“the month of the prematurely born seal”	Nassiaqsiq (time of unborn seals)	pp. 20-21
March	“fixing our kayaks for springtime”	Ilivaituwik	p. 21
April	“the month for going out hunting with our kayaks”	Qayyitiġvik (time to begin making kayaks)	p. 22
May	“the ice starts to melt from the island”	Kugrinaġnaaq (actually, a month approximately equivalent to May; name refers to the time when water begins to run; from kuuk)	p. 22
June	“unnoticed moon”	Aġvit Taqqiat (walrus month)	pp. 25, 27

July	“the month of going over to the mainland”	Ikpiŋnailaq (lit. “it can barely be sensed,” referring to the moon)	p. 27
August	no name but Tiulana calls it “berry-picking month”		p. 27
September	“ready to go back to the island”		p. 27

References

Akumbu, P. W. (2018). Babanki literacy classes and community-based language research. In S. Bischoff & C. Jany (Eds.), *Insights from Practices in Community-based Research: From theory to practice around the globe*, (pp. 266-279). De Gruyter. https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110527018-015

Allen, S. (2017). Polysynthesis in the acquisition of Inuit languages. In M. Fortescue, M. Mithun, N. Evans (Eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Polysynthesis* (pp. 449-472). Oxford University Press. https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199683208.013.25

Alvanna-Stimpfle, B. Y. (2007). *"Ugiuvaŋmiuraaqtuakrat": Future King Island Speakers.* [Master's thesis, University of Alaska, Fairbanks]. Alaska Native Knowledge Network.

Alvarez, A. & Hale, K. (1970). Toward a manual of Papago grammar: some phonological terms. *International journal of American linguistics.* 36(2), 83–97.

APTN National News. (2015, June 2). *Canada guilty of cultural genocide against Indigenous peoples: TRC.* https://www.aptnnews.ca/national-news/canada-guilty-cultural-genocide-indigenous-peoples-trc-2/

Asher, J. (1996). *Learning another language through actions* (5th ed.). Los Gatos, CA: Sky Oaks Productions.

Austin, P. K. & Sallabank, J. (2018). Language documentation and language revitalization: some methodological considerations. In L. Hinton, L. Huss, and G. Roche (Eds.), *The Routledge Handbook of Language Revitalization* (pp. 207-215). Routledge.

Ball, J., & McIvor, O. (2013). Canada's big chill: Indigenous languages in education. In C. Benson and K. Kosonen (Eds.), *Language issues in comparative education* (pp. 17-38). Brill.

Baraby, A.M. (2012). Reference grammars for speakers of minority languages. *Language documentation & conservation*, (4), 78–101.

Barnhardt, R., & Kawagley, A. O. (2005). Indigenous knowledge systems and Alaska Native ways of knowing. *Anthropology and Education Quarterly, 36(1)*, 8–23.

Barnhardt, N. R. (2014). Creating a place for indigenous knowledge in education: The Alaska Native Knowledge Network. In D.A. Gruenewald and G.A. Smith (Eds.), *Place-based education in the global age* (pp. 137-158). Routledge.

Basham, C., & Fathman, A. K. (2008). The latent speaker: Attaining adult fluency in an endangered language. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, *11*(5), 577–597.

Battiste, M. (2017). *Decolonizing education: Nourishing the learning spirit*. UBC press.

Berez-Kroeker, A. L. & Rosenblum, D. (2018). Reflections on language documentation in North America. *Language documentation & conservation special publication no. 15: reflections on language documentation 20 years after Himmelmann 1998*, 340–353.

Berthelin, S. R. (2012). *The semantics and pragmatics of the North Slope Iñupiaq postbase niq.* [Master's thesis, Norges Teknisk-naturvitenskapelige Universitet]. NTNU Open.

Billy, J. R. (2003). *Acquiring Secwepemctsin: successful approaches* [Doctoral dissertation, Simon Fraser University]. CORE.

Billy, J. E. (2015). Exploring the use of traditional Secwepemc stories to teach language. [Master's thesis, University of Victoria]. DSpace. http://hdl.handle.net/1828/9823

Bird. S., & Kell, S. (2017). The role of pronunciation in SENĆOŦEN language revitalization. *The Canadian Modern Language Review, 73*(4), 538–69.

Birdsong, D. (2018). Plasticity, variability and age in second language acquisition and bilingualism. *Frontiers in Psychology*, *9*, 81.

Blair, R. J. (2013). Rules, rules, rules: Why do students hate grammar. *Foreign Languages & Literature*, *38*(1), 123–141.

Blanc, N., Carol, R., Griggs, P., & Lyster, R. (2012). Lexical scaffolding in immersion classroom discourse. In E. Alcón Soler, M-P. Safont-Jordà (Eds.), *Discourse and language learning across L2 instructional settings* (pp. 31-51). Brill.

Block, D. (2003)*. The social turn in second language acquisition*. Georgetown University Press.

Braem, N. M. (2004). *Leaving King Island: The closure of a Bureau of Indian Affairs school and its consequences.* [Master's Thesis, University of Alaska Fairbanks]. ScholarWorks@UA. http://hdl.handle.net/11122/8556

Brant, T. W. J. (2023). *Tó: nya'teká:yen tsi Entewà:ronke' Onkwehonwe'néha documentation for advanced adult Kanyen'kéha learning.* [Doctoral Dissertation, University of Victoria]. DSpace. http://hdl.handle.net/1828/15770

Burge, H. (2019) *Wooch.een Yéi Jidané: Equitable partnership in language revitalization movements.* ICLDC Presentation, March 2, 2019.

Cajete, G. (1994). *Look to the mountain: An ecology of indigenous education*. Kivaki Press.

Camp, A. B., Campbell, L., Chen, V., Lee, N. H., Magnuson, M., & Rarrick, S. (2018). Writing Grammars of Endangered Languages. In K. L. Rehg and L. Campbell (Eds.), *The Oxford handbook of endangered languages* (pp. 271–304). Oxford University Press. https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780190610029.013.15

Cohen, W.A. (2010). School failed Coyote, so Fox made a new school: Indigenous Okanagan knowledge transforms educational pedagogy [Unpublished doctoral dissertation]. University of British Columbia. https://dx.doi.org/10.14288/1.0071499

Cantoni, G. P. (1999). Using TPR-Storytelling to Develop Fluency and Literacy in Native American Languages. In J. Reyhner, G. Cantoni, R. N. St. Clair, & E. Parsons Yazzie (Eds.) *Revitalizing Indigenous Languages* (pp. 53-58). Northern Arizona University.

Chalker, S. (1994). Pedagogical grammar: principles and problems. In M. Bygate, A. Tonkyn, & E. Willimas (Eds.), *Grammar and the language teacher* (pp. 31-44). Prentice Hall.

Child, S. (2016). *Awi'nakola: We are One with the Land and Sea.* [Master's thesis, University of Victoria]. DSpace. http://hdl.handle.net/1828/10159

Chilisa, B. (2012). Postcolonial indigenous research paradigms. *Indigenous research methodologies*, 98-127.

Compton, R., & Dresher, B. E. (2011). Palatalization and "strong i" across Inuit dialects. *Canadian Journal of Linguistics/Revue canadienne de linguistique*, *56*(2), 203–228.

Creed, M. A. (2016). *Task-based instruction and Alaska Native ways of teaching and learning* [Unpublished].

Cristofaro, S. (2006). The organization of reference grammars: a typologist user's point of view. In F. K. Ameka, A. Dench and N. Evans (Eds.), *Catching language: the standing challenge of grammar writing* (pp. 137-170). De Gruyter. https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110197693.137

Czaykowska-Higgins, E. (2009). Research models, community engagement, and linguistic fieldwork: Reflections on working within Canadian indigenous communities. *Language documentation & conservation*, *3*(1), 182–215.

Czaykowska-Higgins, E. (2018) Reflection on ethics: Re-humanizing linguistics, building relationships across difference. *Language documentation & conservation special publication No. 15 Reflections on Language Documentation 20 Years after Himmelmann 1998,* 110–121

Czaykowska-Higgins, E., Daniels, X. D., Kulchyski, T., Paul, A., Thom, B., Twance, S. M., & Urbanczyk, S. C. (2018). Consultation, relationship, and results in community-based research. In S. T. Bischoff and C. Jany (Eds.), *Insights from practices in Community-based Research: From theory to practice around the globe* (pp. 63-93). De Gruyter. https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110527018-004

Cysouw, M. & Good J. (2013). Languoid, doculect and glossonym: Formalizing the nation 'language'. *Language documentation & conservation 7,* 331–359.

Davies, B., & Harré, R. (1990). Positioning: The Discursive Production of Selves. *Journal for the Theory of Social Behaviour*, *20*(1), 43–63.

Davis, J. L. (2016). Language affiliation and ethnolinguistic identity in Chickasaw language revitalization. *Language & communication, 47*.

Davis, J. L. (2017). Resisting rhetorics of language endangerment: Reclamation through Indigenous language survivance. *Language documentation and description*, *14*, 37–58.

Dauenhauer, N. M. & Dauenhauer, R. (1998). Technical, emotional, and ideological issues in reversing language shift: Examples from Southeast Alaska. In L. A. Grenoble & L. J. Whaley (Eds.), *Endangered languages: Language loss and community response* (pp. 57–98). Cambridge University Press. https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781139166959.004

Demson, D. (2022). *The responsibilities of Linguistics programs: preparing and supporting Linguistics students in collaborative, revitalization-oriented work* [Doctoral dissertation, University of Victoria]. DSpace.

de Reuse, W. J. (1997). *Issues in Language Textbook Development: The Case of Western Apache* (ED415069). ERIC. https://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/ED415069.pdf

Donald, D. T. (2009). Forts, curriculum, and Indigenous Métissage: Imagining decolonization of Aboriginal Canadian relations in educational contexts. *First Nations Perspectives: The Journal of the Manitoba First Nations Education Resource Centre, 2*(1), 1–24.

Douglas Fir Group. (2016). A transdisciplinary framework for SLA in a multilingual world. *The Modern Language Journal*, *100*(S1), 19–47.

Easley, C., & Charles, G. (2005). *Boarding School: Historical trauma among Alaska's Native people.* National Resource Center for American Indian, Alaska Native, and Native Hawaiian Elders.

Elijah, K. A. (2020). *Saikwatsirón:ni – We are reigniting the fire: Regeneration of Kanien'kéha silent speakers* [Master's thesis, University of Victoria]. DSpace. http://hdl.handle.net/1828/11873

Ellanna, L. J. (1988). Skin boats and walrus hunters of Bering Strait. *Arctic anthropology*, 107–119.

Ellis, R. (2003). *Task-based language learning and teaching.* Oxford University Press.

Ellis, R. (2015). The importance of focus on form in communicative language teaching. *Eurasian Journal of Applied Linguistics*, *1*(2), 1–12.

Ellis, R. (2016). Anniversary article focus on form: A critical review. *Language teaching research, 20*(3).

Ellis, R. (2017). Task-based language teaching. In S. Loewen & M. Sato (Eds.), *The Routledge handbook of instructed second language acquisition* (pp. 108-125). Routledge.

Ellis, R., & Sheen, Y. (2006). Reexamining the role of recasts in second language acquisition. *Studies in Second Language Acquisition*, *28*(4), 575–600.

Epps, P.L, Webster, A.K. & Woodbury, A. C. (2017) A Holistic humanities of speaking: Franz Boas and the continuing centrality of texts. *International Journal of American Linguistics 83*(1), 41–78.

Errington, J. (2003). Getting language rights: The rhetorics of language endangerment and loss. *American anthropologist*, *105*(4), 723–732.

Evans, N., & Dench, A. (2006). Introduction: catching language. In N. Evans & A. Dench (Eds.), *Catching language: The standing challenge of grammar writing* (pp. 1-40). De Gruyter. https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110197693.1

Fitzgerald, C. M. (2017). Understanding language vitality and reclamation as resilience: A framework for language endangerment and loss (Commentary on Mufwene). *Language*, *93*(4), e280–e297.

Fortescue, M. & Lennert Olsen, L. (1992). The acquisition of West Greenlandic. In D. I. Slobin (Ed.), *The Crosslinquistic Study of Language Acquistion* (Vol. 3, pp. 111-219). Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Fortescue, M., Mithun, M., & Evans, N. (2017). Introduction. In M. Fortescue, M. Mithun, & N. Evans (Eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Polysynthesis* (pp. 1-16). Oxford University Press.

Galla, C.K. (2021, March 4). Enacting relational accountability to Indigenous languages and their peoples, communities, and lifeways [Opening Keynote]. In 7th *International Conference on Language Documentation and Conservation*, Honolulu, HI, US. http://hdl.handle.net/10125/74502

Gerdts, D. B. (2010). The role of the linguist in language revitalization programs. In L. A. Grenoble & N. L. Furbee (Eds.), *Language documentation: practice and values* (pp. 173-192). John Benjamins.

Grayshield, L., Rutherford, J. J., Salazar, S. B., Mihecoby, A. L., & Luna, L. L. (2015). Understanding and healing historical trauma: The perspectives of Native American elders. *Journal of Mental Health Counseling*, *37*(4), 295–307.

Green, T. J. & Maracle, B. O. (2018). *The Root-Word Method for building proficient second-language speakers of polysynthetic languages.*

Grenoble, L. A. (2009). Linguistic cages and the limits of linguists. In J. Reyhner & L. Lockard (Eds.), *Indigenous language revitalization: Encouragement, guidance, and lessons learned* (pp. 61-89). Northern Arizona University Press.

Grenoble, L. A., & Furbee, N. L. (Eds.). (2010). *Language documentation: Practice and values*. John Benjamins.

Grzega, J. (2005). Learning by teaching: The didactic model LdL in university classes. Eichstätt, Germany: Sprach- und Literaturwissenschaftliche Fakultat, Katholische Universitat Eichstatt-Ingolstadt. http://www.joachim-grzega.de/

Hale, K. (1992). Endangered languages: On endangered languages and the safeguarding of diversity. *Language, 68*(1), 1-42.

Hallett, D., Chandler, M. J., & Lalonde, C. E. (2007). Aboriginal language knowledge and youth suicide. *Cognitive development*, *22*(3), 392–399.

Harcharek, P. J. & Rexford, C. T. (2015). Remembering their words, evoking kiŋuniivut: the development of the Iñupiaq learning framework. *Journal of American Indian Education,* 54(2), 9–28.

Henry, T. P. (2012). *A pedagogical grammar of Ventureño Chumash: Implementing grammatical theory in grammar writing* (Order No. 3540184) [Doctoral dissertation, University of California]. ProQuest.

Henry, R. & Mithun, M. (2008). *Wadę̨yę́stanih: A Cayuga teaching grammar.* CreateSpace Independent Publishing Platform.

Hermes, M. R., & King, K. A. (2019). Task-based language learning for Ojibwe: a case study of two intermediate adult language learners. In T. L. McCarty , S. E. Nicholas & G. Wigglesworth (Eds.), *A World of Indigenous Languages: Politics, Pedagogies and Prospects for Language Reclamation* (pp. 134-152). Channel View Publications. https://doi.org/10.21832/9781788923071-010

Hill. J. H. (2006). Writing culture in grammar in the Americanist tradition. In F. K. Ameka, A. Dench, & N. Evans (Eds), *Catching language: the standing challenge of grammar writing* (pp. 609-628). De Gruyter.

Himmelman, N. P. (1998). Documentary and descriptive linguistics. *Linguistics* 36, 161–195.

Himmelman, N. P. (2006). Language documentation: What is it and what is it good for? In J. Gippert, N.P. Himmelman, & U. Mosel (Eds.), *Essentials of language documentation* (pp. 1-30). De Gruyter.

Hinton, L. (2001). The master-apprentice language learning program. In L. Hinton & K. Hale (Eds.), *The green book of language revitalization in practice* (pp. 217-226). Brill.

Hinton, L. (2003). *How to teach when the teacher isn't fluent.* Northern Arizona University, Flagstaff. Arizona.

Hinton, L., & Ahlers, J. (1999). The issue of "authenticity" in California language restoration. *Anthropology & Education Quarterly*, *30*(1), 56–67.

Hinton, L., Vera, M., & Steele, N. (2002). *How to keep your language alive: A commonsense approach to one-on-one language learning*. Heyday.

Hinton et. al. (2018). The Master-Apprentice language learning program. In L. Hinton, L. Huss, & G. Roche (Eds.), *The Routledge Handbook of Language Revitalization* (pp. 127-136). Routledge.

Hodge, F. S., & Nandy, K. (2011). Predictors of wellness and American Indians. *Journal of health care for the poor and underserved*, *22*(3), 791.

Inuit Circumpolar Council. (2022). *Circumpolar Inuit Protocols for Equitable and Ethical Engagement.*

Jansen, J., Underriner, J., & Jacob, R. (2013). Revitalizing languages through place-based language curriculum. *Language death, endangerment, documentation, and revitalization*, 221–42.

Jenni, B., Anisman, A., McIvor, O. & Jacobs, P. (2017). An exploration on the effects of mentor-apprentice programs on mentors & apprentices' wellbeing. *International Journal of Indigenous Health, 12*(2), 25–42.

Johnson, M. K. (2014). yaʕ̓tmín cqʷəlqʷilt nixʷ, uł nixʷ, ul nixʷ, I need to speak more, and more, and more: Okanagan-Colville (Interior Salish) Indigenous second-language learners share our filmed narratives. *Language documentation & conservation 8, 136-167.*

Johnson, M. (2016). Syilx Language House: how and why we are delivering 2,000 decolonizing hours in Nsyilxcn. *The Canadian modern language review / La revue canadienne des langues,* 73(4), 509–537. doi:10.3138/cmlr.4040

Johnson, SʕʼımlaʔxW M.K. (2017). *n'łəqwcin (clear speech): 1,000 hours to mid- intermediate N'syilxcn proficiency (Indigenous language, Okanagan-Colville, n'qilxwcn, Interior Salish)* (Doctoral dissertation, University of British Columbia-Okanagan). DSpace. https://dx.doi.org/10.14288/1.0074314

Johnson, J. T. (2012). Place-based learning and knowing: Critical pedagogies grounded in Indigeneity. *GeoJournal*, *77*(6), 829–836.

Johnston, B., & Johnson, K. A. (2002). Preschool immersion education for indigenous languages: A survey of resources. *Canadian Journal of Native Education, 26*(2), 107–123, 201.

Kaplan, L. D. (1978). Consonant Assimilation in Inupiaq Eskimo. In *Proceedings of the Annual Meeting of the Berkeley Linguistics Society* (Vol. 4) (pp. 352-359). DOI: https://doi.org/10.3765/bls.v4i0.2188

Kaplan, L. D. (1981). *Phonological Issues in North Alaskan Inupiaq. Alaska Native Language Center Research Papers No. 6*. Alaska Native Language Center, University of Alaska.

Kaplan, L. D. (1982). Consonant alternation in Inupiaq Eskimo. *International journal of American linguistics, 48*(4), 385–393.

Kaplan, L. D., & McGary, J. (1984). *Inupiaq and the Schools. A Handbook for Teachers*. Alaska Native Language Center, University of Alaska.

Kaplan, L.D. (1985). Seward Peninsula Inupiaq consonant gradation and its relationship to prosody. *Alaska Native Language Center research papers, No. 7.* Alaska Native Language Center, University of Alaska.

Kaplan, L. D. (1994). Qawiaraq Inupiaq: A clue to the origin of consonant palatalization in Alaska Inuit. *Acta llinguistica hafniensia. 27(1)*, 285–290.

Kaplan, L. D. (2000). Seward Peninsula Inupiaq and language contact around Bering Strait. In M-A. Mahieu & N. Tersis (Eds.), *Variations on polysynthesis: The Eskaleut languages* (pp. 261-272). John Benjamins.

Kaplan, L. D. (2001). Inupiaq identity and Inupiaq language: Does one entail the other? *Études/Inuit/Studies*, 249–257.

Kaplan, L. D. (2005). Inupiaq writing and international Inuit relations. *Préserver la language et les saviors / Preserving language and knowledge. 29*(1/2), 233–237.

Kaplan, L. D. (n.d.). *King Island Inupiaq dictionary* [Unpublished manuscript].

Kaplan, L. D. (n.d.). *Qawiaraq Inupiaq dictionary* [Unpublished manuscript].

Kaplan, Lawrence. (2020). "Inuit or Eskimo: Which Name to Use?" *Inuit or Eskimo: Which Name to Use? | Alaska Native Language Center*, Alaska Native Language Center. www.uaf.edu/anlc/resources/inuit_or_eskimo.php.

Kaplan, L. D. & Williams, L. (2000). *Inupiaq phrases and conversations*. Alaska Native Language Center.

Kari, J. M. (2014). *Dena'ina topical dictionary, 2nd edition*. Alaska Native Language Center.

Kawagley, A. O. (1995, October-November). Incorporation of the World Views of Indigenous Cultures: A Dilemma in the Practice and Teaching of Western Science. Paper presented at the 3rd International History, Philosophy, and Science Teaching Conference, Minneapolis, MN.

Kawerak, Inc. (2021). *4-Language Glossary: Inupiaq, St. Lawrence Island Yupik, Yup'ik, and English Terms for Research, Science, and Policy*. Navigating the New Arctic Community Office. Nome, Alaska.

Kell, S. (2014). *Polysynthetic language structures and their role in pedagogy and curriculum for BC Indigenous languages.* Final Report for the BC Ministry of Education.

Kell, S. (2016). *Developing a model for an experiential grammar teaching resource for Hul'q'umi'num' junior kindergarten teachers.* [Master's thesis, University of Victoria]. DSpace. http://hdl.handle.net/1828/11208

Kelly, B., Wigglesworth G., Nordlinger, R. & Blythe, J. (2014). The acquisition of polysynthetic languages. *Language and linguistics compass*, *8*(2), 51–64. DOI: 10.1111/lnc3.12062

Kipiġniuqtit Iñupiuraallanikun. (2023). *Uuktuun Iñupiuraallanikun 2020-miñ 2022-mun: 2020-2022 Iñupiaq language survey report.* Kipiġniutit Iñupiuraalanikun.

Kirkness, V. J., & Barnhardt, R. (1991). First Nations and higher education: The four R's—Respect, relevance, reciprocity, responsibility. *Journal of American Indian Education 30*(3), 1-15.

Kovach, M. (2010). *Indigenous methodologies: Characteristics, conversations, and contexts*. University of Toronto Press.

Krashen, S. D., & Terrell, T. D. (1983). The natural approach: Language acquisition in the classroom. Prentice Hall.

Krauss, M. (1987). Typology and change in Alaskan languages. In W. P. Lehmann (Ed.), *Systematic balance in language: papers from the Linguistic Typology Symposium, Berkeley, 1-3 Dec. 1987* (pp. 147-156).

Kroskrity, P. V. (2015). Designing a dictionary for an endangered language community: Lexicographical deliberations, language ideological clarifications. *Language Documentation & Conservation, 9*, 140–157.

Krupnik, I., & Weyapuk, W. U. (2010). Qanuq Ilitaavut: "How we learned what we know" (Wales Inupiaq sea ice dictionary). In I. Krupnik, C. Aporta, S. Gearheard, G. J. Laidler, & L. Kielsen Holm, *SIKU: Knowing Our Ice* (pp. 321-354). Springer.

Lanz, L. A. (2010). *A grammar of Iñupiaq morphosyntax* [Doctoral dissertation, Rice University]. Rice University Research Repository. https://hdl.handle.net/1911/62097.

Littlebear, R. (1999). Some rare and radical ideas for keeping Indigenous languages alive. In J. Reyhner, G. Cantoni, R. N. St. Clair, E. Parsons Yazzie (Eds.), *Revitalizing indigenous languages* (pp. 1-5). Northern Arizona University Press.

Leonard, B. (2001). Documenting Indigenous knowledge and languages: research planning & protocol. *Sharing our pathways: a newsletter of the Alaska Rural System Initiative 6*(5*),* 1–5.

Leonard, W. Y. (2008). When is an 'extinct' language not extinct?' Miami, a formerly sleeping language. In K. A. King, N. Schilling-Estes, L. Fogle, J. J. Lou, & B. Soukup (Eds.), *Sustaining linguistic diversity: Endangered and minority languages and language varieties* (pp.23-33). Georgetown University Press.

Leonard, W. Y. (2011). Challenging 'extinction' through modern Miami language practices. *American Indian culture and research journal, 35*(2), 135–160.

Leonard, W. Y. (2012). Framing language reclamation programmes for everybody's empowerment. *Gender and language, 6*(2), 339–367.

Leonard, W. Y. (2017). Producing language reclamation by decolonizing 'language'. In W. Y. Leonard & H. De Korne (Eds.), *Language documentation and description, 14.* EL Publishing.

Leonard, W. Y. (2018). Reflections on (de)colonialism in language documentation. *Language documentation & conservation special publication no. 15: reflections on language documentation 20 years after Himmelmann 1998,* 340–353.

Leonard. W. Y. (2021). *Language reclamation through relational language work* [Closing plenary]. International Conference on Language Documentation and Conservation, Honolulu, HI, US. http://hdl.handle.net/10125/74504

Leonard, W. Y. (2021). Toward an anti-racist linguistic anthropology: An Indigenous response to white supremacy. *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology,* 31(2), 218–237.

Leonard, W. Y. & Haynes, E. (2010). Making “collaboration” collaborative: An examination of perspectives that frame linguistic field research. *Language documentation & conservation 4*, 268–293.

Lewis, D. B. (2020). *kón dháredi – Feeding the fire* [Master’s thesis, University of Victoria]. DSpace. http://hdl.handle.net/1828/11652

Linguistic Society of America. (2018). *Statement on evaluation of language documentation of hiring, tenure, and promotion* [Press release]. https://www.linguisticsociety.org/sites/default/files/Evaluation_Lg_Documentation.pdf

Long, M. (1991). "Focus on form: A design feature in language teaching methodology". In K. De Bot, R. Ginsberg, C. Kramsch (Eds.), *Foreign language research in cross-cultural perspective* (pp.39-52). John Benjamins.

Long, M. H. (1998). Focus on form in task-based language teaching. In R. D. Lambert & E. Shohamy (Eds.), *Language policy and pedagogy: Essays in honor of A. Ronald Walton* (pp. 179-192). https://doi.org/10.1075/z.96.11lon

Mackey, A. (2006). Feedback, noticing and instructed second language learning. *Applied linguistics*, *27*(3), 405–430.

MacLean, E. A. (1981). *Abridged North Slope Inupiaq dictionary.* Alaska Native Language Center, University of Alaska Fairbanks.

MacLean, E. A. (1993). *North Slope Inupiaq Grammar, First Year. Revised, with Supplement: North Slope Inupiaq Dialogues*. Alaska Native Language Center, University of Alaska Fairbanks.

MacLean, E. A. (1994). *North Slope Inupiaq grammar, Second Year* (Preliminary Edition for Student Use Only). Alaska Native Language Center, University of Alaska Fairbanks.

MacLean, E. (2010). Culture and change for Iñupiat and Yup’ik people of Alaska. In R. Barnhardt & A. O. Kawagley (Eds.), *Alaska Native education: Views from within* (pp. 41-58). Alaska Native Knowledge Network.

MacLean, E. (2014). *Iñupiatun Uqaluit Taniktun Sivuniŋit: Inupiaq to English dictionary*. University of Chicago Press.

McCreery, D. (2013). *Challenges and solutions in adult acquisition of Cree as a second language* [Master’s thesis University of Victoria]. DSpace. http://hdl.handle.net/1828/4584

McGregor, D., Restoule, J. P., & Johnston, R. (Eds.). (2018). *Indigenous research: Theories, practices, and relationships*. Canadian Scholars’ Press.

McIvor, O. (2012). *îkakwiy nîhiyawiyân: I am learning [to be] Cree* [Doctoral dissertation, University of British Columbia]. DSpace. https://dx.doi.org/10.14288/1.0078368

McIvor, O., & Parker, A. (2016). Back to the future: Recreating natural Indigenous language learning environments through language nest early childhood immersion programs. *The International Journal of Holistic Early Learning and Development*, *3*, 21–35.

McIvor, O. & Anisman, A. (2018). Keeping our languages alive: Strategies for Indigenous language revitalization and maintenance. In Y. Watanabe (Ed.), *Handbook of Cultural Security* (pp. 90-109). Edward Elgar Publishing.

McIvor, O. (2020). Indigenous language revitalization and applied linguistics: Parallel histories, shared futures? *Annual review of applied linguistics,* 40, 78–96. doi:10.1017/S0267190520000094

Meissner, S. N. (2018). The moral fabric of linguicide: Un-weaving trauma narratives and dependency relationships in indigenous language reclamation. *Journal of Global Ethics, 14*(2), 266–276. doi:10.1080/17449626.2018.1516691

Mitchell, R., & Myles, F. (2004). *Second language learning theories.* Oxford University Press.

Mithun, M. (2005). Grammars and the community. *Studies in language, 30*(2), 281–306. DOI:10.1075/sl.30.2.06mit

Montler, T. (2012). *Klallam dictionary*. Seattle: University of Washington Press.

Moore, R. E., Pietikäinen, S., & Blommaert, J. (2010). Counting the losses: Numbers as the language of language endangerment. *Sociolinguistic studies, 4*(1), 1–26.

Mosel, U. (2005). Grammaticography: the art and craft of writing grammars. In F. K. Ameka, N. Evans & A. Dench (Eds.), *Catching language: the standing challenge of grammar writing* (pp. 41-68). De Gruyter.

Morin, R. (2018). *Discovering new pathways to old teachings: The Paul Creek Method of second language acquisition for adult Cree language learners* [Master's thesis, University of Victoria]. DSpace. http://hdl.handle.net/1828/10017

Nagai, T. (2006). *Agentive and patientive verb bases in North Alaskan Iñupiaq* (Order No. 3229741) [Doctoral dissertation, University of Alaska Fairbanks]. ProQuest. Retrieved from https://www.proquest.com/dissertations-theses/agentive-patientive-verb-bases-north-alaskan/docview/305351183/se-2

Nassaji, H. (2000). Towards integrating form-focused instruction and communicative interaction in the second language classroom: Some pedagogical possibilities. *The modern language journal*, *84*(2), 241–250.

Nassaji, H. (2013). Participation structure and incidental focus on form in adult EFL classrooms. *Language learning, 63,* 834–869.

Nassaji, H., & Fotos, S. (2004). Current developments in research on the teaching of grammar. *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics*, *24*, 126–145.

Noonan, M. (2006). Grammar writing for a grammar-reading audience. *Studies in Language. International Journal sponsored by the Foundation "Foundations of Language"*, *30*(2), 351–365.

Odlin, T. (1994). *Perspectives on pedagogical grammar.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

O'Grady, W. & Hattori, R. (2015). Language acquisition and language revitalization. *Language documentation & conservation, (10)*, 45–57.

Okakok, L. (2010). Serving the purpose of education. In R. Barnhardt & A. O. Kawagley (Eds.), *Alaska Native education: Views from within* (pp. 41-58). Alaska Native Knowledge Network.

'Ōlelo Online Hawaiian Language. (2014). *'Ōlelo online, your online hawaiian language classroom*. https://oleloonline.com/

Ongtooguk, P. (2000). Aspects of Traditional Inupiat Education. *Sharing our pathways: A newsletter of the Alaska Rural Systemic Initiative*, *5*(4), 8–12.

Oster, R. T., Grier, A., Lightning, R., Mayan, M. J., & Toth, E. L. (2014). Cultural continuity, traditional Indigenous language, and diabetes in Alberta First Nations: a mixed methods study. *International journal for equity in health*, *13*(1), 92.

Oxford Bibliographies. (2012). *Language Documentation.* Retrieved April 27, 2021. DOI: 10.1093/OBO/9780199772810-0075

Parker, A. V. (2012). *Learning the language of the land.* [Master's thesis, University of Victoria]. DSpace. http://hdl.handle.net/1828/4106

Penetito, W. (2009). Place-based education: Catering for curriculum, culture and community. *New Zealand Annual Review of Education*, *18*(2008), 5–29.

Perley, B. C. (2012). Zombie linguistics: Experts, endangered languages and the curse of undead voices. *Anthropological forum, 22*(2), 133–149. DOI:10.1080/00664677.2012.694170

Raymond-Yakoubian, B. & Raymond-Yakoubian, J. (2017). *Research processes and Indigenous communities in Western Alaska: Workshop Report*. Prepared by Sandhill.Culture.Craft and Kawerak Social Science Program. Retrieved from Navigating the New Arctic Community Office website: https://nna-co.org/sites/default/files/2022-10/KAW_ResearchProcess_2017.pdf

Rehg, K. L. (2014). On the role of utility of grammars in language documentation and conservation. *Language documentation & conservation,* (8), 53–67.

Restoule, J.-P. (2008, November 26). *The five R's of Indigenous research: Relationship, respect, relevance, responsibility, and reciprocity*. Workshop presented at the Wise Practices II: Canadian Aboriginal AIDS Network Research and Capacity Building Conference, Toronto.

Riestenberg, K., & Sherris, A. (2018). Task-based teaching of Indigenous languages: Investment and methodological principles in Macuiltianguis Zapotec and Salish Qlispe revitalization. *Canadian Modern Language Review*, *74*(3), 434–459.

Rice, K. (2005a). Let the language tell its story? The role of linguistic theory in writing grammars. In In F. K. Ameka, N. Evans & A. Dench (Eds.), *Catching language: the standing challenge of grammar writing* (pp. 235-268). De Gruyter.

Rice, K. (2005b). A typology of good grammars. *Studies in Language, 30*(2), 385–415.

Rice, K. (2006). Ethical issues in linguistic fieldwork: An overview. *Journal of Academic Ethics 4*, 123–155.

Rice, K. (2009). Must there be two solitudes? Language activists and linguists working together. In J. Reyhner & L. Lockard (Eds.) *Indigenous language revitalization: Encouragement, guidance & lessons learned* (pp. 37-39). Northern Arizona University.

Richards, M., & Burnaby, B. (2008). Restoring aboriginal languages: Immersion and intensive language program models in Canada. *Bilingual education and bilingualism, 66,* 221.

Rigney, L. (2006). Indigenous Australian views on knowledge production and Indigenist research. In N. I. Goduka & J. E. Kunnie (Eds.), *Indigenous peoples' wisdom and power: Affirming our knowledge through narratives* (pp. 32–50). Ashgate Publishing.

Rorick, C. L. (2019). wałyaʕasukʔi naananiqsakqin: At the home of our ancestors: Ancestral continuity in Indigenous land-based language immersion. In L. T. Smith, T. Tuck, & K. W. Yang (Eds.), *Indigenous and decolonizing studies in education: Mapping the long view* (pp. 224–37). Routledge.

Rosborough, P.C. (2012). K̓a̱ngex̱tola sewn-on-top: Kwak'wala revitalization and being indigenous [Doctoral dissertation, University of British Columbia]. DSpace. https://dx.doi.org/10.14288/1.0073018

Rosborough, T'. P. & Rorick, č. L. (2017). Following in the footsteps of the wolf: connecting scholarly minds to ancestors in Indigenous language revitalization. *AlterNative: an international journal of Indigenous peoples, 13*(1). DOI:10.1177/1177180116689031

Sarkar, M. & Metallic, M. A. (2009). Indigenizing the structural syllabus: The challenge of revitalizing Mi'gmaq in Listuguj. *The Canadian modern language review / La revue Canadienne des language vivantes, 66(*1).

Scully, A. (2012). Decolonization, reinhabitation and reconciliation: Aboriginal and place-based education. *Canadian Journal of Environmental Education (CJEE)*, *17*, 148–158.

Seiler, W. (2016). Inupiatun Eskimo dictionary. In *Language and Culture, Documentation and Description 16.* SIL International Publications.

Senungetuk, V. (1998). *Wise Words of Paul Tiulana; an Inupiat Alaskan's Life*. Grolier Publishing, New York City, NY.

Sharp, S., & Hirshberg, D. (2005). *Thirty years later: The long-term effect of boarding schools on Alaska Natives and their communities.* University of Alaska Anchorage, Institute of Social and Economic Research.

Smith, L. T. (1999). *Decolonizing methodologies: Research and indigenous peoples*. Zed Books Ltd.

Snively, G. & Williams, L. W. (2018). *Knowing Home: Braiding Indigenous science with Western science.* ePublishing Services, University of Victoria Libraries. PressBooks. https://pressbooks.bccampus.ca/knowinghome/

Strand, K., et. al. (2003). *Community-based research and higher education: Principles and practices.* San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.

Sun, S., Douglas, F., Gray, M., Loon, H., Newlin, A., Sampson, R. R., & Sheldon, B. (1979). Kaŋiqsisautit uqayusraġnikun: Kobuk Inupiaq junior dictionary. *Anchorage: National Bilingual Materials Development Cotter*.

Surma, A. (2022). *Reciprocity and language work: Considering the role of the outsider linguist* [Doctoral dissertation, University of Hawaiʻi Mānoa]. ScholarSpace. https://hdl.handle.net/10125/104669

Swain, M. (1991). French immersion and its offshoots: Getting two for one. In B. Freed (Ed.), *Foreign language acquisition research and the classroom* (pp. 91-103). Heath.

Swansborough, R. P. (1993). *Curricular integration of elementary French as a second language by non-specialist teachers* [Doctoral dissertation, University of British Columbia]. DSpace. https://dx.doi.org/10.14288/1.0054684

SX̱EDȾELISIYE (Sampson, R.). (2014). W̱IÁLḴ EN NE SḰÁL: SX̱EDȾELISIYE's SENĆOŦEN auto-ethnography. [Master's thesis, University of Victoria, BC, Canada]. DSpace. http://hdl.handle.net/1828/9814

Taff, A., Chee, M., Hall, J., Hall, M. Y. D., Martin, K. N., & Johnston, A. (2018). Indigenous language use impacts wellness. In K. L. Rehg & L. Campbell (Eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Endangered Languages* (pp. 862-884). Oxford University Press.

Taylor-Adams, A. (2019). Recording to revitalize: Language teachers and documentation design. *Language documentation & conservation, 13,* 426-445.

Topkok, C. S. A. (2015). *Iñupiat ilitqusiat: Inner views of our Iñupiaq values* [Doctoral dissertation, University of Alaska Fairbanks]. ScholarWorks @UA. http://hdl.handle.net/11122/6405

Truth, & Reconciliation Commission of Canada. (2015). Canada's Residential Schools: The Final Report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada (Vol. 1). McGill-Queen's Press-MQUP.

Tsikewa, A. (2021). Reimagining the current praxis of field linguistics training: Decolonial considerations. *Language*, *97*(4), e293–e319.

Tuck, E. (2011). Rematriating curriculum studies. *Journal of Curriculum and Pedagogy*, *8*(1), 34–37.

Tuck, E., & Yang, K. W. (2012). Decolonization is not a metaphor. *Tabula Rasa*, (38), 61–111.

Tuck, E., McKenzie, M., & McCoy, K. (2014). *Land education: Indigenous, post-colonial, and decolonizing perspectives on place and environmental education research.*

Turner, D. A., & Simpson A. (2008). *Indigenous leadership in a flat world.* Research paper for the National Centre for First Nations Governance. Centre for First Nations Governance.

Village News Network. (Producer). (1996). *Inupiat Ilitqusiat: Portrait of a people - by the people.* Alaska Newspapers Inc.

Walsh, M. (2018). "Language is like food…" Links Between Language Revitalization and Health and Well-being. In L. Hinton, L. Huss & G. Roche (Eds.), *The Routledge handbook of language revitalization* (pp. 5-12). Routledge.

Whalen, D. H., Moss, M., & Baldwin, D. (2016). Healing through language: Positive physical health effects of indigenous language use. *F1000Research*, *5*.

Whalen, D. H., Lewis, M. E., Gillson, S., McBeath, B., Alexander, B., & Nyhan, K. (2022). Health effects of Indigenous language use and revitalization: a realist review. *International Journal for Equity in Health*, *21*(1), 169.

Whitinui, P. (2008). *The indigenous factor: Exploring kapa haka as a culturally responsive learning environment in mainstream secondary schools* [Doctoral dissertation, University of Auckland]. ResearchSpace. http://hdl.handle.net/2292/2377

Wilson, S. (2007). Guest editorial: what is an Indigenist research paradigm? *Canadian journal of Native education,* 30(2), 193–195.

Wilson, S. (2008). *Research is ceremony: Indigenous research methods.* Fernwood Publishing.

Wilson, W. P. H. (2012). USDE Violations of NALA and the Testing Boycott at Nāwahīokalani'ōpu'u School. *Journal of American Indian Education*, *51*(3), 30–45.

Woodbury, A. C. (2011). Language documentation. In Austin, P. K. & Sallabank J. (Eds.), *The Cambridge handbook of endangered languages* (pp. 159-186). Cambridge University Press.

Woodhouse, J. L., & Knapp, C. (2000). *Place-based curriculum and instruction: Outdoor and environmental education approaches*. Clearinghouse on Rural Education and Small Schools, Appalachia Educational Laboratory.

Yazzie, E. P., Speas, M., Ruffenbach, J., & Yazzie, B. (2007). *Diné bizaad bínáhoo'aah: rediscovering the Navajo language*. Flagstaff, AZ: Salina Bookshelf.

Zepeda, O. (1983). *A Tohono O'odham grammar.* Tucson, AZ. The University of Arizona Press.