**Qallunaat learners of Inuktitut: A qualitative investigation of how and why non-
Inuit learn Inuktitut as a second language**

by

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Abstract

Qallunaat, the Inuktitut term for people of non-Inuit heritage, is one demographic which is often not mentioned when discussing Inuktitut language revitalisation. Yet there is an increasing number of Qallunaat moving to Inuit Nunangat, the traditional Inuit homeland, who do not learn Inuktitut or another Inuit language. The present study investigates the motivations and attitudes of Qallunaat who learn Inuktitut. Using the L2 Motivational Self System (Dörnyei, 2005) as a theoretical framework, the present study considers the internal and external pressures for why a Qallunaat might choose to learn Inuktitut. The data, collected from interviews with Qallunaat learners of Inuktitut (n=7), suggest that this demographic is motivated primarily by internal factors. Prominent motivations for learning Inuktitut included interest in Inuit culture, enjoying the challenge of learning this language and a desire to communicate with Inuit. The present study also investigates which language learning resources Qallunaat have access to and which resources they believe are currently missing. Having access to a proficient speaker of Inuktitut was the highest rated resource for these learners. Among the resources deemed missing, the most prominent request was for learning materials aimed at advanced learners of Inuktitut. A number of pedagogical and theoretical implications are herein discussed.

Keywords: Inuktitut, Language Learning, Language Teaching, non-Inuit, L2 Motivational Self System, Language Learning Resources

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List of Abbreviations

APTN	Aboriginal Peoples Television Network
ITK	Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami
IQ	Inuktut Qaliujaaqpait
L1	First Language
L2	Second Language
LL	Language Learner
L2MSS	Second Language Motivational Self System
GN	Government of Nunavut
TBLT	Task-Based Language Teaching

Chapter I: Introduction

1.1 Organisation of Thesis

Inuktitut is one of the most spoken indigenous languages in Canada, with close to 40,000 first language (L1) speakers (StatCan, 2017b). Yet the language is still threatened by English and French, which are both increasingly common in Canada's arctic. Revitalisation efforts are underway, yet there is one demographic of the Inuktitut speaking community that is not often discussed or researched. Many Qallunaat, or non-Inuit, move to Inuit communities but never learn to speak Inuktitut. Yet when Qallunaat do learn Inuktitut, they become better integrated into Inuit communities and can provide better services to Inuit. Furthermore, when Qallunaat learn Inuktitut, there is less need for conversations to be conducted in English or French. Therefore the present study aimed to shed light on to the motivations of Qallunaat who do choose to learn Inuktitut as a second language (L2) and investigate their attitudes towards learning this language. The data collected was analysed using the L2 Motivational Self System (L2MSS; Dörnyei, 2005; Dörnyei & Csizér, 2006). Additionally, the present study explored what language learning resources the Qallunaat learners had access to and which resources they believe are currently missing. Below, I briefly describe the vitality of Inuktitut and some of its linguistic features. In chapter 2, previous research in second language acquisition (SLA) relevant to the present study is presented. This includes a discussion on L2 teaching pedagogy and language resources. Concluding the literature review is a discussion on the theoretical framework used in the present study. Chapter 3 presents the participants of the study and the methods by which data were collected. Each of the participants was invited

to a semi-structured interview, which was then transcribed and analysed. In chapter 4, participants' language motivation and attitudes towards the learning experience are discussed. The language teaching resources used are also discussed therein. This thesis ends with a discussion on the pedagogical and theoretical implications uncovered in the present study, and directions for future research.

The topic of the present study was first suggested by Tungasuvvingat Inuit (TI), an organisation dedicated to assisting Inuit establish themselves in southern Ontario. A copy of this study will be presented to TI in order that they may benefit from the results. During the course of the present study, I have begun learning Inuktitut so that I may better understand the experience of the participants, though I admit I have not progressed far. I am only scratching the surface of this beautiful language and I have much more work ahead of me.

1.2 Vitality of Inuktitut¹

Inuktitut belongs to the Eskimo-Aleut family, which also includes Inuinnaqtun and Inuvialuktun (both spoken in Canada), Greenlandic, and Yupik (spoken primarily in Alaska). It is one of the Inuit languages spoken in Inuit Nunangat, the traditional homeland of the Inuit in Canada. In recent years, the term “Inuktitut” has become a common term when discussing Inuit language varieties in Canada. This term covers *all* Inuit language varieties in Canada, while the participants of the present study all speak dialects of one specific variety: Inuktitut (sometimes called Eastern Canadian Inuktitut). For this reason, I will primarily be using the term “Inuktitut” throughout the present study, as that is the specific language variety spoken by the participants. The term Inuktitut

1

will be used when discussing all varieties in Canada. Inuit Nunangat is divided into four regions: the Inuvialuit Settlement Region in the Northwest Territories and Yukon, Nunavut, Nunavik in northern Québec and Nunatsiavut in northern Labrador (see Map 1 below). Inuktitut is

Map 1: Map of Inuit Nunangat. (<https://www.itk.ca/maps-of-inuit-nunangat/>)

primarily concentrated in Nunavut, Nunavik and Nunatsiavut, but speakers can be found throughout Canada. According to the most recent census, there are 39,770 L1 speakers of Inuktitut in Canada (StatCan, 2017b). The vitality of Inuktitut differs based on the regions, however. The vitality of a language is more than simply the proportion of speakers in a community, however; it is also impacted by the domains where a language is used and how much legal power is held by the community of speakers. In Nunavik, 99.2% of Inuit report being able to conduct a conversation in Inuktitut and this language

is used extensively in the workplace (StatCan, 2017b). In Kuujjuaq, for instance, more than 60% of Inuit use Inuktitut at work on a regular basis (StatCan, 2017c). In Nunavut, 72.4% of Inuit report being able to speak Inuktitut (StatCan, 2016). The language is also used extensively in Nunavut workplaces, where 59.1% of all workers speak Inuktitut in the workplace at least on a regular basis (StatCan, 2017c). Meanwhile, 21.4% of Inuit in Nunatsiavut report being able to converse in Inuttitut, the local dialect of Inuktitut (StatCan, 2017b). Similarly, only 22% of Inuit in Inuvialuit region report being able to speak an Inuit language, primarily Inuvialuktun and Inuinnaqtun (StatCan, 2017b). Yet a large number of Qallunaat live and work in Inuit Nunangat as well. According to Statistics Canada (2016), there were 7,570 Qallunaat living in Inuit Nunangat at the time of the last census. In Nunavut’s public sector, which is the largest employer in that territory, Qallunaat make up “approximately half of federal and territorial government

Region	Number of Inuit with knowledge of Inuktitut	Number of Qallunaat with knowledge of Inuktitut
Inuit Nunangat (total)	39,715 (83.9%)	505 (6.7%)
Inuvialuit Settlement Region	685 (22%)	0 (0%)
Nunavut	26,755 (88.7%)	380 (7.6%)
Nunavik	11,705 (99.2%)	110 (9.7%)
Nunatsiavut	490 (21.4%)	10 (4.7%)

Table 1: Number of Inuit and Qallunaat with knowledge of Inuktitut by region (with percentage of total population of the region). (StatCan, 2016)

employees” (ESDC, 2018, p. 6), despite only comprising 15% of the population of Nunavut. Among the Qallunaat working in government positions in Nunavut, only 9% are at least somewhat proficient in Inuktitut (ESDC, 2018). See table 1 below for a distribution of Qallunaat speakers of Inuktitut across Inuit Nunangat. While these figures are striking, it is important to note that these only cover public sector workers, where employers are actively encouraging all employees to learn and use Inuktitut in the workplace. The numbers do not cover other job sectors, where there is potentially less support for Inuktitut language learners.

This situation poses a challenge to the language revitalisation efforts of the Government of Nunavut (GN), but it also creates an opportunity. While the GN is making strides towards a representative labour force by prioritising hiring of Inuit, as long as the underlying social issues blocking the hiring of Inuit employees exist, the GN will continue hiring a disproportionate number of Qallunaat for public service positions. For example, one barrier to hiring Inuit in government public service positions is a lack of education or training (ESDC, 2018). Therefore any insight into how and why Qallunaat learn Inuktitut will help the GN’s efforts to teach and train the language to non-Inuit.

There are a number of reasons why Qallunaat working and living in Inuit communities ought to learn Inuktitut. By learning Inuktitut, Qallunaat gain an understanding of the lives of the Inuit with whom they interact (Pernet, 2011). There is a big cultural distance between Qallunaat and Inuit ways of life and learning Inuktitut is one method Qallunaat may bridge that gap. Pernet (2011) also points out that Qallunaat would expect immigrants to learn English or French, yet many do not make the effort to

learn Inuktitut when they move to Inuit Nunangat. Learning the language is a gesture of respect to the Inuit community in which Qallunaat are living. Qallunaat may also come to appreciate the differences between European languages such as English and French compared to Inuktitut.

1.3 Linguistic Features of Inuktitut

Similar to other Eskimo-Aleut languages, Inuktitut is polysynthetic, meaning it combines multiple units of meaning into a single word. For example, the word *Nunavut* is comprised of the root *nuna-*, meaning ‘land’, and the suffix *-vut*, indicating 1st person plural possessive marker in the absolutive case (‘our’); thus ‘our land’ (Dorais, 1975). Theoretically, there is no limit to the number of affixes a root can take, which can result in some very long words compared to English. For example, the word *illuliuqatigilaaqtara*, meaning “I shall have him/her as mate for building a house” (Dorais, 2010, p.9), requires an entire sentence to be translated into English. This also means that words are constructed as needed to describe any number of contexts.

Inuktitut is extremely complex on a morphological scale. Each word consists of a noun or verb base, optional postbases, and an obligatory suffix. Nouns are obligatorily marked for number and case, and the obligatory inflectional endings on verbs specify mood, person and number of the verb’s arguments (Johns, 2010). Between the base and the ending, we can insert any number of postbases to further specify the situation (Briggs, Johns & Cook, 2015, p.6). For example, the word *illuliuqatigilaaqtara* from above consists of the root *illu* ‘house’, the inflectional ending *-tara* ‘participial mood, 1st person singular subject, 3rd person singular object’ and four postbases: *-liuq* ‘build’, *-qati* ‘mate’, *-gi* ‘to have as’ and *-laaq* ‘future’.

Inuktitut is an ergative language, which means that direct objects in transitive sentences are marked with the same case markings as subjects in intransitive sentences (Beach, 2011; Johns, 1992). Consider the following sentences:

- a. Jaaniup iqaluk nirijanga.
Jaani-up iqaluk-Ø niri-janga
Johnny-ERG.SG fish-ABS.SG eat-PAR.3sS.3sO
‘Johnny is eating the Fish.’
- b. Jaani nirijuq.
Jaani-Ø niri-juq
Johnny-ABS.SG eat-PAR.3sS
‘Johnny is eating.’

Both nouns in the above sentences, *Jaani* and *iqaluk* have case suffixes. The change in case markings for the subject *Jaani* is also reflected in a verbal suffix change on *niri-* to indicate the change to an intransitive sentence with only one argument. Many other languages from around the world share similar ergative qualities, such as Basque (José Ezeizabarrena & Pilar Larrañaga, 1996) and Dyirbal (Dixon, 1994), to name a few. This contrasts with the nominative-accusative system, which includes languages such as English and French, where the subject of transitive and intransitive sentences are the same, but the direct object of transitive verbs are marked differently.

Syntactically, the unmarked word-order in Inuktitut is subject-object-verb, but in truth it allows free variation. This means words can be shuffled into almost any order and the sentence will retain its meaning because every word in a sentence has a suffix indicating their function or role. Subject and object pronouns are frequently dropped in Inuktitut as a consequence of the robust verbal and nominal inflection systems (Allen,

1994, p. 10). This is similar to languages such as Spanish, where speakers will usually say *hablo* “I speak”, where the first-person singular is marked by the verbal suffix *-o*, rather than indicating it with a pronoun.

Traditionally, there are nine different writing systems used to write in the many varieties of Inuktitut, with some using syllabics and others using roman letters (ITK, 2019, Patrick, Murasugi & Palluq-Cloutier, 2017). Within just Inuktitut, there are at least 3 different writing systems. Yet in recent years, Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami (ITK), an organisation which represents Inuit interests at the national level, has developed and adopted a standard orthography using roman letters. This new system, Inuktitut Qaliujaaqpait (IQ), is intended as an auxiliary system, meaning most Inuit will continue to use their local way of spelling (ITK, 2019). IQ will be used primarily in ITK reports and articles, as well as in new learning and teaching materials. This will make it easier for Inuit to share resources between communities that use different writing systems. IQ is also designed to be easier for L1 and L2 speakers to learn compared to other writing systems for Inuktitut (ITK, 2019).

Section 1.3 only provides a brief and simplified overview of Inuktitut grammar. Yet even in this brief description, it may be obvious how different Inuktitut is from languages such as English and French, which are both from the Indo-European language family. These two languages can be described as being close in proximity, meaning they share many features. When it comes to language learning, it is far easier to learn an L2 which is in close proximity to the LL’s L1. The fact that Qallunaat learners’ L1, whether it is English, French, or another language, is ‘distant’ from Inuktitut makes learning this language much more challenging.

Chapter II: Background and Literature Review

Chapter 2 presents an overview of previous research related to second language acquisition and Inuktitut. The first section deals with language teaching and learning strategies in a classroom setting, with a focus on popular strategies used in Indigenous language classrooms. Section 2.2 then presents research on language learning resources and introduces many resources that are or could be used in language teaching. Following that is a discussion on general second language acquisition (SLA) theory before homing in on the theoretical model used in the present study in section 2.4. The final section of Chapter 2 presents the research questions used to direct and guide the present study.

2.1 L2 Teaching & Pedagogy

A popular method for teaching Indigenous languages is through immersion programs (Pitawanakwat, 2018). Immersion programs have proven useful – even critical – for producing highly proficient speakers in Te Reo Māori (Bishop, Berryman & Richardson, 2002), Anishinabemowin (Gordon, 2009; Pitawanakwat, 2018), Cherokee (Peter, Hirata-Edds, Feeling, Kirk, Mackey & Duncan, 2017), Kanien'kéha (Maracle, 2001; Maracle, 2002), Gaeilge (Ó Muirheartaigh & Hickey, 2008) and in many other minority and endangered language communities. Practices differ, but the main element of immersion programs is providing a space where the target language is used and spoken almost exclusively. In the case of Inuktitut, there are immersion opportunities for adult L2 learners in various communities throughout Inuit Nunangat. Some communities have sufficiently large proportions of L1 speakers of Inuktitut to form natural immersion settings (Lepage & Langlois, 2019) where learners can hear and speak Inuktitut with the majority of residents. In other communities, formal immersion programs are in place,

such as at Pirurvik Centre (www.pirurvik.ca). Pirurvik Centre is an Inuit-run learning centre in Iqaluit aimed at investing in Inuit culture and language. They offer Inuktitut language courses for both L1 and L2 learners. There is currently no immersion program outside of Inuit Nunangat, however, which poses a challenge to learners of Inuktitut in the South. While immersion programs are a popular method for teaching an L2 to adults, this method is not without its faults. In fact, there are many studies that report mixed results, as many graduates of immersion programs often do not reach the desired level of proficiency (Pastushenkov & McIntyre, 2020). Therefore language learning requires more than simply the opportunity for immersion.

As discussed above in section 2.1, one method for teaching vocabulary in polysynthetic languages is called the Root-Word Method (Green & Maracle, 2018). Studies have shown the effectiveness of this teaching strategy for Kanien'kéha (Green & Maracle, 2018) and Innu-Aimun (Lavoie, 2015). Many Inuktitut L2 courses are taught using this method as well. Following this method, LLs are taught how to recognize the roots of large words. There is evidence to suggest that learners are able to deduce the meanings of unfamiliar words effectively if they can recognize the root (Biemiller, 2003; Lavoie, 2015). In addition to the root-word method, Lavoie (2015) also showed that flashcards and word network pedagogies were effective at teaching vocabulary in Innu-aimun. Flashcards are rather simple; when LLs are involved in the creation of flashcards used in the classroom, it gives students meaningful interaction with the target vocabulary. The word network strategy involves teaching a LL a new word and then connecting the target word with a “semantic chain” (Lavoie, 2015, p.5). This leads the LL to form associations between a number of words. This word network helps with the memorisation

of all associated words. For example, the network around the word ‘camping’ might include ‘season’, ‘tent’ and ‘fishing’.

Another language teaching strategy employed in an indigenous context is Task Based Language Teaching (TBLT; Riestenberg & Sherris, 2018). TBLT focuses on discovering real situations where the LLs are likely to speak the target language and then developing class activities around those contexts and situations. Riestenberg and Sherris (2018) found that TBLT was an effective teaching strategy for Macuiltianguis Zapotec and Salish Qlipse, indigenous languages spoken in Mexico and the United States, respectively. One advantage this pedagogy has over other methods is that it is based on communicative needs rather than linguistic structure, meaning there is little reliance on textbooks or grammars, two resources which are often lacking in indigenous language contexts.

One teacher of Inuktitut to receptive bilinguals and heritage speakers wrote about her experiences in the classroom and some of the teaching strategies she used. Part of Kyak’s (2011) class was devoted to instilling pride and confidence in the LLs, which encouraged and motivated them to continue learning the language. This was done partly by talking about the history of the language and explaining the benefits of being bilingual. Kyak (2011) also mentioned that one of the best activities for building LL confidence was writing and recording fictitious commercials in Inuktitut. The students were able to watch and see themselves speaking Inuktitut, which built up their confidence and motivation. Kyak also helped the LL confidence by fostering a ‘safe-space’ where the students felt comfortable making mistakes. Another teaching strategy she used was to have the students speak Inuktitut, expressing themselves with “no pencils, no papers, just

speaking Inuktitut” (Kyak, 2011, p. 91). She notes that this strategy is different from what the LLs were used to, but it was very effective at teaching them to speak Inuktitut and express themselves in that language.

2.2 Resources

When it comes to language learning, there are a number of different types of resources which may prove useful to the LL. In this section I will discuss what previous researchers have found to be effective language learning resources and then I will provide a brief overview of the resources available to learners of Inuktitut.

The single most important resource for LLs is access to L1 or high-proficiency L2 speakers. As discussed above, LLs require a great deal of input and output in order to progress in their language learning. Yet this access is not always possible, and so resources can help by providing more opportunities for LLs to hear the target language. Radio is one such resource where LLs can listen to the target language. In a study on L2 learners of te reo Māori, de Bruin and Mane (2016) found that radio broadcasts aimed at learners of the language were greatly appreciated. Lalima (2013) notes that one advantage for radio is the relatively low cost of production and access. Furthermore, Lalima (2013) suggests radio can be used in the classroom to support language learning by framing class activities around listening to broadcasts. This would also have the effect of getting students in the habit of listening to broadcasts in the target language regularly. However, the participants in de Bruin and Mane (2016) commented that they didn’t like “long, long, long, long stories” (p. 780), they much preferred short snippets which are easier for LLs to process. Most communities in Inuit Nunangat have a community radio station in place, which is a great resource for learning Inuktitut. In the South, there are at

least two Inuktitut-language radio stations: Nipivut CKUT 90.3FM in Montréal and Uqallagvik CKCU 93.1FM in Ottawa. Both of these stations have ‘on demand’ replays available on their websites which allows any LLs to listen in, regardless of where they live. Another audio resource closely related to radio is music. Of course, music is often played during radio broadcasts, but music is available in other media and therefore deserves special attention. One study found that music has the ability to increase LLs’ motivations to learn the target language (Cores-Bilbao, Fernández-Corbacho, Mechancoses & Fonseca-Mora, 2019). Another team of researchers, Kao and Oxford (2014), proposed a three-step strategy for LLs to learn a language more effectively through listening to music. This involved (a) listening and enjoying the music, (b) reading and analysing the lyrics and (c) investigating the underlying culture that gave rise to the songs. This strategy, Kao and Oxford (2014) explain, can be used on any song with culturally relevant lyrics. Music with Inuktitut lyrics are available in a number of locations online. Spotify, a free music streaming service available for computers and smartphones, hosts many songs by Inuit artists. Inuktitut music is also available on Inuktitube (www.inuktitube.com) and is featured in the Indigenous Music Awards (www.indigenoumusicawards.com).

In a similar vein, watching television and other visual media can be another great source of L2 input for language learners. Much like music, it provides LLs with the opportunity to learn new vocabulary incidentally – that is, without the intention of learning (Webb, 2011). Television has an advantage over music, though, in that television has visuals which the viewer can use to assist in comprehension. The effectiveness of television in language learning is limited by a number of factors, such as the frequency of

occurrence of new vocabulary. Peter and Webb (2018) found that unfamiliar words that occur at a high frequency in a television show are more likely to be noticed and learned. The same researchers also found that LLs who know more words before watching a television show will learn more vocabulary than a LL with a smaller knowledge of the L2 vocabulary, showing increasing returns to vocabulary learning (Peter & Webb, 2018). Additionally, films and television with subtitles can assist LLs in acquiring new vocabulary (Kanellopoulou, Kermanidis & Giannakoulopoulos, 2019). Subtitles can be either in the L1 (interlanguage) or the same language as the audio (intralanguage). Both intra- and interlanguage subtitles are useful for LLs in vocabulary acquisition but intralanguage subtitles are the most effective (Frumuselu, De Maeyer, Donche, del Mar Gutiérrez Colon Plana, 2015). The availability of television and films with appropriate vocabulary and subtitles varies by language but in this regard, Inuktitut is moderately fortunate to have some visual media, such as shows hosted on the Aboriginal Peoples Television Network (APTN; www.aptn.ca) and archived broadcasts on IsumaTV (www.isuma.tv). There are also many Inuktitut language videos on the website Inuktitube. Many of these videos have subtitles available as well. This leads into the next resource: online resources. Most of the above-mentioned resources are accessible through the internet, making internet access a great tool for language learning. Yet there are also many other Inuktitut teaching resources that are available through the internet as well. Among these is the website Tusaalanga, which has lessons on Inuktitut with dialogues and audio recordings of L1 speakers. Previous research on the effectiveness of online and mobile language teaching programs are mixed. Lord (2015) found that LLs using Rosetta Stone to learn Spanish learned vocabulary effectively but had almost no knowledge of

how to form sentences. In other words, the Rosetta Stone Spanish program taught no grammar or syntax to the language learners. Another study showed that language learning using an audiobook greatly improved LLs' listening comprehension skills compared to CD/cassette users (Azar & Nasiri, 2014). So learning languages virtually and through mobile devices is not confirmed to be an effective strategy. However, another use of the internet and mobile devices is for distance communication and this does appear to be an effective method for learning languages, as Yanguas (2010) found there was little difference in communication between LLs who were speaking face-to-face or virtually.

The final resources I'll discuss here is textbooks. LLs often use grammars and textbooks to support their language learning. In this context, grammars are books designed to teach a linguist about the linguistic structure of a language; that is to say, the goal of a grammar is not to teach a language but to teach about a language. Textbooks can be used to assist in vocabulary learning, especially when the LL is not in an area with many L1 speakers (Sakata, 2019). Furthermore, textbooks are an important gateway to understanding the culture associated with the target language. The way textbooks present the target language community is important in shaping the LLs' attitudes towards said community (Hjelm, Valijärvi, Lee, Linnenweber, Tárkányi & Troll, 2019). Textbooks and grammars do have their limitations, however. In a study of French L2 textbooks, Vold (2020) concluded that teachers must add supplementary materials to textbooks in order to meet the current understanding of vocabulary learning. Additionally, textbooks ought to be used to teach the most common vocabulary and grammatical features in the L2, in order to be the most useful to LLs (Sakata, 2019). This is usually determined by using a corpus of texts in the L2 to analyse the frequency of words, yet in Inuktitut, there

is no sufficiently large corpus to be able to accurately determine the most frequent words (Sherkina-Lieber & Helms-Park, 2015). In Inuktitut, there are several grammars available, written by Spalding (1979), Mallon (1991) and Dorais (1975). As for textbooks, there are several, including Ortiz (1998), Dorais (2003) and Mallon and Kublu (1996).

Knowledge of what resources LLs use and enjoy is important for language teaching. Csizér and Kormos (2008) found that consumption of media in the target language was a significant predictor of a LL's motivational intensity. 'Media' in this context refers to television programs, books, movies, magazines and newspapers in the target language. Their study on Hungarian learners of English and German found that learners with high motivational intensity engaged in intercultural contact much more frequently than students who had low motivation.

2.3 Second Language Acquisition

I turn now to a brief overview our current understanding of SLA. Indeed, much of language learning can be divided into classroom learning contrasted with extra-curricular learning. Classroom teaching is what most people think of when considering language learning; a professional language teacher organises lessons and assignments for students. Depending on the context and educational setting, the teacher often follows a curriculum. In extra-curricular learning, the LL is not taught according to any particular curriculum or plan; if there is a language mentor, the student and mentor may collaborate to facilitate learning, which often comes in the form of natural conversations. LLs may also engage in autonomous study using various resources (textbooks or audio recordings, for instance) in order to learn a language without access to a teacher or mentor. In many ways, this

distinction reflects the two types of language learning an LL can engage in. Language taught in a classroom is usually done so explicitly. In explicit learning, the language teacher draws attention to a particular linguistic feature and explains its function and usage (Ellis, 2015, p. 15-16). This differs from implicit learning, where the LL acquires features of their L2 unintentionally (Ellis, 2015, p. 15-16). Implicit learning, or incidental learning, typically occurs outside the classroom setting when the LL encounters unfamiliar aspects on their L2 in a naturalistic setting. This does not mean that implicit learning cannot take place in a classroom, nor that explicit instruction cannot take place outside either; this is simply the settings where these types of learning are most likely to occur. While learning to speak a language through purely explicit means is nearly impossible for an adult, there is no consensus among language teachers nor SLA researchers whether teaching an L2 purely with input (implicit teaching) or including some explanations (mixed implicit-explicit approach) is the better language teaching method (Lally, 1998). Yet many researchers believe that an input-only strategy is insufficient for a learner to acquire a language in a classroom, as there is not enough time for the extensive amounts of input required to learn an L2 (Vold, 2020).

A common approach for beginner LLs to quickly form a conversational base in their L2 is to memorise formulaic chunks, also known as formulaic expressions, language chunks or phraseological units (Hall, 2015). A formulaic chunk is “a sequence...of words or other meaning elements, which is, or appears to be, prefabricated; that is stored and retrieved whole from memory at the time of use, rather than being subject to generation...” (Wray, 2000). These can make it easy to quickly learn a number of common phrases in order to facilitate conversation. While this strategy is certainly

effective in an English or French as a second language context, among many other languages, there is some evidence that learning polysynthetic languages such as Kanien'kéha or Kwak'wala in this manner is not an effective learning strategy (Green & Maracle, 2018; Rosborough, Rorick & Urbanczyk, 2017). Due to the nature of polysynthetic languages, LLs are often unable to determine the morpheme boundaries and therefore must memorise hundreds or thousands of words (Rosborough, Rorick & Urbanczyk, 2017). While LLs will almost always take the initiative of memorising formulaic chunks on their own, teaching LLs how to identify morphemes appears to be a better teaching strategy overall, as it reduces the number of words a learner is required to memorise (Green & Maracle, 2018; Lavoie, 2015; Pitawanakwat, 2018; Rosborough, Rorick & Urbanczyk, 2017). One method used to teach polysynthetic languages in North America is called the Root-Word Method (RWM), as mentioned above. Using this method, LLs are taught the “morphology and syntax of the target language in a predictable order” (Green & Maracle, 2018, p. 146). LLs are able to quickly become independent and understand new words they have not been taught previously.

Language is an intrinsically social phenomenon. It is no surprise, then, that language learning and teaching often involves social input from the target language. Input, in this context, is the instances of oral and written language the LL is exposed to (Ellis, 2015, p. 12). The Input Hypothesis (Krashen, 1985) posits that LLs ought to be able to acquire a language given enough comprehensible input. In other words, as long as a language learner hears or reads the target language often enough, they will eventually learn to speak their L2 proficiently. Yet many researchers noted that often LLs who complete language immersion programs are still unable to communicate effectively in

their L2, despite having received ample input. This led to the Comprehensible Output Hypothesis (Swain, 1985), which proposes that in addition to ample input, LLs need to produce output – speak or write in their L2 – in order to learn. According to the hypothesis, any amount of output, both real-life and classroom-based, will make L2 students more efficient learners. Later studies further supported this hypothesis (see Lapkin, Swain & Psyllakis, 2010; Russell, 2017; Swain & Lapkin, 1998). Currently both input and output are considered necessary in order for a LL to attain proficiency in their L2 (Ellis, 2015, p. 14). To that end, socialisation of LLs is an important factor in the acquisition of an L2 (Verga & Kotz, 2013). Having proficient – and preferably L1 – speakers communicate with L2 speakers is an ideal situation to give the LL natural input and the opportunity to produce comprehensible output. This socialisation helps LLs develop routines which help them navigate natural conversations (Hellermann & Cole, 2008). In an L2 classroom setting, the language teacher is usually the best source of natural input. Outside of the classroom, LLs may establish a relationship with proficient speakers in a formal or informal manner. In some cases, L1 speakers and L2 learners meet in a Master Apprentice program (Hinton, 2001). In an indigenous context in particular, the role of Elders as language mentors is extremely important. Part of socialising L2 speakers is imparting cultural practices and in this regard Elders play a vital role (Pitawanakwat, 2018). Whether in a classroom or out, LLs need a vast amount of exposure to the target language, both input and output, in order to attain proficiency. This can be a challenge for learners of Inuktitut in the South, but alternative strategies for providing ample input/output in Inuktitut are discussed below.

While social interaction is a well-documented aspect of the language learning, the role of relationships is rather unexplored in the field of SLA and LL motivation. Researchers in psychology, however, have explored the role of relationships in motivation (Deci & Ryan, 2014) and there are some studies in SLA which investigate the role of the teacher-student relationship in developing LLs' language abilities. For example, Ziyaeemehr and Kumar (2014) found that LLs learn more from language teachers they perceive as humorous. Indeed, emotions do play a role in language learning. Among the many human emotions, anxiety has long been a popular subject of research in LL motivation (Dörnyei & Csizér, 1998; Gardner, 1985; Gardner, Smythe & Clément, 1979). Many studies in SLA have shown that LLs who experience a high degree of anxiety speaking in their L2 are less likely to attain proficiency. Yet there is also evidence to suggest that language enjoyment is also a factor in language learning (Dewaele & MacIntyre, 2014; Ryan, Connell & Plant, 1990). Feelings of joy – sometimes called interest – are often presented as the antithesis of anxiety; while anxiety discourages students from speaking their L2 and therefore prevents the LL from practicing sufficiently, joy increases an L2 speaker's willingness to communicate (Dewaele & MacIntyre, 2014; Teimouri, 2017).

With regards to the acquisition of Inuktitut, there are many studies on how children learn Inuktitut in the home (for examples, see Allen, 2000; Crago, 1992; Skarabela, 2007), however, there are few studies which explore how adult LLs acquire the language as an L2. The few studies that do explore adult acquisition of Inuktitut focus on the proficiency of receptive bilinguals, such as in Sherkina-Lieber and Helms-Park (2015). In this context, receptive bilinguals are individuals who grew up speaking

Inuktitut as an L1 but as an adult have lost their ability to speak in the language while retaining their ability to understand spoken Inuktitut. Kyak (2011) also wrote about teaching Inuktitut to young adults.

Some Qallunaat have also written about their experience learning Inuktitut, such as Pernet (2011) and Brody (2000, pp. 15-64). Yet there appears to be a gap in the research concerning how and why Qallunaat learn Inuktitut. This is an important distinction to explore, since a LL's L1 has an effect on how easily they can learn an L2 from a different language family (Booth, Clenton & Van Herwegen, 2018). Almost no Qallunaat are receptive bilinguals of Inuktitut, meaning it will be more challenging for them to learn Inuktitut compared to a receptive bilingual.

2.4 L2 Motivational Self System

One of the most influential theories of second language acquisition of the latter half of the 20th century is Robert Gardner's Socio-Educational model. First proposed by Gardner and Lambert in 1959, the Socio-Educational model underwent several iterations (Dörnyei, 2005, pp. 66-68). In their initial proposal, Gardner and Lambert note that "most research on second language acquisition has been concerned with the measurement of an 'ability for languages', an assumption being that achievement is largely due to a linguistic aptitude" (Gardner & Lambert, 1959, p. 266). These researchers, therefore, sought to create a theory that would include the social and psychological factors that impact the successful acquisition of an L2. Gardner and Lambert emphasized the social and psychological aspects of language learning because of their milieu; living in Montréal for most of their careers, they witnessed the often-confrontational relationship between French- and English-speaking Canadians. Because of the socio-cultural situation they

lived, "Gardner and Lambert ... viewed second languages as mediating factors between different ethnolinguistic communities and thus regarded the motivation to learn the language of the other community as a primary force responsible for enhancing or hindering intercultural communication and affiliation" (Dörnyei, 2005, p. 65). To put it more explicitly, it is the view of Gardner and Lambert that bilingualism improves cross-cultural understanding and is dependent on language learners appreciating and identifying with the target community. While the Socio-Educational Model was very popular from its first iteration until the early 1990's, its influence has decreased significantly in the early 21st century due largely to the prominence of the integrative elements of the model. A core tenet of the Socio-Educational model is the idea that learning a language in a classroom setting "is unlike learning other school subjects because it involves making features of another cultural community part of one's self..."(Gardner, 2011, p. 25), meaning that successful acquisition of an L2 requires the learner to associate themselves with the target language community. Older works by Gardner made this philosophy even more explicit, stating that "students' attitudes toward the specific language group are bound to influence how successful they will be in incorporating aspects of that language" (Gardner, 1985, p.6). This concept of how closely a student associates themselves with the target language community is the reason many researchers have ceased using the Socio-Educational Model in favour of using other theoretical models which do not place as much emphasis on integrativeness.

One reason for the decline in popularity of the Socio-Educational Model is due to developments in the field of cognitive science in the 1980's, which led to SLA researchers wanting to incorporate cognitive elements into a new theory of L2 learning.

Furthermore, several studies in the 1990's and early 2000's found little or no evidence of integrative motivation in their study participants, leading to calls for integrativeness to be reconceptualised (Dörnyei, Csizér & Németh, 2006, p.12). Although these researchers did not reject Gardner and his associates' previous work, there was a desire to refresh and expand the theoretical model (Dörnyei, 2005, p.74). This desire began the Cognitive-Situated period of SLA research, which is generally accepted to have started with Crookes and Schmidt's (1991) article 'Motivation: Reopening the research agenda' (Dörnyei, 2005, p.74). This period of SLA research focused on various pedagogical methods and the learning setting as influential factors for language learning, such as the teacher, the curriculum and the learner group. Although these contextual factors were not fully incorporated into the Socio-Educational Model, the cognitive-situated period was a crucial step towards another major theory of L2 learner motivation: the L2 motivational self-system.

2.4.1 The Future Self-Guides

While conducting a massive longitudinal study on Hungarian high school students' motivations for learning various L2s, Dörnyei and Csizér reframed the concept of L2 motivation to include the self-guide system (Dörnyei, 2005, p. 93). The possible future selves are a learner's mental representation of themselves accomplishing a goal. In the language learning context, a possible self would be a mental representation of the learner speaking the target language competently. Various researchers have found the possible selves are represented in the same way as the here-and-now self, meaning they are a reality for the individual learner (Dörnyei, 2005, p.99). These possible selves are inspirational, giving the learner a goal, something to strive towards. They give "form,

meaning, structure and direction to one's hopes and threats, thereby inciting and directing purposeful behaviour" (Dörnyei, 2005, p.100). Possible future selves are generally talked about in the plural because a learner often constructs multiple possible selves, each representing different hopes and fears. Dörnyei borrowed two possible self constructs from Higgins which he found particularly useful for explaining L2 motivation in language learners: the Ideal L2 self and the Ought-to self.

The Ideal L2 self represents the attributes a person would ideally like to possess. It is a positive mental image of who the learner would like to become; in the present context, it would be a competent speaker of the L2. The Ideal L2 self has a promotional quality: it encourages personal growth and the realisation of goals (Dörnyei, 2005, p.101). By contrast, the Ought-to L2 self represents qualities a learner believes they ought to possess, regardless of their hopes and desires. The Ought-to self is preventative, focused on avoiding negative outcomes and satisfying external pressures to accomplish a goal. For example, this might manifest as an expectation to learn English in order to gain a promotion at work or to satisfy familial pressures to achieve financial or professional success. In his self-discrepancy theory, Higgins explains that an individual is motivated "to reach a condition where their self-concept matches their personally relevant self-guides" (Dörnyei, 2005, p.101). Altogether, this means that a language learner is motivated to learn an L2 when they envision themselves as competent speakers of the language, giving them a clear goal to achieve.

It should be noted that not all learners will possess Ideal or Ought-to L2 selves. Some language learners will lack one or both of these self-guides, which can explain why some learners who have strong motivational pressures to learn a language are not

sufficiently motivated to ensure they accomplish the goal of acquiring the second language. Markus and Nurius (1986) argue that hopes and aspirations only contribute to motivation when they have been formed into a specific possible self. Hence, the presence or absence of self-guides is a key indicator of the motivation possessed by a language learner.

2.4.2 The L2 Learning Experience

While Dörnyei emphasized the importance of the Ideal and the Ought-to L2 selves in learner motivation, he also recognised the importance of the actual learning experience. This aspect of motivation stems from the actual experience learning the L2, such as perceptions of the classroom, the teacher and the curriculum. What Dörnyei called the 'L2 learning experience' is an often-overlooked aspect of the motivation theory he was trying to create (Dörnyei, 2019). After reflecting on his own work, Dörnyei notes that when he proposed the L2 motivational self system, he only spent a few lines talking about the L2 learning experience. The reason for this is mainly due to the fact that this aspect of motivation is highly situation-specific, while the research being presented at the time was non-specific (i.e. generalised), such that the L2 learning experience was not a major part of the study on Hungarian students (Dörnyei, 2019). Nonetheless, previous research had indicated that the learning environment and characteristics of the learner group significantly impact learner motivation (Dörnyei, 2019; Dörnyei, 2005).

There is one other difference between the L2 learning environment and the future self-guides which may impact the academic clout of the former; many studies call this segment of the model by different names. For example, Taguchi (2013), referred to this component as "attitudes to learning English" while Csizér and Kormos (2009) referred to

the same component as "L2 learning attitude". This difference in terminology from study to study may contribute to the lack of emphasis on the L2 learning experience, since it may appear that each researcher (or group of researchers) is adding a novel component to the L2 motivational self-system. Nonetheless, it is important to note that although the terminology may differ across studies, each researcher used roughly the same measurements (questions or items of a questionnaire) to collect data on the L2 learning experience (Dörnyei, 2019).

2.4.3 The L2 Motivational Self System

Many L2 motivation studies have each shown and confirmed there are a number of components that each contribute to a LL's motivation (Dörnyei & Chan, 2013; Ushioda, 2017). Although the terminology for each component differed between studies, each study identified the same components. Dörnyei and Csizér's study of Hungarian students (2005) was crucial because it identified the relationships between all of the motivational components and integrated the possible selves theory, establishing the L2MSS theory. These relationships are represented as a schematic in Figure 1. Each arrow in the figure represents a direct influence from one component onto another, which is backed up by Dörnyei and Csizér's (2005) study and many others since. This section will describe each of the motivational components of the L2MSS.

We will start with the components that fall under the domain of the Ought-to self, starting with Milieu. This component represents the social environment of the LL and the external pressures that derive from said context. This often manifests as pressures from one's parents, friends, family or community to learn a language. Milieu influences three components, meaning it has a great affect on raising the motivation in a LL. One of the

influenced components is the Vitality of the L2 Community. Vitality in this context speaks to the power relations between language communities. The importance, prestige and power of a language community can impact how valuable it is considered to be. For example in Canada, the francophone community benefits from having a large population – over 7.4 million L1 speakers (StatCan, 2017a) – and many legal rights. For instance, French is an official language in Canada and is required for many jobs in the public service. Altogether, this means the vitality of the Francophone community in Canada is strong, which gives many non-francophones a reason to learn French. It should be emphasised that the vitality of an L2 community is not a measure of its actual vitality, but rather its perceived vitality. This is the reason why Milieu influences the perception of Vitality; if your family and friends pressure you to learn a language, you are more likely to believe that language has cultural value. For example, many French-speaking parents in Canada expect their children to learn and speak French.

Figure 1: The L2 Motivational Self System (Dörnyei, 2005).

Instrumentality is the final part of the Ought-to self and regards all the pragmatic reasons for learning a language, such as being able to communicate with the majority community or seeking professional success. In other words, Instrumentality is a perception of how useful a language is to the language learner. As with the Vitality of the L2 community, Instrumentality is not a representation of how useful a language truly is to the learner, but how useful it is perceived to be. Both Milieu and Vitality of the L2 Community have direct influences on how useful the LL perceives the L2 to be. If the people in a LL's social circle believe the L2 is valuable, the LL will be more likely to believe the L2 is valuable and useful as well. Likewise, if the L2 community has a great deal of presence and cultural or political weight, the LL will be more likely believe proficiency in the L2 is an advantage. Instrumentality is the key to unifying the Ought-to Self and the Ideal L2 self, because Milieu and Vitality of the L2 Community are both

purely external pressures influencing the LL. At the instrumentality stage, there is a chance these external pressures can be internalised and then integrated into the Ideal L2 self later on.

Starting again from the left-hand side of Figure 1, Self-confidence is the perception that learning the L2 is within the means and capabilities of the LL. In other words, a LL will be more motivated to learn an L2 if they believe it is within their ability to learn the language. This includes both cognitive ability and availability of learning resources. You may note in Figure 1 that between Milieu and Self-confidence is the only two-way arrow in the L2MSS. This represents the symbiotic nature of these two components. If a LL is confident they are able to learn the L2, then they are more receptive to the social pressures of their Milieu. In the other direction, if the LL has a great deal pressure from their Milieu to learn the L2, then they are more likely to believe they are capable of learning the L2.

The next component of the L2MSS is Cultural Interest. This component is an expression of the LL's "appreciation of cultural products associated with the particular L2 and conveyed by the media" (Csizér & Dörnyei, 2005, p. 618). In other words, LLs who enjoy reading novels and watching television in their L2 are more likely to be motivated to continue learning.

The penultimate component of the L2MSS is the Attitudes toward the L2 speakers. Essentially it is the LL's perception of and attitude toward the L2 language community and its members. This attitude is influenced by two other components: the Vitality of the L2 community and Cultural interest. The relationship between Attitudes and Cultural interest is rather evident; If the LL enjoys and appreciates the cultural

products of the L2 community, then they will likely hold a positive opinion of the L2 community itself. Likewise, if the L2 community enjoys a great deal of prestige or wields significant cultural or political influence, the LL is again more likely to hold a positive view of the L2 community. The final stage is for the Attitudes toward L2 speakers to combine with any Instrumental motivations to influence the final component of the L2MSS, the Ideal L2 self.

As stated above, the Ideal L2 self is a LL's vision of themselves as a proficient speaker of the L2. This mental representation of the LL is the most important motivational factor which provokes effort toward learning. The Ideal L2 self is directly influenced by two components, Instrumentality and Attitudes toward the L2 speakers. In the case of the latter, the speakers of the L2 are, in a sense, a real-world example of who the LL would like to become: a proficient speaker of the L2. In many cases, the Ideal L2 self is based on speakers of the target language with whom the LL has interacted or speakers listened to in the media. Therefore, if the LL has a positive attitude toward L2 speakers, then they are more likely to incorporate those attitudes into their vision of themselves as a proficient speaker of the L2. Similarly, the LL is more likely to spend time envisioning themselves as a proficient speaker of the L2 if they believe knowledge of the L2 is practical and useful. In other words, when a LL internalises instrumental motivations, they are more willing to incorporate the L2 into their vision of their possible future self. As stated above, the intensity of the Ideal L2 self is a strong indicator of how much effort a LL is willing to expend trying to learn the L2.

2.5 The Current Study

In summary, Inuktitut is currently under threat of language shift, with some Inuit communities already in advanced stages of language loss. In order to stop or reverse this process, new speakers of Inuktitut are needed to bolster the current population of speakers. One demographic which has great potential to support Inuit in their efforts to preserve their language are Qallunaat living in Inuit Nunangat. They can do this by learning Inuktitut when they are working with Inuit, living in Inuit communities or if they marry an Inuk. Having public servants who speak Inuktitut can also make for more effective policy makers. Yet our understanding of how and why Qallunaat might choose to learn Inuktitut is limited. It is in this research context that this thesis will investigate Qallunaat acquisition of Inuktitut as a second language. I will use the following research questions to guide this study:

- 1) What aspects of the L2MSS manifest in the Qallunaat learners of Inuktitut?
- 2) What are the context-specific attitudes Qallunaat hold towards learning Inuktitut?
- 3) What resources do Inuktitut learners have access to and what resources would they like to have access to?

Chapter III: Methodology

3.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the methods and procedures used for gathering the research data. This methodology was tested in Mitchell (2019), a pilot project which was conducted in Winter of 2019. Participants 1 and 2 both participated in the pilot project. As there were no major changes to the methodology between the pilot project and the full study, the data collected from participants 1 and 2 in the pilot project was incorporated into the full study. Section 3.2 explains the participation requirements for this study and presents a short biography for each of the participants. Sections 3.3 and 3.4 explain how the research data was collected and prepared, while Section 3.5 describes how the data was analysed. Lastly, Section 3.6 concludes the chapter with a short summary of the study's methodology.

3.2 Participants

Seven participants were chosen to participate in the present study. The only requirement for participating in this study was that each participant must have learned Inuktitut as a second language. Only adult LLs were interviewed as part of the present study. This is primarily because adults and children acquire languages differently. For example, child LLs have not fully developed cognitively and therefore can not use advanced learning strategies or resources in the way that adult LLs can. Adult LLs also have more agency in that they have a choice of learning Inuktitut, while children will typically learn Inuktitut (or not) according to their parents' wishes. Furthermore, there are far more adult Qallunaat living in Inuit Nunangat than children. In Nunavut, for example,

there were 855 Qallunaat 19 years old and younger, compared to 4320 Qallunaat 20 years old and older (Lepage & Langlois, 2019, p. 18). Therefore the present study focuses only on adult Qallunaat L2 learners of Inuktitut. The ages of participants ranged from mid-20's to mid-70's, however, all participants were in their 20's when they began learning Inuktitut. Some of the participants are acquaintances of the interviewer's co-supervisor. Others were discovered through word of mouth. Each participant was emailed an invitation letter explaining the purpose of the study. The recruitment method, as well as the data collection method described below (section 3.3), were approved by the Carleton University Research Ethics Board. The researcher explained the ethics prior to each interview and had the participants sign their acceptance.

Participants	Length of learning (years)	Level of education	Gender	Location of Learning	Status of Learning
1	4	MA	Female	South	Active
2	6	BA	Male	South	Active
3	14	PhD	Female	Both	Maintenance
4	16	MA	Male	Both	Maintenance
5	27	PhD	Male	Both	Active
6	32	PhD	Female	North	Attrition
7	49	PhD	Male	North	Maintenance

Table 2 Participant Characteristics

I will now provide a short biography for each of the participants, describing relevant points about their learning experience. Participant 1, for instance, had her first experience with Inuktitut while living in Iqaluit for one summer, though she did not start to seriously learn the language until she moved back to her home city in the South. She

took some community classes on Inuktitut before continuing her learning on her own, with the help of some grammars. For the past several years, she has met with a mentor weekly online. At the time of the interview, Participant 1 worked at a not-for-profit organisation where many of her colleagues spoke Inuktitut, so she had almost daily practice speaking the language. She describes herself as an intermediate speaker of Inuktitut and as intermediate-advanced for reading ability.

Participant 2 is a young male living in a southern Canadian city. His first exposure to Inuktitut was in high school when a friend of his started teaching him some words. He truly started learning the language a few years later after he started working at a school which hosts many Inuit students. Participant 2 has since been learning to speak Inuktitut from the staff and students at the school, in addition to learning the language on his own. He describes himself as a “total beginner” as far as proficiency is concerned.

Participant 3 started learning Inuktitut at a Canadian university over a decade ago, before visiting a community in Nunavut several summers in a row. In addition to learning Inuktitut in a community setting, one of her former university teachers continued to mentor her for a number of years after she graduated. She continues to have regular contact with some of the friends she made in the North and still speaks Inuktitut with them occasionally. Participant 3 is currently a professor of Indigenous Literature and uses Inuktitut as a research language. She rates herself as an intermediate speaker of Inuktitut.

Participant 4 had a similar experience to Participant 3; as a student at a Canadian university, he took a course on Inuktitut. After a few years, he moved north to Iqaluit where he continued learning the language. For more than a decade he worked on a dictionary of an Inuktitut dialect, which brought him into contact with a great deal of

recorded dialogues in Inuktitut. He currently works for an Inuit organisation where he occasionally speaks Inuktitut with coworkers. His speaking ability is “maybe intermediate” although he qualifies this by saying he can express himself well on complex topics if he has some time to prepare ahead of time (as in a presentation, for example). Yet his “on-the-spot fluency is not good”.

Participant 5 is in the older demographic (>40) and is the only first-language French speaker among the participants. He first started learning Inuktitut at Laval university before visiting Iqaluit as a research assistant. He spent several years in Iqaluit, where he met his wife who is an Inuk and a L1 speaker of Inuktitut. After a few years, Participant 5 moved to a Nunavut community to live with his wife's family, where he found some mentors in the community to help him improve his language skills. Currently, Participant 5 lives in Iqaluit where he works at a government ministry and speaks Inuktitut daily, both at work and at home. He reports that some people rate his proficiency as fluent, though he rates himself as “more advanced than most that are learning”.

The sixth participant is also in the older demographic (>40) and primarily learned Inuktitut in a community setting while living in a Nunavik community. As a graduate student, she studied the acquisition of Inuktitut among Inuit children and came to learn the language herself over time. Participant 6 does not speak Inuktitut much currently, but occasionally communicates with friends online using Inuktitut and does a fair amount of reading in the language. She described her own speech as “like a three- or four-year-old”; she is able to hold basic conversations, but complex sentences are more of a challenge for her.

The final participant is a male learner of Inuktitut who began learning the language in a Nunavut community in the early 1970's. Participant 7 is a L1 speaker of Irish but speaks English at native-like proficiency. Both he and his wife learned Inuktitut almost entirely in a community setting, with little in the way of formal classes or training. After spending several years in that community, the family moved to another Nunavut community, where Participant 7 continued learning Inuktitut from neighbours and friends. He now lives in the South and continues speaking Inuktitut with his wife and children. He is also currently a teacher of Inuktitut at a Canadian university at an introductory level. He rated his speaking ability as “good... appropriate for normal conversation and in everyday situations.”

The participants all share some basic commonalities. Chief among these is that all participants are Qallunaat. Secondly, the participants are all Canadian citizens and were in Canada during their formative years as speakers of Inuktitut. All participants speak English and French, in addition to Inuktitut. Lastly, all participants hold at least a bachelor's degree, with the majority holding some form of graduate degree as well, though this was not a requirement to participate in the study. While Canada does have a high percentage of university-educated people in the general population, this pool of participants is not reflective of the overall Canadian population with regard to their education. This will be discussed further in Chapter VI: Directions for Future Research.

Besides these commonalities, the selected participants offer diverse perspectives, based on the following measures: (1) the ages of the participants range from late 20's to late 70's; (2) the length of time spent learning Inuktitut ranges from 4 to 50 years; (3) both male (n=4) and female (n=3); (4) location of learning Inuktitut, either in the North,

the South or Both. For the purposes of this study, "the North" refers to Inuit Nunangat. Generally when speaking of Inuit contexts, "the South" refers to anyplace outside of Inuit Nunangat, though in this study, this can be limited to the areas where the participants were living during their learning period: the large, urban cities of Southern Canada: Toronto, Ottawa, Montréal and Québec City. A summary of the main characteristics of all the participants can be seen in Table 1.

3.3 Data Collection

I invited each participant to a semi-structured interview (Saldaña, 2013). Where possible, interviews took place in-person at a time and location convenient for the participant. Due to distance, some interviews took place via Skype. These interviews each lasted approximately 45 minutes. The semi-structured interview format allowed me to diverge from the predetermined questions in order to focus in on an aspect of a participant's response or ask for clarification. Before beginning the pilot project, I decided to use interviews rather than the more traditional questionnaires to collect the data for this study. This is because Qallunaat L2 speakers of Inuktitut can be difficult to find and contact, making it difficult to find a sufficient number of participants for a quantitative study. Furthermore, a qualitative research method provided me with the flexibility to delve deeper into participants' responses ad hoc (Braun & Clarke, 2006; Davies, & Hughes, 2014). In the present context, I believed a more exploratory approach to LL motivations using qualitative methods was more appropriate.

The interview questions were predominantly based on Gardner's Attitude/Motivation Test Battery (AMTB; Gardner, Tremblay & Masgoret, 1997). The AMTB's original questions focused on French as a L2, so the questions were adapted for

Inuktitut learners. The AMTB is made up of statements with Likert scales, so I took some of these questions (typically one from each category) and adapted it into an open-ended question. For example, the AMTB question "speaking French bothers me," (Gardner, Tremblay & Masgoret, 1997) became "How long did it take for you to feel comfortable speaking Inuktitut?" Some aspects of the present study are not covered by questions in the AMTB, so I created questions for those elements, such as the participant's learning history and all the questions regarding learning resources. A full list of the questions is available in Appendix A. I piloted the interview questions as part of the pilot project and found the responses satisfactorily responded to the research questions. Since I changed the theoretical model from the pilot project's Socio-Educational Model to this thesis' L2 Motivational Self-System, one question was excluded. The excluded question related to the participants' thoughts on Inuit culture. Both participants in Mitchell (2019) and I agreed the question was inappropriate in an Inuit or Indigenous context. The interview questions were designed to probe the participants' recollections of their experience learning Inuktitut and their language learning context and background. Some questions were simple, asking the time and location of their learning, while others were more complex, or required longer responses to fully answer.

Four of the interviews took place in-person, at a time and place convenient for the participant. The remaining three interviews, due to distance, were conducted via Skype. In all cases, I recorded the exchanges with Audacity on my laptop. Audacity is a free, open source software for recording and editing audio (www.audacityteam.org).

3.4 Transcription

I transcribed all the data collected myself. The two pilot project interviews were transcribed using ELAN 5.4, a program for aligning text with audio or video. This proved very inefficient and so those two transcriptions were converted into Word documents and all further interviews were transcribed directly in Word.

I also excluded various kinds of utterances for the sake of clarity, legibility and relevance to the study (Poland, 2001). Coughs, laughter and pauses were not transcribed. Some interjections, such as "you know?" or excessive uses of the word "like" were also omitted from the transcripts. I removed false starts from many sections to highlight the complete thoughts of the participants. Lastly, I also removed some of my own interjections, to keep the participant's flow of thoughts together. The decision to cut these small utterances from the transcriptions stems from the pilot project, wherein I had originally transcribed both interviews in excruciating detail. That level of detail hampered analysis, as the transcriptions were filled with many of the redundancies of natural speech. Wherever possible, such redundancies were omitted from the transcripts in order to improve readability and highlight the participants' thoughts and opinions.

3.5 Data Analysis

Each time I finished transcribing an interview, I would begin coding the transcript. I used NVivo for this process. NVivo is a program designed specifically for coding and makes managing, editing and creating codes quite easy (<https://qsr.aws.bsshost.me/nvivo-qualitative-data-analysis-software/home>). A code "is most often a word or short phrase that symbolically assigns a summative, salient, essence-capturing and/or evocative attribute for a portion of language-based or visual

data" (Saldaña, 2013, p.3). In the present context, the codes that emerged from the data relate to the LLs' motivations, attitudes and experience learning Inuktitut. Each interview went through multiple rounds of coding, with each round adding, removing or changing the codes from the previous cycle. The initial round of coding was purely descriptive, with each code simply summarising what the participant was saying at that moment. All subsequent rounds of coding followed the axial coding method (Saldaña, 2013, p.218; Boyatzis, 1998, p. 37), wherein each round of coding edited and modified the codes

Category	Codes
Language Learning Context	Language Ability & Age Language Anxiety Location & Time of Learning Proficiency Self-Evaluation
Ideal L2 Self	Cultural Interest Enjoyment Instrumentality Milieu
Ought-to Self	Career Family
L2 Learning Experience	Class Description Extra-Curricular Learning Strategies Difficulties Learning Inuktitut Experience with Other Languages
Resources	Access to Proficient Speakers Written Texts Audio Resources Online Resources Greenlandic Materials Lacking Resources

Table 3 Categories and Codes.

identified in the previous round. Similar codes were grouped together into categories and redundant codes were consolidated or removed. Starting from the second round of coding, I attempted to align the categories of codes with the research questions shown in section 2.5. With each round of coding, the codes became more defined and established. After five rounds of coding, the codes became static and unchanging from round to

round, suggesting the redundant codes had been eliminated and the relevant codes had been identified.

Table 2 above shows the five broad categories of codes identified in the study. For a description of when each was used, refer to Appendix B.

Three of the categories in Table 2 correspond to elements of Dörnyei's L2MSS theory: The Ideal L2 Self, the Ought-to Self and the L2 learning Experience. These elements were intentionally used in order to make analysis using the L2MSS easier. A fourth category, Language Learning Context, contains codes that do not fit neatly into the L2MSS but are important for understanding the participants' language learning contexts. The last category, Resources, groups together all the codes relating to the language learning resources discussed by the participants. Some of the codes share a name with components of the L2MSS, such as Instrumentality and Cultural Interest. I have used such terms where appropriate to align the present study with previous L2 motivation research. All codes however emerged from the data organically before being grouped into categories.

One criticism leveled at coding and thematic analysis is the perception that it simply involves counting the number of occurrences for any particular code. Yet in qualitative coding, the number of occurrences is not indicative of the level of importance of any particular code. It is simply a tool for highlighting and organising data extracted from a text. For example, one of the codes that appeared in the data was labelled “Experience with other Languages” and occurred the most out of all the codes. This was due to the fact that each participant knew several languages and each individual language had its own occurrence of the code “Experience with other Languages”. This artificially

inflated the number of occurrences without increasing the importance of that topic. Coding involves reflecting and processing extremely nuanced information and coding is simply a method for processing said information (Saldaña, 2013, p. 39). For this reason, I do not provide the number of occurrences for each code in the following chapter. However, I do discuss how many participants expressed a particular idea in order to examine how widespread it is among the participants.

3.6 Conclusion

The present study is an analysis of responses gathered in semi-structured interviews. Each participant met with me either in person or electronically and I recorded each session. The interview questions probed the participants' experiences learning Inuktitut, their motivation for doing so and the learning resources they had access to. The interviews were transcribed and then coded with NVivo. Each transcription was subject to multiple rounds of coding, with each round reducing and consolidating the number of codes. These codes form the basis for the analysis which will be presented in Chapter 4.

Chapter IV: Findings & Discussion

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I will present and analyse the data obtained from the interviews. As I am using the L2MSS as a theoretical lens, the themes and patterns identified in the data have been categorised based on the three aspects of the model. Section 4.2 presents the two motivational aspects associated with the Ought-to self motivation. The Ideal L2 self and all its manifestations are presented in the subsequent section 4.3. Sections 4.2 and 4.3 both relate to the first research question of the present study: what aspects of the

L2MSS manifest in Qallunaat learners of Inuktitut? Section 4.4 then displays the many themes associated with the Learning Experience. This largely corresponds to the second research question of the present study: what are the context-specific attitudes Qallunaat hold towards learning Inuktitut? The penultimate section, 4.5, pertains to the resources the language learners had access to and what resources they would have liked to have had while they were learning. This directly corresponds with the third research question of this study. Lastly, section 4.6 concludes the chapter with a brief summary of the data and the discussion thereof.

4.2 Ought-to Self Motivation

Of the three aspects of the L2MSS, the Ought-to self is the least prevalent among the participants' motivations. As discussed in section 2.4.1, the Ought-to self represents a LL's external pressures to learn an L2. Only two aspects of the participants' motivation are tied to their Ought-to selves: Career and Family. Familial pressures to learn Inuktitut occurred only in Participant 5. He is married to an Inuk and he describes how his family-in-law expected him to learn Inuktitut:

In Igloolik people, even my wife's uncle that spoke very well English, he would rarely speak any English to me. They would continue and expect me, as the brother-in-law, the son-in-law, to speak the language. They really took the position that "that is our language, this is our culture, this is where we're from, this is our homeland. You're coming into our homeland and you're going to speak it." (Participant 5)

This was the only instance in all the interviews where we see the external pressures to learn Inuktitut so clearly. Because he had married into an Inuit family, Participant 5 was expected to speak the language while living in his wife's home community. This expectation enforced by his family-in-law is very likely to have had an impact on

Participant 5's image of his future self (the Ought-to self) as a proficient speaker of Inuktitut. Unsurprisingly, none of the other participants experienced this kind of familial pressure to learn Inuktitut. While all participants have close friends who speak the language, only Participant 5 has Inuit among their family members.

While only one of the participants has familial motivations to learn Inuktitut, most have professional reasons for learning the language. Four of the participants took courses on Inuktitut at Canadian universities which counted towards their degrees. All four of them shared similar first experiences with Inuktitut; they began learning Inuktitut as a result of course options or research opportunities. For example, Participant 3 began learning Inuktitut as a research language:

I was a graduate student in comparative literature, interested in indigenous literatures and because of the context, wanting to learn an indigenous language and I had seen Atanarjuat, "the fast runner" and that I think is why I signed up for that class. (Participant 3)

Two other participants would come to use Inuktitut as a research language as well. One of them worked on an Inuktitut dictionary for a number of years, which required him to read transcripts and listen to recordings in the language. In the other's case, she was researching childhood acquisition of Inuktitut.

One final factor motivating some of the participants to learn Inuktitut is a sense that all non-Indigenous Canadians ought to learn an indigenous language. Three of the participants expressed this idea during their interviews. These participants believe that learning an indigenous language will help Canadians understand and appreciate indigenous cultures and peoples. Certainly, there seems to be a strong cultural component

to learning and teaching Inuktitut, as will be discussed below. This view could also be a contributing factor to the LLs' Ought-to Self motivation.

Four participants were motivated to learn Inuktitut because of professional or academic goals. Whether obtaining credit towards their degree or using Inuktitut as a research language, there was some amount of external motivation for learning Inuktitut. This is most evident in Participant 3, who felt additional pressure to learn an indigenous language because of her context as a student of Indigenous literature. Though not the most frequently cited motivational factor, the external pressures to learn Inuktitut have an effect on the Ought-to motivation of the participants. Familial and career pressures, though not universal, are certainly a contributing factor for why some Qallunaat choose to learn Inuktitut.

4.3 Ideal L2 Self Motivation

Contrary to the Ought-to self motivations, the Ideal L2 self was strongly expressed by all participants. As discussed in section 2.4.1, the Ideal L2 self represents a learner's aspirations for their future self. It has a promotional effect on learners, driving them to achieve the goals they set for themselves. Perhaps the most salient aspect of the Ideal L2 self is that it is internalised motivation; a learner with a well-developed Ideal L2 self is self-motivated to learn the language.

Four aspects related to the Ideal L2 self emerged from the data: Cultural Interest, Enjoyment, Instrumentality and Milieu. Of these, Cultural Interest and Instrumentality are drawn directly from the L2MSS proposed by Dörnyei (2005). Enjoyment is not traditionally part of the L2MSS nor the Ideal L2 self, yet many studies have shown that LLs who enjoy the learning experience put more effort into learning an L2 (for examples,

see Dewaele & MacIntyre, 2014; Resnik & Schallmoser, 2019; Teimouri, 2017). As Teimouri (2017) points out, when a LL's present self and Ideal L2 self closely match, they are likely to experience joy. Therefore, "it is assumed that learners with strong Ideal L2 selves are more likely to experience the emotional state of joy while learning [an L2]" (Teimouri, 2017). The final aspect of the Ideal L2 self, Milieu, pertains to the motivational effects of the LLs personal relationships. This is a somewhat unexplored area of SLA research, but the motivational effects of relationships have been explored in psychology (see Deci & Ryan, 2014). Below I will present and discuss all the themes and patterns relating to the Ideal L2 self that emerged from the data.

4.3.1 Cultural Interest

Cultural Interest is a measure of "the appreciation of cultural products associated with the particular L2 and conveyed by the media" (Csizér & Dörnyei, 2005). Learners who have a high degree of motivation stemming from Cultural Interest are more likely to consume media in their L2 and appreciate the cultural practices of the L2 community. Participation in the L2 culture is important for language learning because it normalises the use of the L2 in everyday situations. For example, LLs who watch videos in the L2 learn how the language is used by its speakers and therefore it becomes more 'real' (Herron, Cole, Corrie, Dubreil, 1999). This section will begin with a description of the participants' general thoughts on Inuit culture (practices) and then presents their thoughts on Inuktitut media (products).

Five of the participants strongly expressed an admiration and interest in Inuit culture. While living and interacting with Inuit, the participants gained insight into the Inuit worldview. This insight corresponds with the respect the participants expressed

towards the L2 community. Participant 1, for instance, spoke of the relationship Inuit have with the land:

I find it really interesting to learn a bit more about the Inuit worldview and the way of life that came from Canada before Canada was here ... it's interesting to learn how humans related to the land and how some of them still do in the North. (Participant 1)

In other instances, participants discussed how learning Inuktitut exposed them to new ideas and ways of thinking:

[Inuktitut] expanded ... my experiences and openness to the world or openness to different ways of being, acceptance of different ways of being. (Participant 6)

The above quote from Participant 6 is a great demonstration of how learning Inuktitut impacted the participants. Exposure to the L2 culture is an important aspect of many language teaching programs. For example, the Inuktitut L2 program at Pirurvik Centre emphasizes that language learning is accompanied by “activities aimed at strengthening the connection participants have with the Inuit way of life” (Pirurvik Centre, n.d.). It should be noted however that one participant has had little exposure to Inuit culture and another also began learning the language with little exposure, though he later had a great deal of exposure in classes and while living in the North. This suggests that learning about Inuit cultural practices is not necessarily a primary motivation for learning Inuktitut, at least not initially.

As with the participants’ interest in Inuktitut cultural practices, their interest in Inuktitut media was also generally high. Audio (including radio broadcasts and music) was one of the more common media formats enjoyed by the participants. The three participants who began learning Inuktitut before the Internet was widely available had no access to music-on-demand in Inuktitut, but did listen to the radio when it was available:

Often, I would listen to the local community radio stations and really force myself to be immersed and be surrounded by the language. (Participant 5)

Participant 5 showed the most enthusiasm for listening to the radio in Inuktitut, while the other two older participants were more passive, listening to the radio when it was available. Radio media was not consumed by the other four participants, however, Participant 1 greatly enjoyed listening to Inuktitut music and recognised the advantages of knowing the language in being able to appreciate the “amazing” Inuktitut music scene. Simply put, learning Inuktitut gives Participant 1 access to a music scene in which she might not be able to participate otherwise.

Consumption of film media was less prevalent compared to audio media. Nonetheless, two of the participants watched some films in Inuktitut. One of them also watches some videos online in Inuktitut. APTN and IsumaTv are two websites where she finds Inuktitut-language content. As for the other participant, it is particularly relevant that she originally enrolled in her first Inuktitut course after having watched *Atanarjuat*, the first feature-length film entirely in Inuktitut. The two participants showed similar levels of interest in consuming film media. A third participant also viewed some television in Inuktitut while living in the North, though this was mostly passive; while the television was often turned on in the home where she lived, she does not appear to have actively chosen to turn on the television and watch Inuktitut programs for the purposes of learning the language.

Print media, including books, newspapers and interview transcripts, was consumed by most participants; however the motivational effects of such media appear to be varied. Three of the participants were eager to find and read any written material they could find. In the case of one participant, this relates to her career as a scholar of

indigenous literature, while for the other two participants, reading in Inuktitut is purely for educational purposes. Contrarily, three other participants have or had access to written materials but seem much less enthusiastic about reading. For one participant, this was due to the fact he was not interested in the genres available in most Inuktitut books. Another participant occasionally reads the news but finds news sites are usually translated from English. He comments that translations are not examples of naturalistic Inuktitut and he finds that distracting while trying to read. This detracts from any motivational or educational benefit the news sites might have. As for the third participant who did not read much Inuktitut texts, his lack of enthusiasm may be due to the lack of availability during his formative years as an Inuktitut learner. He occasionally read a news sheet which was sometimes circulated around the community in which he lived, though it was not frequent enough to provide much support for his learning. The final participant did not have access to any written materials, though she recalls some children's books were starting to become available at the time. While the participants were generally willing to read print material, it is not universal in its motivational effects.

Overall, the participants enjoy the media available in Inuktitut, though there are some exceptions. Two of the participants appear to consume Inuktitut-language media less often compared with the other participants. As mentioned above, one participant finds Inuktitut media typically does not cover issues and topics in which he is interested. He commented that he would like to see a wider variety of genres in media generally, especially around the 'culture of comedy in the North'. While he does not currently enjoy much Inuktitut media, new media is generated frequently thanks to organisations like APTN and IsumaTV. The scarcity of Inuktitut-language media certainly leaves some

genres and topics untouched in Inuktitut media, as mentioned by this participant. The other participant is the one who prefers reading original Inuktitut writings but finds that most online Inuktitut news sources are translated from English, making reading less enjoyable for him.

Lastly it should be noted that Participant 7, who began learning Inuktitut in the 1970's, did not consume much media in Inuktitut for the simple reason that such media was extremely scarce. He sometimes listened to the radio in Inuktitut, though broadcasts were often unscheduled and "ad hoc". On some days, broadcasts from Churchill, Manitoba could reach their home in Nunavut, though this was unreliable. And the bilingual English-Inuktitut "news sheet" was circulated only occasionally in their community. Participant 7 learned Inuktitut from conversing with members of his community and due to the scarcity of learning materials, never became accustomed to consuming Inuktitut media.

How then does Inuktitut-language media affect a LL's motivation? Some participants greatly enjoy Inuktitut media and regularly consume it. Others are more passive in consuming Inuktitut media while some rarely engage in Inuktitut cultural products. The results from the participants suggest media has a mixed effect. While media does not appear to have a negative effect on motivation, not all participants experienced a motivation 'boost' from consuming Inuktitut media. Yet the issues raised by two of the participants (lack of diverse genres and scarcity of resources) may soon be mitigated as a result of the quantity and diversity of Inuktitut-language media created in recent years and currently being created. For example, new television series are being produced by APTN and new books are published in Inuktitut by Inhabit Media, an Inuit-

owned publishing company based in Nunavut. These new cultural products will give LLs more choices that will appeal to their specific interests. It should be noted, however, that unlike some learners of English or French, two languages that have massive amounts of media readily available, learners of Inuktitut are not motivated primarily by Inuktitut-language media.

4.3.2 Enjoyment

Another internal motivator encouraging the participants to learn Inuktitut is the joy they experience during the learning process. As mentioned at the beginning of section 4.3, previous studies have shown that LLs who enjoy the learning experience put more effort into learning and are therefore more likely to become proficient speakers of the L2 (Dewaele and MacIntyre, 2014). The following excerpt demonstrates how and why Participant 3 enjoyed learning Inuktitut:

I really loved it, when I started learning in that first class, I loved the sounds, I loved how difficult it was, the different ways that it puts words together. And so that was a big part of it, was just the beauty of the language. (Participant 3)

Listening to the participants speak about Inuktitut, it is very apparent that each of them loves hearing and speaking the language, despite the many challenges they face while learning. Indeed, it is possible the participants overcome these challenges because they love learning Inuktitut. Drawing from Positive Psychology theory, Dewaele and MacIntyre (2014) note that positive emotions, such as joy, increase a LLs resilience in the face of hardships and challenges. As will be discussed in section 4.4.4, there are many challenges learners of Inuktitut face, but if they enjoy the learning process, LLs will be more willing to overcome those difficulties. Furthermore, several studies have suggested that LLs who enjoy the learning experience are better at language learning (Dewaele &

MacIntyre, 2014; Ryan, Connell & Plant, 1990). This may be because positive emotions “help flush out lingering side effects of negative arousal” (Dewaele, Witney, Saito & Dewaele, 2018, p. 678). In other words, joy and interest can counteract the negative impacts anxiety and boredom can have on language learning.

The role of the teacher or mentor in fostering positive emotions in the LL is not to be underestimated. One participant noted that she speaks Inuktitut more easily when she and her mentor are laughing. This corresponds closely with Ziyaemehr and Kumar’s (2014) finding that LLs feel they learn more from instructors they perceive as humorous. Yet even teachers who are not particularly humorous, but are well-loved all the same, can spark enthusiasm in their students (Dörnyei & Csizér, 1998). At the same time, it appears language teachers are not an important source of anxiety for LLs. This suggests that language teachers ought to focus on improving students’ enjoyment in the language classroom rather than reducing student anxiety (Dewaele et al., 2018).

It should be noted that the participants did not all report the same levels of joy and excitement when learning Inuktitut and joy is certainly not necessary to the learning process. It can, however, be an important indicator of a LL’s attitude towards the language learning context. So when pondering the research questions of the present study, the responses of the participants give a fairly clear answer: they learn Inuktitut because they enjoy doing so and thereby they also reveal their attitude towards the learning process.

4.3.3 Instrumentality

As discussed above in section 2.4.3, Instrumental motivation straddles the border between the Ought-to self and the Ideal L2 self. In other words, external pressures to

learn an L2 can become internalised based on whether the LL views the target language as useful or practical. Internalised instrumentality appears to have only been a minor motivational factor for the participants, not all of whom even exhibited this factor. The comparatively small impact of instrumentality is not surprising; as a minority language spoken primarily in a region considered remote by most, there are few practical reasons for Qallunaat to learn Inuktitut. Jobs requiring knowledge of Inuktitut are uncommon outside of Inuit Nunangat and few Qallunaat ever move to a majority Inuktitut-speaking area. For example, only about 5,400 residents of Nunavut in 2016 were Qallunaat, out of a total population of 35,580 (ESDC, 2018). Despite the comparatively small number of occurrences of Instrumentality, there appear to be two instrumental reasons why the participants chose to learn Inuktitut. Four of the participants benefitted academically or professionally from learning Inuktitut. In each case, the participants appear to have internalised the external pressures, as exemplified by the following quote from

Participant 3:

And so it was part of that process that I wanted to look more deeply into Inuit literary traditions and so I needed to learn the language, as a research language.
(Participant 3)

While there were indeed external pressures to learn Inuktitut for academic or professional reasons, these four participants all appear to have internalised these reasons and accepted them as personal goals.

The second instrumental reason for learning Inuktitut is to engage with community members who primarily speak Inuktitut. Three of the participants lived in small Northern communities where few people spoke English or French. Although each of them could carry out basic tasks in their L1 (buying food, for example), they all

expressed a desire to learn Inuktitut in order to engage with the community and have discussions with their neighbours. Participant 7, for instance, expresses that knowledge of Inuktitut was necessary for him to be able to develop relationships and friendships in the community. In this sense, these three participants are self-motivated to learn Inuktitut in order to avoid feelings of loneliness and isolation while living in Inuit communities. This drive to form connections with others in the community is very similar to the final theme associated with the Ideal L2 self: Milieu.

4.3.4 Milieu

When the participants spoke of their reasons for learning Inuktitut, one theme that recurred time and again was the idea of personal relationships. These relationships ranged from family and friends to teachers and co-workers. All participants, save one, felt some form of motivation to learn Inuktitut stemming from a desire to communicate with others in their L1. The concept of motivation stemming from a LL's social circle has been represented in the L2MSS by Milieu. This aspect is associated with the Ought-to self and typically includes the external social pressures to learn an L2. Yet in this case, the source of the Milieu motivation appears to be reversed. Participants who identified personal relationships as a motivation for learning Inuktitut indicated that this was an internal desire to reach out and connect with Inuit and Inuktitut speakers. Below is an example from Participant 7 explaining why learning Inuktitut was so important to him and his wife:

... we were living in the community, we wanted to become part of the community, we didn't want to be outsiders. We wanted it to be our community as much as anyone else's. And so learning the language was both kind of obvious and sensible and direct way to do that. (Participant 7)

As demonstrated by the above quote, Participant 7 was motivated to learn Inuktitut because he and his wife wished to participate in and engage with the community of L1 Inuktitut speakers. He experienced no external pressure to learn the language; therefore the Milieu aspect of his motivation is internal. Several other participants pointed out that connecting with others was their primary motivator for learning Inuktitut. Even participants who learned in the South found ways to connect with L1 speakers and continue to develop or maintain these relationships. These relationships continue to be a source of motivation for the participants to at least maintain their speaking ability.

As mentioned above, Milieu is strongly associated with the Ought-to self. It is meant to encompass all of the LL's external pressures deriving from their social environment. Yet the findings of the present study suggest that the participants' social motivation is much more internalised than in other studies.

4.3.5 Ideal L2 Self Summary

Compared to the Ought-to self, the Ideal L2 self was found to be very prevalent in all participants. While some participants experienced external pressures to learn Inuktitut, all participants were primarily motivated to learn the language due to internal goals and aspirations. The desire to connect with others and form relationships appears to be the chief reason why the LLs begin or continue to learn Inuktitut. The participants also simply enjoy the learning experience and are interested in learning about Inuit culture. Additionally, most of the participants are motivated to somewhat partake in Inuit culture by consuming media in Inuktitut, though as discussed above, this feeling is not universal. Lastly, there is some degree of internalised instrumental motivation to learn Inuktitut. This last motivation is related to the career aspect described in the Ought-to self

discussion but also to the relationships, pointing again to the importance of human bonds as motivational factors. The data presented above provide insight into which aspects of the L2MSS manifest in Qallunaat learners of Inuktitut.

4.4 Learning Experience

While the Ought-to self and the Ideal L2 self explain the internal and external pressures on LLs to learn an L2, the actual and perceived experience of learning also has a great impact on the learner. This is the basis for the second research question of this study: What are Qallunaat L2 speakers' attitudes towards learning Inuktitut? The teacher, classroom environment and pedagogy, among other variables, influence the successful acquisition of an L2. During the analysis of the participants' interviews, four themes emerged: Class Description, Extra-curricular Learning Strategies, Experience with Other Languages and Difficulties Learning Inuktitut. The Difficulties Learning Inuktitut section is further sub-divided, as described below in section 4.4.4.

4.4.1 Class Description

The classroom was the first major learning environment where four of the participants began learning Inuktitut. The classroom environment is incredibly important for motivating (or demotivating) students. Classrooms that are engaging, immersive, supportive and fun are more effective at teaching the target language. As part of the interview, participants who were enrolled in formal language classes were asked about their experiences. The classroom description provided by the participants gives insight into how Inuktitut is taught in classrooms. Five of the seven participants attended formal language classes on Inuktitut but the classes varied in their settings, ranging from university courses, community classes in Southern Canada and in a northern community,

and a northern government development course. The other two participants did not have any formal training in Inuktitut and thus did not have anything to contribute to this aspect of language teaching.

Of the five participants who were enrolled in a formal language class, all of them reported that a large portion of class time was spent practicing speaking Inuktitut. Participant 3, for instance, stated that every class would begin with 10 minutes of speaking Inuktitut with no English. Other participants reported similar teaching strategies based on allocating class time to practice speaking Inuktitut. Setting aside time dedicated to speaking Inuktitut seems to be a popular method of teaching the language and having the LLs become accustomed to spontaneous speech. Some classrooms used scripts which students could practice and memorize on their own time before 'presenting' in class. Other classes were truly spontaneous, having students listen to questions and respond in real-time. In either method, there appears to be a strong emphasis on teaching practical, everyday vocabulary. Some of the conversation topics covered were asking how someone is doing and offering tea to a guest. Some of the scripted conversations could be used to teach more thematic vocabulary. One participant, for instance, recalled one scripted conversation where the LLs were preparing to welcome home their mother at the airport. Having class time to practice speaking Inuktitut with instructors and other learners is important for helping LLs “develop interactional routines” (Hellermann & Cole, 2008). In other words, practice helps LLs prepare for conversations in their everyday lives. The participants who engaged in these conversation exercises enjoyed them and seemed to think this was the most useful in-class activity for learning Inuktitut.

In addition to having time to practice speaking, teachers also taught vocabulary and grammatical features using more traditional methods, like verb charts and word lists.

Below are some examples:

The teacher was just like a normal teacher and she would go through verb charts with us, we'd do exercises like that. and I liked it that she broke down the words for us so *pisuttuq* 'he walks', *pisuktutit* 'you walk', so that we could see the grammar. (Participant 1)

So that was like a very different style of class again because I found that one was not so much practice as a lot of talking about the grammar of Inuktitut, which was... of course, I can sit and talk about that all day but in terms of actually improving fluency I'm not sure that I got that much out of it ... But I mean I found it was useful, all the same. (Participant 4)

Most participants found the polysynthetic nature of Inuktitut very challenging so any effort by teachers to explain the individual morphemes was appreciated by the students. While understanding the morpho-syntax of Inuktitut is extremely important in the early stages of the learning process, Participant 4 points out in the quote above that a course focused mostly or entirely on grammar does not necessarily improve fluency. Knowledge of grammar is important to "lay the foundation" (Participant 1) but at a certain point in the learning process, practicing conversations on everyday topics appear to be the most useful for improving proficiency in Inuktitut.

4.4.2 Extra-Curricular Learning Strategies

While Class Description reveals how some of the participants learned Inuktitut in a classroom setting, learning the language did not stop once the courses were completed. And indeed, as mentioned above, two of the participants did not have any formal classroom experiences yet still managed to learn Inuktitut. This section is about the language learning strategies employed by the participants outside the classroom. As with Class Description, this section relates to the second research question of the present

study: What are Qallunaat L2 speakers' attitudes towards learning Inuktitut? Overall, the participants spoke well of the learning experiences outside the classroom and provided insight as to which strategies were useful to them. The strategies fell into two categories: 1) learning vocabulary and grammar from books and 2) having conversations with a mentor.

Of the five participants who had taken an Inuktitut language course, four of them continued their learning using grammar books for self-study. One of the other participants is learning Inuktitut primarily through grammar exercises. Self-study with grammar books can be useful for learning aspects of Inuktitut grammar but the participants using this strategy recognize its limitations. While explicit learning of grammar can be beneficial, the participants found it did not necessarily improve their speaking ability. The participants who employed this strategy used it to fill the gap when they were not learning from Inuktitut from other sources.

At some point in their learning, all participants had a mentor or mentors who helped them learn the language. In some cases, former teachers became mentors after the language classes had ended. In others, LLs found mentors in friends, family and community members. The distinction between teacher and mentor is not always easy to define, but in general a teacher teaches the target language explicitly in a classroom while a mentor develops the LL's skills with implicit learning through conversation. While organised master-apprentice programs exist for Inuktitut, it appears as though none of the participants benefitted from any of these. Three of the participants had former teachers become mentors, which seems a natural progression of the student-teacher relationship. Students who are very interested and perform well in the classroom may want to continue

learning the language after completing all available courses. Five of the participants, four of whom lived in a Northern community at some point, found conversation partners among their social circles, including colleagues, friends and neighbours. Two participants also found conversation partners online and hold virtual meetings with their mentors to practice speaking the language. Meetings with language mentors can take many forms, but there seems to be a focus on practice speaking about normal, everyday situations. Below is a description from Participant 7 about a typical interaction he had with his mentors:

Occasionally, I would point to something, *igiurut*, the teapot, and they would say “*igiurut*” and I’d write that down in my book and we went almost word-by-word, phrase-by-phrase and I used to love doing that. (Participant 7)

As with the Class Description section above, it appears as though the most effective strategy for learning Inuktitut is to practice speaking. This practice leads LLs to encounter new words and expressions which they can learn explicitly, as Participant 7 did above, or implicitly. Participant 2, for instance, stated that he would learn words by listening to his conversation partners, then he would “parrot” it back and learn the meaning of the word later. He would also try using different affixes and then gauge his partner’s reaction. This strategy of repeating words and phrases is an example of a LL using formulaic sequences to improve fluency of speech. Formulaic sequences are phrases or groups of words that appear prefabricated and are memorised by the LL as a single unit (Wray, 2000). Several studies have shown that when LLs use formulaic sequences in their utterances, their fluency improves over time (Boers, Brussels, Kappel, Stenfers, & Demecheleer, 2006; Serrano, Stengers, & Housen, 2015; Wood, 2009). Thus

it would seem that memorising formulaic sequences can be an effective strategy for Inuktitut learners to prepare for conversations with a mentor.

Of the two learning strategies employed by the participants outside the classroom, the conversational method appears to be the most effective at teaching Inuktitut. This corresponds with the descriptions the participants gave of their classroom experience, where practice speaking Inuktitut with the teacher and classmates was seen as very useful. Learning through grammar books is also seen as useful, though the participants recognise the limits of these resources.

4.4.3 Experience with other Languages

Prior to learning Inuktitut, all participants had learned at least two L2s. Below is Table 3 which shows the number and variety of languages spoken by the participants. While not all participants speak their L2 at a high proficiency level, the experience of having learned an L2 prior to Inuktitut certainly gives context around which the *Table 4*:

Participant	L1	L2s
Participant 1	English	French, Spanish
Participant 2	English	French, Spanish, Portuguese, Japanese, Korean, Arabic, Farsi, Hebrew, Mandarin Chinese, Cantonese Chinese, Dutch, Turkish, Greenlandic
Participant 3	English	French, German, Japanese
Participant 4	English	French, Japanese, Spanish, Italian, German, Latin, Ancient Greek, Modern Hebrew, Mapudungun
Participant 5	French	English, Spanish, Innu-aimun, Greenlandic
Participant 6	English	French, German
Participant 7	Irish	English, French, Spanish

Participants' L1 and L2s.

participants form their opinions about learning Inuktitut. For example by the time they started learning Inuktitut, the participants had already experienced the difficulty and anxiety LLs often face when acquiring a new language. As Participant 1 puts it, learning French “broke down the ice” and so she did not experience much anxiety when learning Inuktitut. Previous studies have shown that multilinguals acquiring an additional L2 report more enjoyment of the learning experience and less anxiety (Dewaele & MacIntyre, 2014; Dewaele et al., 2018). As discussed previously in section 4.3.2, LLs are more receptive to learning an L2 when they enjoy the experience. Therefore the fact that all participants of the present study had already acquired multiple languages before beginning to learn Inuktitut undoubtedly affected their attitude toward the learning process.

Additionally, when participants spoke of the difficulties of learning Inuktitut, the challenges are described in relation to previous experiences learning other languages. In addition to providing context against which participants can compare or contrast their learning experience with Inuktitut, there are many studies which have shown that the more languages a LL acquires, the easier it becomes to acquire future L2s (Abu-Rabia & Sanitsky, 2010). This could have made the learning process easier than someone who is acquiring Inuktitut as their first L2 and thus affected their attitude towards the learning experience.

4.4.4 Difficulties Learning Inuktitut

While learning Inuktitut, the participants encountered many challenges and difficulties which hampered their progress. I have categorised these difficulties into four types: Orthography, Deferral to English, Dialectal Differences and Miscellaneous

Difficulties. Another issue encountered by the participants is limited resources for L2 speakers of Inuktitut. This last issue will be discussed in section 4.5.6 Lacking Resources below.

As discussed in chapter 2, Inuktitut has multiple scripts for writing the language. While Inuktitut syllabics is the most common writing system, some dialects use the Roman alphabet instead (Patrick, Murasugi & Palluq-Cloutier, 2017). As a consequence, all participants had exposure to both writing systems. Of the two main methods of writing Inuktitut, Roman orthography appears to be far easier for LLs to read and use:

I think in Roman orthography I would probably be intermediate/intermediate-advanced area but syllabics I'm much more slow. [Participant 1]

...but it's so much easier I find to read Roman Orthography than it is to read syllabics. And I've been really challenging myself to learn syllabics but I still find it very difficult. [Participant 2]

It should be noted that this issue only appears in two interviews. The two participants who expressed difficulty reading syllabics are also the two who have been learning the language for the least amount of time, suggesting that L2 speakers of Inuktitut become accustomed to reading syllabics over time.

Another difficulty encountered by the participants is a tendency among L1 speakers of Inuktitut to defer to English relatively quickly. For example, one participant works with many L1 speakers of Inuktitut and these L1 speakers are aware he can speak Inuktitut, yet they will often switch to English when he makes a mistake or the topic of conversation is really complex. He goes on to say that he attempts to speak Inuktitut with his colleagues but is often shy because he does not want them to have to decipher his “bad Inuktitut”. If it is easier to say something in English, he states, then the conversation will switch into English from Inuktitut. The reason for this may be because in

conversations between speakers with different L1s, the speaker with the highest confidence in their L2 will direct the discourse towards that language (MacIntyre, Clément, Dörnyei & Noels, 1998). In the above situation, the participant described himself as “shy” when speaking Inuktitut, suggesting he has lower confidence in his L2 than his colleagues, who speak in their L2 (English) regularly. Similar situations were reported by two other participants as well. All three work with L1 speakers who often defer to English if the learner makes a mistake while speaking Inuktitut. Participant 5 also found that some L1 speakers were not very confident in their own speaking ability and so would stop speaking Inuktitut with him or point him to another speaker whom they perceived to be a better speaker:

They knew that I was starting to get good enough that they would say “ok now you need to go to someone else because I don’t speak it that well.” So I often got that reply whenever I was trying to speak Inuktitut to young adults, young people, that would switch. [Participant 5]

One advantage that participant 5 had over the other LLs is that, at the outset anyways, he did not speak English very well. In the early days of his learning journey, when Inuktitut speakers attempted to switch into English, it was often less helpful than continuing to speak Inuktitut. This helped him somewhat in getting more practice speaking the language outside the classroom than the other participants.

By far the biggest challenge identified by the participants is the Dialectal Differences. Many of the communities in Inuit Nunangat have their own unique dialect. Although L1 speakers can generally communicate easily with speakers of other dialects with minimal difficulty (Dorais, 2010, p. 27), it can be difficult for LLs to navigate the dialectal differences. The participants were no different, finding the many dialects of Inuktitut a challenge to navigate:

Then already, that was a challenge, because the things that I found were from various different dialects and I was often having to ... like it didn't correspond to what I had already been exposed to. So it involved a lot of ... figuring out "ok if it's this in the dialect the book is using, then it would be this other thing in the dialect that I'm used to hearing." (Participant 4)

There are some resources available which describe the differences between some of the dialects. Such resources are invaluable for LLs who come into contact with multiple dialects, though not all participants are aware of their existence. However, Participant 5 offers this piece of advice to new learners of Inuktitut:

... but if you're a beginner, I think it's best to focus on and pick one dialect and focus on that dialect. And once you have a good understanding of that dialect, learning all the dialects is not that difficult... (Participant 5)

The choice of which dialect to focus on is usually quite obvious, with most participants learning either the dialect of their teacher or the dialect of the community in which they were living. Several of the participants did switch dialects at some point in their learning journey though. Participant 5, for example, switched from the dialect his teacher had taught him to the dialect of his wife. Participant 3 also switched from the dialect she had been taught in class to the dialect of the community she lived in.

The final sub-category under Difficulties Learning Inuktitut is a mix of individual challenges only mentioned once or twice. I have grouped these under the sub-category Miscellaneous Difficulties. Participant 1 made a comment that raises several issues at once:

I think [learning Inuktitut] was [challenging] 'cause there're fewer immersion opportunities, fewer resources and because the languages are so different.
(Participant 1)

The lack of immersion settings and the scarcity of resources do appear to be a major obstacle for any learner of Inuktitut. These issues will be revisited in section 4.4.6

Resources. Yet the disparity between L1 and L2 do seem to be an issue as well:

And the language structures are so different too, like French and English have a lot in common whereas French or English and Inuktitut have nothing in common pretty much. ...The structure of the sentences is completely flipped and it's polysynthetic too. It was a different thought process. (Participant 1)

As mentioned above, most participants speak languages which are related to their native language, such as French, English, Spanish and German. All these languages are from the Indo-European language family and thus they share many linguistic features. While languages from other families are also among the roster of the participants, such as Turkish, Innu-aimun and Mandarin Chinese, the Indo-European languages are the primary L2s, in addition to Inuktitut. The language distance between a LL's L1 and L2 (how similar or dissimilar they are) can have both positive and negative consequences. Studies such as Booth, Clenton and Van Herwegen (2018) have shown that LLs with a large distance between L1 and L2 have a more difficult time learning semantics (the meaning of words) in their L2 compared to LLs with a small distance. However, both groups of learners (those with large and small distances between L1 and L2) learn other aspects of the L2 equally well (or poorly), such as the syntax. In the case of the participants, they all speak an Indo-European language as their L1, making it is comparatively easy to learn words in other Indo-European languages. When it comes to learning Inuktitut, a language in the Eskimo-Aleut family, it is comparatively more challenging to learn new words. Some studies suggest however that a large distance between L1 and L2 can be beneficial to a LL, since they will not fall into the trap of relying on their L1 too much (Ringbom, 1978). Additionally, Participant 2 struggled with

the /q/ sound found in Inuktitut. This sound is not present in any of the European languages mentioned above and can be very challenging for LLs to pronounce.

Two of the participants are learning Inuktitut exclusively outside Inuit Nunangat, which makes it difficult to access people and resources in the South. In both cases, the learners make their best effort to mitigate their lack of resources. One of them has asked Inuktitut teachers he is familiar with for learning materials to help him progress. He has regular access to speakers but finds it difficult to find texts explaining the grammar of Inuktitut. The other participant meets with her mentor virtually each week and also works with a number of L1 and proficient speakers.

Of the many challenges the participants faced in their goal to learn Inuktitut, the dialectal differences appear to be the most pressing or at least is the issue most discussed by the participants. The orthography of Inuktitut also posed a challenge, partly due to syllabics being vastly different from the Roman alphabet, but also because each community has its own way of writing. Though, as noted in section 1.3, ITK recently adopted a standard orthography using the Roman alphabet, which may make learning Inuktitut easier in the future. Another issue identified by the participants is a tendency among proficient Inuktitut speakers to defer to English in conversations. This is certainly not unique to Inuktitut, but it poses an obstacle for LLs to get enough practice speaking to continue improving their language skills. Lastly, the lack of learning resources also posed some trouble for the participants, which will be discussed further in the following section.

4.4.5 Learning Experience Summary

It is clear from speaking with the participants that they hold overall positive views of their learning experiences. Despite some of the difficulties they faced, learning

Inuktitut has proved enlightening and enjoyable which can explain why they have continued to do so for so many years. Of the five participants who enrolled in formal language classes, we learn that Inuktitut classes generally focus on teaching practical, everyday vocabulary which prepares LLs for engaging in spontaneous conversations with L1 or proficient speakers of Inuktitut. It seems that classes that focus too much on grammar, while useful, do not improve the fluency of learners. Yet it is interesting to note that, unlike learning a language like French or Spanish, language learning with Inuktitut occurs primarily outside the classroom. Or rather, language classes lay a foundation of knowledge, but using Inuktitut in real-world situations is what helps language learners progress. Participants drew on their previous experiences learning other languages to emphasize the contrasts between learning Inuktitut versus French, Spanish or German. Some of these differences manifested as difficulties, which made learning Inuktitut more challenging. Not only is Inuktitut from a different language family, it also has no standard orthography used by all speakers. The differences between dialectal groups also posed a challenge for learners, especially if they moved between dialects. Lastly, although not unique to Inuktitut, the LLs found that many Inuktitut speakers will defer to English, making it difficult to find conversation partners. Still, as I mentioned above, these challenges are overcome by the participants and they hold positive attitudes towards the learning experience.

4.5 Resources

This section corresponds to the third research question of this study: what resources do Inuktitut learners have access to and what resources would they like to have access to? I will present each resource used by the participants as well as some comments

from the participants about which ones they found useful or engaging. By far the most important resource identified by the participants is L1 or high-proficiency speakers of Inuktitut. Books, TV, videos and audio resources also were common resources. Some participants also found resources in Greenlandic (Kalaallisut) – a closely related language to Inuktitut – helpful for their language learning. Lastly, I will present the participants' thoughts on what kinds of resources are currently missing.

4.5.1 Access to Proficient Speakers

As I mention above, the participants greatly valued the L1 speakers to which they had access. While learning about a language in a classroom can be helpful for laying a foundation, often the best way to achieve high levels of proficiency is through practice speaking the language with proficient speakers (Doucette, 2018; Verga & Kotz, 2013). All participants have access to at least a few L1 speakers, who are often teachers or mentors but also family members, friends, Elders and community members.

I got to know ... an elder man and woman ...and I would come and visit them and it was neat because they didn't know any English and ... so I would sit there and drink tea and smoke my pipe ... with the man and chat... (Participant 7)

As discussed in section 4.3.4, the participants often formed meaningful relationships with these L1 speakers. These relationships are important not only for teaching the participants the language, but also for keeping them motivated. The learning done while visiting friends, mentors or elders is incredibly important to the advancement of a LL's progress.

Participant 5 put it very bluntly:

... and really, I cannot stress this enough, if you are a learner then you need to go and visit [Elders]. Like I view elders as mentors and go visit them. (Participant 5)

The role of Elders in language teaching is somewhat unique since they are not just a proficient speaker of Inuktitut. Elders are repositories of traditional Inuit knowledge and culture, which is often imparted to learners at the same time as the language teaching. This harkens back to the discussion in section 4.3.1 about interest in Inuit culture. The participants who expressed the greatest interest in Inuit culture were those who learned from Elders. While all proficient speakers are immeasurably valuable to a LL, Elders have a unique role in imparting cultural knowledge as well. In addition to getting practice speaking Inuktitut and learning about the culture associated with it, proficient speakers are also a great source of motivation, as noted by Participant 3:

... especially getting to know Elders, whom I couldn't communicate with in English, that's a real motivator, right? (Participant 3)

Again, this ties in with the discussion above in section 4.3.4; relationships with proficient speakers is a strong motivator for the participants.

Similar to having access to a proficient speaker is having access to an immersion setting. The category for Immersion is used for situations and settings not tied specifically to one person (a teacher or mentor) but is a general place where the learner is immersed in the language. Unsurprisingly, the participants who were immersed in the language reported learning a great deal during that time:

But honestly... the most valuable language learning I had was being in the community and just hearing [Inuktitut], being in situations where folks weren't speaking English so I had to try to listen. (Participant 3)

But the great thing about those courses was that they were in an immersion format, so you'd go into the class and ... the whole time you're just speaking in Inuktitut, which was really, really useful for me to just get into the habit of hearing and speaking Inuktitut, even if it's only for a class that's only a few hours long. (Participant 4)

Five of the participants lived in Inuktitut-speaking communities and were immersed in the language at some point in their learning journey and additionally, one other participant worked in an environment with many Inuktitut L1 speakers, creating a quasi-immersion space. Immersion spaces are important for 'forcing' LLs to use and rely on their knowledge of the L2 in a way that is difficult to replicate in non-immersion settings. Certainly, some classes attempt to give students time to speak the target language, such as the "10 minutes of no English" rule in one participant's class. There is ample evidence to support this pedagogical method. According to the Output Hypothesis (Swain, 1995; Swain & Lapkin, 1998), LLs need to use their L2 in order to notice gaps in their knowledge. This primes the learner to learn the unknown linguistic feature in the future. This concept was corroborated in further studies, showing that LLs are more likely to learn a linguistic feature after they have encountered it when trying to speak in their L2 (Russell, 2014; Lapkin, Swain & Psyllakis, 2010). Although this cannot replace one-on-one learning with a proficient speaker, having to speak an L2 in a language class can be a very effective teaching strategy.

4.5.2 Written Texts

While L1 and high-proficiency speakers are invaluable to a learner, other resources are useful for 'filling the gap' since learners cannot spend all their time with a teacher. In this regard, textbooks and reference grammars fulfill an important role in helping the participants learn the grammar of Inuktitut. Reference grammars are resources designed to describe the grammatical features of Inuktitut: the syntax (sentences), morphology (words), phonology (sound systems), etc. of the language. They are not intended to teach Inuktitut for the purposes of speaking but give insight into the

workings of Inuktitut grammar. The reference grammars are useful for breaking down the polysynthetic words into smaller chunks and explaining how all the pieces fit together:

I thought that the grammar resources were super useful because they explain the morphemes in the language, which it's hard to figure it out unless someone explains it. (Participant 1)

As exemplified by the above quote, the participants found reference grammars and textbooks very useful. After finishing each of their introductory courses, five of the participants relied on reference grammars to continue their learning outside the classroom. And although they never participated in a formal class, the other two participants also used reference grammars to varying degrees. Reference grammars and textbooks are useful for explaining the morphology and syntax of Inuktitut. For beginners, it is challenging to distinguish the morpheme boundaries within each word; therefore any resource which helps learners identify and learn morphemes is greatly appreciated. Of course, this aspect of the grammar can also be learned from a teacher or mentor however, the participants appear to like the charts of verb and noun paradigms found in textbooks and reference grammars. These reference grammars appear to be among the most important resources for a LL at any stage of the learning process, second only to having access to L1 speakers of Inuktitut.

Aside from textbooks, other written materials were also used by the participants. Among these are magazines, news articles, a phrasebook and interview transcripts. Here is an example of Participant 5 describing why he read interview transcripts:

We had a research lab in Igloolik and they have this wonderful oral history collection of interviews with elders and whenever I had time, I would go read those stories. (Participant 5)

Not all participants had access to written materials, however. When Participants 6 and 7 began learning Inuktitut, there was very little printed material in Inuktitut. Participant 6 recalls that some children's books were just starting to be published while she was learning. Having written materials that are accessible and appealing is important because of the benefits reading brings to language learning. Previous studies have shown that literacy in an L2 increases the oral ability as well, such as Taron and Bigelow (2005). Therefore, having LLs reading Inuktitut can improve their likelihood of successfully acquiring the L2 and becoming proficient speakers.

4.5.3 Audio Resources

Unlike the written resources, audio resources were greatly liked by the participants. Even when L1 speakers were readily available, the extra practice gained by listening to audio in Inuktitut seemed to go a long way to helping LLs improve their comprehension of the spoken language. There appear to be three main types of audio the participants had access to: recordings, music and radio:

I remember in Baker Lake, we got a few recordings of people telling stories and I found listening to those over and over again and trying to figure out each word and how it related to the context... was kind of useful. (Participant 4)

Recordings of stories is an important resource, not just because of the practice LLs receive while listening, but also the cultural information gleaned from such stories. Inuit society is traditionally oral based and so recording of Elders recounting stories imparts important cultural values to the LL. Although this is not a substitute for practicing Inuktitut in a conversation, listening to audio appears to be good practice for oral comprehension.

One of the participants was greatly enthused by Inuktitut language music and tried to find as much of it as she could. Although unintentional, she closely followed the learning strategy proposed by Kao and Oxford (2014). In this strategy, a LL first enjoys the music for what it is, even if they don't understand all the words. The second step is to find and write down the lyrics for the song. This helps the LL identify confusing vocabulary so they may search for a definition or consult an L1 speaker. The last step is trying to understand the cultural significance of the song to the target language community. It should be noted that Kao and Oxford's (2014) strategy does require the learner to find culturally appropriate music in the target language, but otherwise this may be an engaging and effective way for LLs to learn vocabulary and other grammatical features in their L2. This may be because music has the ability to increase LLs' motivation to learn the L2 (Cores-Bilbao et al., 2019).

It should be noted however that not all participants had access to audio resources while learning to speak Inuktitut. Two of the participants did not report using any audio materials to assist in their learning. Nonetheless, radio was a prevalent resource for the older learners, due to a lack of other learning materials and audio still remains a common learning resource, one that is more readily available in the present day due to the internet.

4.5.4 Online Resources

The internet itself hosts several resources the participants found very helpful. As stated previously, two of the participants learned Inuktitut before the internet was available to the public. As for Participant 5, the internet did exist, but was "snail pace" as he puts it. Therefore the online resources were mentioned primarily in the interviews of

the four younger participants. Below is an excerpt from Participant 2's interview, in which he explains how the internet helped him in his learning of Inuktitut:

So I was trying to find, on the internet or wherever, other resources and I came across Italki, the app for finding conversation partners, and I looked for Inuktitut and I didn't find conversation partners for Inuktitut, but I did find one for Greenlandic. So I have been having Skype meetings with my Greenlandic conversation partner and so that helps a lot, having that consistency. And even though it's not Inuktitut, it informs Inuktitut. (Participant 2)

Participant 2, as described in the quote above, used an online app for finding conversation partners. Although he did not find someone to practice speaking Inuktitut with, he gets regular practice speaking Greenlandic through the app. The benefits of using Greenlandic resources will be discussed below but as Participant 2 points out, knowledge of Greenlandic "informs" knowledge of Inuktitut. Furthermore, both he and one other participant use internet-based conversation apps to communicate with their mentors.

The most important online resource used by the participants, however, is Tusaalanga (<https://tusaalanga.ca>). This website hosts many lessons on introductory Inuktitut, with dialogues, audio recordings and lessons explaining various elements of the language's grammar. The lessons are available in several dialects of Inuktitut, broadening the appeal to learners who want to focus on a specific variety of the language. Participant 7, who teaches introductory Inuktitut at a university in the south, encourages his students to use Tusaalanga:

Tusaalanga has Inuktitut essentials, which is a small dictionary or a glossary at the back and an introduction to the language. Any person has access to it and you can hear Inuit, authentic Inuit speak the words and phrases. So when I introduce the course to the students, I tell them, "you want to listen to me, in my Irish accent? You need to listen to Inuit speaking Inuktitut, that's the way you'll get the real flavour of the language." (Participant 7)

Once again, we see that in the absence of access to L1 speakers of Inuktitut, some resources can substitute in order to give learners some amount of practice listening to and reading the language. Although this is not a perfect solution, it can certainly go a long way to help learners, especially those living outside Inuit Nunangat. The usefulness of Tusaalanga however depends on the initiative of the learner. As Participant 3 points out:

... Tusaalanga doesn't care if I go and do my lesson or not, right? There's nothing at stake there and it's very different when you have ... a teacher who is expecting you to... learn your vocabulary. (Participant 3)

This again points to the hugely influential role a teacher or mentor has over the LL's motivation to continue learning. Although Tusaalanga is a great resource for learning and practicing, too much reliance on this website may cause students to lose interest over time. Only human contact can sustain a LL's motivation in the long term. Furthermore, online language education websites are not necessarily effective at teaching the L2. Lord (2015) found that LLs who only learned through an online course (Rosetta Stone) were much less able to communicate in their L2 than LLs who learned both in online and in formal classrooms.

The internet opens the pathway to many other resources besides Tusaalanga though. This includes visual media, which is becoming more and more abundant in Inuktitut. Some websites such as APTN and IsumaTV were used by Participant 1 to get some practice listening to the language. APTN is a national Indigenous broadcaster dedicated to sharing Indigenous media. Though it is not specifically dedicated to Inuktitut media, there are a number of programs available in Inuktitut. Similarly, IsumaTV hosts media focused on Indigenous people and culture, including many texts and videos in Inuktitut. IsumaTV describes itself as “a collaborative multimedia platform for

indigenous filmmakers and media organisations” (IsumaTV, n.d.). Although not dedicated specifically to Inuit and Inuktitut, it is their primary focus to service that community, as evidenced by their website being offered in Inuktitut (both syllabics and roman). Participant 1 also had access to some DVD's. Additionally, Participant 6 had access to some shows in Inuktitut on the television while living in Nunavik. This type of visual media is very similar to the text-based resources. It can be very useful for giving the LL a great deal of practice.

Another similar resource is a game designed by Mick Mallon. Participant 3 is the only one who had access to this game, but she found it to be very fun and engaging while teaching the language. The game centred around choosing the proper forms of affixes:

I do recall that in terms of learning little grammar points like ... using *-mik* to designate an object or something like that, it would just be a whole bunch of practice. So it was very useful to practice that way. (Participant 3)

However, according to participant 3, she received the game from Mick Mallon and it does not appear to be available to the general public. Nonetheless, games are a great way to engage learners and keep them motivated to continue learning.

4.5.5 Greenlandic Materials

The last resource I will discuss here is Greenlandic Materials. This resource was only mentioned twice. Both participants who use Greenlandic materials found that since Inuktitut is lacking in resources, they would use materials for teaching Greenlandic to supplement their Inuktitut learning. Although they are considered separate languages, Greenlandic and Inuktitut are closely related and share many features. This makes the sharing of some resources possible. Participant 2, as mentioned above, has a Greenlandic conversation partner he connects with through the app Italki. This gives him additional

practice speaking a language similar to Inuktitut. Similarly, Participant 5 has found listening to music and reading texts in Greenlandic has helped him improve in Inuktitut:

... listening to Greenlandic music ... we've been doing some transcriptions of those songs so we can sing along and ... when I read their lyrics, it's actually helped me to learn some Inuktitut because there are so similar words and when I listen to elders, often I say "Oh, but I heard that word listening to a Greenlandic song" and so I get the idea of what they are saying. (Participant 5)

As with many of the other resources in this list, Greenlandic materials is not a perfect replacement. A learner needs to be aware of the differences between the languages and adjust, as necessary. Despite the extra effort required to bring Greenlandic words and phrases into Inuktitut, this can help alleviate the shortage of language learning materials for Inuktitut.

4.5.6 Lacking Resources

To finish off this discussion of the language teaching resources, I will now present the participants' thoughts on what teaching materials are currently missing. I think it is important to start by mentioning how far we have come in terms of resources available for Inuktitut learners. Participants 6 and 7 had very few resources available at the time:

So as Mick Mallon developed his stuff, he created videos. They weren't there when I first started learning and nowadays there's a lot of stuff on the internet. The internet didn't really exist yet, at the end of the 1980's when I was learning. I guess it existed, but it was far from what it is now. And so you could say those resources didn't yet exist. And had they been, then of course it would have been much easier. (Participant 6)

I use Tusaalanga in my courses ... and something like that would have been invaluable [while I was learning Inuktitut], I mean even the way it's set out with the themes, lesson themes, vocabulary, a little bit of grammar and spellings, and so on, would have been invaluable I think... Even to have a dictionary. Would have been wonderful to have a dictionary. (Participant 7)

Since Participants 6 and 7 began learning Inuktitut, many resources have been developed for LLs. Despite this progress, however, some resources are still lacking or are

inaccessible to most LLs. One of the primary learning materials currently missing is a textbook or coursework for helping LLs bridge the gap between intermediate and advanced proficiency. There is plenty of material for beginners and there are some materials for lower-intermediate and advanced learners of Inuktitut, but there is very little for intermediate-advanced learners:

Grammar books would be so helpful. And I mean I loved Mick Mallon exercise books. He has an intermediate Inuktitut textbook where he explains the principles and then gives you practical exercises and he's also got a CD that's free, so I use that too and if there could be more like that, but for the advanced level, I would love that, yeah. (Participant 1)

Well I think the main thing would just be Inuktitut classes that are geared to second language speakers and that go beyond a basic level. Like 'cause right now pretty much everything is pretty basic. Yeah, it's like the middle is missing, like there's the basic stuff for people who don't know any Inuktitut and then there's like I think there's some sort of like advanced level classes and materials that are useful for people who basically already know Inuktitut, but need to brush up on certain points or whatever. But for getting you across the gap from beginner to being fluent, I don't find that there's not really a lot of classes. (Participant 4)

Most participants in the present study are in this stage of fluency. They can largely hold conversations about a number of topics and grasp the basic concepts of the grammatical system. Yet they do make mistakes and have trouble with complex or unfamiliar topics. Many of the participants said they were approaching or had already passed beyond what their current resources were able to teach them. Further progress would be helped if there were a textbook or coursework aimed for L2 speakers at their level.

Another resource suggested by Participant 5 is to have a mobile dictionary app of all the affixes of Inuktitut organised by theme. He especially would like to see an app that can compare multiple dialects:

I think if I was able to take resources from Louis-Jacques, you know I had a book go with me everywhere, especially the Igloolingmiut Uqausingiit had a list of all the verb endings and also a list of all the infixes, not a big list, but then a

dictionary by themes... I think if I had that on my phone, that would have been extremely helpful. But I think a resource, and I'm still dreaming about it, I keep telling people and I try to tell developers, but if there was a way to have a comparative, almost multi-dialectal list of infixes that whenever I go to Qurluqtuq, I just pull out ... like here's the infix. (Participant 5)

Such a multi-dialectal resource would be invaluable for anyone travelling between dialect communities and could even be beneficial to learners focusing on a single dialect. He would especially like for such a multidialectal suffix dictionary to be available as a mobile app. This would make it extremely convenient and practical. Yet even a simple dictionary for a smartphone is needed; currently, Participant 5 is using a Greenlandic dictionary app on his phone as a substitute in order to fill the gap.

Another resource that would be extremely useful for learners is some kind of standardised language test in order to assess a learner's progress. Both participants 1 and 5 raised this issue of a lack of testing:

I'd love to get formal testing. I don't think there is anyone who can formally test me. (Participant 1)

The thing is we don't have a good scale, proficiency scale, a formal scale like we have in English or French. When I took my courses, or when I wanted to learn English, I had to take an initial test and then I was assessed at a certain level. Even in French, when I went to Laval university, I had to take a French test. All the university students in Québec have to take that test, it's a standard test, and then I get a sense of what level I am and if I'm not at an acceptable level, I am then told that I need to upgrade my language skills or I need to take some additional courses and then I have to do the test again and then you get reassessed until you reach that level, otherwise you don't get your degree. But in Inuktitut, we don't have a good scale. There are some attempts here and there. That's probably an area that is most needed. (Participant 5)

It is great that Inuktitut is being taught in schools and community classes across Canada.

However, at the end of these courses, LLs do not know how they compare to others.

Although admittedly a rare requirement outside of Inuit Nunangat, most jobs in Inuit communities require knowledge of Inuktitut but there is no formal testing to indicate if a

candidate has achieved the expected level of proficiency before they apply for the position. A standardised test does exist for government employees in Nunavut, but it is not available to non-government employees or workers in other regions of Inuit Nunangat. A standardised test can help in this situation but can also help LLs understand how much they have achieved and what areas need to be improved.

4.5.7 Resources Summary

Without a doubt, the most useful resource identified by the participants is L1 or high proficiency speakers of Inuktitut. This corroborates what has been discussed elsewhere in the present study: the most effective way for learning Inuktitut appears to be having conversations with other speakers of Inuktitut. In order to reach a conversational level – and to support learning thereafter – grammars and textbooks prove very valuable resources. Other written texts, such as newspapers were also used less frequently. Audio resources were also available to most participants, though in general they did not appear very enthusiastic about such resources. One resource that was used a lot by the more recent learners was the internet. The internet is often used as a means of connecting with mentors, but also to access the website Tusaalanga, which LLs can use to learn Inuktitut, listen to dialogues and search vocabulary in the dictionary. The present study also asked participants about what learning materials they believe are currently missing and this generated several ideas for future teaching resources. One of the most important of these is learning materials for intermediate-advanced LLs. Such a resource would be greatly appreciated to support LLs who are beyond the beginner stage. This would not replace the role of L1 speakers in helping develop proficient L2 speakers; conversation would still be the most effective learning strategy for LLs. Yet an advanced grammar or

textbook could be very helpful in a support role. Some of the participants became creative due to the lack of resources for learning Inuktitut, using Greenlandic learning strategies and materials in order to supplement their Inuktitut learning. As one might expect, there is a wide variety of resources the participants had access to and their thoughts equally varied in terms of what resources they believe are currently missing.

4.6 Summary and Conclusion

The interviews conducted in the present study revealed a great deal about how and why Qallunaat learn Inuktitut as an L2. While many LLs appear to start learning their L2 for practical reasons, that does not appear to be the case with learners of Inuktitut. The participants in the present study had few practical reasons to learn this language. Some learned Inuktitut as a research language, and one participant had familial pressures to learn it as well. Some even expressed an idea that Canadians ought to learn indigenous languages in order to promote cultural understanding. Yet overall, the Ought-to L2 Self appeared somewhat weak in the participants compared to the Ideal L2 self. The internal motivations to learn Inuktitut were much stronger and varied. The participants were interested in learning and participating in Inuit culture and the language was a means to access that culture. Some of the participants were encouraged to learn Inuktitut simply because they enjoyed the experience and relished the challenge Inuktitut presents. The most prominent motivator for the participants, however, is the relationships they formed with L1 and proficient speakers of Inuktitut. The friendships the participants formed with mentors, teachers, friends and neighbours help the LLs overcome the many challenges they face while learning the language.

With regards to the participants' thoughts and attitudes towards the learning process, they overall enjoyed the experience. Whether learning inside or outside the classroom, using Inuktitut in conversations appears to be the best way for LLs to acquire the language. Some participants used scripts to prepare for conversations, while others reported spontaneous conversations. In either case, this seems to be the best way for LLs to improve fluency. Textbooks and grammars were also used extensively by the participants to learn the finer points of Inuktitut grammar. Though they enjoyed learning Inuktitut, the participants also experienced many difficulties. Chief among these difficulties is the dialectal differences which make communication with speakers from unfamiliar dialects difficult. Other challenges reported were a tendency among L1 speakers to defer to English, varied orthography, and a lack of language learning resources. It should be noted, however, that these difficulties did not appear to detract significantly from the LLs' opinions or attitudes toward their language learning experience.

Lastly, the participants shared their thoughts on the resources they used while learning Inuktitut. Unsurprisingly, the most important resource for LLs is proficient speakers of Inuktitut. Being able to practice speaking in a naturalistic way is the best strategy for improving fluency in Inuktitut. Additionally, many of the participants knew Inuit Elders who could impart cultural knowledge in addition to linguistic knowledge. Yet before LLs can engage in independent language learning in spontaneous conversation, they must first establish a foundation in the language. This is the role of grammars and textbooks, which are the second most important resource identified by the participants. Audio resources were also used but did not seem to inspire as much

enthusiasm as some of the other materials, although they are useful for when L1 speakers are unavailable. Something else that also helps in this situation is the website Tusaalanga, which has online lessons and dialogues with audio. Yet even with these resources, the participants found a lack of resources for helping L2 learners acquire Inuktitut. The most common request was for a textbook aimed at high-intermediate L2 speakers to help bridge the gap to advanced speaking capacity. In general, the participants were happy with the resources to which they had access.

There is a wealth of information to be gleaned from the participants' thoughts and comments about their experiences learning Inuktitut. The following chapter will discuss the pedagogical and theoretical implications exposed by these findings.

Chapter V: Implications

There are a number of implications revealed by the findings of the present study. Why and how Qallunaat learn Inuktitut is a complex question, but the responses from the participants give insight into pedagogical and learning strategies both inside and outside the classroom. Furthermore, learning Inuktitut opened the participants to Inuit cultural practices and values, promoting cultural understanding. Lastly, there are a number of theoretical implications concerning the use of the L2MSS framework, as the Ought-to self was less prevalent among the participants compared to the Ideal L2 self, which contrasts many other L2 motivation studies. Additionally, the present study is a rare example of the L2MSS being used in a qualitative capacity. All of these implications will be discussed below.

Practicing conversation skills, whether in a classroom setting or one-on-one with a mentor, seems to be a great method for preparing students to interact with Inuktitut speakers in a diverse range of contexts. Some of the participants were able to experience true immersion in Inuktitut while living in the North. Learners in the South are not as fortunate but many Inuktitut teachers do what they can by enforcing ‘no English’ spaces whenever feasible. The participants greatly enjoyed these immersion-like settings and found them very valuable for helping them internalise the lessons they had learned. There have been calls from TI for an adult immersion program in Ottawa to help adult Inuit who have lost proficiency in Inuktitut to rekindle their linguistic abilities (McGrath, 2019). Although there is a critical shortage of qualified Inuktitut teachers, such an immersion space would be invaluable to the L2 Inuktitut community. Even though TI’s proposal is intended for heritage learners of Inuktitut, there are a number of Qallunaat who might benefit from an adult immersion program. Inuuqatigiit, formerly known as the Ottawa Inuit Children’s Centre, used to offer community language courses where both heritage and L2 learners were welcome. According to Participant 1, some Qallunaat public servants did partake in these courses.

It is also worth mentioning that four of the participants had their first contact with Inuktitut in university classes. Enrollment in these courses was simply inspired by the availability of Inuktitut courses, which sparked interest. There are several universities outside Inuit Nunangat that offer such courses, such as Queen’s University, University of Toronto and Laval University. Inuktitut courses in the South could greatly benefit Inuit living outside Inuit Nunangat who currently struggle to pass the language on in their family and would be a welcome addition to an Indigenous Studies department. Not

everyone has access to university, however, so community classes could be held at other education institutions, such as Inuuqatigiit, colleges or adult education centres in order to reach a wide audience. There are a number of ways institutions outside Inuit Nunangat currently offer Inuktitut courses. Some offer online or distance learning courses in order to reach the widest possible audience. Other strategies involve courses co-taught by an L1 speaker and a linguist, who collaborate to prepare lesson plans. This arrangement was used at the University of Toronto for a number of years. Two of the participants in the present study were enrolled in these courses and spoke very highly of them. Additionally, high proficiency L2 speakers may also step in to teach introductory courses, using resources such as Tusaalanga so students can hear L1 Inuktitut speakers. This situation is used at a number of universities in the South and can actually be quite good from a motivation standpoint. The LLs can see how far an L2 speaker of Inuktitut can progress and they have a role model on which to base their Ideal L2 self. Inuuqatigiit has also offered free online podcasts teaching Inuktitut when they do not have community classes ongoing.

With regards to teaching Inuktitut in a classroom, there appears to be two main methods currently used to teach Inuktitut to Qallunaat: a linguistic method and a conversational method. I have already emphasised throughout the present study the importance of speaking Inuktitut regularly. Setting aside class time for conversations between teacher and students is invaluable for the development of conversation skills in LLs. The participants of the present study seemed to prefer the conversational method of learning but the linguistic method, which involves teaching aspects of Inuktitut grammar, also plays a role. As a polysynthetic language, teaching Inuktitut grammar is slightly

different from English or French L2 classrooms. While other language classes focus on teaching whole words and verb paradigms, it appears that in Inuktitut it is more important to show L2 learners how to recognise individual morphemes. The participants who enrolled in courses using the linguistic method enjoyed the class experience and learned a great deal about Inuktitut. Yet the participants found overwhelmingly that a mixed approach with some grammar instruction and some practical speaking exercises was the best method for improving their proficiency in Inuktitut.

As for LLs outside the classroom, the participants found that finding a conversation partner to help guide and mentor the learner was very effective. In this regard, Elders provide the most fulfilling experience as they were able to impart cultural knowledge and Inuit values to the learner. Yet any amount of conversation will go a long way towards developing L2 abilities and so seeking out conversations with L1 or high-proficiency L2 speakers is the most effective strategy for an L2 Inuktitut learner outside the classroom. Using what grammars and textbooks that are available can certainly help a LL start their learning journey or help them maintain their language skills after completing an introductory course. Yet these and similar resources, such as Tusaalanga, can only take a learner so far; based on the testimonies of the participants of the present study, conversation and interaction are the best method for learning Inuktitut as an L2.

Inuktitut teaching resources are certainly scarce and this poses a problem for teachers and language learners. This is especially true for intermediate-advanced materials. Yet one thing I noticed in the present study is that some of the resources the participants asked for already exist, they just are not aware of those resources. I think in this case a webpage could be created to display many of the resources that exist for LLs.

For example, there are many resources listed in a catalogue on the Tshakapesh website (catalogue.tshakapesh.ca/articles/index/fre/) for Innu-aimun, an indigenous language spoken in eastern Québec and Labrador. This does not contain all teaching/learning materials for L2 learners of Innu-aimun, but it certainly helps a beginner know what resources are available at a cursory glance. Of course the key here is that such a web page needs to be among the first ‘hits’ when a LL searches online for resources, otherwise the webpage will suffer as all the other resources out there. It needs to be hosted on a visible and easily searchable website.

Nonetheless, there certainly is a large gap in the list of available Inuktitut resources: advanced learning materials. While beginner materials are increasingly common and learning materials exist for L1 speakers, there is almost nothing for advanced L2 speakers. Some educational institutions have these kinds of materials available for their advanced L2 students, but these do not appear to be available to the general population of LLs. Advanced grammars or textbooks were the number one request by the participants of the present study. As for other learning materials, some of the participants really enjoy reading and watching Inuktitut media but it is worth bearing in mind that unlike learners of other languages such as English, French or Spanish, the participants of the present study did not learn Inuktitut to watch movies or listen to music in that language; they did so to form relationships with Inuit and Inuktitut speakers.

That is not to say that the participants are not interested in Inuit culture; in fact, the opposite is true. The participants expressed great interest in learning about Inuit history and culture through conversations with Elders. Learning about the Inuit worldview was a big draw to the language. Two participants in particular referred to their

admiration for this particular worldview several times throughout their interviews. Most of the participants expressed some level of interest in learning about Inuit culture, but the theme of relationships comes back and applies here as well; the participants enjoyed learning about how Inuit relate to each other, the community and the land. Inuit *nuatqatigiittiarniagut* – or Inuit societal values – were held in high esteem by the participants. It is often said anecdotally that language is the vehicle of culture and that holds very true for Inuktitut and Inuit culture. It is difficult to learn one without learning the other.

This leads into the theoretical implications of the present study. Much of the previous SLA motivation research has focused on languages of global importance – English, French, Mandarin Chinese, for example – or national languages with large populations of speakers – Japanese or Farsi, for example – but there is little research into the L2 motivations of minority languages. Certainly, some does exist but this often focuses on heritage learners who are reconnecting with their ancestry. The L2 motivation of non-heritage learners of minority languages is thus a relatively unexplored area of SLA. On account of the fact that most SLA research is on English or similarly global languages, L2 motivation tends to focus on the Ought-to self, especially as it relates to employment and familial pressures to succeed professionally. The Ought-to self is also somewhat prevalent among heritage learners of indigenous languages, as they may feel societal pressures to preserve their heritage language and culture. Yet the results from the participants of the present study show that the Ought-to self is not particularly prevalent among non-heritage learners of a minority language. These aspects of L2 motivation, while present in the participants of the present study, does not appear to be the primary

reason why Qallunaat choose to learn Inuktitut. Learning to communicate with Inuit in their own language and learning about Inuit culture appears to be the primary motivation for the participants to learn Inuktitut. Therefore the standard conceptualisation of Cultural Interest in the L2MSS may also need to be reassessed. Cultural interest, as proposed by Dörnyei (2005), focuses heavily on consuming media in the target language and to what degree LLs enjoy media in their L2. Certainly, the participants of the present study did enjoy the few films that are available in Inuktitut. Yet, as I mentioned above, LLs do not learn Inuktitut for the purposes of watching or reading Inuktitut media, as one might do for English. Instead, the participants interact with Inuit culture directly, by speaking with L1 speakers and learning Inuit cultural values from Elders.

Milieu is another aspect of the L2MSS framework which may need to be re-evaluated. Going back to the days of Gardner and the Socio-Educational Model, Milieu has been interpreted as any external motivation derived from a LL's social circle. This is typically conceived as the LL's family, friends and community exerting influence to learn the target language. Dörnyei (2005) incorporated Milieu into the Ought-to L2 self because of the external nature of the motivation in his survey of LLs in Hungary. Yet among the participants of the present study, their social milieu motivated them in a different manner. There was little motivation from the community for the participants to learn the language. Rather, the desire to communicate with Inuit was an internal motivation rather than an external one. Therefore, the two aspects of the L2MSS I have here discussed, Milieu and Cultural Interest, may need to be expanded to cover different language learning situations. The present study suggests that these two aspects of L2

motivation manifest in a different way for learners of minority or endangered languages compared to learners of global languages.

One of the findings that emerged from the data was the feeling of enjoyment the participants experienced while learning Inuktitut. Joy is a somewhat overlooked aspect of language learning. Both in psychology and SLA, there tends to be a focus on negative emotions, such as anxiety, and how those affect LLs. Yet positive emotions also play a role in motivation and the findings in the present study support this. In response to the question “Why did you learn Inuktitut?”, one participant simply stated, “Because I enjoy it”. Other participants expressed similar ideas, if not so explicitly. This is direct evidence that joy plays a role in motivating Qallunaat learners of Inuktitut. The source of this joy does vary somewhat, but in general the participants liked the challenge Inuktitut posed to them. The grammar, being so different from their L1s, proved challenging but rewarding to learn. Some participants also enjoyed how the language sounds, thinking it is beautiful to listen to. Additionally, the participants also enjoyed interacting with Inuit and learning about their culture. I think there is ample evidence in this study, as well as others, to support the inclusion of language enjoyment as an aspect of the L2MSS. In Dörnyei’s (2005) version of the L2MSS, language anxiety is already an integral aspect of the framework and I would argue that language enjoyment should occupy a similar role. Language anxiety is sometimes framed as the antithesis of language enjoyment and some studies combine anxiety and joy – and occasionally some other emotions – as a single motivational factor, but I do not believe that should be the case. Previous studies have shown that LLs can display both high language anxiety and high language joy (Dewaele, MacIntyre Boudreau & Dewaele, 2016). As for the participants of the present study,

language anxiety did not play a prominent role in their learning. Only one of the participants expressed having high language anxiety but all of them expressed enjoying the learning experience.

These results were able to be uncovered due to the qualitative interview format employed in this study. There are exceptionally few instances of qualitative L2 motivation research (for examples, see MacIntyre, Baker & Sparling, 2017; Ushioda, 2009). The present study would not have discovered the above findings if a traditional survey-based approach or even a mixed methods approach had been used. By focusing on the analysis of the interviews, I was able to uncover little-explored areas of L2 motivation. This gives cause for researchers to consider using more qualitative research methods in SLA research. Of course surveys and questionnaires will always be the dominant research tool in this field; yet I believe qualitative methods have the capacity to uncover aspects of motivation not previously considered by researchers. While surveys are great tools for collecting large amounts of data from a large number of participants, one limitation is that the rigid structure of questions may not allow a researcher to delve deeply into emergent themes and patterns during data collection. Therefore I believe using a semi-structured interview format is a valid research method in the L2 acquisition research.

There are a number of implications resulting from the present study. In terms of teaching and learning Inuktitut, I believe the most important thing is to focus on conversation skills and practical language. LLs sometimes read, write or listen to Inuktitut media, but the primary usage of the language is for communicating with other Inuktitut speakers. This fact has implications for the L2MSS framework. Many previous

studies have shown high levels of Ought-to L2 self motivation among participants (for example: Jang & Lee, 2019; Papi, 2010), but that is not the case among Qallunaat learners of Inuktitut. Instead their Ideal L2 selves are the most prominent factor in motivating their language learning. Additionally, the role of cultural interest may need to be re-evaluated to widen the focus. The results of the present study suggest there is a need to include not just target language media but also cultural values of the L2 community.

Chapter VI: Directions for Future Research

Due to the number of participants, the results of the present study are not generalizable to all situations involving Qallunaat learners of Inuktitut. Therefore future studies could be conducted to build on the findings herein by examining the experiences of a larger number of L2 learners of Inuktitut. This would likely result in a greater range of insights and opinions on the effectiveness of teaching strategies and a wider range of resources accessed. A quantitative study would also be ideal, especially if it were to modify surveys or questionnaires to include items reflecting some of the findings in the present study. For example, there ought to be questionnaire items related to internal motivations to communicate with Inuit, in order to verify my findings from section 4.3.4: Milieu. Such a study would serve the purpose of verifying the findings presented in chapter 4 and also lend credence to the generalisability of the findings.

Heritage and non-heritage learners of Inuktitut, as with any other language, share more similarities than differences. Much of the findings in this study apply to Inuit reclaiming Inuktitut as it does for Qallunaat learners. Yet there are some differences that

language teachers ought to be aware of. While both heritage and non-heritage learners display high levels of cultural interest, heritage learners are typically presented with more opportunities to use their L2 and to learn the culture outside the classroom (Wen, 2011). By contrast, non-heritage learners “take pride in learning a challenging language and are stimulated by new learning experiences in the classroom” (Wen, 2011, p. 58). Wen suggests that heritage learners will be motivated to learn their L2 because they want to become proficient speakers, while non-heritage learners continue learning because of a positive learning experience. It is worth mentioning that Wen’s study (2011) concerns Chinese heritage and non-heritage learners in America. It is entirely possible the situation is different in an Inuktitut situation – or indigenous in general – due to generational trauma caused by residential schools and federal policies restricting the use of aboriginal languages in Canada (Crawford, 2014). Furthermore, some studies have shown that the dichotomy between heritage and non-heritage learner is not very clear and many LLs find themselves ‘in between’ these two poles (Lee, 2005). Future research could investigate the L2 motivations of heritage learning of Inuktitut and compare those results to those in the present study.

Another limitation of the present study is level of education of the participants. All participants were university-educated, with the majority holding a graduate degree. This could impact how they learned Inuktitut. For example, one previous study found that LLs with a high level of education get more benefit from corrective feedback than LLs with medium or low levels of education (Penning de Vries, Cucchiarini, Strik & van Hout, 2019). However, these researchers also noted that although highly-educated LLs got the most benefit from corrective feedback, all learners – with high, medium and low

levels of education – rated their language learning experience about the same. Therefore it is uncertain how the inclusion of a more diverse range of education levels might have affected the present study.

Additionally, the present study only interviewed LLs who continued with the language but there were no participants who started learning the language and then stopped. A future study as to why LLs ceased learning would be insightful and useful to language teachers, who might be able to better motivate those who lack the motivation to continue learning.

Chapter VII: Conclusion

This thesis investigated the experiences of Qallunaat learners of Inuktitut, their attitudes towards the language learning experience and the resources to which they had access. When asked why they chose to learn Inuktitut, the participants responded with a variety of answers. Yet the most important reason was a desire to communicate and interact with Inuit and learn about Inuit culture. The friendships and bonds they formed while learning the language were hugely motivational to them. Joy, media and career pressures also emerged from the data, but interpersonal relationships appears to be the most motivating aspect of learning Inuktitut.

As for the learners' attitudes towards the learning experience, the participants generally enjoyed their time learning Inuktitut. Learning grammar was useful for helping the LLs determine morpheme boundaries and basic verbal inflections. Yet the learning strategy most useful to the LLs was time spent speaking Inuktitut with teachers and mentors. This helped solidify all the theoretical knowledge of how Inuktitut's grammar

functions and allowed the LLs to establish conversational routines necessary for conducting spontaneous conversations in their everyday lives. Complete immersion is the most ideal situation in which learning could take place, but even in areas where Inuktitut is not the majority language, enforcing just a few minutes of ‘no English’ – or French – will be greatly beneficial to LLs. While the participants’ attitudes toward the learning experience was positive overall, there were some challenges that detracted from the experience. The most prominent of these challenges was the differences between the various dialects of Inuktitut. To mitigate this difficulty, however, I would recommend that a beginner L2 Inuktitut learner should pick one dialect and learn it to the best of their ability. Learning how to understand all – or most of – the dialects can come later. Yet even with these difficulties, the participants had positive opinions about learning Inuktitut.

Lastly, with regards to the third research question, the participants had access to a number of learning resources, of mixed usefulness. Of course, having access to an L1 or high-proficiency L2 speaker was the highest rated resource by far. Otherwise, textbooks and grammars were the next highest rated resource used by the participants. These were useful in helping the LLs learn the finer points of Inuktitut morphology which might not be obvious in implicit learning. The only major negative of textbooks is that there are very few aimed at helping LLs progress beyond the intermediate stage. There exist quite a few resources for helping beginners, but several participants expressed a desire for more resources aimed at intermediate-advanced learners.

In conclusion, I believe the results of the present study will be beneficial to Inuktitut teachers, SLA researchers and LLs alike. For teachers, the present study

displays the motivations and attitudes of any Qallunaat learners that might be in their classroom. They may also learn of some new teaching strategies or resources they were unaware of. It's also possible that the situations I describe above perfectly represent a language teacher's experience in the classroom, in which case the present study serves as a validation of their current teaching methods. As for SLA motivation researchers, the results of the present study suggest we may need to re-evaluate and modify the L2MSS framework, which is currently the most popular framework for investigating L2 motivation. Lastly, to all the Qallunaat learners of Inuktitut out there, both present and future, I hope that the present study will help keep you motivated and encourage you to continue learning this beautiful language.

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Appendix A : Interview Guide

- When did you start learning Inuktitut?
- Why did you learn Inuktitut?
- Where were you when you learned the language?
- How well would you say you can speak Inuktitut?
- When speaking Inuktitut, do you need to think about what you want to say first or do you just say it?
- How long did it take for you to feel comfortable speaking Inuktitut?
- Which other languages do you speak?
- Do you find learning languages easy?
- Did you take classes to learn Inuktitut or did you learn outside a classroom?
- Did you do anything intentionally to improve your ability to speak Inuktitut?
- Did you have regular contact with L1 speakers while learning Inuktitut?
- What resources were available to you while you were learning Inuktitut?
- What resources did you find the most useful for learning Inuktitut?
- Is there a resource you would have liked to have access to while learning the language that would have made learning easier?
- What were the benefits to learning the language?
- How do you think learning Inuktitut has impacted your life?
- When you are speaking with your language teacher/mentor, do you feel at ease or do you feel anxious?

- Are you worried when you see other language learners who can speak better than you?
- After finishing your course(s) in Inuktitut, did you continue to speak the language regularly?
- If you were to move to another country, would you make an effort to learn the local language even if you could get by with English?
- If you were watching a movie filmed in another language, would you rather watch an English dub or watch with the original language with English subtitles?

Appendix B : Table of Codes and Definitions

Theme	Category	Code	Usage
Language Learning Context	N/A	Language Ability & Age	Participant discusses their aptitude for learning languages and the age at which they began learning Inuktitut.
	N/A	Language Anxiety	Participant expresses feeling anxiety when speaking in an L2.
	N/A	Location & Time of Learning	The locations at which the participant learned Inuktitut and the amount of time they spent in those locations.
	N/A	Proficiency Self-Evaluation	The participant evaluates their own speaking and reading ability in Inuktitut.
Motivation	Ideal L2 Self	Cultural Interest	Participant mentions cultural practices or products (media).
		Enjoyment	Participant expressions enjoyment or satisfaction from learning Inuktitut.
		Instrumentality	Participant learned Inuktitut for practical, instrumental reasons.
		Milieu	Motivational pressure to learn Inuktitut stemming from the participant's social environment.
	Ought-to L2 Self	Career	Participant learned Inuktitut to accomplish professional or academic goals.
		Family	Members of the participant's family expected him/her to learn Inuktitut.
	L2 Learning Experience	Class Description	The participant describes their Inuktitut classroom, including descriptions of their teacher and learning activities.
		Extra-Curricular Learning Strategies	Any learning done outside a formal classroom setting, including speaking with mentors or self-study.
		Experience with other Languages	Participant speaks about which other languages they have learned and how that experience compares to their experience learning Inuktitut.
		Difficulties Learning Inuktitut	Participant describes and challenges or difficulties they faced while learning Inuktitut.

	Resources	Access to Proficient Speakers	Participant talks about the L1 or high-proficiency L2 speakers of Inuktitut they communicated with at least on a regular basis.
		Written Texts	Any print materials to which the participant had access, including newspapers, textbooks, descriptive grammars, transcriptions, etc.
		Audio Resources	Any aural materials to which the participant had access to, including radio, music and interview recordings.
		Online Resources	Any resource available to the participant via the internet, including Tusaalanga and online streaming services.
		Greenlandic Materials	The participant mentions using materials for learning Greenlandic to supplement their learning of Inuktitut.
		Lacking Resources	The participant shares their thoughts on what resources are currently unavailable but would be helpful to LLs.

Table 5: Themes, Categories, Codes and Definitions.