EVALUATION OF CANADA - N.W.T. CONTRIBUTIONS AGREEMENT ON ABORIGINAL LANGUAGES (1985-90)

Prepared for
The Government of The Northwest Territories

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Culture & Communications

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Aboriginal languages in the Northwest Territories are still viable but increasingly under duress from English. Experience with other aboriginal tongues in Canada and around the World warns us that the GNWT is at a critical point. Our research leaves no other conclusion than that decisive action must be taken immediately. The alternatives are clear - act now or ultimately lose the languages.

The purpose of this report is to review the activities and projects funded through the Canada-NWT Contributions Agreement on Aboriginal Languages, as well as to determine their impact in the context of the preservation, enhancement and development of aboriginal languages in the Northwest Territories.

With about 52,000 inhabitants in all, the NWT has more than 31,000 residents who are native people --- about 60% of the population. Native languages are the mother tongue for many of these people. According to a Statistics Canada survey (1986)*, aboriginal languages are spoken by the following numbers of NWT residents.

Inuktitut	14,540
North and South Slavey	2,245
Dogrib	1,890
Chipewyan	480
Gwich'in	245
Cree	50

During the five-year period (1985-90), the Government of the Northwest Territories (GNWT) co-participated in funding language projects, investing $13,375,827 in the programs while the federal funding amounted to $12,423,491. Disposition of the funds covered by the agreement will be discussed in terms of:

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* Statistics Canada Survey, Population and Dwelling Characteristics - Census Divisions and Subdivisions, for the Northwest Territories.

(a) the objectives set by the agreement;
(b) the relevance of programs to the objectives;
(c) the success of the programs in achieving the objectives.

This report concludes that the Government of the Northwest Territories acted judiciously in producing and implementing language training programs and in providing translation and interpretation services in aboriginal languages during the period of the agreement. Despite little lead-time for planning an extensive set of programs, the GNWT investigated constituent opinion regarding perceived native language needs (through the Task Force on Aboriginal Languages) and selectively responded to the recommendations included in the Task Force report. These programs were primarily implemented through the Departments of Culture and Communication, Education and Justice. On the basis of interviews and a review of reports and records, we have assessed the impact of these programs on the people of the Northwest Territories and on their aboriginal languages.

We conclude that the policies, programs and products of this funding were consistent with the objectives of the Agreement and with the suggestions of the Task Force. In fact, we suggest that the timing of this funding from the Federal Government and the matching input from the GNWT was remarkably fortuitous. These funds, and the programs that they allowed, appeared at a point where language policies and programming in the NWT needed form and focus. This funding enabled the GNWT to get mobilized --- to review the situation and the alternatives, to investigate constituent opinion, to evaluate existing programs, and to provide for expansion of some services and creation of others. In this fashion, the agreement contributed to launching a broad policy and program process pertaining to aboriginal languages.

Our report will review the programs developed with Canada-NWT Agreement funding. The school, community, linguistic, cultural and media-oriented programs include some notably successful achievements. The Language Bureau has also functioned fairly well, despite an immense mandate and large workload. This mandate is so encompassing that

some public frustration has occurred when it clearly could not be fulfilled to everyone's expectations. This pressure will increase further from the demands that will be made upon the Language Bureau. We shall present and discuss these programs including, where relevant, the comments of those we interviewed in preparing the report.

Yet, the outcomes are not perfect. Nor are the programs totally successful. If the goal of these programs, is "the realization of aboriginal languages as dynamic, working languages of the NWT"**, then we find aspects of the program to be too oriented toward service functions, too traditional and repetitious of approaches that do not achieve success. If the GNWT is committed to continuance and renewal of native language use, it is important to distinguish "language services" from "language maintenance" and "language revitalization". The GNWT gets high marks for providing aboriginal language services, an entitlement of the people of the NWT, since native tongues are now official languages. But language services will not by themselves contribute to achieving the goal mentioned above. It is in the areas of language maintenance and revitalization that policies and programming are insufficient.

Finally, there are no cookbook recipes for either language maintenance or revitalization. We have concluded that those departments and administrators of the GNWT who were given responsibility for developing programs have laid a foundation -- a basis upon which can be built a territorial linguistic future where English, French, and aboriginal languages have equal utility and respect. Assuming policy makers can keep the objectives in sight, given sufficient funding and latitude to try what is innovative, daring and expensive, the GNWT is in a position to save and strengthen the languages which are still strong and to revitalize those languages which are in various stages of morbidity.

Note: Readers who are interested in the thrust of the report rather than the details may wish to read chapters 3 and 8.

** Department of Culture and Communications, GNWT "Building the Foundation", January 1990.

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

On June 28, 1984, the Government of the Northwest Territories signed an Official Languages Agreement with the Government of Canada and under its terms the Canada-NWT Contribution Agreement on Aboriginal Languages was authorized on March 10, 1986. The objectives of this five-year long commitment were three fold: to preserve; to develop; and to enhance the official aboriginal languages indigenous to the Northwest Territories. The current year being the final phase of the extended Agreement, the Government of the Northwest Territories (GNWT) has commissioned an evaluation for the purposes of determining the overall effectiveness of the projects funded under the Agreement.

It should be noted that in 1984, the Legislative Assembly of the NWT passed the Official Languages Act NWT, which, as well as making French and English "official languages", recognized seven native languages (Inuktitut, Dogrib, Chipewyan, North Slavey, South Slavey, Gwich'in - formerly Loucheux, and Cree) as "official aboriginal languages of the NWT". This Act was amended on April 6, 1990, to make the aboriginal languages "Official Languages" of the NWT, to combine North and South Slavey as "Slavey", and to include Inuvialuktun and Inuinnaqtun as part of Inukitut. The NWT, therefore, has eight official languages.

1.2 Terms of Reference

In summary, the Terms of Reference of the evaluation can be summarized as follows:

(a) a review of specific projects funded under the agreement;

(b) a determination of the impact of these projects in the context of the objectives of the Agreement to preserve, enhance and develop aboriginal languages in the NWT;

(c) an assessment of their cost effectiveness;

(d) a review of the current level and demands for services of the Language Bureau, including an analysis of problems and solutions, as well as a forecast of trends.

1.3 The Evaluation Team

The management consulting firm of E.T.Jackson & Associates was selected by the GNWT to undertake the evaluation. The Project Director was Dal Brodhead, a former senior federal public servant with extensive experience as a development consultant in Canada and abroad. The Senior Advisor to the evaluation was Michael Decter, a former Partner in the Peat Marwick Consulting Group and Cabinet Secretary to the Government of Manitoba who has evaluated a number of aboriginal projects.

The team included an internationally known Canadian aboriginal language expert, Dr. Jay Powell of Vancouver who has published extensively in the field and works as advisor to a number of aboriginal communities. Three experienced evaluation consultants Margaret Scopick, Rosemary Cairns and Michael Bloor undertook the field and survey work in the Eastern and Western and Yellowknife areas of the NWT respectively. In addition, all three evaluation consultants brought to bear their considerable northern experience on the analysis of the results of the field work.

1.4 Methodology

The evaluation methodology was designed to capture both the formal aspects of the program and project implementation from a government perspective, and a community perspective of this sensitive and complex policy area. In addition, an effort was made to place the issue of aboriginal languages within the overall context of language experience and research both within the NWT and elsewhere. The major components of the evaluation are noted below.

1.4.1 Document Review

A range of reports and agreements pertaining to the Canada-NWT Contribution Agreement on Aboriginal Languages were reviewed. Particular attention was paid to the following:

- pertinent NWT/Canada Agreements;
- resources identified for aboriginal language purposes and the cost effectiveness of their usage;
- project information such as evaluations, and progress reports;
- reporting on project outputs such as lists of publications;
- data and information on concurrent language programs and projects undertaken in addition to those funded under the Agreement;
- relevant background material on aboriginal or other language policies or practices in other jurisdictions.

A list of some of the major documents consulted is included in the Appendix at the back of this report.

1.4.2 Consultations/Surveys

A series of meetings were held with senior-level stakeholders within the governments of the NWT and Canada responsible for the design, planning and implementation of the Agreement. Consultations were also held with key non-government leaders and staff of organizations directly involved in the issues of aboriginal language development in the NWT. Service providers and users were also surveyed in Yellowknife, as well as elsewhere in the NWT.

Crucial to a full understanding of the nature and effectiveness of aboriginal language preservation, enhancement and development are the views of aboriginal people themselves in the many communities located across the NWT. The evaluation team made a particular effort to travel to as many communities as possible outside the Yellowknife area, both in the eastern and western parts of the NWT to survey local opinion on the aboriginal language issue.

1.4.3 Project/Program Reviews

The main element of this section of the evaluation was a review of the Language Bureau's practices, programs, services and financial resources, as well as an analysis of the level of current and anticipated future demand for its services. The research work involved consultations with staff in a number of the Bureau's offices, as well as discussions with users inside and outside of government.

The other major projects funded under the Agreement were described and reviewed to the extent that documentation permitted. The material was organized on a department by department basis for the sake of clarity and as a means of establishing the level of increased activity identifiable as a result of the additional resources provided under the Agreement.

1.5 The Limitations of the Study

The major constraint imposed upon the team was the limited time available to complete the work. In an ideal situation, consultation would have taken place in many more communities and in particular in more smaller and remote locations. The aboriginal language issues are so complex and so diverse across the various language groups and sub groups that an evaluation of this nature can only provide a quick snap shot of a situation which we hope to be accurate.

Given the remarkable efforts of many committed individuals in the NWT whose preoccupation in this first phase of the work has been to activate programs and projects, it is hardly surprising that gaps in documentation have appeared. The absence of a systematic recording and evaluation process has meant that data and narrative material were not always fully available to the evaluation team. Thus in some places the evaluation report may lack detailed information as time did not permit the gathering of original data/statistics.

CHAPTER 2

BACKGROUND

2.1 Context of Aboriginal Languages in the N.W.T.

Several studies and surveys have gathered data on aboriginal language abilities in the Northwest Territories. These include Statistics Canada: the Labour Force Survey and Population and Dwelling Characteristics; NWT Bureau of Statistics; Department of Personnel, GNWT. From this data it is possible to present a mosaic of the aboriginal language realities of the NWT.

On a community by community basis the following picture emerges.

Inuktitut

Sachs Harbour	Spence Bay	Resolute Bay
Paulatuk	Pelly Bay	Arctic Bay
Tuktoyaktut	Gjoa Haven	Grise Fiord
Holman	Baker Lake	Pond Inlet
Akkvik	Rankin Inlet	Nanişivik
Inuvik	Coral Harbour	Hall Beach
Coppermine	Chesterfield Inlet	Broughton
Cambridge Bay	Whale Cove	Island
Bay Chimo		

North Slavey

Wrigley	Norman Wells
Colvlle Lake	Ft. Norman
Ft. Good Hope	Ft. Franklin
Inuvik	

South Slavey

Wrigley	Jean Maine River
Ft. Simpson	Ft. Liard
Nahanni Butte	Ft. Providence
Kakisa	Ft. Norman
Hay River	

Dogrib

Snare Lakes
Rae Lakes
Lac la Maitre
Rae-Edzo
Detah

Chipewyan

Fort Resolution
Hay River
Snowdrift
Ft. Smith
Ft. Fitzgerald

Gwich'in

Arctic Red River
Aklavik
Fort McPherson
Inuvik

Cree

Ft. Smith
Hay River

The 1989 NWT Labour Force Survey provides an insightful picture of language ability for the population age 15 and over. Of the total NWT population 34,650 are over 15 years of age and of those 44% or 15,365 are capable of speaking one or more aboriginal languages.

Total Population 15 years and over	34,650	100%
Able to Speak		
Inuktitut	9,263	26.7%
Inuvialuktun	537	1.5%
Innuinnagtun	443	1.3%
Dogrib	1,515	4.4%
Cree	335	1.0%
Chipewyan	692	2.0%
North Slavey	1,055	3.0%
South Slavey	1,260	3.6%
Gwich'in	265	0.8%
English	31,450	
French	2,457	

A Statistics Canada Survey in 1986 identified 19,400 persons capable of speaking an aboriginal language or 37% of the total NWT population. This difference in the aboriginal speaking population of the over 15 age group, 44% vs. 37% of the total population suggests that young people have less capacity to speak aboriginal languages. Note the statistics for the total aboriginal population (all ages) highlighted in the introduction to Chapter 3.

Another dimension of the NWT aboriginal languages context is the vastly different scale of aboriginal language use. With Inuktitut used by over 9,000 residents versus less than 1,000 who speak Gwich'in, Cree or Chipewyan.

In December of 1986 the Department of Personnel, GNWT undertook a survey of 3,384 employees. Of the employees surveyed some 27% or 905 had an ability to speak an aboriginal language. The distribution by language spoken was as follows:

Inuktitut	486	14%
Innavialuktun	54	2%
Innuinaqtun	56	2%
Dogrib	50	1%
Cree	55	10%
Chipewyan	46	10%
North Slavey	47	1%
South Slavey	80	2%
Gwich'in	31	1%
	905	27%

From this data the central and pervasive role of aboriginal languages in the NWT is evident. Also evident is the erosion over time through the assimilation into the dominant English language hegemony of North America.

In May of 1984 the GNWT submitted a proposal to the Government of Canada. It was entitled "Enhancement of GNWT Native Language Services". The brief established one broad objective and focal policy goals.

Objective

To enable Northern residents of aboriginal descent to communicate and receive services from the Government of the Northwest Territories in a manner and language to which they are accustomed.

Policy Goals

1) To increase translation/interpretation services provided by the GNWT to allow improved access to public services to native people whose first language is not English.

2) To increase GNWT capability to train native people as interpreters/translators.

3) To increase employment of bilingual northerners within the public service.

4) To conduct research necessary to develop languages to a common standard.

The brief presented an array of very specific program and project proposals with detailed costing and staff implications. The proposals were tied to the formal policy goals. The overall total sought for the current budget plus continuing enhancements was $10,006,000 per annum based upon $5,410,000 for present enhancement and $4,220,000 for future enhancement. The following table presents the allocation by policy goal.

	Present	Future
	(000's)	(000's)
Goal 1 to increase translator/interpreter services	2,587	105
Goal 2 to increase GNWT capability to train native people	520	3,550
Goal 3 to increase employment of bilingual Northerners	1,892	315
Goal 4 to conduct language research	411	250
Overall	5,410	4,220

Under Goal number 4 the major item was a Native Language Task Force to be initiated in 1984/85.

The brief ended by noting seven key conclusions and six priorities which are reproduced below.

Conclusions

1) The continued support of the GNWT as the legitimate representative of native northern residents is inexorably tied to the ability of the GNWT to provide access to public services in keeping with the language and customs of native people.

2) Despite the strong priority placed on native language development and use within the GNWT, the ability of the GNWT to meet these demands is extremely constrained by the short supply of qualified native people who are able to provide services directly to the public or act as interpreters/translators for those employees who are not fluent in a native language.

3) In the long term, it is preferable to have a fluently bilingual public service. However, there will always be a requirement for interpreters/translators who are able to act as intermediaries between the northern government and other governments and private agencies in Canada.

4) A long term strategy to make the optimal use of trained bilingual northerners will be needed to ensure effective use of existing resources.

5) Ultimately, it will be the native people themselves who will determine if native languages will survive.

6) Unilingual English employees who have taken jobs in the North should be given an opportunity to become fluent in a native language.

7) All services now provided by the GNWT should be assessed to determine what barriers exist which may prevent the provision of these services to native people who do not speak English.

Priorities

1) The GNWT, in consultation with the people of the N.W.T., should decide on the appropriate objectives, priorities and plans for making the native languages the working languages of the north.

2) Beginning immediately, the priority to increase the supply of qualified employees who speak a native language in the public service must be accelerated.

3) In the placement of interpreters/translators, a priority should be given to those services provided to unilingual native people who are least able to access these services, the aged, the uneducated and the infirm.

4) Independent agencies such as the Athabaskan Steering Committee and Inuit Cultural Institute should be given the resources and the mandate to monitor implementation of language services and to advise government accordingly.

5) The Teacher Education Program (T.E.P.) particularly the field-based component should be expanded to increase the number of trained northern teachers and the highest priority should be given to expanding native language instruction in the elementary grades.

6) The field-based language program should be continued to preserve the verbal history of the native people of the N.W.T. which is primarily retained by the elders.

2.2 The Canada-N.W.T. Agreement

The Canada-Northwest Territories Agreement on Aboriginal Languages signed in June 1984 provided for a total of $16,000,000 over five years. These funds were first utilized in the spring of 1985. Because native people constitute such a large proportion of the population, the territorial government recognized the importance of delivering public services in the aboriginal languages and supporting the preservation, development and enhancement of these languages and cultures. These federal funds allowed the territorial government to pursue these objectives by expanding programs and services in the areas of language research and standardization, expanding the Language Bureau, and undertaking major program initiatives in the areas of aboriginal language education, community programs, legal and medical interpreting, and the territorial media.

Subsequent chapters of this report will review the major elements of the program launched or scheduled as a result of the agreement. It will also seek to obtain the views of a sample of service providers and users of these programs and projects from across the NWT.

The Department of Culture and Communications has administered the budget for the Canada-NWT Agreement on Aboriginal Languages. The Government of the Northwest Territories has received an extension of this agreement until the end of 1991 to allow for the spending of remaining funds.

The five-year agreement was disaggregated into the major components noted above which then formed part of an annual plan. These plans were formulated within the overall objectives of the Agreement by each of the Departments who delivered elements of the Agreement (Culture and Communications, Education, Justice and Health). They were brought together by Culture and Communications into one document which ultimately became the basis for the annual appendix to the overall contribution agreement and enabled the Department of the Secretary of State to release these funds each fiscal year.

The Agreement is unique in one particular respect, its initial implementation commenced not with the launching or expanding of programs or projects, but rather with the initiation of a major consultative process across the NWT. The Task Force on Aboriginal Languages was set up by the GNWT to make recommendations on how the aboriginal languages of the North could and should be used, developed and promoted.

2.3 The Task Force on Aboriginal Languages

The Task Force composed of three Dene and three Inuit members undertook a comprehensive territorial-wide consultative process whose significance was reiterated time and time again to the evaluation team. It was clearly considered a landmark by those committed to aboriginal language policy and progress. To this day, it is seen by community people (interviewed as part of this study) as a turning point and a catalyst in the renewal of aboriginal language development in the NWT.

In the preface to its final report to the NWT Legislature dated February 28, 1986, the Task Force made a number of remarks which appeared to the evaluation team to be as valid now as then. It stated the following:

1. "While use and promotion of the language is not solely a government responsibility, government actions play a vital role in the languages' survival".

2. "Communities and individuals also have a vital role to play in using and promoting the aboriginal languages in their homes and community activities".

3. "The GNWT's responsibility "to reflect and serve the majority of its citizens in their own languages....." is a unique opportunity to enrich and strengthen the cultural fabric of the Northwest Territories, to willingly build a society which is practically, as well as symbolically, unique in Canada".

The importance ascribed to the Task Force by the GNWT can be seen in the fact that it responded directly to 26 of the Task Force recommendations in a formal response dated October 21, 1986. The GNWT accepted many of the key Task Force recommendations such as:

- according aboriginal languages official language states;
- recognition of interpreting and translating aboriginal languages as professional occupations;
- making aboriginal language training available to interpreter/translators outside government;
- agreeing to review the Education Act;
- sees the need for maximizing co-operation between Culture and Communications and Education in the design and delivery of teacher training programs;
- promoting public awareness on the status and education options available for aboriginal languages;
- establishing health services accessible to residents of the NWT in their mother tongue;
- creation of a project to carry out standardization of written Dene languages;
- the right to be able to use one's aboriginal language in all court proceedings.

The Report of the Task Force on Aboriginal Languages at the stage for the implementation of all Canada-NWT Agreement on Contributions for Aboriginal Languages. It influenced other priorities and began the process which this study will briefly describe in the next few chapters.

CHAPTER 3

3.1 Introduction

With about 52,000 inhabitants in all, the NWT has more than 31,000 residents who are native people --- about 60% of the population. Native languages are the mother tongue for many of these people. According to a Statistics Canada survey (1986)***, aboriginal languages are spoken by the following numbers of NWT residents.

Inuktitut	14,540
North and South Slavey	2,245
Dogrib	1,890
Chipewyan	480
Gwich'in	245
Cree	50

These statistics do not indicate degrees of fluency or language use. We do not yet have complete community language profiles, but we can make some generalizations.

- Language proficiency and use differ from language group to language group, and even from community to community within language groups.
- Some Native people are unilingual in their native language.
- Some are bilingual or multilingual to varying degrees.
- An increasing number in many groups speak only English or have only the most rudimentary knowledge of their aboriginal language.

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* Statistics Canada Survey, Population and Dwelling Characteristics - Census Divisions and Subdivisions, for the Northwest Territories.

Because this is such an important point, it is worth repeating. It is an issue to be emphasized. The provision of Language services is a responsibility of the GNWT and it is an entitlement of the people of the NWT; but, it only relates to language continuance in the most superficial way. Unless the GNWT emphasizes programs that will guarantee continuance of the Native languages, indicators suggest that in three to six generations they will be providing services in languages that few know anymore.

This may sound alarmist, however, readers should bear in mind the depressing experience of British Columbia. Five generations ago, virtually every Native person in B.C. spoke their aboriginal tongue and probably as many as 40% were not fluent in English. Today, a century later, every one of these languages faces extinction and a few could be wiped out in an automobile accident.... as everyone who still speaks the language could get into a single vehicle. These languages did not die out because translation services were not available. They stopped being used in home life and community interaction, and thus they stopped being passed on from generation to generation and no aspects of community life continued to be Native language teaching situations.

This report takes as its starting point the analytical framework that if the aboriginal languages of the NWT are to survive in the long term, maintenance and revitalization programs are necessary. Programming that will accomplish these admittedly different goals is of two types: language teaching programs and community level programming.

Language teaching causes those who arrive in school fluent to become better informed about their language and literature (first language programs) or seeks to bring those who arrive in school unable to speak their language to informed, literate fluency (second language programs). At this point it appears that only intensive immersion programs will accomplish this ambitious revitalization objective).

Community language programming is a term that is used in various ways. In this context we are using it only to mean types of programs that result in the development of actual language use patterns at the community level. It does not refer to language projects or curriculum development projects at the community level although these are useful. It refers specifically to programs which have built into them the development of expectations that the aboriginal languages will actually be used in community life. Inuit children's TV is an example of direct government funding which results in such a program, but most such programs have to be funded and run directly in the community.

3.2 The State of Aboriginal Languages in the NWT

We can characterize aboriginal language groups and communities in terms of their "language profile". This is a characterization of:

(i) the percentages, ages and degree of control of the language by community members;

(ii) the means by which it is transmitted from generation to generation (i.e. as mother tongue or through school programs); and

(iii) the community activities in which the aboriginal language is used and whether it is used all, most, or some of the time. Depending upon the language profile of any particular community, it is possible to judge whether language maintenance, language revitalization, or both (and to what extent) are most appropriate programs to provide. Language interpretation and translation services are, essentially, a different order of government responsibilities (which we shall discuss in detail later on).

The following section discusses the language profiles of each of the aboriginal languages of the NWT.

The Inuit

The Inuit people of the NWT are historically and linguistically related to the "Eskimo" groups of Alaska, Greenland and Siberia, and more distantly to the Aleut people of Alaska. There are almost 19,000 Inuit in the NWT, living along the Arctic Coast from Baffin Island in the East to the Mackenzie Delta. A single Inuit community, Baker Lake, is situated inland. Although they are collectively referred to as Inuit, groups from some areas have their own specific name. Around Coronation Gulf the people are called Inuinnait, and in the Delta area the people are called Inuvialuit.

The language of the Inuit can be collectively called Inuktitut (or Inuktut). It is spoken across the NWT with some dialectal diversity. Forms of a language which are distinct but close enough to be mutually understood are usually referred to as dialects of the same language. And when the usage of two groups diverges over time and becomes so distinct that it can no longer be understood by members of another group, we consider the two to be separate languages. Depending upon how narrowly one defines "dialect", linguists distinguish from six to 20 dialects of Inuktitut in Canada. Although the forms of Inuktitut constitute a dialect continuum with the usage of each group differing only slightly from the form of the language spoken by the groups on either side of them, an arbitrary linguistic line is sometimes drawn between "Eastern" and "Western" dialects, with the dividing line in the Kitikmeot (Cambridge Bay - Coppermine) area.

But most Inuit can communicate despite these dialectal differences. Some forms of the language are commonly referred to by the name of the people who speak it; the usage of the Inuinnait is called Inuinnaqtun, and the 3 dialects spoken by the Inuvialuit are collectively called Inuvialuktun.

Much of written Inuktitut is actually in Keewatin or Baffin usage. Far less written material is available in Inuvialuktun or Inuinnaqtun. The Inuit themselves standardized their writing systems in the early 1970's, but continued to use different writing systems. In the Western Arctic (and in Labrador) Inuktitut is

written with Roman orthography (the type of alphabet used to write English and French). In the East, syllabics are used. This writing system, where each symbol stands for a syllable, has come to be associated with Inuktitut in the thinking of many. (Actually, that syllabic writing system was devised in the 1840's by a missionary name James Evans for use in translating the Bible into Cree). Of course, any form of the language could be written using either writing system. Most Inuit can read and write ("are literate") to some extent in Inuktitut.

Overview of Inuktitut Use and Needs

In light of the limited availability of precise up to date community data on the state of Inuktitut and its use, we can attempt some generalizations. Inuktitut is in better shape in the Eastern Arctic than in the Western Arctic. There has been a dramatic decline in the number of speakers and use of Inuvialuktun, to the extent that an Inuvialuktun Language "Critical State" Conference was held March 6-8, 1990. In the Eastern Arctic, the language is still being used as the language of the home and community for the most part. Thus, the needs are quite different in the Eastern Arctic than in the Western Arctic.

The need in the East is for language maintenance and to a lesser extent revitalization programs. There are already some problem pockets in the East, however, where the language is not universally known or used by Native people. We are told that in some places it is usual to speak English if anyone in a group does not know Inuktitut. That is polite, but it is also a sign of Native language subordination. We are told that when comprehension problems occur due to dialect diversity, speakers switch to English. This suggests that English has become the native lingua franca. Without renewal programs, these examples of native language subordination, cultural non-transmission and language disuse may (our experience suggest will) probably become the norm.

Continuation and, in most cases, increased commitment of resources for programs already in place seems indicated by both the situation and the comments of those that we interviewed. While individual programs cannot be cited here, it appears that **what is most emphatically required is increased community programming and further development of the educational and media programs already in place.**

In this region, language interpretation and translation services are necessary for "both" reasons: (a) to allow monolingual Native people to communicate in situations where English is appropriate or required, but also (b) to interpret for non-Native speakers in situations where the community considers the Native language to be appropriate. It is probable that interpretation of the former type (a) will be largely unnecessary in a generation or so. And, it is further to be hoped that Native languages will be used in a widening set of everyday life situations and activities, making interpretation of the latter type (b, above) increasingly more necessary. This distinction, by the way, can be used as an evaluative benchmark to see how well language maintenance efforts and programs are doing.

The need in the West, however, is mixed. There seems to be about as great a need for programs of language revitalization as there is for language maintenance, sometimes in the same community. Thus, it is important to make both types of programs available. Programs which promote continued native language use should be mounted along with programs which will successfully teach children the native language at as early an age as possible. (Here the important words are "successfully teach" and "as early an age as possible".) In the West, there are elderly mono-linguals who require aid in communicating, but government language services are needed to more urgently interpret for non-Native speakers in situations where the community recognizes that the Native tongue is appropriate.

There is reference occasionally to the desirability of encouraging development of a common "media dialect" for use in communicating via the media to all Inuit

(regardless of dialect). However, the Task Force report did not suggest forcing the issue of a standard dialect, and it has not been seriously suggested since. In fact, there seems now to be much greater inclination to undertake programs which would maintain the distinctiveness and integrity of the various forms of Inuktitut.

The Dene

The Dene languages are known to be related to Eyak and, within the greater Athapaskan Language Family, to tongues in Alberta, Saskatchewan, Manitoba, and British Columbia, in Alaska, in northern coastal California and adjacent Oregon, and in the southwest of the United States. Four Dene languages have been recognized by amendments to the Official Languages Act (April 6, 1990) as official languages of the NWT: Dogrib, Slavey, Chipewyan and Gwich'in.

Although there is a tradition of Dene multi-lingualism, and in the past most Dene people spoke or understood more than one Dene language, this is no longer the case. Younger speakers can seldom understand speakers of other Dene tongues. Standardizing the writing systems while important, will not mean that all Dene can read each other's language or that they will come to be able to understand someone speaking another Dene language. Literacy in Dene is also a relatively new phenomenon. Programs aimed at encouraging wider literacy skills have been requested, considered and planned, but not implemented vigorously enough. And there is little in the languages to read at this point.

Dogrib is spoken primarily at Rae, and also at Rae Lakes, Snare Lake, Lac la Martre and Detah. It has become the dominant aboriginal language around Yellowknife and is thought to be one of the few aboriginal languages in North America that is growing in number of speakers, of which there may be as many as 2,000. Also refer to Chapter 6 for additional information.

North and South Slavey are similar to Dogrib. North Slavey includes these forms of the language in the Fort Norman and Fort Franklin area (also called the Bearlake Dialect), and in the Fort Good Hope and Colville Lake area (also called the Hare dialect). The North Slavey area comprises the Sahtu Divisional Board of Education. South Slavey includes two primary dialect groups: the larger is the group that was occasionally known as "Slavey Proper" and is the dominant usage in the communities of Fort Simpson, Jean Marie River, Kakisa Lake, Fort Providence, Hay River, Fort Liard, Trout Lake and Nahanni Butte (as well as along the Hay River in Alberta and in Fort Nelson, B.C.). The other South Slavey dialect, originally referred to as Mountain, is spoken in the mountainous area west of the Mackenzie and Liard Rivers, in and around Fort Wrigley and Fort Liard, up to Fort Norman where it contacts North Slavey. Estimates of the number of speakers vary slightly from a low of 2,245 (Stats. Can., 1986) to 3,200 for North Slavey and 800-950 for South Slavey (Handbook of North American Indians, Subarctic Vol., p. 77).

Gwich'in is called Kutchin in the Yukon and until recently was referred to as Loucheux in the NWT. It is spoken in the Fort MacPherson, Arctic Red River, Aklavik area, where it overlaps with Inuvialuktun. Although there may be as many as 1200 speakers of Gwich'in spread across the NWT and the Yukon, only about 250 live the NWT, and it is thought to be in precarious condition for survival.

Chipewyan is spoken to the east of Great Slave Lake, all the way across the southern NWT and adjacent Alberta, Saskatchewan, and Manitoba. Chipewyan speaking communities in the NWT include Fort Smith, Fort Resolution and Snowdrift. Chipewyan speakers may number 500 in the NWT, and ten times that many in all, counting those in Alberta and Saskatchewan. The language is thought of in linguistic circles as viable with pockets of non-transmission.

"Viable with pockets of non-transmission" could probably be said about all of the Dene languages except Gwich'in. It means that in most communities the languages

are being transmitted from generation to generation as mother tongues, that children know the language, and that the language is used in many aspects of community life. What changes this from a confident situation to an anxiously hopeful one is that education programs and policies, ethnicly mixed communities, and anglophone media are creating a generation of Dene bilinguals who will live and communicate in a world that is increasingly more dominated by English. Thus, it is probably more correct to say, "the Dene languages are still being learned and used by Native members of most communities." But, the indicators of language duress are apparent. In some communities, children are starting to enter school without control of their Native language and in some communities, aboriginal languages are only used regularly by elders or only for some activities.

The need in Dene communities appears to be for programs that will keep these languages used in everyday community life. The languages have to be useful or, in the balance, it will increasingly make more sense to speak English. If school is in English; if the media are in English; if there is no literature "to speak of" in the language; if the language is used increasingly only with older people, then the battle is being lost. The need is for immediate school, media and community programming calculated to make the Dene tongues more focal in community life. All of these programs, but school programs in particular, must distinguish between the language maintenance and the language revitalization needs, since programs will differ depending upon the situation. Often the picture is complicated by the need for both types of programming, especially in the larger, ethnically mixed communities.

Because there are still so many Dene mono-linguals, language interpreting services are required, as well as being requisite entitlements of speakers of official languages. On the other hand, extensive translation of government documents and court decisions into Dene languages would appear to be of questionable value since Dene literacy is so restricted.

Cree

There are an estimated 50 speakers of Cree in the Northwest Territories. Their language relates to the greater Algonkian Language Family, which stretches across Canada from British Columbia to Nova Scotia and into the contiguous parts of the United States. The Cree speakers in the NWT represent the Northern dialect of Plains Cree. Although syllabics have been used to write Cree elsewhere, the Roman alphabet is primarily used when Cree is written in the NWT.

Little is known about the state or use of Cree in the NWT. This speech community has language entitlements under the amendments to the Official Languages Act, and when information is available, requisite programming for Cree will be more apparent.

Goals and Objectives

It is appropriate that we return to goals and objectives after reviewing the history of the Canada-NWT Agreement, and the state and needs of NWT aboriginal languages. In the executive summary, it was stated that the report would review the outcome of the Agreement in terms of:

(a) the objectives established in the Agreement;
(b) the relevance of programs to the objectives;
(c) the success of the programs in achieving the objectives.

As noted in Chapter 2, the Report of the Task Force on Aboriginal Languages included recommendations for aboriginal language programming and policy, based on five "Key Principles".

1. Aboriginal languages and culture are inseparably intertwined. Language cannot adequately be taught or learned in isolation from the culture which is its lifeblood.

2. Within the over-all public government of the Northwest Territories, aboriginal peoples must be recognized as having the ultimate right and responsibility for the future of their languages and cultures. This responsibility must be recognized in the governing institutions of the Northwest Territories.

3. Northern society as a whole has responsibility for actively supporting and encouraging aboriginal peoples in exercising these rights.

4. The Government of the Northwest Territories has responsibility for providing secure and ongoing support for the development of the aboriginal languages through legislation, funding and program development.

5. To secure the ongoing development of the aboriginal languages within northern society, initiatives must be taken in two areas.

The government has consistently referred to the recommendations of the Task Force report as a rationale for new initiatives and an evaluative benchmark. Those recommendations were responsive to the input that had been given the Task Force, and appear to encompass most of the issues that emerged during their review of community opinion.

As it is more difficult to consider the 26 goals proposed by the Task Force and adopted by the GNWT than a single encompassing objective, the evaluation team has been reductionist. An attempt has been made to formulate a single objective

which can be used in assessing aboriginal language needs and also in evaluating new and existing programs. It became clear that the GNWT had also already articulated such an objective in the introduction to "Building the Foundation: Aboriginal Language Development in the NWT under the Canada-NWT Agreement" This document states that aboriginal language policy and programs should have as an objective **"the realization of aboriginal languages as dynamic, working languages of the NWT".**

An objective as broad as this could be criticized as both too general and too specific. In order to evaluate aboriginal language programs and performance, we believe it is useful to develop a secondary set of objectives. We have articulated these objectives throughout this chapter, namely the need to distinguish between language maintenance and revitalization programming, and the provision of language translation and interpretation services.

In evaluating the aboriginal language programs against this secondary set of objectives, we will ensure that the broad objective of promoting programs that realize "dynamic, working languages" is adequately addressed.

Our discussion of programs, spending, departmental and bureau operations in addition to cooperation, and outcomes will reflect this view of the objectives of the Agreement, and we will return to it in chapter eight.

CHAPTER 4: OUTLINE OF PROGRAMS AND BUDGET

4.1 Introduction: Budget Overview****

Under the provisions of the Canada - Northwest Territories Agreement on Contributions for Aboriginal Language Development, the Federal Government was to allocate $16 million for the years 1985 to 1990. Based primarily upon the recommendations of the Task Force on Aboriginal Languages, these funds were to be allocated to the various GNWT Departments for the purpose of administering approved projects and programs aimed at furthering aboriginal language development in the North. The Department of Culture and Communications currently administers the overall budget on behalf of the GNWT.

An overview of the Canada-Northwest Territories Agreement for the five year period (1985-1990) reveals that the Federal Government allocated $12,423,491 or approximately 80% of the $16 million dollars based on the initial Agreement and annual Contribution Agreements. The GNWT has received an extension of the Agreement until the end of 1991 in order to permit the spending of the remainder (approximately $3.5 million) of the original $16 million authorized. Between 1985 and 1990, the GNWT also allocated considerable funds for these language programs. A total of $13,375,827 was allocated to the various Departments. Therefore, the total expenditure for the five year period was $25,799,318 by both GNWT directly from its own funds and by GNWT with Agreement funding.

It is important to point out that during the first year of the Agreement, the GNWT established a Task Force on Aboriginal Languages in order to achieve consensus regarding the expenditure of these funds. The Task Force Report and

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**** Due to the number of budgetary sources and the different accounting procedures within the departments, the aggregate numbers may vary.

recommendations were published in February 1986. This report made several recommendations to the GNWT on the use of aboriginal languages in the Legislative Assembly, government departments, the courts, medical services and in the communities. The Task Force stressed that the priority of the government should be to facilitate the widespread use of aboriginal languages at the community and regional levels throughout the NWT. The GNWT carefully reviewed the Task Force recommendations before earmarking the federal funds to the various projects, programs and government Departments. Consequently, the GNWT required an extension of time in order to expend all of the funds allocated.

A closer review of the Federal funds allocated to the various Departments shows that from 1985 to 1990, the Departments of Education (53.7%) and Culture and Communications (39.3%) received approximately 90 per cent of the total Federal funds. (Table 1)

Figure 1

Canada-NWT Agreement 1985-90: Distribution of Total Federal Funds.

Education 49.6%
Culture & Communications 40.0%
Justice 4.7%
Executive 3.9%
Health 2.0%

Source: Department of Culture & Comm., GNWT, 'Building the Foundation'. January, 1990.

TABLE 1

Canada-Northwest Territories Agreement: Finances 1985-1990

	Canada 1985/86	NWT 85/86	Canada 86/87	NWT 86/87	Canada 87/88	NWT 87/88	Canada 88/89	NWT 88/89	Canada 89/90	NWT 89/90 (forecast)	Project Totals 1985-90
EXECUTIVE											
-task force on Aboriginal Languages	449,128										449,128
sub-total	449,128										449,128
EDUCATION											
-Products of Language Teaching Materials	92,949										92,949
-Expansion/Training for School Programs	59,090										59,090
-Publication of Inuvialuktun Grammars	45,000										45,000
-Community Language Programs	226,772				200,019						526,791
-Coordinator Officer for Aboriginal Language Projects	50,724										50,724
-Inuit Children's Television Project	100,000	80,000	120,000								300,000
-Language Development			466,612				715,886	775,000	784,505	800,000	3,542,003
-Enhancement of Aboriginal Languages			7,765		42,202						49,967
-Teacher Education			160,059		633,931	713,000	484,222	656,000	230,370		2,877,582
-Project Officer			19,028				25,338		2,656		47,022
-Centres for Teachina and and Learning					389,736	980,000					1,369,736
-Aboriginal Literatutr					106,978				100,00		206,978
-Trianing					13,280	50,000	200,000	57,827	45,698	200,000	566,805
-Language Teachers					80,000		59,631				139,631
-Interpreter/Translator Training					100,000		117,000	205,000	117,000	205,000	744,000
-Aboriginal Language & Cultural Program/Materials							137,070	245,000		285,000	667,070
-Promotion of Native Teacher's Specialist Council							10,408		14,363		24,771
-Inuit Training Coordinator										40,000	40,000
-Language Instructor Training									169,495	60,000	229,495
-Health Interpreter/ Translator Training											
sub-total	674,535	80,000	773,464		1,566,146	1,743,000	1,749,555	1,938,827	1,464,087	1,590,00	11,579,614

TABLE 1 (Continued)
Canada-Northwest Territories Agreement: Finances 1985-1990

	Canada 1985-86	NWT 85-86	Canada 86-87	NWT 86-87	Canada 87-88	NWT 87-88	Canada 88-89	NWT 88-89	Canada 89-90	NWT 89-90 (forecast)	Project Totals 1985-1990
CULTURE & COMMUNICATIONS											
-Expansion/Enhancement of of Language Bureau	224,481	1,400,000	925,416	1,478,000	1,091,391	1,691,000	1,188,264	1,709,000	1,433,581	1,701,000	12,842,133
-Dene Standardization					119,196		38,825	45,000	19,525		222,546
-Children's Television Project									120,000*		120,000*
-Inuit Dictionary Project									82,000*		82,000*
sub-total	224,481	1,400,000	925,416	1,478,000	1,210,587	1,691,000	1,227,089	1,754,000	1,453,106	1,701,000	13,064,679
HEALTH											
-Medical Terminology Program			20,011		76,482		63,081		92,000		251,574
sub-total			20,011		76,482		63,081		92,000		251,574
JUSTICE											
-Court Services Impact Analysis			45,819								45,819
-Court Interpreters							225,663		325,015		550,834
sub-total			45,819				225,663		325,015		596,497
TOTALS per YEAR	1,348,144	1,480,000	1,764,710	1,478,000	2,853,215	3,434,000	3,265,388	3,692,827	3,334,208	3,291,000	Total Expenditure 1985-1990 25,799,318

Source - Department of Culture and Communications, GNWT January, 1990.

Source for 1989/1990 Canada: Aboriginal Language Contribution Agreement, Final Fianacial Statement

* These figures were projected but not calculated in the Final Financial Statement. Therefore they have not been calcualted in the total amounts.

With respect to the individual Departments' budgets, Federal funds were used to develop programs for the Departments of Health, Justice and for the Task Force on Aboriginal Languages. Of the Federal funds contributed, 53.7% or $6,227,787 went toward educational programs under the Department of Education and 38.7% or $5,040,679 of Federal monies were used to develop culture and communication programs under the direction of the Department of Culture and Communications.

However, when both governments' financial contributions are examined for the five year period, the breakdown is as follows: $13,064,679 or 50.4% were spent by the Department of Culture and Communications, $11,579,614 or 45% by the Department of Education, $596,497 or 2.3% for Justice, $449,128 or 1.7% for the Executive and $251,574 or .9% for the Department of Health. (Table 1)

During the five year period, the Federal funds allocated to the Department of Culture and Communications increased annually. Federal funds declined for the forecasted year of 1989/90 for the Department of Education by 19% from $1,749,555 to $1,464,087. Federal funds for the Department of Health waned for the year 1988, but increased for the following forecasted year. Federal funds for the Department of Justice substantially increased from $45,819 in 1986/87 to $325,015 for 1989/90.

It is natural to assume that the annual increase of funds reflects the normal growth in expenditure following program start-up and development. In addition, however, demand for services and programs has increased as communities became aware of the programs. The decline in funding for the Department of Education in 1989/90 does not follow this trend. Some teachers believe this is a result of funds being tied to student ratios as contrasted to program delivery needs.

A general overview of the Departmental programs now follows. For further review of all projects refer to Chapters 5, 6 and 7, as well as to the document "Building the Foundations", Department of Culture and Communications, 1990.

4.2 Department of the Executive

The Task Force on Aboriginal Languages was funded under the Department of the Executive. The Task Force was composed of three Dene and three Inuit members who consulted with aboriginal people across the NWT on language retention issues.

Total funding came from the Federal government, as follows:

Salaries, contracts, honorarium members and staff	$	268,997
Travel expenses		118,678
Other expenses		61,453
Total	$	449,128

4.3 Department of Culture and Communications

During the five-year period the Department of Culture and Communications received a total of $5,040,679 for the administering of the Language Bureau and their projects identified in the Canada-Northwest Territories Agreement. (Table 1). The following is a brief description of these projects, and the Language Bureau.

Expansion/Enhancement of the Language Bureau: Under the provisions of the Canada-NWT contributions agreement, the Language Bureau received the bulk of the federal funds allocated to the Department of Culture and Communications ($4,863,133). This amount represented a significant proportion (39%) of the total $12,423,491 in federal monies allocated to aboriginal language development in the Northwest Territories. During the five year term of the agreement (1985-90) much of the $4.9 million was directed to the physical expansion of the Bureau. This expansion includes salaries for 24 positions, provision for new office space and training facilities, increased budgets for regional offices and purchase of technical,

interpreting equipment and computer hardware. At the present time, the Bureau operates on an annual budget of approximately $3 million and has a combined regional headquarters staff of 64 person years. (Refer to Table 2).

Table 2: Contributions Agreement 1985-90: Language Bureau

Federal Contributions

project	**1985/86**	**1986/87**	**1987/88**	**1988/89**	**1989/90**
- Expansion/ Enhancement of Language Bureau	224,481	925,416	1,091,391	1,188,264	1,433,581
Total Federal Contribution		**4,863,133**			

Territorial Contributions

	1985/86	**1986/87**	**1987/88**	**1988/89**	**1989/90**
- Expansion/ Enhancement of Language Bureau	1,400,000	1,478,000	1,691,000	1,709,000	1,701,000
Total Territorial Contribution		**7,979,000**			

Total Contributions

	1985/86	**1986/87**	**1987/88**	**1988/89**	**1989/90**
- Expansion/ Enhancement of Language Bureau	1,624,481	2,403,416	2,782,391	2,897,264	3,134,581
TOTAL CONTRIBUTIONS	**12,842,133**				

Source: Dept. of Culture and Communications, Building the Foundations: Aboriginal Language Development in the Northwest Territories, January 1990, Appendix A.

Dene Standardization: In the report of the Task Force on Aboriginal Languages it was recognised that the relative lack of standardized writing systems for the Dene languages posed a serious barrier to full official status of the Dene languages. The principal problem was that the existence of a variety of writing systems within each Dene language prevented the delivery of language services. Without standard orthographies, publication of Dene language material became an expensive, and time consuming process. The Task Force therefore recommended that, "...efforts to standardize the writing systems of the Dene languages be made a high priority and that funds be made available for this work..."***** The Federal government allocated $119,196 in 1987-88. This funding dropped to $38,825 in 1988/89 and $30,000 in 1989/90.

The majority of funds for this project came from the Federal government which contributed $119,196 in 1987-88 for the initial phase of the project; $38,825 in 1988-89 and $19,525 in 1989-90. The GNWT contributed $45,000 in 1988-89.

The initial stage of the standardization project incorporated technical research by language specialists in each of the Athapaskan languages. The second stage involved community meetings attended by elders, language specialists and instructors to discuss technical problems associated with the orthography and to elect delegates to a steering committee to reach permanent decisions regarding standardization. The third phase involved meetings of the steering committee and the development of a position paper by the committee and a technical writer.

The project required extensive technical research by experts in each of the four Dene languages. Community consultations were held in representative communities of each of the languages (Dogrib, North Slavey, South Slavey, Chipewyan, Gwich'in). The purpose was to consult elders and language instructors by

*****/ GNWT, Dept. of Executive, The Report of the Task Force on Aboriginal Languages, 1986, p. 19.

presenting them with the many technical problems associated with standardization - particularly those dealing with the different orthographies. The final phase of the project (1989-90) was to reconcile the many conflicting technical and practical problems resulting from the use of existing orthographies. Further consultation was required to accomplish this. Once these standardized orthographies have been subjected to extensive field testing they will ultimately be utilised by Language Bureau staff and the Department of Education in teaching, curriculum development and literacy training.

Children's Television Project: Funding was allocated to the Inuit Broadcasting Corporation for the development of pilot programs for children's television in Inuktitut. Through research and community consultations the program 'Takuginai' was created. Designed to be educational, the program involved learning activities, story telling by elders, along with visits to different communities. In 1989/90, $120,000 of Federal funds were forecast for this project.
The breakdown of Federal funds for this project is as follows:

Salaries			$70,000
Telephone, telex		3,000	
Performance fees		6,000	
Studio rent		30,000	
Production Supplies		3,000	
Travel		4,000	
Administration		4,000	
Total	$	120,000	

The GNWT supports this program through contributions to the Inuit Broadcasting Corporation.

Inuit Dictionary Project: Developed to preserve the Inuit language by recording its words and documenting the language of different generations of speakers. The project also attempted to record the language of different settlements as dialects tend to vary from community to community. Much of the work was based on the

reviews by community elders of the word lists compiled during the project. The Federal government forecast $82,000 for this project in 1989/90.

Most of the funding for this project originates from the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs (see Chapter 5). The GNWT supports this project through a contribution to the Inuit Cultural Institute. The breakdown of federal funds is as follows:

Salaries	$	62,000
Telephone, telex		1,000
Informant fees		8,000
Travel		5,000
Material		6,000
Total	$	82,000

4.4 Interpretation-Translation Funding

Over half of the funds contributed by both levels of government under the Agreement went toward interpretation and translation services and training. This includes funding for the expansion of the Language Bureau. Figure 2 below illustrates the amount of funds spent by each department toward interpretation and translation.

Figure 2 Interpretation and Translation Funding

Dept	Program	Total Federal and Territorial Contributions 1985-90
Culture	Language Bureau	$12,842,133
Education	Interpreter-Translator Training	744,000
Health	Medical Terminology Program	251,574
Justice	Court Interpreters	550,834
	Court Services Impact Analysis	45,819
Total		**$14,434,360**

As indicated earlier, much of this funding has been expended on the expansion of the Language Bureau ($4.9 million) and on the delivery of translation and interpretation services. While further expansion may not be anticipated, demand for translation and interpretation services appears to be very high, based upon information gathered during interviews. This suggests that considerable funds will continue to be required for translation and interpretation services.

Conversely, the funds spent on development of training modules have been relatively low, especially considering that the totals spent include training delivery costs. Training appears to be lagging behind service delivery needs. It may be feasible, therefore, to consider shifting some resources toward further development and delivery of training, especially for field-based programs which greatly assist the outlying communities in developing local "corps" of expertise in translation and interpretation services.

It is highly likely, however, that it will be difficult to shift funds toward training because of the high demand for services. Additional funds for training may thus be required.

A further problem in finding adequate funding for interpretation and translation is apparent when we examine this funding in light of overall expenditures for language enhancement and development.

We have discussed the fact that interpretation and translation services serve to raise the visibility of the aboriginal languages and to maintain the languages. It should also be added that the availability of services in aboriginal languages also increases the "comfort zone" for native people in the north.

A remaining problem, however, is that funds for programs which will rejuvenate the language, such as further educational and media programs and, especially, cultural programs at the community level, are still relatively low given the magnitude of the language problem.

4.5 Department of Education

The Task Force on Aboriginal Languages, in its 1986 report, stressed the fundamental importance of aboriginal language instruction in territorial schools. This is based on the belief that "children learn best and most effectively if they are first taught in their first language"[*******] In keeping with this basic belief, the Task Force outlined four goals for the territorial education system:

i) creation of a program to develop functionally bilingual students who speak and write both the aboriginal language of the region as well as English fluently,

ii) education to Grade 9 which gives students fluent bilingual language skills and the cultural, on-the-land experience to achieve considerable competency,

iii) high schools which offer a bilingual experience with approximately half of the subjects taught in English and half in the appropriate aboriginal language, and

iv) curriculum based to a great extent on the aboriginal cultures in the larger centres where English may be the main language of instruction.

Simply stated, these goals translated into the need to integrate aboriginal languages and culture into the territorial school curriculum. In order to bring these goals closer to reality, resources were made available under the provisions of the Canada - NWT Agreement. Over the 5-year period of the Agreement, the Department of Education was allocated a total of $6,227,787 in Federal funds (Table 3).

[*******] The Report of the Task Force on Aboriginal Languages, 1989, p35.

Table 3: Funds Allocated to Dept. of Education Under Provisions of Canada - NWT Funding Agreement 1985-90

	1985/86	86/87	87/88	88/89	89/90
Can.	$674,535	773,464	1,566,146	1,749,555	1,464,088*
NWT	$80,000		1,743,000	1,938,827	1,590,000 (forecast)
TOTAL	$754,535	773,464	3,309,146	3,682,382	3,054,087

Source: Dept. of Culture and Communications, Building the Foundation: Aboriginal Language Development in the Northwest Territories under the Canada-Northwest Territories Agreement, January 1990.
* Source for Canada (89-90): Aboriginal Languages - Contribution Agreement, Final Financial Statement.

Projects targeted for funding fell into four general categories. The first category was for language development, language teaching materials and the development of the Centres for Teaching and Learning. The second category was for community projects and coordinating support programs. The third category was for teacher education and training, while the fourth category was for training for interpretation and translation (already discussed). Generally, program funding increased as research and development phases were completed. As noted earlier, however, Both the Federal and GNWT contribution dropped in 1989/90 to below 1987-88 levels of funding. A further delineation of these programs follows.

Language Development, Language Teaching Materials and Centres for Teaching and Learning

In 1985-86, Canada contributed $92,949 for technical production services to complete the layout and typsetting of resources and curricula materials that were prepared in draft form as a result of community language projects.

Canada also contributed $45,000 to the publication of two Inuvialuktun Grammar texts.

In 1986-87, Canada contributed $466,612 for Language Development. These funds were given to the Department of Education to promote the development of aboriginal language learning materials through the establishment of the Centres for Teaching and Learning.

Funding for these Centres, and complementary language material funding, was extensive for the remaining term of the Agreement, as indicated below:

	Centres for Teaching and Learning			
	1986-87	**1987-88**	**1988-89**	**1989-90**
Canada	446,612	389,736	715,886	784,505
GNWT	-	980,000	775,000	800,000

In total, Canada contributed $2,336,739 to the establishment and maintenance of the Centres for Teaching and Learning. The GNWT contributed $2,555,000 for a combined total of $4,891,739. The Centres act as local and regional resource centres for aboriginal language material and educational curricula development. Consultation with local language speakers and experts and interaction with other educational programs is part of the Centre's mandate.

Additional funding for language materials includes Canada's contribution of $106,978 in 1987-88 for the publication of aboriginal language program materials for instructional use and to promote literacy. This expenditure breaks down as follows:

Special Projects	$ 20,000
Writer's Workshop	25,000
Technical services	20,000
Printing	41,978
Total	$106,978

In 1988-89, both Canada and the GNWT expanded their contributions for Aboriginal Language and Cultural Program Materials. This naturally followed the expansion of the Centres for Teaching and Learning and Teacher Education programs. The breakdown of funds in 1988-89 follows:

	Canada	GNWT	Total
Curriculum dvpt	50,535	180,000	230,535
Travel	36,000	30,000	66,000
Publishing	50,535	35,000	85,535
Total	$245,000	137,070	382,070

In 1989-90, the GNWT forecast $285,000 for the development/production of Aboriginal Language and Cultural Programs and Materials. These materials are intended to strengthen and support the language programs in the schools.

Community Language Projects and Coordination of Programs

The Community Language Programs consisted of language projects in 13 NWT communities. These projects utilized the expertise of fluent speakers and elders to assist in the development of grammars and lexicons. In 1985-86, the federal government contributed $326,772 to these programs.

In 1986-87, Canada spent $7,765 for the enhancement of Dene language awareness. Educational information and advisory services were provided to band councils and

local education authorities to promote participation and assist in the development and expansion of education policies and programs.

In 1987-88, Canada contributed another $200,019 for Community Projects to support the research and development of local language program materials and their publication. These projects interacted with the newly created Centres for Teaching and Learning.

Various coordinating positions or councils were funded over the period of the Agreement. In 1985-86, the Federal government spent $50,724 for a Coordination Officer for Aboriginal Language Projects. The Coordinator was responsible for project administration, professional support and liaison with language project sponsors. Travel expenses constituted $15,000 of this allocation.

In 1986-87, Canada funded a Project Officer to provide liaison between language development projects of community and regional groups with language centre and Headquarters staff. This position received $19,028. A similar position of Program Officer received $42,202 in the following year (1987-88) to administer the funding provided for aboriginal language enhancement and to provide liaison services.

In 1988-89, Canada contributed a total of $10,408 to the development of Inuit and Dene Native Teacher's Specialist Councils. These councils are to advance professional services in the aboriginal language and cultural programs. In 1989-90, the GNWT forecast an additional $40,000 for these councils.

Teacher Education and Training

Funds for training provide funds for the Training of Local Bilingual Instructors. Local instructors are trained in order to integrate the locally prepared materials into the school language programs. A summary of these expenditures is as follows:

Training for Bilingual Instructors

	Canada	GNWT	Total $
1985-86	59,090	-	59,090
1986-87	-	-	
1987-88	13,280	50,000	63,280
1988-89	200,000	57,827	257,827
1989-90	45,698	200,000	245,698
Total	**318,068**	**307,827**	**$625,895**

In addition to these funds, Canada contributed $80,000 in 1987-88 and $59,631 in 1988-89 for Language Instructors to be hired on a casual or part-time basis according to program needs. These positions are to be phased out as additional qualified bilingual teachers become available.

Teacher Education programs have been supported through the facilities of Arctic College. Over the period of the Agreement, a total of $2,877,582 has been contributed by both levels of government. Much of this funding was for field-based programs in the communities. (For a breakdown by community, see "Building the Foundation".)

Teacher Education Programs

	Canada	GNWT	Total $
1985-86	-	-	-
1986-87	160,059	-	160,059
1987-88	633,931	713,000	1,346,931
1988-89	484,222	656,000	1,140,222
1989-90	230,370	-	230,370
Total	**1,508,582**	**1,369,000**	**2,877,582**

Monitoring of Education Programmes

With reference to the annual reports of 1988/89 and 1989/90, it is useful to provide current figures on enrolment by ethnicity in territorial schools (Table 4). Total enrolment in the Northwest Territories for the 1989/90 school year was 13,732 students. As expected native students represent the majority of the territorial school

body or 71% of all students. It should also be noted that within the Native category, Inuit students represent the majority (66% of all native students).

The surveys were conducted during the spring of 1989 and 1990. The purpose of the surveys was to determine what NWT schools were offering instruction in an aboriginal language. The information obtained is presented by schools in each region and provides data on the number of students receiving instruction in an aboriginal language.

Questionnaires were sent to all schools in the NWT during February of each year. Response rates were high, 71 out of 72 schools or 99% in 1989 and 73/77 or 95% in 1990.

Table 4: Northwest Territories; School Enrolment by Ethnic Origin and Grade, 1989-1990

grade	Dene	Metis	Inuit	NATIVE	NON-NATIVE	TOTAL
K	217	71	672	960	326	1,286
1	331	117	847	1,295	373	1,668
2	236	98	741	1,075	352	1,427
3	227	85	658	970	368	1,338
4	227	85	668	1,030	341	1,371
5	225	82	622	929	345	1,274
6	175	91	506	772	315	1,087
7	202	95	526	823	290	1,113
8	107	82	317	506	277	783
9	78	72	243	393	317	710
10	91	59	240	390	267	657
11	42	44	116	202	232	434
12	40	29	63	132	211	343
C1*	13	14	102	129	4	133
C2*	7	4	45	56	2	58
S1*	11	3	14	28	0	28
S2*	9	0	11	20	2	22
TOTAL	**2,288**	**1,031**	**6,391**	**9,710**	**4,022**	**13,732**

* Community Occupational Programs, Year 1, Year II.
source: Department of Education, Government of the Northwest Territories, Headquarters Enrolment Statistical Report and Summary For School Year 1989 - 1990, Jan. 1990.

Concerning language instruction, the schools offer programs in the form of, 1) first language and ii) second language instruction. In terms of definition, "..first language instruction was defined as the use of an aboriginal language as the primary language of instruction. Second language instruction is the delivery of instruction in an aboriginal language when the primary language of instruction is English."*******

The results of the survey indicate that in 1989 a total of 55 of 71 schools offered some instruction in an aboriginal language. These numbers dropped slightly in the second year of the survey when 53 of 73 schools reported aboriginal language programs. More specifically in the case of 1989, 55 schools offered second language programs of which 21 offered first language instruction. In 1990, 52 schools offered second language programs with 30 of these 52 also offering first language instruction. Only one school offered a first language program with no corresponding second language program.

The percentage and proportion of NWT schools offering aboriginal language programs (by region) is contained in tables 5 & 6.

Table 5: Proportion of Schools Offering Aboriginal Language Programs by Region, 1988/89

region	proportion	%
Baffin	15/15	100
Keewatin	7/7	100
Kititmeot	6/7	86
Fort Smith	3/8	38
Fort Simpson	5/8	63
Dogrib	3/5	60
Sahtu	2/5	40
Beaufort-Delta*	8/9	89
YK #1	0/4	0
YK #2	0/4	0
YK #4	0/1	0

* Inuvik schools were part of the Beaufort-Delta region and became a separate reporting region in 1990.

*******/ Department of Education, Aboriginal Languages Report, 1989/90, p.1.

It is important to note that although there appears to have been a reduction in the number of schools offering aboriginal language instruction it is likely that the reduction is a result of 2 schools failing to respond to the questionnaire. Furthermore, these 2 schools did offer language instruction in the previous year.

The data indicates that in 1989 4,806 students participated in second language programs or 36% of the total NWT school population. This percentage remained steady during the next year of the survey. Growth occurred (3%) in first language programs from 10% of all students receiving first language instruction to 13% in 1990. The data also indicates that in 1989 6,167 or 46% of all NWT students were involved in at least some aboriginal language instruction. 1990 showed a growth of 3% where 49% of all students were involved in some form of language instruction. The breakdown by region is contained in table 5.

A striking anomaly which arose from a study of the proportion of schools offering aboriginal language programs is evident in Tables 5, 5A, and 6 and 7. It appears that none of these Education Districts in Yellowknife (#1, 2 & 4) with aboriginal student populations ranging from fifteen to thirty-five percent offer aboriginal language programs. In contrast, the Catholic Board in Yellowknife which serves approximately 700 students has included an aboriginal language program. Given the rising number of aboriginal youth, it would seem odd if the Yellowknife Education Districts #1, #2, #4, did not undertake to respond to the evident need for aboriginal language programs in the very near future.

Table 5 (A) PROPORTION OF ABORIGINAL STUDENTS IN YELLOWKNIFE SCHOOLS (1989-90)

Yellowknife Education District #1	15%
Yellowknife Education District #2	35%
Yellowknife Education District #3	33%

Table 6: Proportion of Schools offering aboriginal language programs by region, 1989/90

region	proportion	%
Baffin	19/19	100
Keewatin	7/8	87
Kitikmeot	7/7	100
Forth Smith	1/8*	--
Dehcho (Ft. Simpson)	6/8*	--
Dogrib	4/5	80
Sahtu	3/5	60
Beaufort-Delta	6/6	100
YK # 1	0/4***	0
YK # 2	0/4***	0
YK # 4	0/1	0
Inuvik	1/2	50

notes
* 2 schools in the Ft. Smith region did not complete survey.
** 2 schools in the Dehcho did not complete survey.
*** At the time of the survey there was no instruction offered, but a pilot program was offered in the Fall of 1989 in which students from both YK#1 and YK#2 schools attended afterschool classes offered by YK#2. In 1990/91 a pilot-project to teach Dogrib was undertaken in grade K-3 by the Catholic School Board.

Table 7: Proportion of students Receiving aboriginal language programs During 1988/89 and 1989/90 School Years

1988/89		1989/90	
region	**%**		
Baffin	74%	Baffin	82%
Keewatin	86	Keewatin	93
Kitikmeot	91	Kitikmeot	90
Fort Smith	14	Fort Smith	5
Fort Simpson	40	Dehcho	56
Dogrib	45	Dogrib	56
Sahtu	44	Sahtu	78
Beaufort-Delta	48	Beaufort-Delta	78
YK #1	0	YK #1	0
YK #2	0	YK #2	0
YK #4	0	YK #4	0
Inuvik	-	Inuvik	16

note
Inuvik became a separate region during 1989/90. Prior to this (1988/89) Inuvik schools were included in the Beauford-Delta region.

Enrolment by language is as follows (Table 8).

Table 8: Enrolment by Language

language	# of Students 1988/89	1989/90
Inuktitut	4113	4475
Inuinnaqtun	499	463
Inuvialuktun	407	399
Dogrib	309	329
Chipewyan	229	83*
South Slavey	227	302
North Slavey	199	350
Gwich'in	184	189

notes:
*reduction in the amount of Chipewyan instruction may be due to the failure of 2 schools to report 1989/90 information.

4.6 Department of Justice

Table 9 shows the expenditures of agreement funds for the years 1985 to 1990 by Justice. An initial expenditure of $45,819 was allocated for a study to determine how interpretation might be carried out in the Northwest Territories courts. Published in April, 1987 and entitled, 'Breaking the Silence: A Special Report on Interpreting in the NWT Courts', the study proposed a series of recommendations concerning the training of interpreters by way of short-term, intensive courses, translation of forms, methods of interpretation including the introduction of simultaneous interpreting equipment as well as other related matters.

Table 9: Disbursement of Agreement Funds to Justice, 1985-90.

program/project	1986/87	1987/88	1988/89	1989/90	total
court services impact analysis	45,819	NIL	NIL	NIL	45,819
court interpreter training	NIL	NIL	225,663	325,015	550,834
TOTAL	**45,819**		**225,663**	**325,015**	**596,497**

Source: Dept. of Justice, Legal Interpreter Training Co-ordinator.

Based on the findings of this report, the Department of Justice developed the Legal Interpreter Training Program (LITP). Beginning in 1988 this program included a 6 week intensive course totalling 200 hours. An additional 2 weeks were added to this program which, in total, contains 4 modules: i) origins of law, structure of the Courts, criminal procedure; ii) young offenders, common offenses and common defences; iii) jury trials, expert witnesses, coroner's inquests; iv) civil law and procedure - family breakdown, child welfare, custody and maintenance, contracts, etc.********

Cross-cultural workshops were held in order to facilitate is the cultural enlightenment of non-Aboriginal members of the courts including the judiciary, lawyers and court staff. Here the emphasis has been on providing insight into such areas as the differences that exist between Western cultural values and Aboriginal cultural values. Another important outcome of these workshops is a sensitivity to cultural differences which "facilitates greater fairness in the delivery of justice in cross-cultural settings, and makes participants aware of their own culturally-

******** Dept. of Justice, GNWT, 'NWT Legal Interpreter Training Program and Cross-Cultural Awareness Workshops', July 1990.

dependent values and practices".*********

Workshops are also offered for court personnel and focus on working with interpreters. The purpose here is to provide an introduction to the diverse nature of languages and cultures of the Northwest Territories. The emphasis is on: language differences and how they cause interpreting problems; different types of interpreting; the workings of simultaneous interpreting equipment; and, how best to facilitate the interpreting process in all aspects of legal proceedings. A comprehensive NWT Legal Interpreters Handbook has been produced as a unique training and information instrument in this process.

Table 10 outlines the progress of the training course to date.

Table 10: Report on Number of Students in LITP as of September 30/90

language	2 weeks	3 weeks	4 weeks	6 weeks	8 weeks	total
Inuktitut	8	1	6	5	15	35
Inuinnaqtun	-	-	1	1	1	3
Inuvialuktun	-	-	-	-	1	1
N. Slavey	2	-	-	1	4	7
S. Slavey	-	-	-	1	3	4
Dogrib	2	-	-	1	1	4
Chipewyan	-	-	-	1	2	3
Gwich'in	2	-	-	-	-	2
Cree	-	-	-	-	-	0
TOTAL	14	1	7	10	27	59

Drop out/dismissed: 4 Inuktitut, 1 N. Slavey, 1 Dogrib

source: Co-ordinator of Legal Interpreting, Dept. of Justice, GWNT.

*********/ Dept. of Justice, GNWT, 'NWT Legal Interpreter Training Program and Cross-Cultural Awareness Workshops', July 1990.

4.7 Department of Health

Concerning the field of health as well as the delivery of health related services, the Task Force on Aboriginal Languages recommended:

1. the right to receive and the duty to provide medical services in communities and regions in the appropriate aboriginal languages. Production of necessary Inuktitut materials and production of specialised medical interpreters was also proposed.

2. the duty to provide interpreters as soon as possible on arrest, search or seizure, or apprehension of a child or mentally incompetent person.

In order to achieve these goals, the Task Force recommended that clerk-interpreters in the aboriginal languages be provided in all the communities as soon as possible, and that community health representatives be provided within five years.

Currently, medical interpretation services are provided by clerk-interpreters employed by hospitals and nursing stations throughout the Northwest Territories. In order to effectively meet the demand of providing competent health care service, especially at the community level, the Dept of Health has recognised the need for trained interpreters. Under the provisions of the Aboriginal Languages Agreement a three-phase, medical interpreter training project has been developed (Table 4). The first phase of the program involved the production of a medical interpreter's handbook.

Table 11: Disbursement of Federal Funds from Aboriginal Language Agreement to Health Related Project, 1985-90.

project	1986/87	1987/88	1988/89	1989/90	Total
Medical Terminology Program	20,011	76,482	63,081	92,000	251,574

Source: Dept. Culture and Communications, GNWT, 'Building The Foundation: Aboriginal Language Development in the Northwest Territories under the Canada-Northwest Territories Agreement' February, 1990.

As a resource aid, the handbook provides interpreters with a glossary of the most commonly used terms and phrases along with a description of terms and phrases in English. The handbook also describes the anatomy and physiology of the human body through a set of diagrams. Phase two consisted of development of a training program which would involve use of the medical interpreter's handbook. Finally, in the third phase, the delivery of the training program was to be carried out in the winter/spring of 1990 at Arctic College's Iqaluit and Fort Smith Campuses.

CHAPTER 5 THE INUIT LANGUAGES: SURVEY FINDINGS

5.1 Background

The Inuit language group includes Inuktitut, Inuinnaqtun and Inuvialuktun. These languages generally appear in three regions of the NWT: Inuktitut which is written in syllabics, is spoken in Keewatin and Baffin dialects; Inuinnaqtun, is written in Roman orthography and is spoken in the Kitikmeot region (Central Arctic), and Inuvialuktun, also written in Roman orthography, is spoken in the Mackenzie Delta/Beaufort Sea area.

There are a variety of dialects within the three languages. Inuvialuktun speakers identified two dialects -- Uumarmiuttun is spoken in Aklavik, while Sigliktun is spoken by people in Sachs Harbour, Tuktoyaktut and Paulatuk. Inuvialuktun also is spoken in Inuvik, where Inuvialuit make up about one-third of the population along with English and Dene language speakers. Inuinnaqtun is spoken in Coppermine, Holman Island, Cambridge Bay, and Bay Chimo/Bathurst Inlet -- the western part of the Kitikmeot region. Various dialects of Inuktitut -- Netsilik, Dorset -- are spoken in the rest of the Kitikmeot region. Inuktitut is spoken widely in the Baffin and Keewatin regions.

In the Baffin Region, a number of in-depth interviews were conducted in Iqaluit, the major administrative centre of the Region, with persons representing a broad spectrum of the community. Service providers, many of whom were linguistic specialists in Inuktitut, were interviewed. These included representatives from the Language Bureau, the Interpreter-Translator Program, the Teaching and Learning Centre and the Eastern Arctic Teacher Education Program, the Baffin Divisional Board of Education, as well as other key members of the education community. Service providers in the media from the Inuit Broadcasting Corporation (IBC) and

an Inuktitut speaker from CBC were interviewed. In addition, persons representing various Regional Councils and other community services, such as Tuvvik (the Centre for Drug and Alcohol Abuse), the local museum, and the regional library and parents were also interviewed.

In the Keewatin Region, interviews were conducted in Arviat (Eskimo Point) and Rankin Inlet. In Arviat, the staff at the Inuit Cultural Institute, the Inuktitut Coordinator for Grades K to 12, and the Literacy and Life Skills Instructors at Arctic College were interviewed. In Rankin Inlet, an interpreter, a language specialist, a journlist and an educator were interviewed.

In conducting the interviews, an attempt was made to give equal emphasis to questions concerning the Canada-GNWT Agreement and questions concerning the current state of the language. Particular attention was given to questions concerning the maintenance and revitalization of the language and the perception of local residents regarding the health of the language in their communities.

Inuktitut: Eastern Arctic

In the Eastern Arctic, there are two major cultural groups - Inuit and Southern Canadians. The overwhelming majority is Inuit (over 80 per cent) and the main language spoken and used daily is Inuktitut. Inuktitut is not a uniform language used by all Inuit, however. The writing system was standardized by the Inuit in the early 1970's using a one syllabic orthography. Persons interviewed often refer to localized community usage as well, though it is generally accepted that about 80 per cent of the Inuit language speakers throughout the NWT can understand one another.

Inuktitut in its various forms comprises by far the largest aboriginal language group in the NWT. To illustrate this point, two major surveys provide some useful statistics. A 1986 Statistics Canada Survey for the Northwest Territories found that

of a total NWT population of 52,235, 19,400 people speak an aboriginal language. 14,540, or 75 per cent of those speaking an aboriginal language speak Inuktitut. The 1989 Labour Force Survey conducted by the Government of the Northwest Territories found that of 34,650 persons 15 years of age or over, 15,365 speak an aboriginal language. Of these, 9,263, or 60 per cent of aboriginal speakers in the labour force speak Inuktitut.

At the current time, Inuktitut is taught in all schools of the Baffin and Keewatin regions. Of the 3,000 students attending school in the Baffin, for example, 2,800 speak Inuktitut as a first language.

While these statistics illustrate the size of the Inuit and Inuktitut speaking community, they do not tell us anything about the state of the language including the extent of its use or the level of fluency or literacy. However, in order to provide some context for the reader, some initial observations regarding the use and state of the Inuktitut language are included below:

- In the Eastern Arctic communities outside of Iqaluit, Inuktitut is used by at least 80 per cent of the community, and 90 to 95 per cent in the homes.

- In Iqaluit, Inuktitut is used in a majority of Inuit or mixed marriage homes, perhaps up to 75 per cent.

- Approximately 60 per cent of the population in Iqaluit is Inuit. The dominant language in the community is English, however, as most major services and media outlets are offered in English. As one person interviewed pointed out, "If there are six persons gathered for a discussion and one speaks English, the discussion is conducted in English".

- In Arviat (Eskimo Point), Inuit language specialists believe that much of the language is already lost and that documenting stories and words should have

begun 25 years ago. They claim that the language spoken today is like a "baby language".

- In Rankin Inlet, the major centre of the Keewatin Region, the Inuit people account for about 80 per cent of the population. Those interviewed believe that Inuktitut is spoken by most Inuit in the homes, in ceremonies and churches, and in the early grades at school. The language is spoken less in the workplace and very little in the higher grades at school.

- In Rankin Inlet and Iqaluit, English is often cited as the language of conversation. Inuktitut radio programs are very popular throughout the Keewatin and Baffin regions and everyone interviewed expressed a desire for more TV programs in Inuktitut.

- Many persons in the 25 to 35 age group have poor language skills as a result of previous government assimilation policies which prevented the teaching and use of Inuktitut. Persons in this, and other, age groups often intersperse English words with Inuktitut or speak in incomplete sentences.

- Many teenagers are not fluent in either English or Inuktitut which has caused alienation from the community and the usual attendant social problems.

- Elders are generally considered to be the best speakers of Inuktitut, and educators and parents are concerned that much of the language will be lost if the elders' understanding of the language is not recorded.

- While modernization of the language is considered necessary and healthy, there is concern over the way in which the language will change and the impact this will have on the Inuit culture.

- In all communities visited, the Inuit people commented very favorably upon aboriginal languages becoming official languages of the NWT. All felt that this was an overdue recognition of the Inuktitut language and heritage and a great boost to language development.

Task Force on Aboriginal Languages

People interviewed in the Eastern Arctic referred to the Task Force on Aboriginal Languages as a very positive step in gaining an understanding and consensus of aboriginal language issues. They felt that the recommendations should be implemented. Most of those interviewed were disappointed that implementation has been so slow because an improvement in the linguistic situation was seen as critical to the survival of the culture. Some expressed cynicism regarding the government's intention to adequately resource programs flowing from the Task Force recommendations.

There was a general consensus that the most positive outcome of the Task Force was the increased awareness of the people regarding the importance of preserving and developing aboriginal languages.

In addition, it was noted that the government's official response to the Task Force report emphasized those programs which had an impact on increasing the services available in the aboriginal languages in the NWT. There was a general consensus of those interviewed that this priority must now shift to support for programs which not only provide services, but also allow and encourage the development of the language. All believed that the best way to achieve this objective would be through more adequately resourced program delivery at the community level.

The Canada-GNWT Agreement on Aboriginal Languages

Most people interviewed in the Eastern Arctic were unaware of the details of the Agreement. Some recalled reading about it in the local papers or hearing about it on television or the radio some years ago. Most wondered where the $16 million had been spent.

When questioned regarding the specific programs funded by the Agreement, however, many were aware of its specific programs, though fewer were aware of the ICI dictionary project. Are felt that the initiatives were a very positive contribution to language development in the region. The programs in the schools were very highly regarded. Most felt, however, that too much money was being spent on translating material within government departments.

Inuinnaqtun, Inuvialuktun and Inuktitut: Western Arctic

Inuinnaqtun is spoken by people in the western part of the Kitikmeot region -- Cambridge Bay, Coppermine, Holman Island, Bay Chimo/Bathurst Inlet. In the eastern part of the Kitikmeot region, Pelly Bay, Spence Bay and Gjoa Haven, people speak the Netsilik dialect of Inuktitut, although the dialects of all three communities differ slightly.

There are various estimates about how many of the approximately 2,080 people of Inuinnaq ancestry speak their language now. One speaker suggests that about 30% of the Inuit in the Western Arctic region speak their own language fluently, but the rest either cannot speak Inuinnaqtun any more or don't understand it or can't write it. Another says a very low percentage of people speak the Copper or Inuinnaqtun language fluently; only elders, parents and people aged 30-40 speak it on a daily basis. Another estimate divides people by age groups; people aged 12 to 20 understand but do not speak the language, people aged 21 to 29 range between poor and fair in terms of fluency, and people aged 30 and older tend to be fluent.

One estimate, done on a community-to-community basis, was as follows. Coppermine has about 50 elders and perhaps 100 to 150 people aged 25-40 who still use the language; in the 18-24 age group, there are probably only 50 people who can understand the language and speak it a bit. Thus, possibly about one-third of the population of Coppermine can use the language in some way. In Cambridge Bay, except for the elders, English is used most of the time; the elders use Inuinnaqtun. Most people in Bathurst Inlet and Bay Chimo speak Inuinnaqtun. In Holman Island, people speak both Inuvialuktun and Inuinnaqtun. Communities where the language is strong tend to have strong Inuktitut teachers and families who encourage their children to speak the language at home.

In the Western Arctic, few children speak the language any more because they are not being taught to speak it by their parents or by the schools. The Teaching and Learning Centre is addressing this problem by working with the Coppermine Recreation Committee's twice-weekly pre-school program to encourage the use of Inuinnaqtun in the program. The community also is setting up an all-Inuinnaqtun day care centre, patterned on a similar project in New Zealand called the Te Kohango Keo day care. In Coppermine, most meetings are held in English except for groups like the women's group which deliberately use Inuinnaqtun in their meetings, providing two languages only when someone is present who does not understand Inuinnaqtun.

In Cambridge Bay, the language is used in community meetings or meetings of regional bodies; interpreters from the Language Bureau in Cambridge are called on for their translation and interpretation services for many such meetings. A local radio station has begun operating and its broadcasters are Inuktitut-speaking. In terms of notices and signs, the language is visible in Cambridge Bay, the administrative centre of the Kitikmeot region. Signs are translated into Roman orthography and syllabics, and government job advertisements are posted in Roman orthography and English. The public library has translated many of its signs which

indicate subject areas so that they can be understood by Inuinnaqtun and Inuktitut speakers. Even the private sector hires interpreters to translate signs and notices. With the encouragement of the Centre for Teaching and Learning in Coppermine, the mayors of Cambridge Bay and Coppermine have set up road signs and road names in native languages. Other communities, having realized that it is important for the language to be visible in the community, are planning similar steps. A day- care centre has recently been set up, but it functions in English.

However, the language used in Cambridge Bay is mostly English except for conversations between and with elders, or where adults use their language at home between themselves. Inuinnaqtun is used in church. In meetings of the Kitikmeot Regional Council or Kitikmeot Inuit Association, the mayors generally speak Inuktitut or Inuinnaqtun. The nursing station tries to provide both languages as much as possible.

In the Netsilik-speaking communities, where education and government was introduced later than in the western half of the Kitikmeot region, many people still retain their aboriginal languages and there is a reduced use or knowledge of English. In Pelly Bay, 50% of the people know little English; in Spence Bay about 25%; and Gjoa Haven, about 40%.

In Pelly Bay, most parents speak Inuktitut fluently, and only a very small percentage of children don't speak Inuktitut at all. About 30% of parents speak both Inuktitut and English; their children speak more English at home than the children of parents who speak only Inuktitut. In Spence Bay, more students don't speak Inuktitut than in Pelly Bay. All three communities generally use Inuktitut in meetings; English interpretation is provided only when an non-Inuktitut-speaking government official or resource person is present. Catholic church services are conducted in Inuktitut in all three communities. Local radio stations are in Inuktitut. However, most television and much written materials are in English, and radio programs (except for local ones) are in English much of the time.

Teachers in Spence Bay are making their own teaching materials; they're doing math and science in Inuktitut. In Spence Bay, one class is being taught co-operatively in Inuktitut and English by an Inuk teacher and a non-native teacher. In the grade one class, half of the class is taught in Inuktitut in the morning and half in English; in the afternoon, they switch. Some Spence Bay materials are used in Cambridge Bay, but the dialect is different. Inuktitut is taught for one hour per day from Kindergarten to grade 9; in grade 10, students go to Yellowknife. In Pelly Bay and Gjoa Haven, the program is an immersion program in Inuktitut. Some children come to school unable to speak Inuktitut at all, although they can understand it.

Twenty-five or thirty years ago, the people of Pelly Bay, Spence Bay and Gjoa Haven spoke quite different dialects, but as people have moved from one community to another or married into another community, the dialects have mixed together.

Television shows are received from CBC North, in Yellowknife, and from IBC; until recently, the Kitikmeot had an Inuit Broadcasting Corporation station as well, but it was closed due to funding restraints. Through satellite dishes, television stations also are received from throughout North America. The Kitikmeot receives radio broadcasting from CBC Western Arctic, in Inuvik, which broadcasts mostly in English, Inuvialuktun and Gwich'in. There is no local newspaper: Nunatsiaq News, which is published in English and Inuktitut out of Iqaluit, is the only newspaper which is published regularly in Inuktitut.

English has a very strong impact on Inuktitut and Inuinnnaqtun. Even young children who have been brought up in Inuktitut in another community switch over quickly to English once they move to Cambridge Bay, whether their parents speak Inuktitut at home or not. One man said his son took only a month to switch to English from Inuktitut after moving into Cambridge Bay. Even when they are

spoken to in Inuktitut or Inuinnaqtun by a parent or grandparent, young children almost always reply in English, not in the native language. "Most of the time we speak to each other in Inuktitut, but our little one, when he wants something or he wants to tell us something, he uses English all the time".

Some people think young people are using English so much because it is faster. "They're speaking more English because English is a faster process of what you're thinking and what you want to convey to someone else." This is probably the same reason why many middle-aged people, who do not speak English well, nonetheless talk to their children in English because that is a faster way of communicating with children who speak only English. More and more, children who do understand what is being said to them in the native language are choosing to respond in English. "The parents speak to them in the native language, but they'll respond in English whether their parents or grandparents understand them or not.... That's happening more and more."

5.2 Department of Culture and Communications: Inuit Language

The Language Bureau (Inuktitut - Eastern Arctic)

The main activity of the Language Bureau in Iqaluit is to interpret and translate documents. There is only one priority at the Bureau - the Legislative Assembly. All requests from other sources are considered only after the needs of the Legislative Assembly have been met. In descending order, the main users of the Bureau are government departments, the fourteen settlement councils in the region and individuals. All documents translated, however, are for public use. The main beneficiaries of the Bureau's work appear to be unilinguals, both English and Inuktitut. No user fees are charged.

The level of resources provided is inadequate to meet the demand. The greatest expense, after staff, is computer hardware and software. There are nevertheless insufficient financial resources to hire an adequate number of employees. The staff complement of 5 has been short 2 staff for about 23 months. In addition to translating all government documents, they must attend many meetings as interpreters. There are so many meetings to attend that the office is sometimes unstaffed. As a result, the Bureau must hire freelance interpreters and translators to fill this gap and they are more expensive than staff. (Staff generally receive a wage of $23/hr while freelancers receive either $300/day or $25/page plus travel and accommodation costs.) This naturally consumes a portion of the budget. At times, the Regional Superintendent of the Department of Culture and Communications is the only person remaining in the office and there is often pressure for the Manager to go out to interpret at meetings.

The demand for translated material or interpretation services far exceeds the Bureau's ability to provide a service. For example, the Bureau had to adjourn the Supreme Court three times in the past year and refuse requests from territorial courts and the Baffin Divisional Board of Education. Some individuals interviewed

stated that they would have to wait up to 10 months to get a letter translated by the Bureau.

There are few links to other community language programs, with the exception of the Interpreter-Translator program at Arctic College's Nunatta Campus. Although the Bureau is beginning to use persons trained in this program now, there are generally not enough adequately trained people. As a result, much training takes place on-the-job in the Bureau using modules designed for that purpose but no extra financial resources are available for this training or to allow staff to attend courses at Arctic College. The college program itself is underfunded and cannot provide enough training to meet the current demand.

With regard to the revitalization of the language, the Bureau often has to create new words. They usually attempt to phone one of the elders to discuss and find an appropriate word already in the language that can be used in a modern situation. There appear to be no links to the Inuit Cultural Institute dictionary project and they do not appear to pass on new words or words being used in a new way to the Interpreter-Translator program which prepares Word Lists for technical words.

There was a general consensus amongst those interviewed that the work of the Language Bureau has helped to promote the use of the language in the Region and as a result, there are greater amounts of information being exchanged and available in Inuktitut. However, most felt that the work of the Bureau remains within the bureaucracy and does not adequately reach the community at large, with the exception of a relatively small number of community leaders. Most interviewed felt that the Bureau did not receive enough funds to meet community translation or interpretation needs. Concern was expressed about the quality of work due to lack of resources and the impact this will have on the overall quality of the language.

Some government service providers, notably the Baffin Divisional Board of Education, stated that they were attempting to get a full time interpreter-translator

for the Board itself as the Language Bureau has inadequate resources to provide services for the Board. The Board has a policy of providing all services in both Inuktitut and English. Unfortunately, funds spent on interpretation and translation will reduce funds available for curriculum development, teaching materials and teacher training.

In Rankin Inlet, people are very aware of the translation and interpretation services available in the community and the Keewatin Region. Services in the courts, hospitals and the Legislative Assembly were most often cited. Two people interviewed stated that government offices conduct work in English, except when an interpreter is requested.

While these services are necessary and welcomed, those interviewed felt that more is needed for language development than just translation services. Local lanaguage centres providing language courses, research and documentation are considered a priority if the language is to survive.

Inuit in both the Baffin and Keewatin highlighted the need for more language workshops in both reading and writing for adults, so that parents can be role models and teach their children Inuktitut. Non-Inuit and Inuit also expressed the need for more Inuktitut courses for non-Inuit residing in the regions.

The Inuit Dictionary Project of the Inuit Cultural Institute

The Inuit Dictionary Project of the Inuit Cultural Institute (ICI) is funded to collect and prepare three regionally-based Inuktitut dictionaries for the Kitikmeot, Baffin and Keewatin regions. The documentation being compiled is of the major dialects commonly used in these regions. This project has been in progress since May of 1988. Its goals are to help preserve the Inuit language by recording words and to provide a bridge between the language of different generations of speakers.

Data collection is carried out by researchers working with a committee of elders from various communities. The data is entered on a computer program designed by Laval University.

The Inuit Cultural Institute (ICI) receives most of its funding (approximately $600,000 annually) from the federal Department of Indian and Northern Affairs. According to the Executive Director of ICI, they received $62,000 from the GNWT this year for the Dictionary Project. ICI reports to a Board of Directors composed of repesenatives from each region of the territory.

At this time, the main priority at ICI is the Dictionary Project. Previous administrations at ICI made very slow progress in this area and the current staff at the head office in Arviat want to move things ahead more quickly. At the same time, the Executive Director believes that a dictionary project must be a long-term project if it is to be successful.

ICI has been researching and collecting words in the major Inuktitut dialects. To date, ICI has collected about 15,000 words in 3 dialects: Central; North and South Keewatin. The Inuktitut Coordinator at the school in Arviat but stated that she finds the ICI word lists to be very helpful. She stated that the school has to find a strategy to incorporate this material into the school. She feels that Classroom Assistants should use them.

The Executive Director at ICI believes that a dictionary for students in Grades K-3 should be the first product, followed by a dictionary for the remaining Grades 4-12. At a later stage, spelling books, grammar books and vocabularies could be developed utilizing Inuit fables, legends and history.

ICI has developed a comprehensive language development plan to undertake this work over the next six years (1990-1996). They are currently seeking support from

within the Inuit community and funding from a variety of sources, including government, for this plan.

The Executive at ICI believe it is a necessity to have institutes in each region in order to be effective. They believe that the attempts made at preserving and enhancing Inuit languages to date have been "feeble". Elders must be more involved in teaching and research and they should be recognized as the holding the "true doctorates in the Inuit language".

ICI also wants to work more closely with other groups and individuals in the communities that are working on language development. The lack of contact with other groups was apparent. ICI had never heard of the Piniaqtavut program for example, and most people interviewed in the community had no contact with ICI.

Another priority of ICI is to prepare a submission for a spring conference in Yellowknife on the Official Language legislation.

Many of those interviewed agreed that a dictionary was very important as an historical documentation of the language. Most were supportive of a dictionary project as a long-term (10 year) project. All felt that in order to convey the language adequately, the dialects must be included.

Still others interviewed felt that some interim steps should be taken to complement the development of a dictionary. These included the development of a corpus describing the frequency of use and type of use of words. Others stressed the need for a plan endorsed by local Inuit regarding language research and documentation.

In the Keewatin, people interviewed wanted a higher visibility of the language in the Region. ICI activities also need marketing in the Regions. One person interviewed stated that "the ICI and the Northern Heritage Centre should be the

ones to make every effort to work closely with the elders before they pass on, in order to preserve and retain the heritage, culture and language".

A common request in both Regions was for the creation of local citizen groups that could provide input and assist in decision-making regarding the allocation of resources for language development. People interviewed in the Keewatin Region believe that more local input would foster great commitment toward language needs.

One person interviewed said that the translation, interpretation services and documentation of words was not enough. It is also necessary for the English community in the north to adopt an "I'm OK, you're OK attitude".

The Inuit Broadcasting Corporation: Takuginai Program (Inuktitut)

The Inuit Broadcasting Corporation (IBC) is headquartered in Iqaluit. IBC's major activity is the production of seven half-hours of programs each week. These programs span a variety of programming including a current affairs program, magazine journalism programs, an entertainment show and two programs for youth and children. In addition to striving to provide variety, IBC also endeavours to produce programs in a number of local community locations. At the present time, three shows are produced in Baker Lake, Igloolik and Rankin Inlet.

Takuginai is IBC's Inuit children's television project. Children from the Eastern Arctic participate in the show and the emphasis is placed upon strengthening the Inuit culture through education. At the same time, children are learning new skills and increasing their own awareness about the media as well as the world around them.

IBC's main priorities have been to improve the quality of their programming through training and to expand programming to the extent possible. At the present time, IBC provides ten weeks of technical training, followed by more specialized training geared toward specific programs. Some training funds are provided by the Department of Education.

The community is very responsive to IBC programming. Most Inuit watch IBC and constitute the bulk of their viewing audience. All persons interviewed were extremely positive about the programming, and all parents said their children enjoy watching the Takuginai series. It appears that Inuit of all ages enjoy watching this program. All those parents interviewed expressed a desire for more children's programs in Inuktitut. With only one station broadcasting in Inukitut, and twenty-five channels available in English, it can be inferred that children watch more English TV than Inukitut.

The resources with which IBC operates are minimal. Funding for native broadcasting has recently been cut by the Federal government and all native broadcasters are feeling the loss. The Federal government appears to want to stress commercialization of TV, but many of those interviewed feel this is not viable in northern communities with small populations. The fledgling corporation IBC has striven to improve the quality of its programming over the past five years. While much improvement has occurred, a major impediment to both improved quality and expansion has been a lack of financial and training resources. IBC is "constantly training and trimming". Wages are necessarily low, especially compared with the local CBC operation and other local jobs, and they are forced to hire people with low qualifications. Benefits are virtually non-existent. Even with training opportunities, staff turnover is very high. It is a working environment which can easily lead to the "burn-out syndrome" and people remain because of an intense commitment to programming for the Inuit people in Inuktitut.

Another major blow to IBC has been the cutting of the journalism program at Arctic College in Iqaluit this fall. The impact on their on-the-job reporter-trainees will be immense, as these trainees will no longer be learning important aspects of a reporter's job, such as researching news stories, interviewing techniques, theory and how to approach different types of stories.

As far as expansion is concerned, IBC has no chance to grow under its current financial constraints. Individuals at IBC must learn to do a variety of jobs and workloads are heavy. The studio has managed to build a strong following and good programs "in spite of lack of funds". There is not enough funding to build even one set, or to enter into more dramatic or documentary type of programming.

IBC has built very strong links to the community. It is "not detached from its audience. It is a special and unique relationship". The programs are not as abstract as programs on southern Canadian TV. The youth program has very high student participation as both hosts and actors, and schools are utilized in many communities as filming sites. IBC is very interactive with local people and would like to encourage more community involvement, especially that of elders.

People interviewed in the Keewatin Region believe that IBC TV programs greatly assist the visibility of the language in the region. They believe that many more programs are required, however. Currently, people must rely on the radio for programming in Inuktitut.

While IBC has strong links to the communities and, in the recent past, the College, there are few links with other media in the region. The local media do not appear to share resources or collaborate on training seminars. IBC has lent equipment to CBC on occasion.

Regarding language revitalization, IBC is perceived to be a critical means for preserving the use of the language. It has greatly increased the language's "visibility". Many interviewed believe that attitudes toward Inuktitut have changed now that the language is being heard in the media. Young people view the language more positively.

One concern expressed both by observers and producers is the poor quality of language spoken by some of the young people participating in TV programming, especially in Iqaluit where English is dominant. IBC received feedback on a few occasions that people were dismayed at the deteriorated Inuktitut the young people were speaking in some programs. Many interviewed discussed the often unfair pressure and insults young people experience because of their poor language skills. Most felt that the youth had had little opportunity to learn the language well and that the entire community, as well as the government, must take responsibility for this.

Media staff interviewed stated that they felt the media has a responsibility to teach people the language. All expressed concern over Inuktitut becoming a "translation of English" because of time and funding constraints in newsrooms. Many interviewed discussed the use of different dialects in media programming. Often the media must standardize to fit different dialects. Some media personnel felt that they were losing their own dialect as they had to learn others. "Dialects become meshed, and elders laugh at the different dialects". One person claimed that it seems impossible to establish a standard that will meet everyone's expectations. Following each program in Inuktitut, he will receive a call from someone who was upset with the use of the language. All felt that in the long term, dialects should be maintained in order to preserve the richness of the language and the local cultures.

Finding new or appropriate words is often a problem for media personnel. Some complained that there was no "language department" where new words could

programming time should be longer that it is now so that elders can tell stories over a longer period of time. More articles on the Inuvialuit culture and traditional games are needed in the newspapers, and also on radio and television, they recommended. The Inuvialuit Communications Society publishes a newspaper, Tusaayaksat, largely in English, and produces the television program, Tamapta, in Inuvialuktun. But the society's funding was slashed drastically as a result of Secretary of State budget cuts in 1989.

5.3 Department of Education: Inuit Language

The Interpreter-Translator Program (Inuktitut)

The Interpreter-Translator Program is offered at Arctic College's Nunatta Campus in Iqaluit. It provides training for interpreters and translators in translation and consecutive interpreting. The program has developed an extremely flexible approach in order to meet the needs of the community. Most students are part-time and are already in the workforce. Many courses are offered in a modular format, such as the medical interpreter and court clerk interpreter programs, which are each comprised of four modules.

At the present time, the College offers a one-year certificate in Northern Interpretation and Translation. Although the program was designed to be a two-year diploma course, the College does not receive enough funding to offer the second year of the program. Some courses from the second year are offered in the program if a student has a particular need for that training. The program is seeking McGill accreditation in order to enhance funding opportunities and to provide students with a greater ease of transition to other advanced interpretation/translation programs, should they wish to pursue further training. The accreditation process is well advanced at this time.

The program has approximately 100 part-time students and two full-time students. The program is open to all of the Baffin and Keewatin but employers have to pay costs of sending people for training as the College cannot cover these costs. The GNWT covers transportation costs for trainees in specialized training programs. Students come from as far away as northern Manitoba to take the course.

A major priority of this College Department is to procure funding for the second year of the program. Other priorities include continuing to publish materials related to programs. Currently, the program produces and publishes annual word lists for use by technicians. Longer term goals of the Department are to produce a technical dictionary as well as to continue to publish articles and other materials of good quality on interpretation and translation.

Another goal of the program is to expand field-based programs as they are the most cost-efficient ($2,000/student) and they help to build infrastructure and human resources in the communities. There is currently a non-credit field-based course in Baker Lake funded out of the Adult Education program.

Funding has been a major stumbling block to the adequate development and quality of the program. For example, when the College offers the training for Medical Interpreters they must hire medical specialists, terminologists and elders to assist with the training. The Department of Justice has developed legal interpreter modules for training and it was understood that Arctic College would incorporate the legal interpreter training program into their curriculum. The College delivers the modules, for Justice however, it is not clear when the program will be turned over to the College.

Resources for some of the specialized programs are co-ordinated outside of the College. For instance, the Department of Justice co-ordinates the legal interpreter program while in the case of Health, Arctic College provides the co-ordination and

delivery of all training. Some of those interviewed felt that it may be more efficient for the College to coordinate all specialized training. This would reduce administrative costs and duplication through the hiring of only one administrator for instance.

Another problem related to the program has been accreditation. Until accreditation is in place, there is little incentive for students to upgrade their skills. At present, anyone who can speak both languages can be hired in the field for the same salary, regardless of proficiency. As stated earlier, the process of accreditation through McGill University is nearing completion and it should be approved in the near future.

The links between the College and the community are fairly strong as the program attempts to be innovative and flexible to meet community needs. The links with the business community are good as the College provides modular courses which allow employees to upgrade their skills while on the job. Some of those incentives feel that employers often have an unrealistic expectation, however, of what can be achieved in a short-term program. The College has also been developing placements for students to get experience in the community, and it has developed a video course.

These links with other government-funded programs are promising. The Language Bureau has begun to show support by hiring graduates and students of the College program. The Adult Education Centres are supportive in running field-based courses, and the College has coordinated programs with the Departments of Justice and Health.

Further resources are required to develop materials, curricula, software and publications. A modest increase in funding would have a significant impact on the ability of the College to provide a better program. Many of those interviewed believe that an "Interpreter Corps" should be established so that there are always

enough well-trained interpreters available. Still others felt that the College should be funded to establish a language program with a research component to carry out a systematic study of the language and the dynamics of change.

The Teaching and Learning Centre (Inuktitut)

The Teaching and Learning Centre (TLC) in Iqaluit is in its fourth year of operation. Its main activities are program development and book production, and its staff act as a resource for schools and educators in the Baffin Region. The limitations of existing curricula and educational materials in Inuktitut and on Inuit culture have been a matter of urgent necessity. While over 95 per cent of the students in the schools are Inuit, a bilingual (Inuktitut-English) program was only fully endorsed and established as a strategic direction by the Baffin Divisional Board of Education (BDBE) in 1987. In 1985, the BDBE Divisional Board of Education published their strategic directions in a document entitled, "Our Future is Now". This document cites "the development of high quality programs in Inuktitut in all subject areas" as its primary corporate goal. In order to achieve this goal, the BDBE established curriculum and school programs in Inuktitut as a priority. The system is now playing catch-up to produce educational materials for all grade levels.

The Teaching and Learning Centre has a small staff of 2.5 person years, comprised of two Program Consultants and one Classroom Assistant. Funding is provided by both the Department of Education and the BDBE. The Department funds the staff salaries and $60,000 in operational funds. The BDBE provides $200,000 annually for the production of children's books in Inuktitut. The TLC reports to the BDBE. Funds flow from the Department of Education to the Board en route to the TLC. In 1989/90, the BDBE received $265,000 from the Canada-GNWT Aboriginal Language Contribution Agreement.

The main priority of the TLC at this time is to produce as many educational materials as possible for teachers throughout the Region. The TLC works closely with educators as the main resource for Inuktitut curriculum design and materials development in the schools. The TLC attempts to develop educational materials with a strong cultural component that are developed from "the community level up" through consultation with elders, teachers and students in the communities. Cultural themes are then built into curricula material.

The TLC produces a wide variety of instructional materials including books, videos, audio cassette tapes and slides. They also produce manuals for teachers on methodology and are working on resource kits for thematic units being taught in the schools. Production of materials in Inuktitut is very expensive but nevertheless the TLC has been very prolific. For example, in 1989-90, the TLC completed and delivered to Baffin schools a total of 42 books. Nineteen other books have also been completed and distributed to schools in the fall of 1990. All distribution costs are borne by the BDBE. (For a complete list of materials produced by the TLC see the Appendix.) As much as possible, the TLC edits and publishes materials created by student teachers in the Eastern Arctic Teacher Education Program. Most of the books published by the Baffin TLC were written by educators during workshops conducted with the staff at EATEP. Teachers or Classroom Assistants (now unofficially called Teachers-in-Training) are encouraged to provide feedback on the use of the materials.

The main users of the TLC are teachers, instructors and students at EATEP, Classroom Assistants indirectly, students in the schools. The staff at the TLC provide program support to the educators teaching in Inuktitut. The TLC staff also played a central role in the organization of the Sivumut Inuit educators' conference. Also, although it is not part of their mandate, the TLC staff are also a resource for Adult Education instructors of Inuktitut as a second language.

The TLC staff have played a key role in the development of a major program for teaching in the Region, the "Piniaqtavut Integrated Program" for Grades K-9. In 1989-90, $100,000 was allocated under the Agreement to implement the program. Piniaqtavut follows the thematic approach to education and emphasizes not only bilingual communication skills, but also cultural identity, responsibility and independence.

Piniaqtavut has been truly "made in the NWT". Piniaqtavut is based upon an extensive needs survey of the Region and two years of development. A committee of educators from most Baffin communities planned the program and worked on pilot teaching units at Primary, Intermediate and Junior High levels. A draft of the program was discussed by all educators and Education Councils in the Region and their suggestions incorporated. The committee also included aspects of the existing school curricula where possible. The program shows respect for dialectical differences by offering each section of the program in a different dialect. Thus the Primary section is written in Central Baffin dialect, the Intermediate section is written in South Baffin dialect, and the Junior High section is written in the North Baffin dialect.

The TLC stresses that Piniaqtavut is a program, not a curriculum. It is divided into units that are supported by various resources, reading materials and other learning experiences to build knowledge, skills and attitudes. In this sense, it is a very comprehensive program. It also attempts to build a view of the world appropriate to the age of the child. The program begins with experiences of the child within the family and community for younger children, and then moves on to a perspective of the Region, the NWT, Canada and the world.

As mentioned, Piniaqtavut is a thematic program. Subject areas are covered within a theme. For example, if students are studying polar bears, they will read and write about the bears in the Language Arts, study their biological nature in science, and their impact on society in Social Studies. This type of approach allows for a deeper understanding of the Inuit culture which does not separate people from

- a $30,000 research project has been launched to study levels of language comprehension of Inuktitut. While most interviewed feel there is a great need for study of Inuktitut, some felt that Inuit were not yet certain what areas of study were a priority and what methodological approaches should be taken;

- the Sivumut Teacher's Conference was held last year. This was largely funded through BDBE Professional Development funds, though $15,000 came from the Contribution Agreement. This conference brought together 150 Inuit educators and was run entirely in Inuktitut. Most interviewed felt that this conference was a huge success. For the first time, Inuit teachers were gathered to give input to educational policy. Many felt this was a positive message to the Inuit community and major step forward in confidence-building for Inuit teachers. The cost of holding a conference in the North is high. It costs about $2,000/person to bring people from within the Region to a conference in Iqaluit.

Educators in Arviat expressed a keen interest in holding an Inuit teachers conference in the Keewatin Region.

Language Education Programs in the Schools (Eastern Arctic)

As stated, the number one priority of the BDBE at this time is to provide high quality programs in Inuktitut in all subject areas. This policy objective is complementary to the development of the TLC as a major resource for Inuktitut curriculum and materials development.

At the current time, the level of Inuktitut offered varies in the communities, as the number of courses offered will depend upon the availability of staff. In general, however, Inuktitut is offered as a full-time language of instruction from Kindergarten to Grade 4 (K-4), depending upon staff availability. Mother-tongue

instruction is offered and ESL (English as a Second Language Programs) is being introduced. The approach to teaching Inuktitut in all grades is "language across the curriculum". The program attempts to be as eclectic as possible with language instruction introduced into all subject areas. Inuktitut is offered as a subject in some schools in Grades 5 through 9, again depending upon staff availability and expertise. In general, however, students are in English immersion from Grade 5 onward. In Grades 10 through 12, the Department of Education has introduced a compulsory Cultural Studies 15 course which must be completed by the end of Grade 12. It is a modular course which includes study of Inuktitut, as well as local and regional history.

In Rankin Inlet, instruction in grades K-3 is entirely in Inuktitut. They also have Inuktitut programs from grades 4-6. Those interviewed cited the need for more resources to provide Inuktitut in grades 7-12 even though there is a regional high school.

All educators interviewed stated that their primary goal was to promote and enhance the aboriginal language. While all interviewed want children to become bilingual, educators in Iqaluit saw difficulties with the approach taken to bilingual language education. One problem cited was that in Iqaluit, Inuktitut and ESL classes are mixed. Teachers feel that these classes should be separated, as English "permeates everything". Many people feel that students should receive instruction only in Inuktitut up to Grade 3 or 4, as most come to school bilingual already in Iqaluit, and students are basically immersed in English in the intermediate years of school. One interviewee in Igualvit stated, "Students will always learn English - it's all around them."

The "visibility" of a language and where and how it is used gives strong messages to the children about their language and culture. As one person interviewed stated, "Language truly is the foundation of everything. If you demean a language, you demean a life."

Another problem related to funding appeared to be the lack of communication between the outlying regions and the NWT government. Several service providers cited a situation two years ago when the government "recalled $2 million from the Aboriginal Language Agreement because it was undersubscribed". This action was taken at a time when both the BDBE and EATEP were looking for funds for publishing books, and when the Interpreter-Translator program was unable to fund the second year of its program.

Inuit teachers are also in great demand. Of the approximately 200 teachers in the Region, about 20 per cent are trained Inuit teachers. While the BDBE is very supportive of increasing the number of Inuit teachers, they do not have funding for training. According to the Board, of the 19 Classroom Assistants who applied for training last year, only 5 could be accepted because of lack of housing. At the same time, the BDBE claims frustration as it costs approximately $20,000 to bring in one new southern teacher and southern teachers seldom stay very long, whereas the retention of Inuit teachers is very high. The Distance Education Program of the BDBE has also been cut. Many feel that education costs could be greatly reduced if programs such as Distance Education, field-based components and greater use of TLCs to deliver programs were implemented on a full-time basis.

Eastern Arctic Teacher Education Program (EATEP)

The Eastern Arctic Teacher Education Program has been offered in Iqaluit at the The Nunatta Campus of Arctic College since 1984. Prior to 1984, EATEP was not affiliated with a College and reported directly to the Minister of Education. The program offers a two year Teacher's Certificate and, since 1986, a third year to qualify for a full Bachelor of Education program with certification from McGill University's Northern Studies program. The College now has authority to design its own courses.

Over 90 per cent of the students at the college are Inuit. Of the approximately 70 instructors, only 3 are Inuit. Of these, two are instructors in the EATEP program. (The College recently adopted a strategic plan that will attempt to have 25 per cent of instructors from the Inuit community by 1995.)

Since 1981, 63 students have graduated from EATEP and 15 students have graduated from the Bachelor of Education program. The program now graduates approximately 4 to 5 graduates a year.

The language of instruction at EATEP is Inuktitut. Methodology and instruction for primary grades as well as courses in linguistics are offered in Inuktitut. Some English texts have been used and modified for the courses. The instructors often have to create their own materials and are always searching for new software applications.

The major goals of the program are to produce competent primary teachers (K-6) in Inuktitut, in all content areas. A longer term goal is to produce competent Inuktitut teachers throughout the school system. At this time there are not enough resources to meet this goal. Parallel to these goals, is the goal of making the schools more relevant to the culture.

At EATEP, courses have a maximum of 20 students. This year (1990-91) there are 18 students from all over the Region, except Iqaluit.

EATEP has built strong links to the communities through the field-based program, the training of Classroom Assistants and through the TLCs. EATEP works very closely with the TLC. EATEP coordinates curricula themes to themes of school programs (Piniaqtavut). All EATEP students create original writings that are edited by the TLC and used for class instruction. They are very successful in making their program and materials relevant to the local communities.

EATEP also works with the schools and the BDBE, especially through their encouragement and training of Classroom Assistants or CAs. (now called Teachers-in-Training) Most students at EATEP have been CAs for years, and they generally are the most successful at the program because of their familiarity with the classroom.

Educators in Rankin Inlet stated that there is a need for an EATEP program in their region, or more field-based teacher education programs. One teacher stated, "Opportunities are there, but we require a program clsoe to our communities. We Need one in the Keewatin. We would have alot of people taking the training if it was offered here."

Instructors at EATEP would like the program to be closer to the elders as they are the true resource people for the language. They attempt to contact elders for clarification of words used in a story or for other word examples. They resist finding new words, with the exception of very technical words, as they feel this tends to simplify the language. If they are stuck for a word, they try to describe the concept using other examples.

EATEP also utilizes resources at CBC and IBC, such as audio cassettes of elders' stories, legends or songs.

Funding for EATEP was perceived to be an issue by some of those interviewed. Documentation from the Department of Education shows that in 1985 the EATEP budget was $1.4 million. Arctic College presented a detailed breakdown of this figure and noted that it included $200,000 for student allowances, $150,000 for residence operations, $30,000 for janitorial services, $50,000 for administration and $20,000 for library services. Both the Department of Education and Arctic College noted that the EATEP budget had been restructured over the past six years as the

Nunatta Campus and Arctic College system developed. The College reported that its expenditures in support of EATEP during the past four years have been as follows:

1986/87 - $ 882,000
1987/88 - $ 934,000
1988/89 - $1,007,000
1989/90 - $1,057,000

It appears that a communications problem may exist as a number of those interviewed in the field believed that there had been a reduction of field-based programs. The field-based program allows students to complete the first year of courses within their own community. According to those interviewed, a lack of resources will reduce the number of persons able to train as they will not be able to study in Iqaluit due to high costs and housing shortages. An example cited of resource constraints was the summer school program being conducted only in Iqaluit this year. This program was nevertheless very well attended.

People interviewed spoke very highly of the EATEP program. Many feel that great progress has been made in the production of teaching materials and language methodologies in Inuktitut since control of education was somewhat decentralized to the regions. Most believe that more local control would assist the pace of growth.

Some teachers claim that EATEP was closer to the schools before it became affiliated with the college.

Those at EATEP expressed a desire for more course material and terminology in Inuktitut. Instructors feel that some of the language issues surrounding consistency and appropriate word use, as well as agreement on various dialects, is beyond the scope of EATEP. All want to see a language academy or program developed.

Many interviewed pointed out the shortage of Inuit teachers. The region must draw upon the same small pool of teachers for program consultants at TLC, principals, instructors at EATEP or administrators at the BDBE. The number of

available teachers for the classrooms suffer. Ironically, as the Classroom Assistants leave for training, the language instruction programs also suffer.

The educators interviewed were very supportive of increased recognition for Classroom Assistants as Teachers in Training. Several people interviewed suggested that CAs were often more experienced than new southern recruits, and that much of their time was spent helping new teachers learn about the language and culture.

One person suggested that a field-based credit course should be designed to allow designated Inuit teachers to supervise CAs in the classroom as part of their teacher training. This would help to shorten the time it takes to become a teacher as well as assist in meeting teacher shortages.
All agreed, however, that the program was moving in the right direction and that much progress has been made.

Language Programs in the Schools: Inuvialukten (Western Arctic)

In the Beaufort/Delta communities, Inuvialuktun language instruction is given to students ranging from kindergarten to grade four or in some communities to grade six. The "Critical Stages" Conference felt that this was not sufficient, and recommended that Inuvialuktun be taught all the way through the school system from Kindergarten to grade 12. They felt that two instructors were needed in each school.

In Inuvik, one teacher teaches Inuvialuktun to 109 students in Kindergarten to grade four at Sir Alexander Mackenzie School. As she teaches the language, she also teaches the culture. For example, in the fall, she tells a story about going fishing and explains why Inuit fish then. Students might make a Kayak or fish net with paper. They make fish from foam and put them in water, then "fish" with a magnet, naming the fish they catch in Inuvialuktun.

She does the planning, preparation and teaching for the class by herself, and understandably, is too busy to write down all the details of her classes on a daily or weekly basis. She has to develop her own materials. She receives materials produced by the Inuvialuktun language specialist working for the Beaufort/Delta Divisional Board of Education, but has to translate those into her own dialect. She occasionally has casual assistants to help her in the classroom, just as casual assistance is available occasionally to develop curriculum materials, but no one is being trained to take her place. Right now, there's no one to take over her work when she retires, "so when I'm finished, Inuvialuktun is finished".

Her students get a lot of support from their parents. She says a lot of the parents are fluent speakers of the language and "they are encouraging their children to speak". That's very important, she says, because if children don't hear the language at home, the lesson fades as soon as they are out the school door.

Her first students are now in high school and would like to learn more of the language, but Inuvialuktun lessons are not offered after grade 4. "People wish they had night classes so they could learn to read and write...." She taught adult beginner and advanced Inuvialuktun classes in 1986/87, and about 30 people enrolled in each class. However, she had to stop teaching those two courses when she attended Arctic College between 1987 and 1989 to upgrade her teaching qualifications.

Inuvialuktun: Western Arctic

Inuvialuktun speakers think their language is in great danger. They met at a conference in Inuvik in March, 1990, to talk about how to save their language. This Inuvialuktun Language "Critical Stage" conference set out recommendations for immediate and urgent action in three areas: to establish kindergarten programs in Inuvialuktun, to establish day care centres which will operate in Inuvialuktun; and to hold a terminology conference. They also prepared an extensive list of recommendations in the areas of teacher education, school programs, day care

centres and pre-school programs, programs for young people, home elder programs, language camps, native studies, terminology, cultural programs, and communications -- television, radio, newspapers. Among the recommendations are the following points:

a) The language must be taught throughout the school system, from kindergarten to grade 12 instead of ending at grade four. Each school should have two Inuvialuktun instructors, not just one, and elders should play a role in the classroom in teaching children the language and culture. Language teaching needs to start in kindergarten and at day-care centres where Inuvialuktun is the language of instruction. Language camps at which children learn the language and survival skills from Inuvialuktun instructors and community elders are needed on an ongoing basis.

b) A terminology conference is desperately needed so that elders, youth and interpreter/translators can develop Inuvlaluktun terms to replace English words and thus allow the language to grow. Terminology workshops for Inuktitut have been held by the Inuit Cultural Institute in Arviat, but these workshops have not assisted Inuvialuktun or Inuinnaqtun speakers. Instructors who can teach the Inuvialuktun writing system also are needed, as are new pictorial dictionaries.

c) Tapes of elders' stories and historical pictures are needed as a resource which will help young people learn about their past and their language. Home elder programs are needed in each community as places where young people or parents and children can learn their language. "In this way we can pass on to our children to help them learn not only in school but also at home with our elders' guidance." This recognizes that language classes do more than just teach the language -- they also teach the culture. People see a clear link between language and culture. And they think schools have a responsibility in helping to protect and preserve the aboriginal languages: "They go to school to talk properly in English. Why not our language, too?".

An Inuvialuktun Language Critical Committee chaired by Peter Esau was established to pursue these recommendations, made up of members from Aklavik, Tuktoyaktuk, Sachs Harbour, Paulatuk, Inuvik and Holman.

5.4 Department of Justice: Inuit Language

Court Interpreters (Inuktitut)

The objective of this program is to train Inuktitut speakers to interpret in both Inuktitut and English within the court room in order to improve access to the court system for unilingual speakers. The training program was introduced in 1988. Portable simultaneous interpreting equipment were purchased for this program. In early 1989, a Coordinator of Legal Interpreting was hired.

The program is in the process of compiling a computerized terminology bank. Inuktitut specialists assist in the development of terminology and interpreter evaluations.

The training program has been developed by the Department of Justice. Program development, coordination and costs of accommodation and transportation are covered under this program. The training is delivered by the Department of Justice and some training modules are offered in Inuktitut at the Arctic College's Nunatta Campus in Iqaluit. The Department of Justice created four modules for legal interpreting in anticipation of the program's eventual incorporation into Arctic College. All four modules have been offered over the past three years. To date the program is directed centrally from Yellowknife.

A manual for legal interpreters has been developed, and tests of materials have been conducted.

5.5 Department of Health Inuit Language

Medical-Interpreter Training Program (Inuktitut)

Arctic College offers the specialized medical interpreter's training for current employees of the Department of Health. Prior to this program, most medical interpreters in hospitals and nursing stations had received no training. In addition to basic interpreter-training, specific medical terminology is also taught. The course is offered in four modules. To date, most trainees have completed the first module.

In Iqaluit, the program is administered by the Baffin Regional Health Board. The Head Interpreter at the Board works with interpreters at the hospital and schedules employees for training. The Health Board also provides translation services. In addition, the Baffin Regional Hospital has a recruitment program for interpreters. The general consensus is that the program is well administered.

5.6 Conclusions

Inuktitut - Eastern Arctic

Inktitut appears to be a healthy and strong language relative to other aboriginal languages in the Northwest Territories and Canada. However, the linguistic situation is tenuous. While the GNWT and the Federal Government have made recent attempts to improve the situation of aboriginal languages, some of the causes of weakening or curtailing the use of Inuktitut can be attributed to government fluctuations in resourcing and the programs themselves. These causes include:

Language Revitalization

- **The gradual loss of elders and their advice on language.** While Inuit educators, media personnel and the language bureau attempt to consult elders as much as possible, there is no formal process to ensure that the language is recorded or that elders are hired as resource persons.

- **The lack of an appropriate mechanism to reach consensus regarding use of words.** There is little awareness of the ICI dictionary project, yet strong consensus of the value of this type of work.

- **The absence of "language planning" for Inuktitut.** Current studies funded by southern universities examine language loss or linguistic variations. There is no emphasis upon language planning to ensure that:
  1) appropriate studies are undertaken to monitor and evaluate Inuktitut;
  2) appropriate, positive steps are taken to revitalize and maintain the language.

- **The neglect of Inuktitut by local institutions.** Most of the management in the regional government offices is unilingual English. In some cases, such as the Canada Employment Office in Iqaluit, there is no Inuktitut speaker. Of a staff of about 70, Arctic College in Iqaluit has only 3 Inuit staff and a few bilingual instructors. Cultural institutions fare only marginally better. The local museum offers little in Inuktitut and only recently has the "Baffin Writer's Project" emphasized Inuktitut writers.

Media

- **The pervasive effect of the English media, and the lack of resources to support media efforts in Inuktitut.**

language. You have to keep the language in order to understand the culture. In the language class, you teach the culture, too -- you can't learn language or culture just from books." They think the community knows what needs to be done and how to use the funds which are available for aboriginal languages.

Many Inuinnaqtun and Inuvialuktun speakers were disturbed that Inuktitut was the only Inuit language designated as official in the Official Languages Act. They want official status for their languages as well. They point out that all the individual Dene languages were listed in the Act, but that only one Inuit language was listed. They fear that the omission of Inuinnaqtun and Inuvialuktun will mean that the bulk of energy and resources will be directed to Inuktitut because many people think it is the only Inuit language. Yet Inuinnaqtun and Inuvialuktun, they feel, require the most intense effort in terms of preserving the language because these two languages are in much more peril than Inuktutut.

In both cases, there is a "lost generation" -- the generation of today's young adults who attended church-run residential schools in Inuvik, where they were forbidden to speak their own languages. The students, who often came to the residential schools speaking their own language and knowing little if any English, were told not to speak their language in the school, during or after classes. "We went to school not speaking a word of English but we had to quickly learn it because our language was 'bad'." (Students sent to the residential school in Chesterfield Inlet were forbidden to speak their own language only during class-room time, and were not prevented from speaking their language at other times, so there was less language loss among those students). "Most lost [the language] when they went to residential school; the generation born since about 1940 or 1941 lost their language." These people who lost their language at the residential schools now are parents with young children; they do not know their own language and so they cannot help their children learn it or speak it. Neither can they talk in their language to the elders, who often are the only ones who speak the native language fluently and frequently.

Across the Western Arctic and Kitikmeot regions, people speak of a terrible gap between the generations. Elders speak their language, Inuinnaqtun or Inuvialuktun or Inuktitut, but they can only speak with fluency and richness to the other members of their rapidly diminishing age group. (One Inuvialuit elder estimates there are only 30 Inuvialuit elders left who speak the language fluently.) When they speak to their grandchildren in their own language, the children usually understand them, but they choose to speak back to their grandparents in English. (This is not a problem unique to these regions -- Dene speakers in the Delta and South Slave also speak of this sad gap between the very young and the very old.) "The elders have to talk in English so the younger people will understand them." This problem largely prevents any natural regrowth of the language which might otherwise be encouraged by a close grandparent-grandchild relationship, as communication cannot truly take place. "The elders don't understand English enough to help the ones who want to learn [the language]. The ones who want to learn can't speak Inuvialuktun, so there's a gap and you always have to have someone in between interpreting if they are to communicate."

The opportunities which the elders have to speak and hear their own language are very limited, and seem to be decreasing. Elders in Inuvik used to see one another at the Inuvialuktun-speaking church services on Sunday afternoon, but that service was cancelled because fewer and fewer elders were attending it. "No there is only one service, in English, at 11 a.m. on Sundays, but it doesn't make sense because it's not in our language and no one can understand it. A lot of the older people don't see one another any more because they don't go to church now, and they don't see one another elsewhere as a group anywhere else." Elders in the Kitikmeot region could hear their language on television programs broadcast from the Inuit Broadcasting Corporation station in Cambridge Bay, but that was shut down late in 1989. Elders throughout the Kitikmeot and Delta/Beaufort regions watch Tampata, an Inuvialuktun language program produced by the Inuvialuit Communications Society in Inuvik, and Aqsarniq, and Inuktitut television program

produced in the Baffin and Keewatin dialects by CBC Northern Service. Inuinnaqtun-speaking elders don't understand Inuvialuktun, but they watch Tamapta to see familiar faces. (Some Inuit watch the Dene languages CBC-TV program, Denendeh K'eh, for the same reason -- they see people they know on the program.) Apart from the local community radio stations, which do use Inuinnaqtun, Kitikmeot elders do not hear their own language on the radio, as the Kitikmeot receives its radio programming from CBC Western Arctic in Inuvik, whose native language programs are in Inuvialuktun and the Dene languages of the Delta. The aboriginal-language television programs might reach a wider audience among young people who do not know their language if the program had English sub-titles or were rebroadcast in English translation at a later time. Young people do not watch these programs if they do not understand their language. "They would need English sub-titles or translation to understand it."

The people who have been working with the languages over the past few years are very concerned that the elders are dying off, and that the language is dying with them. They feel that it is imperative that work begin immediately on documentation the elders' knowledge of the language. They want the elders to be involved in terminology workshops, in teaching programs in the schools, and in planning community language endeavours. Action is imperative, because as the elders are dying off, the percentage of fluent speakers of the languages is dropping. There are no figures for the number of fluent Inuinnaqtun speakers, but generally only people over 30 can speak the language fluently; young people between 12 and 20 understand it but don't speak the language. Of the 1,500 Inuvialuit aged 18 and older, only about 24% can speak the language fluently. If the age group of 17 years and younger is added in, the percentage of fluency drops to 10-12%. One elder suggested that there are only about 30 elders left who speak their language fluently.

CHAPTER 6: THE DENE LANGUAGES AND CREE

6.1 Background

A number of Dene languages or dialects are spoken in the western Northwest Territories -- Gwich'in, North Slavey, Chipewyan, Dogrib, and South Slavey. In addition, Cree an Algonquin language is also indigenous. Our researchers did not have the opportunity to review the latter three in depth.

6.2 Language Groups

Gwich'in

There are between 1,200 and 1,500 Gwich'in people living in Arctic Red River, Fort McPherson, Aklavik and Inuvik. These communities are situated within the Inuvik region of the Government of the Northwest Territories, which includes Dene/Metis, Inuvialuit and non-native people. The Gwich'in are served by an interpreter/translator based in Fort McPherson.

The Gwich'in language, once known as Loucheau is spoken mostly by the elders; very few young people speak it. Many people understand the language but can't speak it. People who work with the language estimate that 10-15% of the group do

not speak it at all, about 35% understand but do not speak it. Of those who do speak it, only about 20% are fluent and about 30% speak it a little; the other 50% range from poor to fair in their ability to speak it. Understanding, speaking and writing the language are three different matters. In other words, many people can speak the language a bit, but not many speak it well; even fewer write the language, and still fewer write it well. Even people who may seem to a non-speaker to be fluent may have difficulty speaking the language in a proper grammatical fashion.

Community life generally takes place in English, but with the presence of the interpreter/translator and the influence of the Gwich'in Language and Cultural Centre, a change in attitude is beginning to become evident. More and more, "people are making a point where they're able to speak in native languages even through they can also speak English, they are using the native language." The use of Gwich'in has increased throughout the community as a result of the Gwich'in Language and Cultural Project. However, there is a considerable difference in how elders speak to one another and how they speak to most younger people. Elders have to use much simpler and more basic words in speaking to young people than they do among themselves, where their words are much more complex.

The existence of the Centre itself pays tribute to the community's concern about the diminishing use of the Gwich'in language. It was set up by the people themselves, at first without government funding.

Language classes are taught up to grade nine in each of the Gwich'in communities except for Inuvik. An adult class was held last year but interest gradually tapered off after several months. People have requested that more adult classes be held, but this time, language instructors have decided they will ask people what they want to learn and design the course around that.

Six people have been trained through a two-year program at the Gwich'in Language and Cultural Centre to carry out curriculum development work, but no funds have been available to hire them on a full-time basis. The Centre has been developing and will soon be circulating some curriculum materials but more is needed. It is felt by some of those interviewed that funding has been blocked at the Regional level causing interruptions to some programs and layoffs. The practice of year by year funding of programs with no guarantee of continuing commitment was also pointed out as a serious issue which discourages long term planning and perspectives. Training curriculum development workers is important because the language teachers generally do not have native language literacy skills; while they can speak the language, they can't prepare materials because they can't write it. The curriculum development trainees used the new standardized writing system

which is just being implemented in the Gwich'in communities. Not many people are familiar with it as yet, but the trainees found this new system acceptable.

Elders play an important role in developing new words. "The new words are developed by going to the older people and explaining modern things. We explain the thing and then ask them to develop a word. We want our language to be alive, so we have to adapt our language" to modern developments. At the same time, it's important to keep track of older words by documenting the language through projects such as the medicine project, and by preparing dictionaries of Gwich'in words. A verb dictionary currently is in progress.

Gwich'in speakers feel that documenting the language, quickly, is the most important task facing them. The elders are the ones who speak the language; once they are gone, much of the language will be gone with them unless it has been recorded at terminology workshops, on videotape or audio-tape, or in dictionaries and work lists. Teaching people to write their language, standardizing the writing system, and developing new words are also important and should be done, but they can be done now or later. Documentation of the language, however, cannot wait.

Language documentation is especially important because the next generation, those aged 25 to 40, are the group which lost their language during the 10- to 15-year period when the school system concentrated on teaching them English only. These

people generally are the parents who have children in the school system, now, but while their children are being taught the Gwich'in language in school until grade 9, they cannot help their children learn or speak the language. This is a serious problem, because the school classes are successful only to the extent that the children are able to speak the language at home and in the community, outside of the classroom. This may put additional stress on these parents.

Gwich'in lessons are taught from grade one through eight, except in Inuvik, but there are no lessons beyond that level. People who work with Gwich'in feel it is important to extend the language lessons beyond grade 8, all the way to the end of high school. "It's urgent to train teachers that can teach the language in high school, so that students can have a diploma saying that they completed a native language course all the way through high school." Education is a particular area in which strong action must be taken by government, because it is an area in which so much has been taken away from people over the years. "For so many years, education has taken so much from the people but not put back as much or respected that other people have cultures that aren't the same." Over the years, the schools have taken much away from children, turning them into people that their elders and community do not recognize and do not like. "The education system should add to, not take away from."

To support the lessons taught in school, many people felt that the children also need to see the Gwich'in language around them, in their community and on television and radio. Television should be used to teach the language to people in something like the Sesame Street format, and to air documentaries which show the elders talking and telling stories.

This is especially important when the language is in such danger of disappearing if urgent and energetic action is not taken. Educators say that with Gwich'in, intensive teaching in the schools must be complemented by the language's presence on radio and on television and in the newspapers.

There doesn't seem to be much dispute that the Gwich'in language is at a critical point. Far more people are wondering if there is any point in working to keep the language alive than are convinced that they should work hard to keep the language alive, say some observers. The elders hold the language in their minds; when they are gone, unless the language has been written down or recorded, the richness and the diversity also will have gone.

Some people say that they can see an increased interest by the Gwich'in in speaking and using their own language; others think that things have changed in the past five years, but that hasn't really led people to use their language more. English has been used so much, for so long, by so many people that many

Gwich'in have come to operate almost entirely in English. The idea that they can use their language wherever and whenever they want has not sunk in; people don't know they're entitled to use their own language, to have an interpreter. After so many years of English, it seems that people have to be convinced by government that they have a right to be served in their own language and that this service will last in order to feel that it is worth the effort to use their language. While it is ultimately up to people whether they speak their language or not, the question is not to easy for those who have never learned Gwich'in because they attended a school where their own language was displaced by English or because their own parents felt that their children would need to speak English rather than their own language. Government's willingness to spend money to help the language is really the thing which will convince people that the language is in trouble.

Since the aboriginal languages funding arrangement was negotiated in 1984, interpreters using all the regional languages and dialects -- have been hired by the Inuvik region of the Government of the NWT. After hiring the interpreters, government had to work hard to find work for them to do, but over the years, the demand has grown and now these services are overloaded with requests. People see a link here -- government provided the service first, and then the demand grew as people became aware that the service was available. Government in effect created the "atmosphere", and it can provide the programs which will help people to make use of these services, but it can't do the work for people. Government can have an official languages act and policy; it can fund workshops and training; but in the end, it is the community which decides whether or not the language will live or die.

stationed in Forth Resolution, and sound equipment for translating at meetings must be brought in from outside the community.

People in Fort Resolution say the language is not visible enough, or used enough, in their community. Chipewyan is used mostly on government signs. People think that if the language was more visible, this would help people learn and use the language. They don't think this would be difficult: they point out that once Snowdrift began using its Chipewyan name, Lutsel K'e, other people also began using it.

In school, the program teaches the children the alphabet, numbers, sentences, animals, colours, days of the week, months, seasons, body parts, clothes, food, dishes, directions and so on. They learn about their family tree - parents, brothers and sisters. They colour papers and do word searches and bingo games.

Chipewyan lessons represent about 6% of the instructional week. Kindergarten children are taught 10 minutes of Chipewyan every day. Students in grades one to seven get a language class once each week, in a specific classroom set aside for Chipewyan lessons. The materials used in the class come from Saskatchewan, but the dialect is different in Fort Resolution, so they have to be adapted. Not enough material is available; people would be interested in seeing more material developed locally. In Fort Resolution, a lengthy series of taped interviews were done with elders a few years ago. The material was translated and published in a book entitled "That's the Way we Lived"; the Chipewyan tapes are kept by the

Community Education Committee. Few trained people are available to teach the lessons.

The influence of English has been overwhelming over the past few decades in Fort Resolution, which is connected by road to the former mining community of Pine Point and to Hay River. In the 1960's, several children each year would start school being able to speak only Chipewyan, knowing no English at all. Now the children come to school speaking English, not Chipewyan. "We teach the language and it stays here in school -- it's not spoken at home. If it was used at home, as it used to be when grandparents spoke to kids in Chipewyan, it would help the kids learn." The problem is that people don't need to be able to speak Chipewyan; they can live in the community without ever speaking a word of it. And when most adults can understand but not speak the language, it's not likely that they will use the language to speak to each other or their children at home.

Literacy is not a big issue at this time; the priority is on teaching children how to learn to speak before they learn to write. Some workshops on Chipewyan literacy have been held over the years and have been well-attended. A dictionary is needed, however, so that people can develop the language that they've lost or have never learned. More opportunities are needed for people to become literate. "Once people start writing the language, it gets into common use. For example, once the

Snowdrift band started calling Snowdrift Lutsel K'e, everyone has started to use it." Four people from Fort Resolution recently took training in how to write Chipewyan.

People are divided on the issue of whether things have changed in the five years since the aboriginal languages agreement was signed. Some think that more people now are understanding the language and that if there was a place for them to learn the languages, they would be learning still more. Still others think that progress has been made in recognizing the languages in the schools (for many years, the language was taught only in Kindergarten; now it is taught in higher grades as well), and that now it is time to recognize the language in the community by providing night classes in Chipewyan and using the languages more extensively in the community's public life. Others think that the situation of the languages has either not changed, deteriorated, or not improved any; they fear that the language is being lost precipitously and that if something isn't done soon, the languages will disappear.

Some people fear that the richness and quality of the language is disappearing. They point out that a lot of slang words, which involve shortening older words, have crept into the language. "People are not speaking the language right as a result. A lot of the old words are gone." They worry about what will happen when the elders are gone. In the past, a young person who really wanted to learn the languages could go to the elders and learn the language, or a person who didn't

know a particular word could go to the elders and find out how to say it. The elders are a sort of walking dictionary; when they are gone, no one will be left who has that sort of knowledge. It is not just Chipewyan that they worry about: less people speak any of the Dene languages today than did 15 years ago. "Before, you could speak Chipewyan to someone and they would speak back in their own language; now that hardly ever happens."

They think it's important to use their languages. Using one's own language instills pride and self-esteem; it contributes to making people healthy. Language and culture are related, two sides of the same coin. They tell you who you are; if you don't have your language, you feel empty. "Learning the language would alleviate that sense of emptiness [within younger people] and bridge the generation gap between elders and the young."

But the young people have to be wooed to learn the language. They have to be persuaded that it is important and worthwhile to learn to speak and use their own languages. The Snowdrift camps which took young people out on the land with elders to learn bush and survival skills and the language serve as an example of what can be done.

Community residents think government has spent a lot of money on providing interpreters and translations and related administrative matters. But they say that

few people are literate and can read the material which is produced in Chipewyan, although they recognize that it is important to see and hear their language used. They feel that they need resources in the community now to develop local materials, to run night courses in Chipewyan for adults (especially for those who lost their language when they attended residential school) and young people, to put up signs in Chipewyan, to run literacy courses, and to teach the language in the school more intensively. They want to produce materials in their own dialect, and in their own languages. They point out that books are produced in Slavey and Dogrib, but not in Chipewyan; more Chipewyan books should be made in school. More trained teachers are needed.

"Strengthen the language base in the community -- do the groundwork in the community first. There's no use communicating something that's dying, or being eroded. If the language is visible, young people will see it and it will create excitement and respect for the language and then the government can work on communicating."

People feel that the language work is a joint effort, a partnership between government and community, but they don't feel they've been really involved up to this point. They point out that government has the administrative organization and structure for directing the funding to local bodies; the communities know the best way to use those resources in the community but are often short of the

administrative skills. Schools and communities should'nt have to be always chasing money in order to run the language programs; there should be continuity of funding and guaranteed positions for the language teachers. If classes are being interrupted from year to year or term to term because of lack of money, the continuity which would help children learn the language will be missing.

But much of the responsibility does rest on the community. "It all comes back to the community. The kids live in the community. If you teach it in the school, the adults have to know it too." The people who teach the language in school want help from the parents in order to do their jobs better. In the end, the language lives only if people use it regularly. "I use the language where I work, at home, on the streets. You have to continue using it or else you lose it."

Dogrib

There are approximately 1900 Dogrib speakers in the NWT. The Dogrib language continues to be used to a great extent, and in many cases exclusively, in Hay River, Lac La Martre, Rae Lakes and Snare Lake. In Detah and Rainbow Valley about 50 per cent of the population use Dogrib. Dogrib is also the primary aboriginal language spoken in the Yellowknife area.

Many of the indicators of language vitality are still present in Dogrib communities: Dogrib is the mother-tongue for about 95 per cent of the people; children enter the schools monolingual, Dogrib is the language of the lunchroom and playground; and the priests preach in Dogrib. Dogrib can be heard regularly on the streets and in the homes, especially outside of Yellowknife. In the schools, Dogrib Classroom Assistants help interpret in the classroom from Grades K-3 in cases where teachers are English monolinguals.

Visibility varies by community. In Rae and Lac La Martre, the language is very visible. Dogrib appears on signs in the smaller communities. Dogrib is used on the local radio station and on CBC's Denendeh K'eh program. It is also used in some newspapers.

In Edzo, where the school was built about two decades ago approximately 15 kilometers from the village of Rae, the Teaching and Learning Centre has produced some Dogrib cultural materials including a kit of songs, a teaching kit with animal furs and accompanying cultural information, and a parenting kit with pictures of activities for parents to use with their children.

There are Dogrib teachers in Lac La Martre, Detah and Rae. Currently there are 13 people in the Eacher Education Program in Rae-Edzo. In Edzo, "teachers often use

Dogrib to introduce concepts, but the language is not used as the language of instruction".

In Yellowknife, the Catholic School Board offers Dogrib classes in Grades K-4. This Board accounts for about one-third of the students in the Yellowknife area. Much more Dogrib language development needs to be done in Yellowknife where the situation is more complex as a result of the ethnic mix in the schools.

Schools in Yellowknife have been divided into three school districts and some of the schools have encountered resistance from parents to native language instruction in the schools. It is important that this resistance be met by education and positive pressure from the Department of Education to ensure that native language training is provided.

Use of Dogrib is deteriorating the most quickly in the larger communities. It is important that more, rather than less language training be available to students in larger centers. At the current time, the exact opposite is happening.

Slavey

The North Slavey language is spoken by about 1,500 people in the Sahtu region, which includes Fort Norman, Fort Good Hope, Colville Lake, and Fort Franklin.

The language is spoken most extensively in Fort Franklin, where the Centre for Teaching and Learning is located. The North Slavey interpreter/translator for the Inuvik region of the Government of the NWT also is based in Fort Franklin.

North Slavey is the first language of the Sahtu region, and people there don't see it disappearing in the four communities, where aboriginal peoples are dominant. In Fort Franklin, the language is spoken on the street and used by the children when they are playing. Public meetings in the communities tend to use English as well as North Slavey, with Slavey used when people are present who do not understand English well. North Slavey is used at least some of the time in almost all council and band meetings. It is the language people generally use in conversations on the street and around the community.

North Slavey is the language of instruction in school up to grade 4 in Fort Franklin. People who visit Fort Franklin say they hear three- and four-year-old children speaking Slavey to their friends and family; the children use the language during their play as well, and this is considered a strong indicator that the language is healthy.

Elders in Fort Norman and other parts of the Sahtu often speak only the Slavey language. This means that people who grew up without their language can't talk directly to the elders. Some feel cheated that they never learned their language.

Not all the language loss happened at residential schools; some parents deliberately spoke English to their children rather than their language because they felt their children needed to know English to fit into the modern society. Because they can't speak Slavey, they can't learn their history directly from the elders.

Those who have lost their language feel particularly strongly about the importance of preparing North Slavey dictionaries. "They help those who are trying to learn the language. If I wanted to learn Slavey, I couldn't always be talking to someone. In communities like Fort Good Hope and Fort McPherson, you could talk to people on a regular basis. But if you couldn't do that, a dictionary would help. It's the same as the legends, where people are trying to document the stories. If you lose the elders, you lose the source. If it's down on paper, you can retain it."

The debate about adopting French as an official language of the NWT made native people much more aware of the importance of using and protecting their native languages. "People are taking a personal interest in learning their own language. Once it was frowned on, but now people want to learn it and speak it." The fact that aboriginal languages have recently been included in a compulsory grade 10 class in all NWT schools is evidence that people are beginning to understand the importance of the languages on a broad scale.

Private businesses also are beginning to appreciate the importance of dealing with aboriginal peoples in their own languages. With the assistance of the Language Bureau, for example, flight safety information cards have been translated into various aboriginal languages.

Provision of government services in aboriginal languages is very important. "The aboriginal people are the majority, and should be able to come to a government office and talk in their own language and be able to get services in their language." It was felt by those interviewed that this process has started now, and it should go much further. More interpretation and translation should be provided so that people can deal with the government in their own language.

It was recognized that Government can't do everything to preserve and encourage the use of the languages, but it is the only body which has the resources and money to do the job. Communications societies and cultural institutes also have roles in this area, but they generally don't have the funds to do the work.

Cree

Cree is spoken by an estimated 50 speakers spread through various communities near the southern border of the NWT. They represent the northern extension of

Plains Cree speakers. In addition, however, there are NWT residents who claim Cree ancestry.

At this point, there are no language programs in place for Cree although teaching materials for northern Plains Cree have been developed elsewhere and are available. The implementation and delivery problems of mounting classes in Cree for such a small and dispersed group seem insuperable and, until the locations, numbers and demand for such programs are documented, it may be premature to attempt to provide language maintenance or revitalization programming. Cree demonstrates the importance of having community and language profile information.

Cree is an official language of the NWT, however, and the NWT has a responsibility to provide access to information about the language when it is requested by schools or communities for community-level revitalization projects. It would be possible to respond to the current demand for Cree language materials and programming by securing copies of northern Plains Cree wordlists, writing manuals, programmed language lessons and tapes that may be available. On the other hand, actual first or second language school programs for Cree, and the training of Cree-speaking teachers, seems unlikely at this time. It is also unlikely that a Cree language translator would be funded for government departmental use. It may be most helpful to find and establish relations with a literate northern Plains Cree

dialect speaker (in adjacent Alberta or Saskatchewan, if not in the NWT) when translation into Cree is deemed necessary.

6.3 Education

Native language teachers are trained in the four Dene official languages and Inuktitut at the Western Arctic Teacher Education Program (WATEP) at the Thebacha Campus of Arctic College in Fort Smith. The courses are taught by linguists and resource people who are fluent in each language and who come to Fort Smith to work individually with students. Sometimes this results in an almost one-on-one relationship between teacher and student if only one or two students are studying a particular language. As well as taking two half-courses in reading their own languages, students take courses on how to teach a native language as a second language and how to develop curriculum for the classroom.

An important development is the creation of an "Aboriginal Language Specialist Teacher" position which has been recently negotiated as a new category within the teacher's collective agreement. This category is for literate speakers of aboriginal languages who will be granted teacher status immediately, maintenance of that status being contingent upon fulfilling a teacher training program within five years. This initiative introduces an additional permanent and career path within the education system for aboriginal teachers or assistants who are able to qualify.

Far more reading materials in native languages are needed so that students can practice their reading in their own language. While students generally come to the program able to speak their own language, few students are literate in their own languages. For the past two years, only fluent speakers of their language have been enrolled in the program to become native language teachers, because they are being taught to read and write their language as a way of becoming thoroughly literate. The problem is that so little material is being produced in native languages that students have few books or articles to use to practice their reading. The Centres for Teaching and Learning, which were funded under the Aboriginal Languages Agreement, now are developing and producing materials which can be used in the courses.

When these Centres are producing large amounts of curriculum material, this will resolve one problem which discouraged native language teachers in the past. Not only were the teachers expected to teach the native language, but they had to develop language materials and plan lessons and teach, and they didn't have enough time to do all of that. "I'm hoping that with these language centres, where they're developing materials, the future native language teacher will just have the responsibility of teaching without developing materials, because that is a time-consuming area especially when you have very little to fall back on."

"What we need is a lot of reading materials and even childrens' stories, legends, that are adaptable to the level of different grades, not just for the older people ... We have so little materials for them to practice reading. They cannot just take a book out of the library and say 'well I'm going to read this to practice my reading ability'. The books are not there, the reading materials are not there. It's very discouraging."

In the Dogrib region, readers were developed in Lac La Martre, but many more are needed. Educators and students use the Teaching and Learning Centre is Rae for good quality materials. Material is requested daily. As the Centre has only been in operation for about a year and a half, it has had to focus on building an infrastructure for teaching in the future. People "may have had unrealistic expectations" regarding the amount of material that would be produced in this short period of time.

Leadership in the community is also a prerequisite of using new language material successfully. "In some ways people feel helpless in how to promote the language and culture locally."

Native language materials produced for the public rather than for educational purposes also would provide material for students to practice their reading, as well as to inform the public about current and relevant events.

While locally-produced materials would be welcome, just being able to speak the language fluently is not necessarily sufficient qualification to develop curriculum materials - literacy is needed. "You need some curriculum development background so that your materials will be well-developed and geared to the proper audience." While locally-developed materials would be excellent, there is some question whether there are enough resources to have curriculum development experts in each community to help the local community do this work.

Standardizing the Dene writing systems, a project involving the Department of Education, but co-ordinated by Culture and Communication will be helpful in terms of sharing and mass-producing materials. "Right now, if Wrigley says this is how we write this word, it's just for Wrigley so maybe you can produce only 10 copies as opposed to maybe 100 or 200 copies if it's going to be used all the way through the South Slavey region."

The Dogrib do not have a standard written form. A committee has been established to study this and "everyone agrees that wehave to standardize it as soon as possible. The language is pretty much oral at present." Once the written form is standardized, native literacy programs are expected to become more popular. Difficulties in standardization stem from the different dialects among the Dogrib.

The dialects are "slightly different among Rae, Lac La Martre and Detah. People are trying to come up with one vocabulary among the different dialects."

Lack of material is a handicap to the development of language programs. There is a problem with much of the Dogrib material that exists now, as standaridization of the language has rendered much of the material out-of-date. There is also a lack of teachers to use the materials in the classroom.

There is a concern that the Dogrib people are not using old words as often as they once did. Some words have been recorded, in the form of noun and verb dictionaries. Many more words need to be recorded to ensure that Dogrib is not lost.

Despite the lack of reading materials in the Dene languages, the response to the courses has been very good. Students' only complaint is that there are not more literacy courses offered. Instructors hope that once native language programs are offered in high schools, students may be literate in the language when they enroll in TEP. At that point, they will be able to concentrate on methodology rather than teaching literacy.

TEP instructors see a definite need to develop dictionaries for the various languages. Dictionaries are especially important if the aim is to one day have children writing

in their native languages. Just as they learn to look up a word in an English-language dictionary, they will need to look up a word in a Dene-language dictionary. "If they have difficulty with the word, they can do a search for how to write the word, or how to use it properly in their writing." Newsletters in native languages would be a valuable aid in providing current material students could use for practicing their reading of native languages.

Since 1984, people have become much more aware of the need to study their native language and to be literate in that language. "They're aware that unless you write something down, you're not going to keep it -- it's going to be lost." The Aboriginal Languages Agreement has made it possible for Arctic College to develop and offer the courses in native language literacy.

This understanding of the importance of aboriginal language literacy will increase as a result of the new grade 10 native studies course which is being introduced in NWT schools. It will make non-native people aware that native people do have their own languages, and it will make everyone aware of the importance of saving the aboriginal languages. TEP instructors think that the new program proposed to train native language teachers will make a significant change in the schools and in adult education; they think that, if accepted, this proposal will mean that most people will be literate in their native language within perhaps a decade.

They also think it is important for parents to realize that post-secondary institutions will accept a native language as meeting the language qualification for entrance to university or college. They worry that some native parents have their children study French instead of their own native language because they don't think the native language will prepare their child for university entrance. It's important to make parents aware that "universities will accept a native language as a second language".

They see concrete evidence, in the form of students enrolling to learn how to teach native languages, that attitudes have changed in the Northwest Territories in recent years. Native people have become aware that if they lose their language, they will also lose the culture. They also have become more assertive about their right to speak and use their own languages, and they feel the passage of the Official Languages Act has helped a great deal. Why, they ask, should we have to learn two or three languages in order to do our job when many non-native people speak only one? "Why couldn't my language be as important as English or French?"

As people who are working with the language, they see the urgency of working hard to preserve and develop the aboriginal languages. "There is an urgency, because if we don't do something and put a lot of energy into it, some languages are going to completely disappear."

CHAPTER 7 THE LANGUAGE BUREAU

7.1 Introduction

Under the provisions of the Canada-NWT Contributions Agreement the Language Bureau received a total of $4,868,133 in Federal funds (Table 1). This amount represents a significant proportion (39%) of the total $12,423,491 in Federal monies allocated to Aboriginal language development in the Northwest Territories. During the five year term of the agreement (1985-90) much of the $4.9 million was allocated to physical expansion of the Bureau. This expansion included salaries for 24 positions, provisions for new office space and training facilities, increased budgets for regional offices and purchase of technical, interpreting equipment and computer hardware. At the present time the Bureau operates on an annual budget of approximately 3 million dollars and has a combined regional and headquarters staff of 64 person years (Chart 7).

7.2 Mandate of Language Bureau

The present mandate of the Bureau as outlined in a recent government document states, "The Language Bureau provides Aboriginal Language interpreting, translating and other communication services to the Legislative Assembly, Government Departments and agencies"**********. The same general purpose is echoed in the Language Bureau's own operations manual..." To provide language services to the NWT Legislative Assembly, government departments and agencies in order to

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**********/ Government of the Northwest Territories (GNWT), Dept. of Finance, Main Estimates 1990/91, prepared by Financial Management Board Secretariat, pg. 5,13, Feb. 1990.

ensure effective communication of public services and programs and adherence to the NWT Language Act."**********

According to section managers, a growing demand for services is coming from the non-Government sector. The results of this increasing pressure are: i) backlogs in completing Government work and; ii) Government absorbing most of the costs associated with servicing non-government clients.

A review of recent productivity data, available for the 1989/90 fiscal year, substantiates the above claim (Table 2). It is interesting to note that non-government clients do in fact represent a significant portion of the Bureau's overall workload. Looking at gross totals for interpretation, the workload for non-government clients amounted to 65% of all interpretations performed by the Bureau. At the region and headquarters level these amounts translate into 52.5% and 72.7% respectively. Comparing the Aboriginal languages sections at headquarters, non-government clients amount to 48% of the Dene sections' workload (interpretations) compared to 17% for the Inuktitut section. In the category of translations the Bureau completed 3,411 pages for non-government clients out of a total of 12,970 pages of translated material thus representing 26% of the workload.

Many managers felt that the work load of the department was too great with the additional burden of requests for services from external clients. The problem is compounded by the fact that non-government clients, believing their work requested is of the utmost importance, have often circumvented the Bureau's chain of command by going above the section manager heads to upper management for action concerning their translation and interpretation requests. The end result is that pressure is exerted on the Bureau's section managers from 'above'. Now the public in general has come to expect services, often for free.

**********/ Language Bureau Operations Manual.

The managers and staff feel that the priority of the Bureau and its mandate is to service Government needs. They believe that this function alone is a demanding, full-time job. Furthermore, some have argued that by providing services to the public the Bureau is interfering with the development of private sector interpreter/translation services. This result is particularly evident in the Western NWT, where there is a high demand for interpreter/translator services yet, a virtually non-existent private sector (with the exception of a few free-lance individuals). The consensus among those interviewed was that the mandate of the Language Bureau needed to be redefined or restated.

Table 2: Productivity Data: Translations and Interpretations by Client Type, 1989/90 Fiscal Year

	Translations			Interpretations		
region	pages	Govt	non-Govt	hours	Govt	non-Govt
Inuvik	134	81	53	596	395	201
Ft. Smith	555	234	321	472	150	322
Kitikmeot	1,212	598	614	450	107	343
Baffin	2,331	2,169	162	612	351	261
Keewatin	1,362	789	793	1,167	564	603
region sub-total	**5,594**	**3,871**	**1,943**	**3,297**	**1,567**	**1,730**
section						
Inuktitut	5,594	4,221	1,367	3,723.75	631.5	3,092.25
Dene	1,370	1,269	101	1,573	814	759
H.Q. sub-total	**6,954**	**5,490**	**1,468**	**5,296.75**	**1,445.5**	**3,851.25**
TOTAL	**12,558**	**9,361**	**3,411**	**8,593.75**	**3,012.5**	**5,581.25**

source: Language Bureau, Dept. of Cult. & Comm., GNWT.

In addition, it became clear that the public, the Government and even the Bureau employees needed to be informed of the actual mandate.

7.3 Workload

It was a unanimous view among those interviewed that the addition of Federal funding, although good and necessary, had created somewhat of a catch-22 situation. More funding (staff) created more demand. What seemed to have happened is that the federal dollars have merely raised the workload to a higher level. Another problem is that the injection of increased funds into the system has created increased expectations of the Bureau - expectations that can barely be met.

The workload issue is especially significant to the Dene section. With official recognition of aboriginal languages, demand will increase from all sectors. Here some of the particular frustrations of the Dene section surface. The problem appears to stem from the historical development of the Inuktitut and Dene sections. The Inuit section has had a fairly smooth evolution. On the other hand the Dene section, due to limited training and diverse demand, underwent a much rougher initial growth phase. The section was eventually reorganized in 1982. Table 3 illustrates the present distribution of staff within the Aboriginal Languages sections. The major difference between the headquarter's sections is that the Inuit side deals

Table 3: Distribution of Headquarters Staff, Aboriginal Languages

Inuktitut Section	-	Manager	
	-	6 Interpreter/translators (I/T)	
Dene Section	-	Manager	) 1 Gwich'in
	-	8 I/T	) 2 Dogrib
		1 vacancy	) 2 N. Slavey
			) 2 S. Slavey
			) 2 Chipewyan

Source: Language Bureau, Department of Culture and Communications, GNWT.

with only one written version of the language-syllabics. On the other hand, with a similar number of staff, the Dene section must contend with Gwich'in, South Slavey, North Slavey, Dogrib and Chipewyan. This imbalance largely goes unrecognized by the public and within government. People cannot understand why work is completed quicker in the Inuktitut section and complain of mismanagement on the Dene side because work progresses at a much slower rate. The Dene side feel that it is unfair to compare the two sections mainly due to the fact that they have neither had the time or staff to evolve as did the Inuktitut section nor is their situation similar as they must deal with five Dene languages. This situation has led to low morale and increased frustration among Dene interpreter/translators. Staff feel there is no rhythm to the work flow. They feel they have no control over their work on a day to day basis and, consequently, good people are resigning. It has become a situation of management by crisis.

Within the Dene section, the problem is that the distribution of personnel is not weighted to conform to demand for services for work in the five languages. The matter is further exacerbated by requests for document translation in all five languages. This is an extremely difficult process to manage in a situation where existing staff are already stretched to the limit.

7.4 Departmental Cooperation/Coordination

Many of those interviewed felt that there was a lack of cooperation and coordination between the Language Bureau and other Government Departments resulting in costly overlap and duplication of services. For example, the Bureau frequently receives requests from outside agencies to assist in staff training. As well, the Language Bureau and Justice Department have their own training programs for interpreter/translators. It appears that the various departments may be reluctant to relinquish training budgets which may have an adverse effect upon the main interpreter-Translation Program at Arctic College.

7.5 Staff Input

The survey results indicate that more emphasis should be placed on management consulting the interpreter/translation staff. Upper management, it was felt, must resist attempts to upset the normal flow of work through the system. Each section should play a greater role in setting priorities where workload is concerned. Based upon clearly defined mandate and set of operational priorities. Bureau clients believe that their work is a priority and when section managers fail to agree client's often will appeal to the Director, the Assistant Deputy Minister, the Deputy Minister or members of the Legislative Assembly. As a result of an unwillingness to upset certain groups, promises are made that cannot always be fulfilled. Section managers are then given the added burden of explaining the 'reality' to irate clients and politicians.

Section managers and I/T staff, it was felt, must also be given guidelines to determine whether the work requested is of sufficient priority to warrant the time and effort of I/T staff. For example, in the past section managers have been presented with requests to interpret out-dated and culturally meaningless training films. I/T staff feel they are not properly recognised or appreciated as being facilitators and advisors concerning their respective language groups and cultures. Certain clients, particularly some Government Departments, are sometimes unwilling to pay heed to advice concerning matters of cultural relevance or acceptability.

7.6 Technical Support

A considerable investment in equipment for technical support such as computers had taken place during the course of the agreement. Given the increasing level of demand on the Language Bureau and the need to provide service in numerous official languages, the need for continued upgrading of word processing capacity is to be expected. Additional training in the use of computers will be required, as well as improved equipment if work schedules are to be met and staff frustration to be managed.

CHART 7:

Director Language Bureau

Manager Dene- 8 Interpreter/Communicator
1 Interpreter/Comunicator Assistant

Manager Inuit- 6 Interpreter/Communicator

Manager Professional Services- 2 Editor/Paraphrasers
1 Athabaskan Linguist
2 Inuit Linguist
1 training officer
1 training technician
1 term/proofreader

Reg. Manager (Ft. Smith) - 4 Interpreter/Comm.

Reg. Manager (Keewatin) - 4 I/C
- 1 Admin. Clerk

Reg. Manager (Kitikmeot) - 4 I/C

Reg. Manager (Baffin) - 6 I/C
- 1 Public Affairs Officer

Manager French- 1 Admin. Assist.
1 Clerk/Sec./Recep.
1 Revisor
3 Translators

Additional Staff
-1 I/C Ft. McPherson
-1 I/C Ft. Franklin
-1 I/C Tuktoyaktuk
-2 Clerk/typists HQ
-1 Admin Assist. HQ

Total Staff - 64

Source: Language Bureau.

CHAPTER 8: CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Having presented the results of interviews and a review of pertinent records relating to the Canada-NWT Contributions Agreement, it is time to offer conclusions and recommendations. As stated earlier, our conclusions are evaluative observations rather than judgemental pronouncements. Insiders have a right to be suspicious of the generalizations of outsiders who arrive, conduct brief inquiries, and then make judgements.... or even more daring, make suggestions. Nevertheless the evaluation team has skills in data collection and analysis, in systems analysis, and in Native language retention programming. It is hoped that the objectivity afforded the team by its outsider status will compensate for any lapses in the completeness of the data on which our generalizations are based. The issue of objectives is our starting point.

CONCLUSION 1 - IMPLICATIONS OF CONSIDERING THE ACTUAL OBJECTIVES OF THE AGREEMENT AS OPPOSED TO THE WORKING OBJECTIVES USED BY THE GNWT IN PROGRAM PLANNING AND DEVELOPMENT

As a basis for generalizations about the success of programming developed under the provisions of the Canada-NWT Agreement, it is useful to return to the objectives of the funding. At the end of Chapter 3, a simplified statement was articulated by the evaluation team of the "actual objective" of this programming as follows:

> **Aboriginal language policy and programs should have as an objective the realization of aboriginal languages as dynamic, working languages of the NWT.**

Now, if possible, let's compare this "actual objective" to the objectives that seem to have been used in developing the programs resultant from the Agreement. These will be referred to as "working objectives". The GNWT has often referred to the fact that programs developed with Agreement funding responded selectively to 26 of the suggestions of the Task Force on Aboriginal Languages. But, those were in fact specific suggestions

rather than objectives. And, if metaphors can be mixed, it is hard to shoot for two dozen bulls-eyes at once and still stay on target. Working from the data that has been collected, it appears that, whether or not the GNWT ever consciously formulated its objectives as such, nearly all of the policies and programs appear to have been designed with two succinct "working objectives" in mind:

1) to provide aboriginal language translation and interpretation services and to develop training programs and administration requisite to providing these services; and

2) to train Native-language speaking teachers and to develop first and second language teaching programs with curriculum materials for teaching native languages.

It is interesting that if in referring back to the "actual objective" of realizing Native languages as dynamic, functioning languages of the NWT, the first of those "working objectives" does not contribute to achieving the actual objectives (in any but the most superficial way) and the second "working objective" only confronts part of what is necessary if the actual objective is to be met.

To make this case, let us return briefly to consider the arguments made in Chapter 3. There, in discussing language loss, it was pointed out that we now know that languages are replaced and die out:

(a) when they stop being transmitted from one generation to the next; and
(b) when they are no longer used in the community situations of everyday life.

The translation and interpretation services which are the product of the first working objective above, neither contribute to the transmission of languages from one generation to the next, nor do they cause languages to continue to be used in community situations of everyday life.

In addition, we find that the first and second language teaching programs and the curriculum materials for teaching native languages, which have been produced consistent with the second working objective above, contribute only to the fulfilment of half of what is necessary if languages are to survive.

Thus, language teaching programs may be successful in transmitting aboriginal languages from generation to generation, half of the task at hand. However, they will not create a matrix of community use patterns that will make languages so useful in everyday life that young people and other community members will want to speak them --- the crucial other half of the picture.

To summarize, we feel that the working objectives that appear to account for the current GNWT language policies and programs will not result in achieving the actual goal of the Agreement under review. Simply put, programs which provide translation and interpretation services are functioning adequately, but are neither passing on the languages nor are they causing the languages to be used in community life. And although the teaching and curriculum development programs may succeed in teaching the language to children, they also fail to cause the languages to be broadly used in community life. **Thus, it is our opinion that even if the programs developed in response to those working objectives were to be 100% effective, they probably would not result in the survival of the aboriginal languages of the NWT.**

CONCLUSION 2 - IMPLICATIONS OF DISTINGUISHING ABORIGINAL LANGUAGE NEEDS IN THE NWT FROM LANGUAGE RESPONSIBILITIES OF THE GNWT UNDER THE AMENDED OFFICIAL LANGUAGE ACT

As early as 1986, a unit of the GNWT eloquently (and courageously) questioned the potential future impact of the language programming being carried out under terms of the Agreement by asking whether it will work! The answer to this question is that we do not know. Up to this point, language research does not present evidence of a single Native child who was raised speaking English who has ever learned to speak his/her native

language fluently in a school program. We do not know of a single instance in which a moribund Native language has reversed a trend toward language loss. But we also do not know of any cases where government and Native communities have cooperated in a committed way to develop and implement immersion teaching programs with parallel Native language activity programs at the community level. What we have learned by looking at successful immersion programs (in languages such as Hebrew, Maori, and French) and by studying unsuccessful Native language programs aimed at revitalization is that energetic first language and second language immersion programs with community activity programming is the only approach that has a hope of success.

Readers in the NWT should not respond to this diagnosis with either discouragement or smugness. True enough, aboriginal languages in the NWT are still widely known and used. But, as we pointed out in Chapter 3, as little as five generations ago Native languages throughout Canada were still at that stage of vitality, and now the apparent date of extinction of many of them can be calculated. And evidence compiled by our study throughout the Territories clearly points to Native language duress due to the spreading dominance of mainstream language and culture. **The situation in the NWT is not an emergency. But it critical.** And the immediate needs are apparent. Knowing what you are up against allows you to be very clear about priorities and to develop strategies that allow you to do what is necessary. What is it that must be done?

As a first step in getting clear about what must be done, it may be useful for us to distinguish responsibilities from needs. Administrators and program planners must recognize that the provision of translation and interpretation services is a responsibility of the GNWT, but implementing language maintenance and revitalization programs is a need that must be provided for if the actual objective of the Agreement is to be met. Let us consider the distinction between the GNWT's responsibility to provide translation services as opposed to the need for programs and funding if the Territories are actually committed to a linguistic future where aboriginal tongues are dynamic, working languages.

Responsibility for Aboriginal Language Services

The GNWT has an accepted responsibility for providing translation and interpretation services, but we now know that these services do not contribute to the achievement of the long term actual goal of the Agreement (although they do attribute respectability to the languages). Furthermore, the provision of these services absorbs an enormous amount of money and resources. More translators and interpreters were trained in the NWT during the period of the Agreement than Native languages speaking teachers. More money was spent on translating documents and official notices than in preparing native language curriculum materials. Nonetheless, the GNWT has a responsibility to provide these services and was directed by the Task Force to provide them.

First of all, an evaluation of this service function is requisite. **It is our opinion that the units providing these services have done a reasonably successful job, both in terms of developing the administrative organization and programs to handle these responsibilities and in terms of the output of work.** The work statistics are impressive. Yet we heard in many areas that the demands for language services are so great that public frustration is common. We have found no clear recognition of limitations or priorities in planning for or providing language services. It seems perfectly understandable to us that, while the GNWT is doing an adequate job of providing language services (considering the available personnel and funding), this aspect of the language programming is being met with some frustration and discouragement. It is being met by public frustration from those on the outside, who feel that the government is responsible for doing everything immediately, and some discouragement from those on the inside, who bear the responsibility for fulfilling an open mandate which appears to assume responsibility for doing more than it is possible to do. (We will return to this issue and its implications for the operation of the Language Bureau in Conclusion 5 below.)

As a result, **it is our conclusion that the GNWT must become clear about the limits of its responsibility and capability with regard to translation and interpretation services.**

In medical terms (appropriate, since the Department of Health has spent $250,000 on an English-only manual which compiles medical terms to be used as the basis for a medical interpreter training program), the provision of these services is an ongoing responsibility while the maintenance and revitalization of Native languages are critical needs. Funds are always limited. The GNWT must balance its responsibility (services) with its needs (maintaining and reviving the languages). Budget planning should clearly distinguish funding for the provision of services from funding dedicated to maintaining and reviving aboriginal tongues. Otherwise, Native language retention, which is a long term goal, will usually be given less priority than language services, which are an immediate responsibility.

Over the period of the Agreement, programming for these services has been distributed across Education ($817,000 for training programs), Justice ($401,819), Health ($251,574) and Culture and Communication ($12,629,552 mostly spent on the Language Bureau). It seems clear that the demand for language services is already too great to be met, and will probably continue to grow if not skyrocket. **The GNWT should decide on the limits of its responsibility. Reasonable limits will allow it to develop mandates for units providing language services and budget appropriately.** However funding for this responsibility to provide services should not be allowed to absorb funding necessary for achieving the long term goal of the Agreement.

<u>Needs</u> in Aboriginal Language Programming

In order to achieve the actual objective of the Agreement, the GNWT will have to fund and program for <u>both</u> of the necessary aspects of a successful campaign to keep its aboriginal languages vital and dynamic. **These needs are by now clear to us; we have mentioned them several times before:**

a) **the need to develop and implement first and second language teaching programs and to train Native language teachers, and**
b) **the equally important need to develop community-level programming that will keep the languages in use in everyday life.**

We will discuss these two needs in order.

Need #1 - The Need to Develop and Implement First and Second Language Teaching Programs and to Train Native Language Teachers

The first of the needs, if the objective of the Agreement is to be achieved, is for language teaching programs that work. The Department of Education is where this responsibility logically lies. We realize that much of the programming that responds to this need is from education funds that do not derive from the Agreement. So, we apologize if we are going beyond our mandate; however, we relate all of our conclusions to the fulfilment of the objective of the Agreement.

There is evidence of imaginative initiatives in the accomplishments of the Department of Education. Some of its programs have been right on target for developing the pedagogical apparatus necessary for language continuance and renewal, even if the funding for them seems inadequate. Particularly appropriate to the long-term objective of the Agreement is teacher education programming aimed at training bilingual teachers, assistance to local schools in hiring aboriginal language speakers as classroom assistants, development of the regional centres for teaching and learning, and a beginning at promoting the Native Teachers Specialists' Councils (who should have a mandate relating to aboriginal language _retention). A notable mark of progress is the recent announcement by the GNWT that people who teach aboriginal languages in schools be certified as teachers and that a training program for aboriginal language specialist teachers will be offered through Arctic College in the Spring of 1991 - (refer to Appendix for details). **These programs suggest that the Department of Education has an understanding, though not necessarily a single-minded focus, on the objectives of the Agreement or adequate sense of urgency.**

As for an evaluation of the actual success of these programs, in our treatment of the Department of Education above (see Chapter 4.4), we remarked that outcomes were not possible to determine or assess with available data. Our evaluative conclusions, therefore,

relate to our perception of whether the Department's Native language programming appears to be consistent with achieving the long-term goals of the Agreement:

1. Curriculum Development - the regional Centres for Teaching and Learning, and other programs for the development of aboriginal language curriculum materials are an excellent concept, which has been instituted effectively but which are under resourced. Many of the centres have been extremely productive of curriculum materials. We are impressed with the concept and, for the most part, with the way that it has been implemented. Some centres appear to be more productive than others (for various reasons, many of which could possibly be remedied by having control and funding directly from a responsibility centre for Aboriginal Language Education placed at the ADM level). The Inuktitut curriculum (piniaqtavut) is an interesting example of a fine start on the kind of Native language curriculum development that is necessary.

This curriculum development work represents a beginning consistent with the agreement's objectives. **Admittedly, it is not working perfectly and is underfunded.** One wishes there were more than a skeletal Inuktitut curriculum available for first language instruction. The Dene languages are in particular need of such materials. **If more funding becomes available, we would hope to see more progress in this area. The need is for k-6 first and second language curricula (complete with supporting materials) in all of the now-official Aboriginal tongues.**

This priority definitely requires more funding, even if more onus has to be placed on the Department of Education.

2. Teacher Training - approximately one quarter of the Department of Education's $11,797,000 share of the funding under the Agreement has been invested in training of native-speaking teachers. (We distinguish here between native teachers and native-speaking teachers. It is the latter that we refer to). **This initiative is absolutely critical if the schools are to assume the function of passing on native languages from generation to generation.**

Aboriginal language teaching programs do not succeed or fail because they have curriculum guides or dictionaries or standardized writing systems. The most important feature of a successful school language program is a well-trained and confident teacher. This aspect of the work will also require more funding and emphasis... much more.

3. Native language teaching programs --- We include this area even though programming for this aspect of "meeting the need" is currently based on funding that is not covered by the Agreement. But it is absolutely crucial if the objective of the Agreement is to be attained, so it cannot be left unconsidered. The situation is better in the East than in the West, better in villages than the larger towns (and there appears to be no Aboriginal language program in operation at all for two thirds of the students in Yellowknife. Given the critical role being played by the Department of Education in responding to the urgency of the aboriginal language situation described in the report, we wish to stress the need for **even more initiative to be taken**. The Department has taken numerous steps and we wish to encourage it to become **even more vigourous and proactive in seeking additional resources for immediate expansion and upgrading of present programming**. We recognize with some sympathy the Department of Education's policy of seeking assured continuing funding for programs rather than basing them on limited term agreement funds.

In communities where all or many children enter school fluent in their Aboriginal tongue, first language programming should be a priority. This first language teaching is not a "sooner or later" need; it is a "sooner or never" one. As an example, in Kitwankool B.C., Native language fluency among kindergarten entrants dropped from 90+% to 17% in the 15 years from 1965 to 1980, and in 1984 for the first time it dropped to 0%. First language programming is an important and expensive priority.

In the area of second language programming, we note that this type of programming averages 14% of the school week where it is being implemented. **This is an excellent start in situations of language revitalization. The Department of Education can take pride in an expanding program that appears to be as good as one would find**

anywhere in Canada. On the other hand, throughout this report we have taken a clear position arguing in favour of second language immersion programming, including "mainstreaming" in first language classes of those who do not know the Native language with those who do. Traditional NASL (Native as a Second Language) teaching techniques, teaching native languages using English as didactic tongue, have universally proven elsewhere to be ineffective in teaching Native languages to fluency. Thus, we feel comfortable (in the absence of all other indicators) in concluding that non-immersion programs for second language teaching, are not being successful in leading to fulfilment of the objective of the Agreement. Since those are the only type of programming available in many communities, it argues that practice and philosophy have to be brought "into sync". If the earlier stated long-term objective of the Agreement is, in fact, the goal of the GNWT, then it is clearly inconsistent to support language programming that does not have a hope of teaching aboriginal languages to fluency. On the other hand, immersion programs are expensive, and sometimes they are controversial in communities that wish to have their children concentrate on learning to use English. **This aspect of the needs, as well, requires more funding and, possibly, more commitment and clarity on the part of those who create and implement aboriginal language policy in the Department of Education.**

4. Dene Standardization - This complex issue is being worked on although at present it appears to be stalled. Some of the Dene languages have been written over the years using varying orthographics, and materials exist which reflect this routine. The lack of recognized standard othographics for each of the Dene tongues impedes publication and revision of publications, literacy efforts, and even local attempts to write the language for fear they will "spell things wrongly". Indeed, there are distinct problems of policy involved in the government attempting to legislate how to spell native problem words but some official stature should be given to standard, agree upon writing systems.

Thus to summarize, the first of the needs for programming that relates to the successful teaching of aboriginal languages, both for those who arrive in school fluent and for those who need second language programs leading to fluency, is being dealt with circumspectly,

given if it does not seem to reflect the urgency and commitment that there needs deserve. **The Agreement money has in large measure been used to implement useful programs. But the picture is not perfect, or even hopeful by any means.** Some important needs are still under-funded and under-emphasized, and some of the programming (particularly that having to do with reaching students who require second language techniques) is still relying on tactics that we know don't work. **If the GNWT is truly committed to maintaining aboriginal languages, it will have to make funds available for the development and implementation of universal first language programs and it will also have to emphasize and fund second language programming if revitalization efforts are to work. In essence, do it or you will lose the languages.** And even if you do the first, you may not be able to keep the languages unless, at the same time, you develop a means of attending to this second need.

Need # 2 - Community Level Programming to Promote Continued and Renewed Use of Aboriginal Languages in Daily Life

This is the area of primary weakness that the evaluation team and others in the NWT see in meeting the objective of the Agreement and accomplishing the long-term goal of assuring that aboriginal languages will survive as dynamic, working languages. First of all, let us be very clear about what we mean by "community level programming to promote continued and renewed use of aboriginal languages in daily life". We do not mean simply giving communities money to develop language programs. Nor do we refer to community level projects to document cultural activities, make dictionaries of local usage, record elders, or compile ethno-medical lore (even though these are useful pursuits). Nor are we referring to a recurrent concern that Agreement funds were almost all spent on government programs ("None of the money seems to touch the ground, it's all spent on government programs!"), although this is certainly an issue with respect to how Need #2 is met.

What we are referring to here is the need to foster programs at the community level that will cause aboriginal languages to continue to be used in everyday life or will encourage communities to start to re-use their Native tongues in activities where English has replaced them. This aspect cannot be emphasized enough, and it is the part of the problem that is

most crucial, most often disregarded, and most difficult to handle with success. It can be tackled either through government programs that promote aboriginal language use in everyday life (least successful) or through local initiatives that allow communities to design and implement programming that will get people used to using their language in everyday situations.

The GNWT must articulate this type of programming as a priority need and emphasize such programs. Otherwise, this type of programming simply does not happen and, as we have regularly pointed out, this aspect of language loss is absolutely necessary to reverse if language replacement is to be avoided. If we look at the funding patterns that have developed as a result of the Agreement, we can see how uncommon it is for such programs to develop by accident. There are really only two programs which have had Agreement funding which bear directly on this need. They are as follows:

1. Literacy Training - This is a need that is important and useful in an "enabling" sense. Knowing how to read and write their Aboriginal tongue allows individuals to use the language in ways that would not otherwise be possible, allows communities to make their language more visible and focal, and allows whole language groups to develop and appreciate an ethnic literature. Languages survive very well among non-literate groups where those groups are not living in the midst of a more socially dominant literate language community. The aboriginal languages of the NWT are, for the most part, living in an energetically literate anglophone society. Native people are continually confronted by the suggestion that English is the "power language" and native languages are subordinate. That native people are not able to use their own languages as freely in written communication as they can use English contributes to this perception of aboriginal tongues as socially subordinate.

2. Inuit Children's Television - Immensely popular and successful yet chronically starved for funding, this project (as part of the Inuit Broadcasting Corporation) put the Aboriginal language in the home in a way that made aboriginal languages fun and interesting to use, as well as validating its use through giving it value and respect.

These are examples of programs which either encourage the use of Aboriginal languages or inject it engagingly into community life. Other examples of this sort include government funding for: newsletters and signs in aboriginal languages; regional sports tournaments for all-Aboriginal-language teams; regional Aboriginal TV; grants for publication of Aboriginal literature in small runs; publicized Territorial competitions and prizes for the most successful community programs involving total aboriginal language use; recognition in some way of band, regional and tribal councils, businesses and other enterprises that declare themselves "aboriginal language areas only"; etc.

The later are examples of programs in which government funds and programs serve as catalysts for the use of aboriginal languages in communities, they are often expensive and seldom as successful as they could be. At their best, such programs should encourage rather than bribe communities to use their Aboriginal language.

By far, the more successful programs are those in which communities can, with or without government funding, develop programming that appeals to themselves and implement programs to encourage Aboriginal language use. Such programs are not only for communities which have moved to the use of English in community life. It is important that communities which still use the aboriginal tongue in social interaction be aware that they are doing something important. If they come to consciously recognize and value using their own language, they will be resistant to the unconscious incursion of mainstream usage.

On the other hand, it is very difficult to counteract the inertia of habit and social patterning in communities that have come to rely comfortably on the use of English. Programming to meet this need should consider carefully such issues as the dynamics of community life, the role of elders as examples, the function of peer pressure in group activities, the inclusion of value-laden activities in the program, and the development of programs based on activities which are already seen as part of normal life. The most successful activities in the long run need to be designed to be recurrent at regular intervals

application process. It is possible that two positions will need to be defined, at least at first: one for the Inuit, one for Dene communities.

This type of community funding should be distinct from more formal community projects that have to do with documentation of native language and culture and curriculum development. Such important projects should be encouraged with small grants co-ordinated through cultural institutes and the regional Centres for Teaching and Learning. And, that brings us to our next conclusion.

CONCLUSION #4 - THE IMPORTANT OF CREATING A RESPONSIBILITY CENTRE IN THE DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION WITH A MANDATE TO INNOVATE IN THE AREA OF ABORIGINAL LANGUAGE PROGRAMMING

First of all, we feel that Department of Education programs are at the centre of the GNWT's efforts to maintain and revitalize Aboriginal languages. So, we are disturbed that the mandate and responsibility for aboriginal language programming in this Department seemed diffuse. There did not appear to be an adequate sense of urgency to undertake the mandate. The Department of Education has every right to be proud of the programs that it has developed. But, it is our opinion that it is not going fast enough, given the unstable language situation in the NWT.

What is needed is the designation of a Responsibility Centre within the Department of Education that would attract an expert in language maintenance programming, a charismatic realist with a sense of how important it is to develop curriculum and implement first language and immersion second language programming, agitate for appropriate funding, encourage community participation, apply pressure for recruitment and training of more Aboriginal Language speaking teachers, and keep the energy and good ideas flowing. A director is needed who is not a Head-Office co-ordinator, but a hands-on field operative. What is needed is a Responsibility Centre with the authority of an ADM, but at the same time is a working position which would allow him/her to spend a good deal of time in the communities, working as a catalyst and technical advisor with the Centres for Teaching and Learning and with access to supplementary resources to support innovative pilot projects

and initiatives. This position should work closely with the position(s) discussed in Conclusion #3 above. This recommendation should in no way be seen to lessen the importance of the current decentralized approach to program delivery which is essential to the future of aboriginal language programs and is implicit throughout this report.

CONCLUSION #5 - THE NEED TO DEFINE THE MANDATE OF THE LANGUAGE BUREAU MORE CLEARLY

We have discussed the Language Bureau at various places in our report. Our conclusion has been that the Bureau is doing an adequate job of providing translation and interpretation services (including co-ordinating training programs). It has been an unavoidable impression, though, that the Bureau lacks a clear mandate, since it appears barely able to keep its head above water coping with the growing demand. Our conclusion points to the need to "define" the Bureau's mandate and priorities. A definition is a limitation. As we have pointed out, unless the GNWT clearly determines the limits of its obligation with regard to language services, the outcome can only be public discontent that the Bureau is not doing everything and Bureau disillusionment that they are expected to perform beyond their resources.

It is our opinion that the GNWT was correct in approaching the suggestions of the Task Force as suggestions rather than directives. The GNWT was responsible in seeking constituent opinion at the beginning of the period of the Agreement, and now is doing so on smaller scale with this report. It is probably in the nature of public constituent input to focus on immediate wants and criticism of current programs, and to be skimpy on suggestions for the long term. Responsible policy considers generalizations based on constituent input, but then balances it against long-term goals and the objective counsel of advisors. The GNWT simply cannot hope to fulfil all of the suggestions of the Task Force Report completely. It must now review the most serious expression of this need by defining a reasonable mandate for the Language Bureau.

This report will not attempt to formulate such a mandate. But our advice is, again, that language services do not contribute to adequately fulfilling the goal of the Agreement, a

goal that the GNWT has endorsed repeatedly. Language services are an entitlement of the people of the NWT, and a responsibility of the Territorial government to provide. However, inordinate amounts of Agreement funding should not be provided if it leaves the GNWT unable to fund programs needed to achieve the long-term Territorial language goals.

Another issue relates to the Professional Services Section of Culture and Communications which includes a manager, editor-paraphrasers and training officers. Although well-utilized, they may not be as available for maximal deployment as their skills would permit. Since they are closely identified with the Language Bureau, it may be useful to consider whether this section should be made an independent section within Culture and Communications (as the Policy section is). Such a change, might result in further deployment of Professional Services personnel to Arctic College, training programs, research, inter-departmental consulting, and providing support for decision makers.

CONCLUSION #6 - THE VALUE OF NATIVE LANGUAGE DAY-CARE AND PRESCHOOL PROGRAMS THROUGH THE DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL SERVICES

The importance of programming through the Department of Social Services seems to be a missed opportunity up to this point. Both day-care and preschool immersion programs using native languages have been used with success elsewhere. Such programming must be understood to employ immersion tactics, where for all or part of the daily program those in charge use only the native language in interacting with the children. To work successfully, these programs require native-speaking teachers and attendants who have been trained i the tactics of language immersion programs. We re-iterate that these programs have been among the most successful language revitalization and maintenance activities in communities where they have been tried, including the widespread success of French preschool and day-care programs in southern Canada.

CONCLUSION #7 - THE IMPORTANCE OF A REVIEW OF THE TRAINING FUNCTION OF ARCTIC COLLEGE IN THE IMPLEMENTATION OF TRAINING PROGRAMS RELATING TO LANGUAGE SERVICES, LANGUAGE MAINTENANCE AND LANGUAGE RENEWAL

We have already mentioned the possibility of maximizing the use of training programs with regard to the preparation of local interpreters and translators. It is recommended that the role and programs of Arctic College be reviewed in order to insure maximal use of its programs. This will also provide the opportunity to develop certification (1 year) and diploma (2 year) programs in translation and simultaneous interpreters. It has been noted that a second year translator program (with accreditation arranged through McGill University) has been prepared at Nunatta Campus. Legal training probably should stay at Justice for the time being.

Two further issues relate to translator-interpreter training programs:

(a) there should be some obvious and recognized value to having completed a training program. Employment advertisements should emphasize that preference will be given to those who have certification and salaries should reflect training undertaken;

(b) the GNWT could also contact the CITC (Canadian Translator and Interpreter Council for certification procedures and advice.

Finally, Arctic College programming may be able to provide more training for native-speaking teachers and teacher-aides, and the required training for Aboriginal Language Specialist Teachers (a new category of teacher who must acquire their academic preparation during their first years on the job).

CONCLUSION #8 - THE NEED TO PRODUCE A CLEAR NWT ABORIGINAL LANGUAGE PROFILE ON A COMMUNITY BY COMMUNITY BASIS AS A FIRST STEP IN POLICY AND PROGRAM PLANNING AND TO PLAN FOR REGULAR EVALUATIONS/PROGRESS REPORTS IN THE FUTURE

If the GNWT is to be able to develop language policy and programming that is motivated by a clear picture of the language situation on a community by community by community basis, as well as the overall Territorial picture, community language profiles are needed. These language profiles should include the age of and proficiency of speakers, and a clear characterization of how the language is used in the community. In preparing to do this report, we discovered that policy was being generated on the basis of the census (which lumps all speakers of aboriginal languages together while it distinguishes speakers of Hungarian from German in the NWT), as well as a Department of Education study which looked at the number of students in school language programs, and a GNWT study which included information on the number of employees who speak aboriginal languages. This is not data that can illustrate the strengths and weaknesses of the aboriginal languages in the NWT.

CONCLUSION #9 - THE NEED TO MAKE AVAILABLE TO THE PUBLIC INFORMATION CONCERNING ABORIGINAL LANGUAGES PROGRAMS, PROJECTS, POLICIES AND URGENT PRIORITIES

There is lack of understanding on the part of the public at large about the issues and seriousness of the aboriginal language situation in the Territories. Also, there are inadequate mechanisms in place or opportunities for the GNWT to tell the public about their language programs and the objectives of those programs. Given the importance of the community dimension of language maintenance and revitalization, the GNWT can mobilize support for language programming and encourage community initiatives and involvement.

SUMMARY OF CONCLUSIONS

As stated elsewhere in this report, the evaluation team came to the following major conclusions:

1. THE SITUATION IS AT A CRITICAL POINT

- many aboriginal languages in the NWT are still viable, but increasingly are under duress. The alternatives are clear - act now or lose the languages.

2. THE URGENCY REQUIRED DEMANDS UNIQUE RESPONSES

- a consistent government-wide policy for aboriginal languages is essential and is needed if departmental mandates and objectives are to be made more complementary and responsive. It appears for instance that the revision of the Education Act may take another two years and this may have negative consequences for the further promotion of aboriginal languages and culture within a vital area, the school system.

3. THE NEED FOR CONCEPTUAL CLARITY OF OBJECTIVES IS ESSENTIAL

- it will be imperative for government program objectives to fit into an agreed upon conceptual framework such as the one suggested by the evaluation team which distinguishes provision of services from language maintenance and revitalization.

4. THE ABORIGINAL LANGUAGE SITUATION WILL NEED TO BE MONITORED

- future investments in aboriginal language programs and projects will need to be monitored and evaluated against some benchmark data and documentation such as the community profiles the evaluation team proposes, as well as other material.

5. THE ALLOCATION OF RESOURCES MUST BE REASSESSED ANNUALLY

- given an annual assessment of progress made in each of the official languages measured against clear objectives and within an agreed upon conceptual framework and established priorities, reallocation or the addition of resources many be necessary.

6. THE PROGRESS TO DATE IN THE NWT

- the GNWT has sought in this start up period to initiate a series of programs and projects to preserve, develop and enhance aboriginal languages consistent with the terms of the Agreement and it has successfully mobilized its resources and those of the Federal government to undertake that task. It has launched a broad policy and program process in a relatively short period.
- the evaluation team concluded that the outcomes are not perfect, nor are the programs totally successful, but an impressive start has been made and a foundation exists upon which to build.
- the Task Force on Aboriginal Languages was a landmark consultative and public awareness process, elements of which deserve to be repeated within a future communications stragegy and community involvement exercise, such as an annual " state of aboriginal languages" and related project and program public awareness/involvement campaign.
- the GNWT gets high marks for provision of language services, but the evaluation team recommends that more emphasis and resources be devoted to the vital language maintenance and revitalization areas vital to aboriginal langauge retention and usage.

7. THE ALLOCATION OF RESOURCES

- the GNWT has matched the total Federal Government financial commitment with funds allocated from its own sources and it has thus demonstrated its tangible policy and resource commitment to aboriginal language development. There is no question in the minds of the evaluation team that additional

resources will be required to carry out this important mandate. A number of areas were noted in the report as being short of funds and especially in the areas of teacher training and community programming, more resources will be required.

8. THE NEED FOR CO-ORDINATION AND CONSOLIDATION

- the pilot project part of the aboriginal language agreement is nearing completion and of necessity some duplication has occured during start-up such as in the area of translator/interpreter training. Rationalization of the various courses and a greater role for Arctic College in this area appears desirable. Other areas should be reviewed in the context of further clarification of mandates.

9. THE SOCIAL SERVICE IMPLICATIONS

- consideration should be given to including aboriginal language and cultural initiatives within certain social service departmental programs, as real potential exists to promote aboriginal language development, such as in day-care centres.

10. THE CRITICAL ROLE OF THE MEDIA

- the impact of the Inuit Broadcasting Corporation (IBC) has been significant and demonstrates the importance of investments in this aspect of programming in support of aboriginal language development. Additional resources are essential in this area if aboriginal languages are to become "dynamic, living languages."
- restoration of Federal program monies for aboriginal broadcasting are an important prerequisite if GNWT resources are to be utilized effectively.

11. THE AGREEMENT HAS CONTRIBUTED TO SIGNIFICANT DEVELOPMENTS

- the report describes many interesting and important initiatives undertaken with resources from the Agreement such as:

Dene Standardization, Inuit Children's Television, the Centres for Teaching and Learning, the translator/interpreter training, the work of the Language Bureau and the Report of the Task Force on Aboriginal Languages to name a few. It is clear nevertheless that the work has just begun on a Territorial-wide basis. Much more remains to be accomplished and the time is limited - the passwords for the future must be co-operation, partnership and a commitment to rapid action if the languages are to be saved.

CONCLUDING COMMENTS

At an international conference held in Alaska this year, which included a roundtable on worldwide issues relating to aboriginal languages, policy makers and linguists compared notes on aboriginal languages around the globe: in Kenya, Zambia, Australia, New Zealand, Finland, Russia, China, Japan and North America. The situation is much the same. The Russians have a talent for capturing situations in persuasive images. An expert in Siberian languages described the situation there as follows: "Years ago, we thought we had a choice. We thought, We can sit back now and run in a panic later, or we can walk now and arrive refreshed. We walked. But, now we realize that we should've run from the beginning."

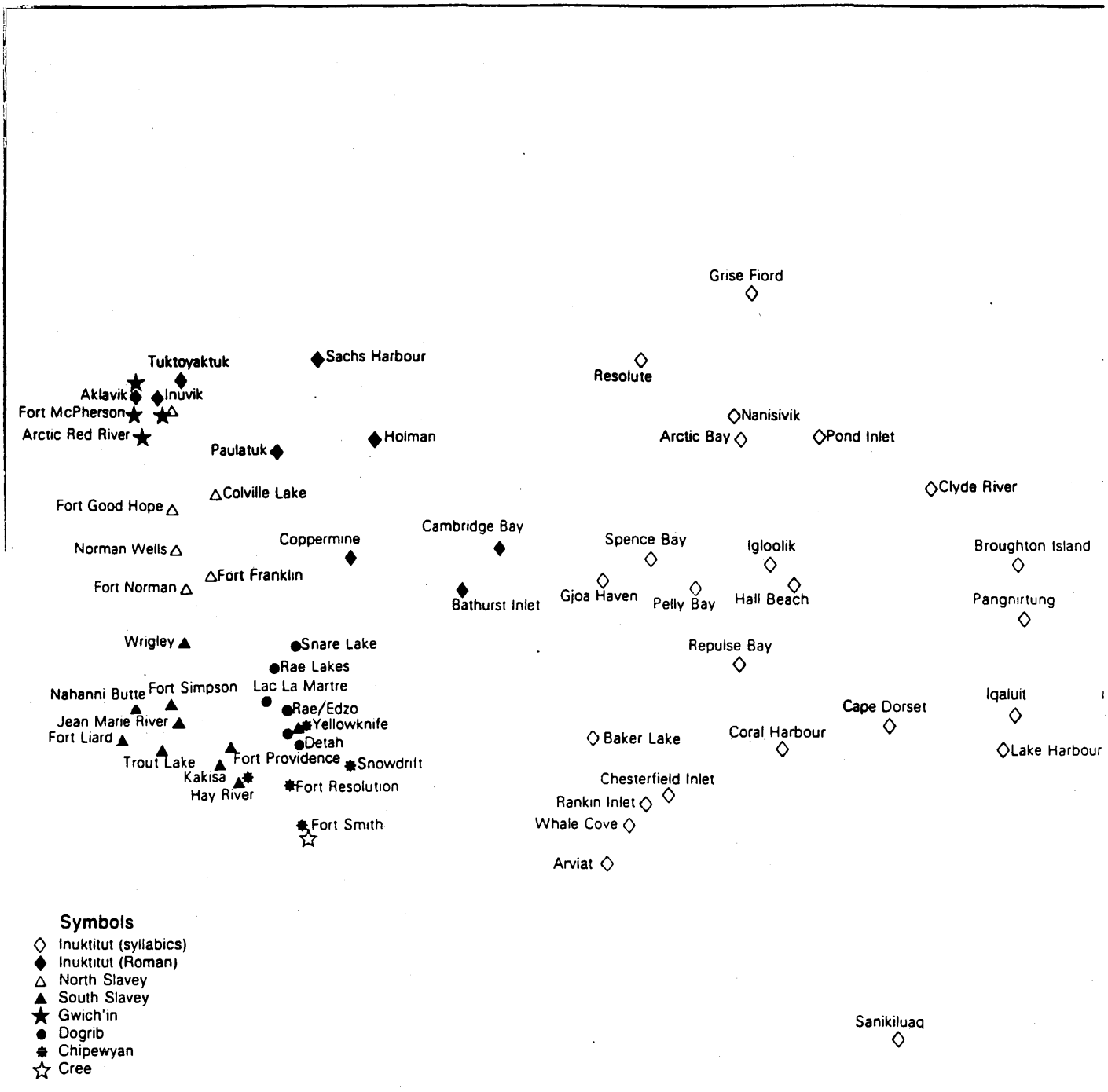
The option in the NWT appears to us to be the same as that which pertains in other places around the world. It is crucial to do more than appears necessary now, or later no amount will be enough.

This is not a pessimistic report. It is, we hope, a responsible one. We have not attempted to evaluate by criticism of particulars; we have attempted to consider (in general) the programs developed under the Canada-NWT Contribution Agreement on Aboriginal Languages in light of the actual objective of that Agreement and the situation of aboriginal languages as we understand it. Our own goal in the report has been to clarify issues in an

objective manners so that policy makers can look beyond immediate responsibilities to long-term needs. We hope that it has been of help.

In summary, we have found the programming developed under the Agreement to be a respectable start in handling the responsibilities and needs of the NWT. It is an excellent basis for further programming, if the long-term objective is kept in mind. And, finally, it is our opinion that, to the extent that resources and funds are made available and policy makers are perceptive and daring, the objective may be possible to reach. We hope that adequate funding and committed policy makers will be available.

APPENDIX



Native Languages of the NWT

Languages, like people, come in families. French, Spanish and Italian belong to one family; Czech, Polish and Ukrainian belong to another family.

In the NWT, there are three families of native languages.

Most Native Indian people in the Mackenzie Valley speak one of the Dene languages; Gwich'in, North Slavey, South Slavey, Chipewyan, and Dogrib. This language family extends into Alberta, Saskatchewan, British Columbia, Alaska and the southwestern United States.

In all, about 6,000 people use these languages. At the moment, the Dene languages are basically oral, since few people in the Territories (probably no more than 400) can read or write them well. Although some elders still use syllabics, Dene languages are now written in Roman orthography and the alphabets have been standardized.

A small number of people in the Territories speak Cree. Their language belongs to a different linguistic family, Algonquian. Cree is closely related to such languages as Ojibway, Saulteaux, and Montagnais.

In the East and along the Arctic Coast, most people speak a version of the Inuit language. In general, this language is referred to as Inuktitut, but the people of the Delta and Western Arctic prefer to use their local names for it – Inuvialuktun and Inuinnaqtun.

There are six major dialects of Inuktitut in the NWT: Northern Quebec, Baffin, Keewatin, Arctic Coast, Western Arctic, and Delta. Some are similar to one another, with only slight variations in pronunciation and vocabulary. But others are very different, so that Inuit from different areas may have trouble understanding each other. (English-speakers from mainland Canada often run into similar problems when they visit Newfoundland, for example, or certain parts of the British Isles.)

Inuktitut is written in two different ways. "Roman orthography", the same symbols that are used for English, is used in the West, while syllabics, symbols specially devised for native languages, are used in the East.

Inuktitut is spoken by about 14,000 people in the Territories. Most Inuit read and write their language well.

Community	Native Language(s) Spoken
Aklavik	Inuvialuktun (Inuktitut) Gwich'in
Arctic Bay	Inuktitut
Arctic Red River	Gwich'in
Baker Lake	Inuktitut
Bathurst Inlet	Inuinnaqtun (Inuktitut)
Broughton Island	Inuktitut
Cambridge Bay	Inuinnaqtun (Inuktitut)
Cape Dorset	Inuktitut
Chesterfield Inlet	Inuktitut
Clyde River	Inuktitut
Colville Lake	North Slavey
Coppermine	Inuinnaqtun (Inuktitut)
Coral Harbour	Inuktitut
Detah	Dogrib
Arviat	Inuktitut
Fort Franklin	North Slavey
Fort Good Hope	North Slavey
Fort Liard	South Slavey
Fort McPherson	Gwich'in
Fort Norman	North Slavey
Fort Providence	South Slavey
Fort Resolution	Chipewyan
Fort Simpson	South Slavey
Fort Smith	Chipewyan Cree
Gjoa Haven	Inuktitut
Grise Fiord	Inuktitut
Hall Beach	Inuktitut
Hay River	South Slavey Chipewyan
Holman	Inuinnaqtun (Inuktitut)
Igloolik	Inuktitut
Inuvik	Inuvialuktun (Inuktitut) Gwich'in North Slavey
Iqaluit	Inuktitut
Jean Marie River	South Slavey
Kakisa	South Slavey
Lac La Martre	Dogrib
Lake Harbour	Inuktitut
Nahanni Butte	South Slavey
Nanisivik	Inuktitut
Norman Wells	North Slavey
Pangnirtung	Inuktitut
Paulatuk	Inuvialuktun (Inuktitut)
Pelly Bay	Inuktitut
Pond Inlet	Inuktitut
Rae-Edzo	Dogrib
Rae Lakes	Dogrib
Rankin Inlet	Inuktitut
Repulse Bay	Inuktitut
Resolute	Inuktitut
Sachs Harbour	Inuvialuktun (Inuktitut)
Sanikiluaq	Inuktitut
Snare Lake	Dogrib
Snowdrift	Chipewyan
Spence Bay	Inuktitut
Trout Lake	South Slavey
Tuktoyaktuk	Inuvialuktun (Inuktitut)
Whale Cove	Inuktitut
Wrigley	South Slavey
Yellowknife	South Slavey Chipewyan Dogrib

Northwest Territories Culture & Communications

Population, by Ethnicity, Region and Community (cont'd.)
Northwest Territories, June 1987

	Total Population	Non-Native	Dene	Metis	Inuit
Inuvik Region	7,759	2,081	2,455	714	2,509
Aklavik	789	51	229	93	416
Arctic Red River	103	5	57	36	5
Colville Lake	52	-	52	-	-
Fort Franklin	537	31	497	8	1
Fort Good Hope	577	44	453	75	5
Fort McPherson	752	57	580	98	17
Fort Norman	352	26	271	55	-
Inuvik	2,676	1,266	264	270	876
Norman Wells	590	487	32	66	5
Paulatuk	209	9	-	-	200
Sachs Harbour	172	17	-	1	154
Tuktoyaktuk	945	88	20	12	825
Fort Smith Region	24,685	15,213	6,093	3,061	318
Detah	131	-	124	7	-
Enterprise	56	48	6	2	-
Fort Liard	398	66	303	29	-
Fort Providence	581	51	470	60	-
Fort Resolution	465	50	196	219	-
Fort Simpson	984	386	462	132	4
Fort Smith	2,468	1,171	403	832	62
Hay River	2,858	1,962	252	616	28
Hay River Reserve	181	-	176	5	-
Jean Marie River	64	2	62	-	-
Kakisa	30	-	30	-	-
Lac La Martre	375	13	360	2	-
Nahanni Butte	86	4	82	-	-
Paradise Gardens	42	32	5	5	-
Pine Point	1,083	835	96	149	3
Rae Lakes	186	-	181	5	-
Rae-Edzo	1,414	109	1,225	74	6
Reliance	11	4	4	3	-
Salt Plains	14	-	14	-	-
Snare Lake	122	4	118	-	-
Snowdrift	281	17	258	6	-
Trout Lake	54	3	51	-	-
Tungsten	-	-	-	-	-
Wrigley	166	11	145	10	-
Yellowknife	12,039	10,123	871	840	205

NOTE: Communities populations do not sum to regional totals due to people living in unorganized areas.

Prepared by: NWT Bureau of Statistics
December 6, 1988

APPENDIX A

EVALUATION OF ABORIGINAL LANGUAGE PROJECTS FUNDED UNDER THE CANADA-NWT OFFICIAL LANGUAGES AGREEMENT

TERMS OF REFERENCE

1. BACKGROUND

The GNWT must undertake a comprehensive evaluation of all aboriginal language projects funded under the Canada-NWT Agreement on Official Languages, to assess the overall effectiveness of the Agreement in preserving and enhancing aboriginal languages in the NWT.

2. PROBLEM OR OBJECTIVE

(i) In conducting this evaluation, the contractor shall:

(a) review the specific projects funded under the contribution agreement;

(b) determine the extent to which the projects funded under the Canada-NWT Contribution Agreement on Aboriginal Languages have served to preserve, enhance and develop aboriginal languages in the NWT;

(c) assess the cost-effectiveness of the projects funded under the aboriginal languages agreement;

(d) undertake a comprehensive review of the current level of all services and demands for services of the Language Bureau as defined in the Establishment Policy, Programmes and Services Manual, and Official Languages Implementation Plan. This review will include all regional offices and headquarters; and

(e) produce a report based on these comprehensive reviews, which shall include an analysis of problems and solutions in the Language Bureau, as well as a forecast of trends.

(ii) The projects which have been funded under the Agreement and are to be evaluated, include the following:

(a) **Government of the Northwest Territories**

1. the work and report of the Task Force on Aboriginal Languages.

(b) **Department of Culture and Communications**

1. the Language Bureau;

2. *Takuginai*, the children's television show on Inuit Broadcasting Corporation;

3. the work of the Dene Standardization Project; and

4. the Inuit Dictionary Project of the Inuit Cultural Institute.

(c) **Department of Education**

1. the interpreter-translator training program at the Iqaluit and Fort Smith campuses of Arctic College;

2. the nine centres for teaching and learning;

3. the development of aboriginal language and culture programs and curricula and support materials;

4. the effectiveness of the Native Teachers' Specialist Council in promoting the advancement of teaching and professional services in the area of aboriginal language and cultural programs;

5. the effectiveness of the Eastern Arctic and Western Arctic Teacher Education Program language education programs;

6. language instruction programs in the schools;

7. the training program in curriculum design and materials development in aboriginal languages; and

8. the project proposal, course outline and required teaching materials for aboriginal language instructor training.

(d) **Department of Health**

1. the *Handbook for Interpreters in Health;* and

2. the medical interpreter-training program developed at the Department of Health and offered at Arctic College in Fort Smith and Iqaluit in early 1990.

(e) **Department of Justice**

1. the legal interpreter program at the Department of Justice;

2. the eight week training program;

3. the *Legal Interpreter Training Manual,* initial and revised editions; and

4. the use of interpreters in the courts, for both jury trials and other matters.

3. PRINCIPLES OR ASSUMPTIONS

(i) The evaluation of aboriginal programs and activities constitutes a necessary part of the Canada-NWT Agreement on Official Languages.

TABLE 1

Canada-Northwest Territories Agreement: Finances 1985-1990

	Canada 1985/86	NWT 85/86	Canada 86/87	NWT 86/87	Canada 87/88	NWT 87/88	Canada 88/89	NWT 88/89	Canada 89/90	NWT 89/90 (forecast)	Project Totals 1985-90
EXECUTIVE											
-task force on Aboriginal Languages	449,128										449,128
sub-total	449,128										449,128
EDUCATION											
-Products of Language Teaching Materials	92,949										92,949
-Expansion/Training for School Programs	59,090										59,090
-Publication of Inuvialuktun Grammars	45,000										45,000
-Community Language Programs	226,772				200,019						526,791
-Coordinator Officer for Aboriginal Language Projects	50,724										50,724
-Inuit Children's Television Project	100,000	80,000	120,000								300,000
-Language Development			466,612				715,886	775,000	784,505	800,000	3,542,003
-Enhancement of Aboriginal Languages			7,765		42,202						49,967
-Teacher Education			160,059		633,931	713,000	484,222	656,000	230,370		2,877,582
-Project Officer			19,028				25,338		2,656		47,022
-Centres for Teachina and and Learning					389,736	980,000					1,369,736
-Aboriginal Literatutr					106,978				100,00		206,978
-Trianing					13,280	50,000	200,000	57,827	45,698	200,000	566,805
-Language Teachers					80,000		59,631				139,631
-Interpreter/Translator Training					100,000		117,000	205,000	117,000	205,000	744,000
-Aboriginal Language & Cultural Program/Materials							137,070	245,000		285,000	667,070
-Promotion of Native Teacher's Specialist Council							10,408		14,363		24,771
-Inuit Training Coordinator										40,000	40,000
-Language Instructor Training									169,495	60,000	229,495
-Health Interpreter/ Translator Training											
sub-total	674,535	80,000	773,464		1,566,146	1,743,000	1,749,555	1,938,827	1,464,087	1,590,00	11,579,614

TABLE 1 (Continued)
Canada-Northwest Territories Agreement: Finances 1985-1990

	Canada 1985-86	NWT 85-86	Canada 86-87	NWT 86-87	Canada 87-88	NWT 87-88	Canada 88-89	NWT 88-89	Canada 89-90	NWT 89-90 (forecast)	Project Totals 1985-1990
CULTURE & COMMUNICATIONS											
-Expansion/Enhancement of of Language Bureau	224,481	1,400,000	925,416	1,478,000	1,091,391	1,691,000	1,188,264	1,709,000	1,433,581	1,701,000	12,842,133
-Dene Standardization					119,196		38,825	45,000	19,525		222,546
-Children's Television Project									120,000*		120,000*
-Inuit Dictionary Project									82,000*		82,000*
sub-total	224,481	1,400,000	925,416	1,478,000	1,210,587	1,691,000	1,227,089	1,754,000	1,453,106	1,701,000	13,064,679
HEALTH											
-Medical Terminology Program			20,011		76,482		63,081		92,000		251,574
sub-total			20,011		76,482		63,081		92,000		251,574
JUSTICE											
-Court Services Impact Analysis			45,819								45,819
-Court Interpreters							225,663		325,015		550,834
sub-total			45,819				225,663		325,015		596,497
TOTALS per YEAR	1,348,144	1,480,000	1,764,710	1,478,000	2,853,215	3,434,000	3,265,388	3,692,827	3,334,208	3,291,000	Total Expenditures 1985-1990 25,799,318

Source - Department of Culture and Communications, GNWT January, 1990.

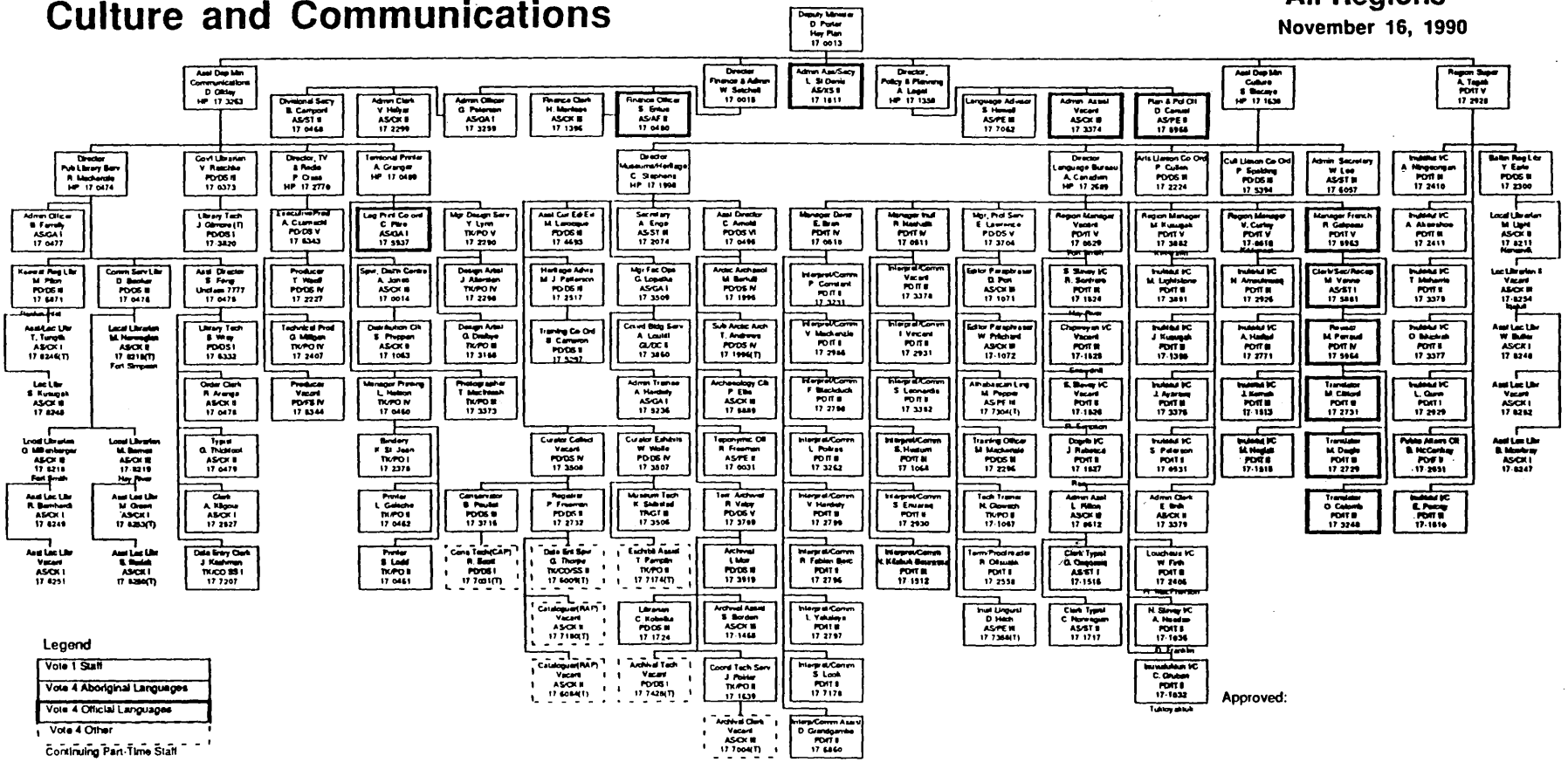
Source for 1989/1990 Canada: Aboriginal Language Contribution Agreement, Final Fianacial Statement

* These figures were projected but not calculated in the Final Financial Statement. Therefore they have not been calcualted in the total amounts.

Culture and Communications

All Regions

November 16, 1990



Legend

- Vote 1 Staff
- Vote 4 Aboriginal Languages
- Vote 4 Official Languages
- Vote 4 Other
- Continuing Part-Time Staff

Approved:

Deputy Minister

Appendix

Documents Reviewed

Department of Culture and Communications

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The Evaluation, Canada-Northwest Territories Agreement on Contributions for Aboriginal Languages 1987-88.

1988-89 Project Proposals: Agreement on Contributions for Aboriginal Languages.

Appendix 5, 1989-90 Budget Proposals, Canada-Northwest Territories Agreement on Contributions for Aboriginal Languages.

Inuvialuktun Language Conference "Critical Stage", Minutes of Meeting, Inuvik, N.W.T., March 6-8, 1990.

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Report of the Dene Standardization Project, October, 1989.

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Dept. of Culture and Communications & Education, Discussion Paper: Options For The Training Of Aboriginal Language Speaking Interpreters In The North, November 1986.

Language Bureau, Training List - 1978 to August 1990, Listing of Courses Taken by Language Bureau Staff, provided by Bureau Training Officer.

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Department of Education

Dept. of Education, Northwest Territories Aboriginal Language Report, 1988/89.

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N.W.T. Legal Interpreter Training Program and Cross-Cultural Awareness Workshops, July 1990.

Legal Interpreter Training Program (LITP) Offered By Dept. Of Justice, Government of Northwest Territories.

Dept. of Justice, "Breaking the Silence: A Special Report On Interpreting In The NWT Courts", April 1987.

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compiled by Alexis Ubtnaq et al Arctic College, Nunatta Campus Iqaluit
ISBN 1-895050-00-6

1990- Interpreter Translator Word List Book 1990
complied by Atsainak Akeeshoo et al
IBID SSN 1-895050-02-2

1990- Inuit Uqua Siqatigiit-Inuit Languages and Dialects
by Louis Jacques Dorais
IBID ISBN 1-895050-01-4

LIST OF DOCUMENTS

Baffin Divisional Board of Education

1987 Our Future is Now: Directions for Education in the Baffin. Iqaluit, Northwest Territories.

1989 Annual Report 1989-1990. Iqaluit, Northwest Territories.

1989 Piniaqtavut: Integrated Program. Iqaluit, Northwest Territories.

Bureau of Statistics, Government of Northwest Territories

1989 1989 NWT Labor Force Survey: Overall Results and Community Detail. Report No. 1. Department of Culture and Communications, Yellowknife.

1989 1989 NWT Labor Force Survey: Labor Force Activity, Education and Language. Report No. 2. Department of Culture and Communications, Yellowknife.

1990 Statistics Quarterly, Volume 12 No.2, June 1990. Department of Culture and Communications, Yellowknife.

Department of Indian and Northern Affairs

1986 Recollections of Inuit Elders. Inuit Autobiography Series Number 2. Inuit Cultural Institute, Eskimo Point, Northwest Territories.

Government of the Northwest Territories

1989 Annual Report. Department of Culture and Communications, Yellowknife.

Shapiro, Jane Ann.

1987 Voices from the Eastern Artic. Outcrop Ltd, Yellowknife, Northwest Territories.

APPENDIX

CONTACTS - INUKTITUT

Naullaq Arnaquq
Superintendent of Schools
Baffin Divisional Board of Education

Joanna Awa
Reporter
Canadian Broadcasting Corporation

Duncan Cunningham
Executive Assistant
Baffin Regional Inuit Association

Yvonne Earle
Head Librarian
Baffin Regional Library
Iqaluit

Simon Ford
Principal
Leo Ussak School
Rankin Inlet

Lea Inutig
Tuvvik, Drug and Alcohol Abuse Centre

Jeanette Ireland
Program Consultant
Teaching and Learning Centre
Iqaluit

Meeka Kilabuk
Executive Assistant
Baffin Regional Council

Jose Kusugak
Manager
Canadian Broadcasting Corporation
Rankin Inlet

Veronica Curley
Interpreter
Language Bureau
Rankin Inlet

Annie Ford
Journalist
Rankin Inlet

Blandina Makkik
Executive Director
Inuit Broadcasting Corporation

Noel McDermott
Principal
Eastern Arctic Teacher Education Program
Arctic College, Nunatta Campus

Peesee Pitseloak
Instructor, EATEP
Nunatta Campus

Liz Rose
Coordinator
Teaching and Learning Centre
Iqaluit

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David Serkoak
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Nunatta Campus
Iqualuit

Andrew Tagak
Manager
Language Bureau
Iqaluit

Chuck Tolley
Regional Director
Baffin Divisional Board of Education
Iqaluit

George Blandford
Supervisor of Business Affairs
BDBE

Leena Evic Twerdin
Principal
Joamie School
Iqaluit

Roy Goose
Executive Director
Inuit Cultural Institute (ICI)
Arviat (Eskimo Point)

John Patterk
Assistant Executive Director
ICI
Arviat

Mark Kalluak
Coordinator, Literacy Program
Arctic College
Arviat

Joy Suluk
Life Skills Instructor
Arctic College
Arviat

Elisabeth Karetak
Inuktitut Coordinator/Cultural Inclusion Program
Elementary and Senior Qitiqliq Schools
Arviat

3/3

YELLOWKNIFE, NORTHWEST TERRITORIES

TUESDAY, OCTOBER 23, 1990

MEMBERS PRESENT

Hon. Titus Allooloo, Mr. Arlooktoo, Hon. Michael Ballantyne, Hon. Tom Butters, Hon. Nellie Cournoyea, Mr. Crow, Mr. Ernerk, Mr. Gargan, Hon. Stephen Kakfwi, Mr. Kilabuk, Mr. Lewis, Hon. Jeannie Marie-Jewell, Mr. McLaughlin, Mr. Morin, Hon. Richard Nerysoo, Mr. Ningark, Hon. Dennis Patterson, Mr. Pedersen, Mr. Pollard, Mr. Pudluk, Mr. Sibbeston, Mr. Whitford, Hon. Gordon Wray, Mr. Zoe

ITEM 1: PRAYER

---Prayer

SPEAKER (Hon. Richard Nerysoo): Orders of the day for Tuesday, October 23, 1990. Item 2, Ministers' statements. The honourable Member for Yellowknife North.

ITEM 2: MINISTERS' STATEMENTS

Ministers' Statement 29-90(2): Western Canadian Judges' Conference

HON. MICHAEL BALLANTYNE: Mr. Speaker, in June of 1991, Chief Judge Halifax of the territorial court of the Northwest Territories will be hosting a western Canadian conference of provincial and territorial court judges. At this conference, training sessions will be presented to and by judges from the western provinces and the Yukon, as well as all of the territorial court judges from the Northwest Territories. Plans are being made for major presentations on gender bias and on cross-cultural issues. This will be the third conference of judges focussing on these issues.

In September, representatives of native organizations and women's groups were invited to a planning session for the conference and asked for their ideas as to how these topics should be presented. Also participating in this planning session was Dr. Norma Wikler, who has advised the courts of several American states on gender bias issues.

We all recognize how important it is for judges to have access to regular training which will provide them with information about societal issues. I am particularly pleased that the material presented at this conference will be prepared on the advice of Northerners. The western Canada judges' conference in Yellowknife will provide an important training opportunity to judges from the Northwest Territories and their colleagues from across western Canada. Thank you.

MR. SPEAKER: Thank you. Ministers' statements. The honourable Member for Sahtu.

Ministers' Statement 30-90(2): Certification Of Aboriginal Language Specialists

HON. STEPHEN KAKFWI: Mr. Speaker, I would like to inform the Assembly about an initiative to certify aboriginal language teachers. This initiative will provide an avenue for individuals who are eligible, and who apply, to become teachers and members of the Northwest Territories Teachers' Association. The Department of Education is committed to developing a school system that reflects the cultures of the people it serves. Teaching children their native languages is an important way to recognize and promote the Northwest [illegible] native cultures. To give aboriginal languages the regulations for the certification of vocational specialist teachers. To be eligible for an interim aboriginal language specialist certificate, a candidate must be fluent in an aboriginal language and have either successfully completed 25 hours of pre-service training or have one year successful work experience in a classroom. A permanent certificate may be issued after two satisfactory years of teaching under an interim certificate and successful completion of an approved training program. Both the interim and permanent certificates would allow the aboriginal language specialist teacher to teach students.

A training program for aboriginal language specialist teachers will be offered through Arctic College in the spring of 1991. The program will be equivalent to one year of the teacher education program, and will emphasize language development and teaching methodology. Mr. Speaker, the development of aboriginal language programs in our schools is essential to preserve and promote the cultures of the Northwest Territories, and to increase the self-awareness and self-esteem of the students. Certifying aboriginal language specialist teachers is a positive step in this direction. Thank you.

---Applause

MR. SPEAKER: Thank you. Prior to proceeding, I would like to introduce a former Member of the Legislative Assembly of the Northwest Territories, Mr. Richard Whitford.

---Applause

And the students from the northern studies class, Sir John Franklin High School, with their teacher, George Diveky.

---Applause

Item 3, Members' statements. The honourable Member for Yellowknife South.

ITEM 3: MEMBERS' STATEMENTS

Member's Statement On Minister's Comments Re Transport Canada Employees

MR. WHITFORD: Thank you, Mr. Speaker. On Wednesday last, during the question period, the Hon. Gordon Wray made reference to Transport Canada as "those idiots". Mr. Speaker, in that reference he swept all of Transport Canada employees with the same broom and, needless to say, most employees of the federal department that I have had an association with do not fit that category. Mr. Speaker, I have met, and I know many Transport Canada employees, and I find them to be proud, competent workers, all of them, from the maintenance department to the firefighters, and to the local administration. True, there may be times when things do not go quite the way we want, but in general, across the North, in my opinion, it is

THIS AGREEMENT MADE THIS 27th day of June, A.D. 1984.

(15)

BETWEEN:

THE GOVERNMENT OF CANADA, as represented by the Secretary of State (hereinafter called "Canada")

OF THE FIRST PART

- AND -

THE GOVERNMENT OF THE NORTHWEST TERRITORIES, as represented by the Government Leader and the Minister of Justice and Public Services (hereinafter called the "Territories")

OF THE SECOND PART

WHEREAS Canada and the Territories agree on the need to introduce French as an official language of the Northwest Territories;

AND WHEREAS, subject to the direction of the Legislative Assembly of the Northwest Territories, the Territories wish to introduce French as an official language of the Northwest Territories and to extend French language services within the Northwest Territories;

AND WHEREAS Canada and the Territories recognize that the provision of government services in French will require funding being made available by Canada to the Territories for this purpose;

AND WHEREAS the Territories wish to preserve, develop and enhance those aboriginal languages which are indigenous to the Northwest Territories and to adopt those aboriginal languages for use in all or any of the official purposes of the Territories.

AND WHEREAS Canada and the Territories recognize that the aim of preserving, developing and enhancing aboriginal languages will require funding being made available by Canada to the Territories;

AND WHEREAS Canada and the Territories wish to arrive at a satisfactory arrangement for the provision of such funding for aboriginal languages and French;

NOW THEREFORE this Agreement witnesseth that in consideration of the mutual covenants and agreements herein contained, the parties

1. Canada and the Territories agree that the preservation, development and enhancement of official aboriginal languages which are indigenous to the Northwest Territories, and the provision of services in those languages, is an important goal to be achieved by Canada and the Territories.

2. Canada and the Territories agree that in order to provide services in the official aboriginal languages of the Northwest Territories and to preserve, develop, and enhance those languages, it will be necessary for Canada to make an immediate contribution of funding to the Territories as well as commit future funding.

3. Canada agrees to provide immediate funding of One Million Dollars ($1,000,000) for the fiscal year 1984-85 and Four Million Dollars ($4,000,000) for the fiscal year 1985-86, making a total amount of Five Million Dollars (5,000,000) under contribution agreements, to the Territories towards the preservation and development of aboriginal languages and the enhancement of services in the official aboriginal languages of the Northwest Territories.

4. Canada further agrees to provide funding to the Territories, under contribution agreements, for the ensuing three fiscal years for the purposes set out in clause 3 herein, commencing with April 1, 1986 as follows:

(i) Fiscal Year 1986-87 - Four Million Dollars ($4,000,000)

(ii) Fiscal Year 1987-88 - Three and One-Half Million Dollars ($3,500,000)

(iii) Fiscal Year 1988-89 - Three and One-Half Million Dollars ($3,500,000)

5. The Territories will proceed with seeking the passage of the Official Languages Ordinance of the Northwest Territories in the Legislative Assembly of the Northwest Territories by the 29th of June, 1984.

6. Canada shall bear all the costs involved with provision of services to the public in French and the costs involved with the implementation of French as an official language in the Northwest Territories as required by the Official Languages Ordinance on an ongoing basis from year to year.

7. Canada agrees that it will not seek to proceed with Bill C-26 (An Act to Amend the Northwest Territories Act and the Yukon Act), as

8. When the Legislative Assembly of the Northwest Territories has passed the Official Languages Ordinance (Bill 9-84(2)), as contemplated in clause 5 herein, Canada will seek to amend Bill C-26 (An Act to Amend the Northwest Territories Act and the Yukon Act) prior to the Third Reading and passage of the Bill by deleting all provisions of the said Bill under clause 1 and substituting two provisions, one to the effect that the said Territorial Official Languages Ordinance, as enacted, may be amended or repealed only where the amendement is concurred in by the Parliament of Canada and the other to the effect that nothing in Bill C-26 shall be construed as preventing the Commissioner, the Commissioner in Council or the government of the Territories from granting rights in respect of, or providing services in, English and French or any languages of the aboriginal peoples of Canada, in addition to the rights and services provided for in the proposed territorial official languages ordinance.

9. Canada agrees that it will not proceed with any future amendment of the Northwest Territories Act or take any other legislative initiative which would have the effect of amending or repealing the official languages ordinance or any part thereof without prior consultation with the Territories.

10. During the fiscal year 1988-89, Canada and the Territories will enter into negotiations to determine the extent of funding for aboriginal languages for the period to be agreed upon by the parties herein.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF the Secretary of State has hereunto set his hand and seal on behalf of the Government of Canada, and the Government Leader and Minister of Justice and Public Services has hereunto set his hand and seal on behalf of the Government of the Northwest Territories.

SIGNED, SEALED & DELIVERED
in the presence of:

Witness

Serge Joyal
Secretary of State,
Government of Canada.

SIGNED, SEALED & DELIVERED
in the presence of:

Witness

Richard Nerysoo
Government Leader and
Minister of Justice and
Public Services,
Government of the
Northwest Territories.

Questions relating to Language Retention and Revitalization

1. In your view, what is the current condition of the aboriginal language in this community? In the region? Has this changed over the past 6 years?

2. To what extent is the language used in the community? In what situation is it not used? Has this changed in the past 6 years?

3. Does the use of language differ by age group?
   -level of use

   -quality of use

4. To what extent is the language visible in the community?
   TV, radio, newspaper, signs, books, etc.

5. What are the main reasons for increased language usage?
   (if appropriate)

6. What are the main obstacles to increasing language usage?
   -spoken

   -wrtitten

7. How important is language retention to culture retention?

8. <u>Vocabulary modernization and documentation</u>
   Are you aware of efforts to modernize the vocabulary? Is this useful? Necessary?

9. Is the dictionary project useful or important in documenting the language? Is the laguage being lost in the North being recorded?

10. Do you ever have to make up new words? If yes, how do you do it? Do you share this information?

Questions for Service Providers

1. What are the major services you now provide in the aboriginal language?

2. What do you consider to be your major priorities in the delivery of these services?

3. What are your current organizational goals, have these changes over the past 3-5 years?

   If yes, how?

4. What level of resources does your group allocate to aboriginal language initiatives?

5. Do you have enough resources to provide adequate service? To fulfill your goals?
   If no, what other resources do you require?

6. What is the nature of your relationship with the GNWT?
-regular reporting

-monitoring

-visits, etc.

7. Is your program effectively and efficiently managed?
a) in the area of financial resources?

b) in the area of human resources?

8. Human resources - is the training available for staff adequate?

-Where does it take place?

-Who trains?

9. What is your relationship with other language programs in the community?
Do you share resources?
Are your goals compatible - is coordination a problem?

10. Would you like to see more links in the community?
-the organization, agencies, schools
-aboriginal organizations
-elders

11. Suggestions for formal or informal mechanisms to link or share resources?

Questions for Service Users

1. Are there adequate opportunities to become literate in the aboriginal language?

   -spoken

   -written

2. Are there enough trained teachers or others who can teach the language in the community?

3. Is the material for learning the language adequate?
   Areas for further development?

4. What is your opinion of the local Centre for Teaching or Learning?

5. Would you be interested in more consulting - developed materials?
   -writing
   -other

6. Are there language services you'd like to see now but don't have?

7. If aboriginal people control the development and retention of the language, how should this control be exercised?
-funding source level?
-community level?
-educational institutions?
-other?

8. Language Program in the Schools:

a) Material available (quality, enough, availability?) Are there community or individual opinions about areas that require further work? (e.g. mythic stories of reasers, children's stories, reasers wordlists, cultural activity books, religious material songbooks, etc?)

b) Availability of trained language teachers or teachers who ca teach subject areas in native language?

c) Opportunities for teacher training? Comments? Do they know about what is available? Would they be interested in taking a course offered in their area?

d) Opinion of their regional language Centre for Teaching and Learning?

e) Would they be interested in more local community-development teaching materials?

f) Characterize teaching programs briefly (e.g. pre-school primarily only a few words used occasionally, grades, 1-8 e.g. language classes - distinguish between 1st and 2nd language approaches, adult classes, etc.)

g) Where is the start of language teaching within higher grades 8-12?