

Planning for Gwich'in and Inuvialuit Communities

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1. Foreword

This research has not turned out the way I was expecting. Originally, its purpose was to assess the means available to the Inuvialuit living in the Western Canadian Arctic to maintain and enhance the use of their language (Inuvialuktun) within their communities. However, after a meeting with Alestine Andre and Ingrid Kritsch of the Gwich'in Social and Cultural Institute during the spring of 1997 at Laval University, I was invited to do the same assessment for the Gwich'in communities. Since the Inuvialuit and the Gwich'in shared the same schoolboard, the results of my research could be applied as well by both groups. My field trip lasted one month, from Sept. 22 to Oct. 21 1997.

At first, it was my intention to be as objective as possible which usually means, for a linguist, to get as little involved as possible with the speakers of the language under study. However, I do feel a responsibility to share my knowledge and make it as useful as possible. I do not see myself as a missionary telling others what to do and believe, but as someone trained to know that in certain linguistic situations, some ideas work better than others and that some solutions are more efficient than others. This is why I decided to write a proposal for language planning instead of an assessment report. This is a "how-it-can-be-done" instead of a "this-is-the-situation-good-luck!" paper.

This is a personal choice motivated only by the fact that the alternative, sitting on the fence looking at the game while it is being lost, was unacceptable to me. There is no obligation for the leadership of these communities to follow what I am proposing. There may be other ways to resolve the issues at stake. The communities may decide to do something different and indeed, since it is their languages and their cultures, they shall have the last word. I cannot guarantee that if they follow my proposal, their languages will be saved. I can safely say, however, that according to other language planning experiences elsewhere in the world, they will have a good shot at it.

I would like to thank everybody who made my field trip so much easier: Alestine Andre and Ingrid Kritsch of the Gwich'in Social and Cultural Institute, Cathy Cockney and Gloria Allen of the Inuvialuit Social Development Program, James Anderson of the Beaufort-Delta Education Board, the Aurora Research Institute for much appreciated logistic support, and all the people who so graciously answered my questions. I especially want to thank Conrad Ouellon of the Centre International de Recherche en Aménagement Linguistique (CIRAL) for making this text available on Internet and teaching me everything good I know about language planning and finally to

anthropologist Murielle Nagy without whom none of this would have been possible'.

2. Rationale

Since the beginning of this century, Aboriginal languages in North America have been extensively studied by linguists. We have today many thorough descriptions for a majority of Aboriginal languages in university libraries, but from an aboriginal point of view, scholars have not delivered the goods. Linguists have studied Aboriginal languages but most of them have not been able to convey their findings to the speakers of these languages. Today, few aboriginal children in Canada have the possibility of learning their ancestral language as a mother tongue. Something has been lost. In many cases, the knowledge of the language is still available, either in the form of elderly speakers or in the form of grammars and dictionaries, but something has changed and it is now almost impossible to make these languages thrive again. The knowledge of Aboriginal languages is not being transmitted the way it used to be and English seems to have taken over all the modern means of communication available, leaving no room for ancestral languages.

Some people may see this situation as inevitable and may think that the future lies in adaptation to the new language. But they may also feel assimilated against their will by unknown and powerful forces that they would rather fight. If a community feels that it is acceptable to speak a new language and forget the old one, then linguists should find it acceptable too and confine to archives and books what they were able to learn about these dying languages. But if a community feels that they need to reverse the tide, if they want to preserve the old language as a living language, then linguists should not turn their back on these people even if they feel ill-equipped to deal with the political side of language planning. They have to find ways to give the knowledge accumulated in university libraries back to Aboriginal communities if they are asked to do so. But the name of the game is: "if they are asked to do it". Linguists as language planners do not lead communities, they follow the will of the population.

Language planning never appears out of thin air. In all countries where a language policy has been put forward, some circumstances were identified as pre-conditions for its emergence. The first of these circumstances is the presence of many languages in a definite space. Languages in this case have to be understood as a broad concept. In some cases, we may speak of full-fledged languages like French and English in Quebec or Inuvialuktun and English in Tuktoyaktuk but in others, we may speak of the many dialects of a single language like Teetl'it Gwich'in and Gwichya Gwich'in in Aklavik. Definite space is also a broad concept. It may describe a territory over which a political authority has power like a province or a town, or it may describe a very small space like a hockey team's dressing-room or a commercial establishment.

The second circumstance is the existence of competition between languages in the institutions of this territory. This competition is manifold: How many languages can be used in a town

meeting? How many languages should a clerk in a store know? In which language should a shop sign be written? In which language should the coach speak to the players? We usually do not answer these questions in advance. In general, people hire employees and write signs according to the language they themselves speak. This situation is fine when all language groups have the same size and the same economic means but if one group is dominant, either in size or economic means, competition is bound to occur.

The last circumstance is a collective will to face, settle or mitigate this competition. This will often co-occurs with a political need to unite the populations over the territory to make them stand as a nation. Language is always a big issue in national identity even if it does not define it completely.

It seems to me that these circumstances are present at this moment in the territories existing under the Inuvialuit Comprehensive Agreement and the Gwich'in Comprehensive Claim. I assume that the Inuvialuit and the Gwich'in represent definite nations with a strong will to control their future and to do so in their ancestral languages. Specific reasons for these assumptions will be given as the first step of my proposal for Language Planning in the Beaufort Sea-Mackenzie Delta Region. Not being a member of these nations, my understanding of these communities is limited but if the leadership of these nations is willing to act on the language issue, they have to make sure that these conditions are present before investing their time and money in such a project. Any shortcomings in this assessment would be fatal to any planning. Nobody but the Inuvialuit and the Gwich'in populations as nations can decide whether or not they want language planning.

Finally, this proposal does not constitute a language policy. A language policy for Inuvialuktun and Gwich'in can only be written and approved by the Inuvialuit Regional Corporation and the Gwich'in Tribal Council according to their statutes. My suggestions are not written in stone and can be modified to accommodate specific needs or visions. This proposal should be seen as a checklist to make sure that any action will be made for a specific reason and that no aspect of the problem is forgotten in making decisions on the language issue.

3. Theoretical framework

Language Planning is always specific to a specific society in a specific economic, political and historical situation. There is no great recipe to make language planning work. People give themselves different political systems for different reasons, visions of languages and language uses may vary from one individual to another, and different communities may have different levels of economic independence. All these factors will modify the way in which language planning is approached. Language policies and language planning are not exportable goods and their theoretical value is limited. It is however possible to use existing Language planning experiences as case studies from which general considerations can be abstracted.

According to Louis-Jean Calvet (1996), the literature on language policy and planning can be divided into two schools of thought. The first one, which he called the American Model, considers language planning as a language-internal technical problem. In this model, language planning is discussed solely in terms of leadership decisions, education and standardization. This model has recently been applied to Canadian Aboriginal languages by Blair (1997). The second one, the so-called European Model, considers language planning as a broader sociological problem. In this model, the competition between languages is analysed in terms of socio-economic use and status as they apply to the people. The state is often perceived as a levelling tool in the unfair struggle between the language of a socio-economically dominant portion of the population and the language of the socio-economically dominated remainder of the population. It is my understanding that the European model is more appropriate than the American model to the situation of Aboriginal languages in Canada. This is a personal choice and I would recommend a careful review of Blair's suggestions by Inuvialuit and Gwich'in leadership as a possible alternative on Language Policy and Planning.

3.1. Quebec's Plan

Much of what I will say is derived from Quebec's model of language policy and planning as generalized and theorized in Corbeil (1980). Other cases of language planning by state-intervention could have been used but there is good reasons to use this one as a guide. For one, it is the most studied Language Planning experience in the world. It has been looked at, analysed, evaluated, attacked, defended and modified for more than 30 years. All this documentation has shown its success, its shortcomings and its deficiencies. Good ideas are not always applicable and a shortcoming is often more telling than a success. Secondly, it has been implemented in the Canadian context, in which the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms defines the capacity of governments to legislate in matters of social policies. This setting is particular since it limits the means available to achieve social goals as the numerous challenges to Bill 101 before the Supreme Court of Canada show. Finally, it is the language planning experience I know best, both as a language planning student and as a product of its application in the Province of Quebec for the last thirty years. It is not my intention to equate Quebec's social and political situations to the Aboriginal languages' situation in general, or to the Inuvialuit and Gwich'in people's situation in particular, but I believe that my position as a beneficiary of the Language Policy and Planning in Quebec make me more sensitive to the hopes and fears of these populations and more critical of the means available to achieve them.

3.2. Vision and Action

Language planning is a balancing act between the vision of what Aboriginal language use

should be in the territory and how leadership can legislate and act to make this vision a reality. When the authorities of a nation decide to direct and organize language evolution on their territory, they have to define their goals. These goals have to be explicit and realistic for each level of activity of this society. The population have to be convinced that these goals are realistic and will provide definite advantages for them. They have to be articulated into a coherent vision that is called the target-situation. Defining a target-situation will be the second step of this proposal for Language Planning in the Beaufort Sea-Mackenzie Delta Region.

It is also necessary to define the means usable to achieve the target-situation. Again the means have to be grouped into a coherent action strategy. Goals have to be realistic and means have to be concrete but they can be as varied as are human societies. Understanding the structures already in place and explaining how they can be used or modified to achieve the target situation will be the third step of this proposal.

3.3. Common sense, dedication and accountability

Finally, the most important aspect of language planning has to do with the attitudes of the people involved in it. Common sense should be used both in setting the goals and devising the means. People will follow what seems to make sense to them. They will invest time and money in what seems right, appropriate and profitable. Language planning has to address the needs of the speakers of a language not the agenda of political bodies or intellectual elites. People have to get some kind of advantage for supporting the language planning effort, and most importantly, economic viability has to be demonstrated.

Language planning needs a lot of time to work. It is a long term commitment. Change in language use will come very slowly and the goals set today may never be reached. Language planners have to keep in touch with the social reality of language use to be able to adapt these goals. Dedication to the vision is difficult to maintain but central to the success of the enterprise.

The last but most important attitude is accountability. Accountability means to report, explain and justify to the population any action taken towards one goal or another. Language planners will be asked time and again to explain their choices. Their decisions will be questioned. Population and leadership will have doubts as time goes by. This is the reason why Language Planners must report, explain and justify their choice of goals and their choice of means on a permanent basis. Language planning will work only if popular support is strong and the later needs to be gained and fostered.

4. Proposal for language planning in Beaufort Sea-Mackenzie Delta Communities

4.1. Conditions

As I have said previously, the emphasis here will be put on socio-economic conditions.

These conditions have been divided in three sections: demographics, geography and politics.

Demographics

General

It is difficult to evaluate exactly the number of people this plan should concern. According to the 1995-1996 Annual Report of the Implementation Committee for the Gwich'in Comprehensive Land Claim Agreement there should be approximately 2170 potential beneficiaries. As for the Inuvialuit, they represent a group of 2500 to 3000 people according to the Western Arctic Claim: The Final Agreement (1984). These groups are relatively small but they represent the majority in the territories defined by the land claims even though an important number of Inuvialuit and Gwich'in beneficiaries do not live within these territories. This condition should make it possible for them to act democratically on the language issue at all levels of government.

Youth

According to Statistics Canada 1996 Census, the average age of the Aboriginal population in 1996 was 25.5 years. Approximately 40% of the Aboriginal population in NWT is under 15 whereas 18% is between 15 and 24. By the year 2006, it is projected that the 15-24 age group will increase by 26%. During the same time, the 35-55 age group will increase by 41%. These numbers have great implications for Language Planning. It is much easier to modify attitudes towards a language with young people than with adults. The means available to implement Aboriginal languages with youth (schooling, social activities, summer camps, etc.) are more efficient and the time available for language acquisition is greater. Given that the fertility rate is slowly declining among the Aboriginal population, an intervention in language policy and planning within the next 10 years would be optimal.

Schooling

According to the 1991 Census, 20% of the Aboriginal population of NWT had post-secondary education. This situation, coupled with the small population in Inuvialuit and Gwich'in communities, may be the biggest drawback to Language planning. There is always a shortage of people with a good level of education in small communities to manage political, social and economic aspects of community life. All across Canada, Aboriginal individuals with higher education are over-worked. Language Planning requires competent language teachers, trained curriculum developers, competent terminology developers and policy makers. Knowing the language is not enough. Both Inuvialuit and Gwich'in have already in place a Language and Training Centre whose mission is to preserve and develop knowledge of Aboriginal languages. There are also trained Aboriginal language teachers in most communities. It is not certain, however, that the

people already in place can absorb the added work load Language Planning will put on them. It is imperative to find new people with a high level of education to intervene in Language Planning.

It should also be noted that schooling level will increase as the population gets older. This fact is positive if Aboriginal languages programs are implemented now but it will have a negative effect if Aboriginal languages do not get recognition now in the school system. Delays in making decisions on the language issue can jeopardize the effort to reintroduce Inuvialuktun or Gwich'in as everyday languages.

Language

It is difficult to evaluate the level of preservation of Inuvialuktun and Gwich'in in the Beaufort Sea-Mackenzie Delta Region. Census numbers related to language knowledge and language use are highly unreliable. Inuvialuktun is absorbed in Inuktitut and Gwich'in into the "other Aboriginal languages" category in Statistics Canada questionnaires. In all Inuvialuit and Gwich'in communities, Aboriginal languages have to be re-introduced as second languages. According to school authorities, very few of the children entering school today have any knowledge of their Aboriginal language. Language knowledge seems limited to the age group 45 over which represents less than 15% of the Aboriginal population. If we evaluate the Inuvialuit population at 3000 and the Gwich'in population at 2200, it means less than 450 speakers for Inuvialuktun and less than 330 speakers for Gwich'in. If we now add that Inuvialuktun is subdivided in 3 dialects and Gwich'in in 2, we can grasp the urgency of the situation. Numbers are decreasing fast in this age group and considerations on fluency and health would not improve our view of this situation. Given all this, it would be impossible to implement the kind of Language planning described in this paper 10 years from now.

Geography

The Inuvialuit and the Gwich'in represent a majority in the territories over which they are gaining control through land agreements. These land agreements will provide opportunities to create economic activities. Since Language Planning has to present Aboriginal language use as economically viable, it is important to take into account the structure of these land agreements.

Inuvialuit Final Agreement

With the settlement of their claim, the Inuvialuit received title to approximately 91000 square kilometres of land. Of the total, beneficiaries own both surface and subsurface rights to almost 11000 square kilometres - 1800 square kilometres around each of the six Inuvialuit communities, not including the actual community sites. Approximately 2000 square kilometres of land around Cape Bathurst is also held as a protected, non-development area. The beneficiaries will

also receive title to a further 78000 square kilometres in the Inuvialuit Settlement Region, with full surface rights, and subsurface rights to sand and gravel but not to oil and gas.

Gwich'in Comprehensive Land Claim Agreement

The Gwich'in are the owners of 22422 square kilometres of land in the settlement area. On 6158 square kilometres this title includes the subsurface resources, whereas their title to the remaining 16264 square kilometres includes only the surface of the land, with ownership of the subsurface resources remaining with the Crown.

Land use

Economic development will have an impact of Language Planning and the Land Claim agreements seem to indicate that economic development for these nations will go through the management of land and renewable resources. There is already a certain will to promote the Gwich'in language in the Gwich'in Renewable Resource Boards. Last year, they published a wonderful book: *Nanh' Kak Geenjit Gwich'in Ginjik : Gwich'in Words About the Land*. Even if this book is mostly written in English, it represents an interesting try by a board established under the Gwich'in Comprehensive Land Claim Agreement to integrate language, traditional knowledge and geography in the modern political structure.

Politics

State-intervention language planning needs a certain level of "statehood". Language policies are determined by the structure and status of the governing bodies. It is not my purpose here, nor is it within my capacity to suggest language policies. Aboriginal leaders will have to decide for themselves what kind of policies they want and how they can establish them. It is however important to remember that these policies will have to work within a setting defined by the Government of the Northwest Territories (GNWT) political structure and the Canadian Constitution. For this reason it is necessary to analyse the global political conditions before making any suggestions for language planning.

Northwest Territories Official Languages Act and the Canada-NWT Languages Agreements

In 1984, the Government of the Northwest Territories innovated by promulgating an Official Languages Act. As it stand today (1998), this act recognizes 8 official languages: Chipewyan, Cree, Dogrib, English, French, Gwich'in, Inuktitut (includes Inuvialuktun and Inuinnaqtun) and Slavey (includes North Slavey and South Slavey). Although having an act recognizing Aboriginal Languages is by itself an improvement over having none, one must recognize that the status given to Aboriginal languages in this act is not equal to the status given to English and French. The Act

itself is not responsible for this situation. As we have seen before, the major problem in implementing language services in Aboriginal languages is the number of speakers for any given language. It would not make sense to give services in Gwich'in in Tuktoyaktuk. For this reason, services in Aboriginal languages are offered on a regional base and English serves as a lingua franca across regions while French has to be available everywhere on the basis of Canada's Official Languages Act.

The greatest advantage of having a language act is that it provides for the creation of a language industry. Because Aboriginal languages are recognized as official languages, translation and interpretation services have to be provided for all official languages in some regions. This industry may have a great impact on the population. It can preserve and enhance Aboriginal languages as well as improving their image for the population. But it can also be totally vacuous if the material translators are working with only pertains to certain spheres of activity, like official acts, official information documents or tourism packages that Aboriginal people are not likely to read or would choose to read in English to be able to communicate with authorities without having to resort to an interpreter. In the present case, the influence of the Language Act and the language industry it has created is not as strong as Aboriginal leadership would have liked it to be. This fact is reflected in reports from the Language Commissioners and in Fettes (1995).

One has to keep in mind that laws change according to the needs of the population. The Language Act was a reaction to the existence of Aboriginal languages in the NWT. If these languages cease being spoken, the Language Act would not be needed anymore. As the Official Languages Act stands right now, the GNWT is not legally accountable for the preservation and enhancement of Aboriginal languages in the NWT.

From 1984 to 1996, Canada has contributed \$43.1 million for Aboriginal Languages and \$23.7 million for French. Approximately \$10.3 million have been spent on interpretation and translation Services, \$11 million on training programs, \$11.1 million on teaching and learning centres, \$2.5 million on Aboriginal broadcasters, \$3 million on grants and contributions, \$1.7 million on literacy programs, \$0.25 million on community-based geographic place names projects and \$0.1 million on day Care and pre-school programs.

These agreements have been the building blocks to create a language industry that employs some Aboriginal people throughout the NWT. However, although the expected return on this investment was an enhancement of the use of Aboriginal languages over the Territories, these agreements have not fulfilled their promises. A recently published report² has identified a certain number of weaknesses in the implementation of the Canada-NWT Agreements: lack of clear priorities and overall planning, lack of broadly-based input, problems related to resource allocations and lack of an appropriate regulatory framework. These weaknesses are exactly the kind of problems I am trying to address here. It is quite surprising to see that the Official Languages Act recognizes the

regional nature and needs of Aboriginal languages but that the spending policy pursuant to the Canada-NWT Languages Agreements does not. The administrative structure is centralized and most of the work done through these agreements does not seem to reach the population either in form or in content.

Aboriginal Language Community Consultations

A new attitude towards Aboriginal languages seems to emerge from the Department of Education, Culture and Employment of the Government of the Northwest Territories. In a document published in 1996³, the necessity of involving communities in the effort to preserve and enhance Aboriginal language usage was recognized. To face the challenges of Aboriginal language research, development, and promotion, this document proposes a community-developed model in which roles have been identified for specific social groups:

- Individuals and families: assume responsibility for language preservation.
 - Aboriginal Language Community Groups:
 - Undertake specific language development projects
 - Co-ordinate integrated community approach
 - Promote at local level
 - Build concept of individual responsibility
 - Key Aboriginal Agencies:
 - Distribute money to Language Community Groups
 - Undertake broad-based promotion
 - Undertake language research projects
 - Develop linguistic specialization
 - Education, Culture and Employment:
 - Territorial-wide co-ordination and promotion
 - Chair steering meeting and development strategy
 - Facilitate development of strategic plan
 - Steering group will represent all language communities
 - ECE acts as a secretary to the steering group meetings
 - Evaluation and report procedures
 - Co-ordination plans will be developed
- (The Genesis Group, 1996:33)

This structure is moving in the right direction and shows openness to regional management of the language issue. However, it is difficult to see how it is going to develop a long term strategy for language planning. As was said before, it is imperative to design language planning as closely as possible to the population it concerns. The strategy should be as flexible as possible to adapt to the needs of an evolving population. Elite decisions are not sufficient to implement Language Planning and accountability is extremely important. If the population feels that Yellowknife is managing Language Planning and that they have almost no say in it, they will not accept the sacrifices needed for its implementation. Not all communities in NWT have the same level of retention

of their Aboriginal languages and they may not want to use their particular Aboriginal language for the same language functions. Suggestions by specialists have to be adapted to the specific needs of each population. Strategies should be as diverse as linguistic communities are.

Self-Government

The Federal Policy Guide to Aboriginal Self-Government is quite explicit regarding self-government for the Inuvialuit and the Gwich'in:

Aboriginal groups in the western NWT have a unique opportunity to develop self-government arrangements that are not readily available south of the sixtieth parallel. In the western NWT, the Government would prefer that the inherent right find expression primarily, although not exclusively, through public government. The Government believes that this approach is the best way to address the distinctive features of this region including: the demographic profile of the territory; the fact that many communities are mixed and that settlement lands under land claim settlements do not, in most cases, include the communities; and, finally, the decision to divide the North-west Territories. Given these circumstances, and considering inefficiencies that may arise due to duplication of programs and services in mixed communities, the creation of completely separate Aboriginal governments in the western NWT may not be practical or efficient.

In the federal government's view, the self-government aspirations of Aboriginal peoples in the NWT can be addressed by providing specific guarantees within public government institutions. The creation of Aboriginal institutions to exercise certain authorities may also be a useful approach.

(Federal Policy Guide 1997:14)

Following this statement, the Inuvialuit and the Gwich'in are discussing the possibility of self-government. One of the major area of discussion is Inuvialuit and Gwich'in languages and cultures. Of course in Canada, language is always a big issue when it comes to defining what a nation is and what a state should be. Whatever this definition may be, it is evident that the right to self-government implies a right to make policies to preserve and enhance Aboriginal languages and cultures.

Education

Education Act (1996)

The GNWT adopted a new Education Act in 1996. Nothing in this act recognizes the rights for Aboriginals to be educated in their ancestral languages. This fact is particularly disturbing since the same act makes an explicit reference to art. 23 of Canada's Charter of Rights and Freedoms that recognizes the rights of French Canadians to be taught in French when the number of students is sufficient. Nothing forces GNWT to provide education in the Aboriginal languages recognized by the Official Languages Act.

It should however be noted that nothing prevents it either. Art. 70-73 recognize the pos-

sibility of using another language than English as the language of instruction. The choice of the language of instruction has to be made by the District of Education Administrators (DEA). The DEA is an elected body designated to manage the schoolboard. As an elected body, it is answerable to the population and its decisions can be influenced through democratic processes. Decisions regarding the language of instruction are only limited by the obligation to teach English as a second language and the availability of enough teachers and teaching material to support the program. These conditions cannot be met immediately. Even if all the means to implement a language plan were provided tomorrow, it would be impossible to provide teaching material and trained teachers to teach immersion within 5 to 10 years time. It should however be kept in mind that immersion teaching in Inuvialuktun and Gwich'in is possible within the existing political structures.

Beaufort-Delta Education Council

The Beaufort-Delta Divisional Board of Education (BDDBE) manages 8 schools: Inualthuyak School (Sachs Harbour), Angik School (Paulatuk), Chief Julius School (Fort McPherson), Chief Paul Niditchie (Tsiigehtchic), Moose Kerr School (Aklavik), Mangilaluk School (Tuktoyaktuk), Sir Alexander Mackenzie School (Inuvik) and Samuel Hearne School (Inuvik). At the moment there is no policy for Aboriginal languages at the Board level. It is up to the schools to decide how much room they give to Aboriginal languages but in principle, there should be a language instructor in all the schools. Board regulations provide for devoting \pm 90 hours or 9% of school time from kindergarten through grade 9 to second language acquisition. Aboriginal languages are not mandatory as second languages but compete with French as a second language choice.

In its mission statement of 1995, the BDDBE identified Aboriginal culture and language as its second major issue, right after student success. This statement is however ambiguous because the link made between culture and language in Aboriginal language classroom is not plainly stated. It is of course possible to know the Inuvialuit or the Gwich'in culture without knowing the language and it should be possible to speak about modern things in Inuvialuktun and Gwich'in but the statement of the BDDBE does not make this distinction. Parents may think they are registering their children for a language class but the language instructor may deliver culture, and conversely, they may register their children for a culture class and get a language class.

This misconception is also present in the curricula run in Aboriginal classes. Inuuqatigiit and Dene Kede were developed by the NWT Education, Culture and Employment as generic curriculum for Inuit and Dene respectively. As such they cannot serve as language curricula since the specifics of each language are not treated. They are basic culture curricula which were supposed to serve as canvases in creating specific first or second language programs. Unfortunately this second

step was never undertaken. For many years the Regional Resource Centre of the Beaufort-Delta Divisional Board of Education produced good teaching materials but particular circumstances made it impossible for teachers to access these materials and when they did get to the teachers, they were not trained on the proper use they should make of them.

This structure was modified two years ago and a Teaching and Learning Centre for the Gwich'in language was established in Fort McPherson while a similar centre should open soon in Tuktoyaktuk for Inuvialuktun. This decentralized structure should improve communications between language instructors and curriculum developers. The same misunderstanding is found in Aboriginal language classes. Teachers are often torn between the need to teach the cultural heritage and the need to teach the language. The program now run in most classes is based on the Dene Kede or the Inuuqatigiit cycle of seasons and is repeated over and over again from K to grade 9. Unfortunately, these classes are sold to the population as language classes. Parents and children get frustrated when they see that the skills of the children in Inuvialuktun or Gwich'in is not improving and teachers get frustrated and disheartened when they see that parents do not support their actions.

Finally, teacher fluency in Aboriginal languages is not homogenous. Again there are misconceptions between speaking, learning, and teaching a language. It is not merely because the teacher speaks the language that he or she can teach it. Nor is it merely because a teacher makes children repeat a word that they will learn how to use this word in a phrase or a sentence to express their own ideas. Moreover, children will not learn the language if the teacher speaks mostly in English during class. Indeed, under these conditions, it is a miracle that teachers get any result at all. Most teachers feel that teaching Aboriginal languages is important but that they are left alone on the front line. A study has been done recently to evaluate Aboriginal Language classes⁴ and its conclusions support a shift towards a culture program. However, the choice will have to be made by the population. If people decide to go for a culture program, there is no need for language planning.

4.2. Defining the Target-Situation

The definition of the target-situation is two-fold: status planning and corpus planning. Status planning can be described as defining the role the Aboriginal language should have in the community. A language is basically a tool and status planning simply defines what you can do with this tool: Can I make laws with this language? Can I go through elementary school, secondary school or college speaking it? Can I work only with it or totally without it? Where can I shop with it? Linguistic imperialism is probably the most subtle form of imperialism; everybody would like to see his or her own language spoken by everybody else in the world but demographic and economic conditions usually determine who can be monolingual and who has no choice but to be

bilingual or multilingual. The task of status planning is to analyse these conditions and propose state interventions to modify the balance of power between competing languages.

Corpus planning determines the form of the language. How do I write the Aboriginal language? How do I say “computer” in this language? Do I teach my students how I say this word or do I have to teach them how their parents say it? These questions and the choices they call for are difficult and should be taken one step at a time.

Status Planning

Ideally, everyone would like to see his or her ancestral language used in every aspect of social life. However, behind a certain casualness, statements like this hide many social factors that have to be distinguished before a new status for a language can be planned. For example, social situations influence the way we speak. People do not speak the same way with their doctors as they do with their friends even though they know only one language. When languages are in competition, these same factors may push speakers to change not only the way they speak in one language but also the language they use in some social contexts. If the goal of the Language Planning effort is to encourage people to use Aboriginal languages more often in their everyday life, it is necessary to understand why bilingual people choose to use a specific language in certain situations; in which contexts they tend to switch languages; and how this behaviour can be modified, if it can be modified.

Types of languages and language functions

It is always a good idea to start these discussions by asking why, as social beings, we learn a language. The most obvious answer is that we usually do not have any choice about the first one we learn. We are born in a social context and we learn the language spoken around us. This language is usually the language of our parents, so it is called the mother tongue (even if it is the language of our father!) Nowadays, most Inuvialuit and Gwich'in children coming to school for the first time today have English as their mother tongue. Inuvialuktun and Gwich'in have to be re-introduced to these children as a second language.

Languages are not equal when it comes to second language acquisition. They may be equal in their capacity to express human experiences and differences in complexity across languages may be subtle, but historical circumstances have created status differences between them that we have to acknowledge. The first of these differences is that neither Inuvialuktun nor Gwich'in are recognized as official languages at the UN General Assembly. We have to accept that today, languages like English and French have an international status whereas Inuvialuktun and Gwich'in do not. When individuals decide to learn a second language, they usually go for an international language like English, French, Spanish, German, etc., because these languages give them some

advantages if they want to travel or have access to cultural products like movies and literature. In our specific case however, we are asking people to learn a language that will not give them any international advantage: Inuvialuktun and Gwich'in will only be used as regional languages.

Motives to learn a second language may also be different from one individual to another. The reasons to learn a second language as a personal project usually involve a desire to share a knowledge that is not accessible in one's mother tongue. Individuals may choose to learn a language, let's say German, only as it is used in a specific domain, philosophy for example. If their goal is only to understand German philosophers, they will concentrate their attention on the specific vocabulary of philosophy and the even more specific way in which philosophers speak. They have specific reasons to learn a specific language. Other individuals, let's say lawyers, may want to learn French only to be able to understand French laws. They will concentrate on the vocabulary of law and the specific way in which lawyers speak. In these two cases, individuals do not learn German or French in general, they learn a specialized form of the language restricted to a certain domain. They will probably not become fluent enough to discuss cooking in French or beer making in German but they will be able to understand texts of law in French and philosophical writing in German.

Incentives to learn regional languages are less obvious for individuals since they do not enhance their international versatility but there may be incentives for a collectivity to reclaim an ancestral language. These incentives may include bridging the past and the future, saving an oral tradition, or reclaiming the ownership of a land as a people. In this case however, learning the second language will have a different focus: individuals will not do it as a personal project but as part of a collective project. When the acquisition of a second language becomes a collective project, the reasons to learn the language must be shared by everyone in the community.

If the goal of this collective project is to reclaim Inuvialuktun and Gwich'in as common languages in Inuvialuit and Gwich'in communities, it is important to define what people are expected to do with the Aboriginal languages as part of the language planning effort. It would not make sense to deny the international status of English or to propose that the knowledge of regional languages like Inuvialuktun or Gwich'in is enough to insure the development of the collectivity. However, this does not mean that Aboriginal languages cannot contribute, as vernacular languages, to the well-being of the collectivity. Sharing functions between languages could give the community the best of both worlds.

Types of bilingualism

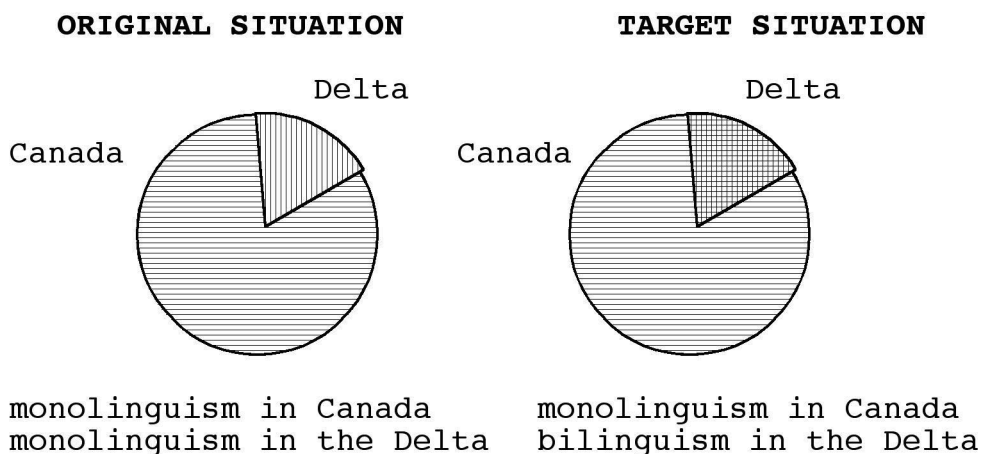
Bilingualism is not a homogenous concept. There are many kinds of bilingualism and it is important for a society to understand that they can make choices about bilingualism to get the flexibility necessary to preserve their linguistic identity and insure their economic development. Bilingualism

guism as a collective project is different from bilingualism as a personal project. When an individual decides to learn a second language, the choice of the second language may be a question of personal affinities or personal circumstances. When a community makes the decision to learn a second language as a collective project, the choice of the language is not random. They do so because they are in contact with another community whose language is different from their own. Bilingualism in this case has to be understood in terms of contact between two or more distinct linguistic groups who may not have the same vision of bilingualism and the same reasons to learn a second language.

Inclusion

If everybody in the Beaufort Sea-Mackenzie Delta communities was able to use both English and Inuvialuktun or Gwich'in as their everyday language, we would be in an inclusion type of bilingualism. Inclusion is the situation where the totality of one linguistic group has to be bilingual for all its activities whereas the other group is totally or partially unilingual in some or all of its activities.

Figure 1. Bilingualism : inclusion



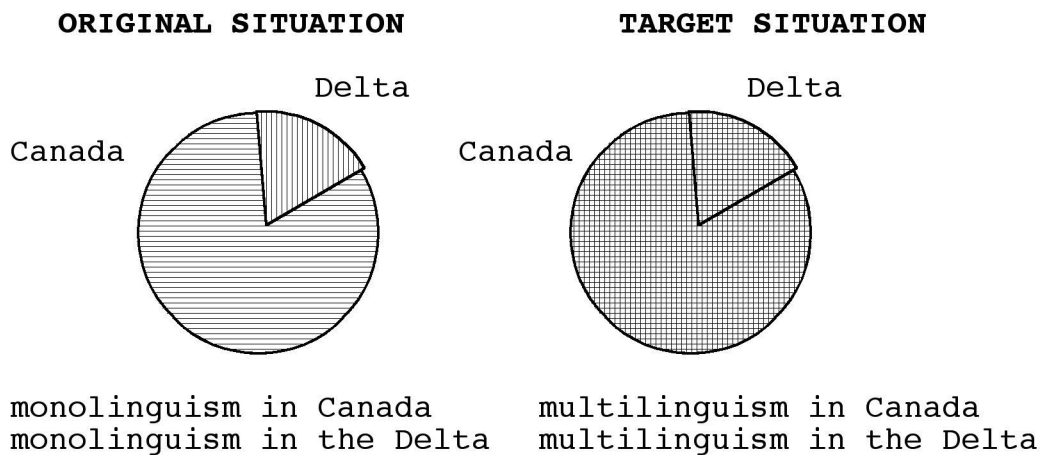
This type of bilingualism is the most difficult to maintain because it is extremely hard for individuals to find advantages in being bilingual. Inclusion is the actual situation of the Delta. Inuvialuit and Gwich'in individuals who know how to speak their respective Aboriginal language, only do so in their homes. They speak English at work, at school, and in their dealings with the government. The obvious question for them is: Why should we continue to speak our Aboriginal language when everybody has to know English anyway? Individuals naturally want it as easy as possible and speaking only one language is easier than speaking two. The choice of the language to be spoken in any situation is obvious since there are a lot of people who do not understand

Aboriginal languages but very few who do not understand English. Bilingualism as a collective project is a balancing act between individual and social goals. To achieve the social goal of making an Aboriginal language the vernacular language of a community, individuals who will use that language should get definite advantages. These advantages will encourage them to continue speaking the Aboriginal language even if others do not understand right away what they say and in doing so, they will provide opportunities for the community to hear and speak it.

Overlap cases

There are two types of language overlap. The first one is the total overlap. In this type of bilingualism, everyone in two communities learns both languages as common languages. This type of overlap usually happens when these communities are demographically and economically equal. This situation rarely happens spontaneously since children almost never learn two or more languages as mother tongues. Schooling usually acts as a uniting factor in this type of overlap. This type of bilingualism is also only possible if the number of languages to be learned is limited. In the case of Canada, with over 50 languages spoken over the territory, this form of bilingualism would be totally impossible.

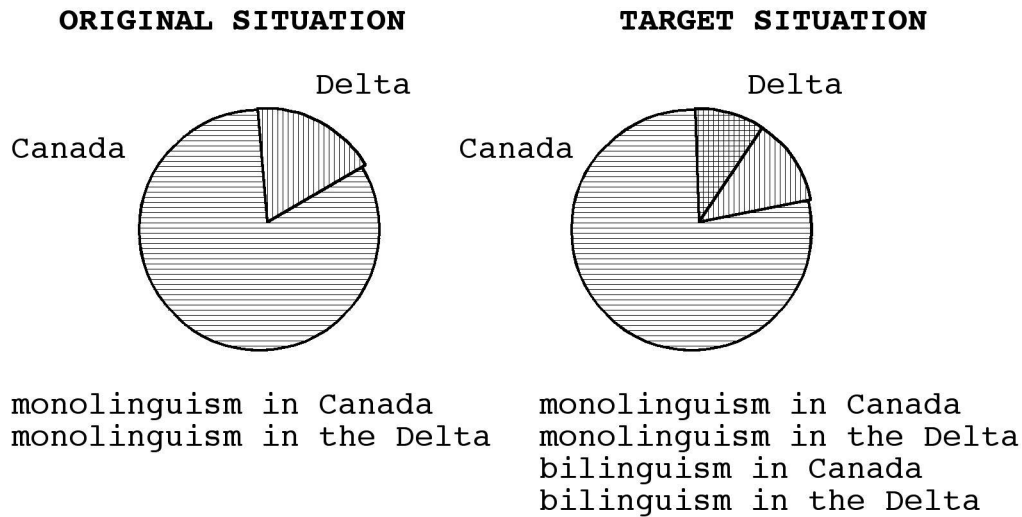
Figure 2. Bilingualism : total overlap



The second type of overlap bilingualism is partial overlap. A partial overlap is a situation where a certain number of people are able to communicate in both languages in at least some of their activities. This last aspect is very important. Partial overlap implies that some individuals in each language group are using only one language either as common language or as the language of a specific domain. The best example of this kind of overlap is the situation of French and English in Canada. It may not be necessary to know English if you live in Montreal or French if you live in Toronto. You can be a doctor in Montreal for example, without speaking a word of English and

you can be a doctor in Toronto without speaking a word of French, but it would difficult to be a politician in Ottawa without knowing at least some English and some French. Even then, a politician does not need to know the vocabulary of cooking in both languages.

Figure 3. Bilingualism : partial overlap



One difficult aspect of this vision of biliguism is the somewhat artificial distinctions made between language functions. People do not usually decide to speak one language or another in a given situation. They only speak the language that seems to be the most appropriate to the situation. Language planning is needed in the Beaufort Sea-Mackenzie Delta region because there are no situations in which Inuvialuktun or Gwich'in seem more appropriate than English. People usually say that the only good language to talk about Gwich'in land is Gwich'in, but this does not mean that it is not possible or even easier to speak about the land in English. It makes sense that people in the Gwich'in Tribal Council and the Inuvialuit Regional Corporation should be able to talk about the land in English because they have to deal with Ottawa and Yellowknife but it does not mean that everything should be conducted exclusively in English. What about the people of Renewable Resources Councils? What about hunters and trappers associations?

Individual Communication vs. Institutional Communication

Language Policies cannot really impose a language on individuals. One cannot force someone to use a language he or she does not want to use. It is impossible to legislate on the language an individual is using within his or her home. Canada's Charter of Rights and Freedoms and common sense dictate that Language Policies and Planning cannot be directed towards individuals. A change of language for communications between individuals can be encouraged but it cannot be enforced by law.

If individuals cannot be forced to use Inuvialuktun or Gwich'in in their personal dealings, the same is not true of institutions. Institutions can be forced to give services in these languages and individuals working for these institutions can be encouraged to use Aboriginal languages more often. One may wish that people who know Inuvialuktun or Gwich'in would speak in these languages more often, but to make it happen, the only thing that can be done is to provide more opportunities for them to do so. It is right to consider that individuals should be responsible for language preservation but it should be remembered that languages cannot be preserved in cedar chests. To preserve a language, you have to speak it. If a society does not provide formal opportunities to speak a language, individuals will feel uncomfortable speaking it and they will cease doing so. As Corbeil (1980:116) explains:

Le comportement linguistique de l'individu est façonné par ses contacts nombreux, répétés et pour ainsi dire officiels avec la langue des institutions. En conséquence, lorsqu'on souhaite modifier une situation linguistique ou en orienter l'évolution, il faut contrôler le comportement linguistique des institutions. Il est dangereux de faire peser le changement linguistique sur les individus. Leur responsabilité, en la matière, est trop limitée. Le recours exagéré à la responsabilité de l'individu pour obtenir des changements significatifs à une situation linguistique donnée ne saurait que susciter une sorte de sentiment d'impuissance collective et provoquer la dégradation accélérée de cette situation, comme le Québec l'a fort bien expérimenté entre la fin du XIX^e siècle et le début des années soixante³.

But the corollary is also true. Institutions cannot support the totality of the effort. The means available to a state for conducting business are often too systematic to be applicable in day-to-day life. Individuals must share some responsibility and take it upon themselves to make the target-situation happen. States can only resort to the ridiculous means of measuring the size of letters on a billboard to see if it conforms to the law but individuals can exercise the choice of buying elsewhere if they do not like what they see in a given store.

Institution is a generic term since there are many kinds of institutions. Each type interacts differently with the population and this interaction will of course have an influence on how they can be used in Language Planning. Institutions can be grouped into two categories. The first category is composed of institutions that interact on a personal basis with the community. These institutions constitute the global organisation of the community. The second category is comprised of institutions concerned with images. Images are a reflection of the community but they can also define it to a certain extent. How the Inuvialuit and Gwich'in see themselves and their language will influence their linguistic behaviour.

Global organisation

Globally, the social organisations of Inuvialuit and Gwich'in communities have to reflect

the decision made to confer a new status on Aboriginal languages. It is imperative to avoid the folklorization of the language by confining it to traditional functions. To a certain degree, all social activities, not only traditional ones, have to show the new importance given to the language issue. This importance will vary according to the field of activity.

The Education System

The education system is the most important institution in Language planning. The only way to insure that a language will survive as a common language is to make sure the children are raised using it. This is common sense but just stating it does not provide the means to achieve it. How much contact with a language is enough to insure that children are raised in it? Better yet, how much contact can we realistically provide, and would that be enough? Again this raises the distinction between first and second language acquisition.

As it was said earlier, the only conditions the District of Education Administrators (DEA) have to meet to make Inuvialuktun or Gwich'in the languages of instruction are a will of the population, the availability of teachers fluent in the language and the availability of teaching material. A shift in language of instruction is unrealistic at this time. Aboriginal languages have to be re-introduced to children as second languages and it is already difficult to find qualified instructors to teach in Aboriginal language classes. Immersion classes may be the way of the future but this future cannot be the first step of Language Planning for the BDDBE.

The best suggestion is probably to build on the second language classes already available. The first step would be to develop a real second language program for Inuvialuktun and Gwich'in. This program should be started as soon as possible and target oral knowledge for kindergarten children. The language class is the perfect setting to learn more about the culture but the main goal should be the language. Culture will be used to support the language; not vocabulary to support the culture.

This program should be oriented towards production. It is imperative to show results as fast as possible in order to get and maintain the support of both parents and students. The goal is to make children able to express original ideas orally and to understand what is said to them in Inuvialuktun or Gwich'in as soon as possible. Literacy in Aboriginal languages would come later but not later than English literacy. Literacy is literacy and there is no reason to imagine that literacy in English should be acquired prior to Aboriginal Language literacy.

Teaching and Learning Centres are natural candidates to take the responsibility of developing this program. Since human resources are few and program development takes time, it is unrealistic to imagine that such a program for K to 9 can be developed in a year or two. Before creating teaching material, language research has to be done, data has to be collected and selected according to the degree of difficulty. Levels should be developed one at a time, starting from kindergarten

and working upward towards grade 9. It is important not to lose what has already been achieved. To make students do the same program two years in a row would not be profitable.

It is also important that the schools change their image. Aboriginal languages have to be more present within the school outside of the classroom. The Schoolboard will have to define a Language Policy and make sure that it is enforced. Children will not devote time to learning a “second best” language. The schools have to make it explicit that learning Inuvialuktun or Gwich’in is the way to go in the development of Inuvialuit and Gwich’in communities and that knowledge of these languages is rewarding. The policy should provide specific opportunities for students to show their skills and be rewarded for it.

It would be unrealistic to imagine that the Board of Education and the school administrations can switch to Inuvialuktun and Gwich’in as the language of the work place in a near future. For now, the administration of the schools will continue to use English as its operating language. Language planning will evolve over time and a time may come where such a language shift may become possible.

Another important factor is the hiring policy for new language instructors. The main difficulty is that there is an inverse relation between fluency and training: the best trained teachers are usually less fluent speakers. A choice has to be made and the balance seems to be tilting towards more training as a teacher and less fluency as a speaker. It will be easier for a trained teacher to follow the language program and pass it on to the students. Since Aboriginal languages will be introduced as second languages to students with little knowledge of them at least in the beginning of the program, fluency is less important than competence as a teacher.

Public Administration

Public administration has to send a strong message regarding the language issue. People will not follow Language Planning if they feel that their leaders do not take it seriously. Leadership commitment has to go further than public opening and closing addresses or prayers. It would not be realistic to ask administration to switch all its activities from English to Inuvialuktun or Gwich’in but it will have to do so for some of them. The best candidates for this change are public related activities since these have a direct impact on the people and are therefore useful to show the new status given to Aboriginal languages. However, limiting the action to public counters would not be profitable: the shift has to be real and deep, not only when employees are speaking to the public but also in the administrative tasks of some departments. It is leadership’s responsibility to provide opportunities to speak Aboriginal languages in official situations.

One may wonder whether bilingualism would be a sufficient result. If bilingualism is seen as the final stage of the language shift in public administration, the community may feel that the commitment to bring back Inuvialuktun and Gwich’in as common languages is limited and that it

is not worth the difficulty of re-learning these languages. It would be better to plan the language shift in public administration in 2 steps: a switch to bilingualism at first and then, a little later, a switch to Aboriginal language monolingualism. The time frame for both steps will vary according to the progress Aboriginal languages make in their comeback as common languages for community activities.

Recognition of the new status of Aboriginal Languages has to be felt by the population. The best way to achieve this might be the creation of monetary incentives for public employees who speak Aboriginal languages. The Canadian Federal Government has proven that such policies can be effective. We have to consider these monetary incentives not as additional expenses but as an investment in the future. They will send a strong message to the community and will make people proud of their knowledge of Aboriginal languages.

Public administration will have to provide language classes for its employees. The capacity to speak Inuvialuktun and Gwich'in should be encouraged within the actual work force. Language classes should not however be perceived as punishment. To avoid this, a certain number of working hours can be freed up for language lessons. If monetary incentives are provided and working hours are allotted for language training, the linguistic progression of employees will have to be evaluated. Employees should learn Aboriginal languages in these classes, not just sit in a chair for a certain number of hours. Only if they qualify as speakers of Aboriginal languages will they receive the monetary incentives. Language acquisition in the actual work force should be encouraged, not compelled. Enrolment in Aboriginal language classes should remain voluntary.

The commitment of public administration on Aboriginal languages will have to be a long term commitment. To have departments operate in Inuvialuktun or Gwich'in will be costly, time-consuming and difficult but it is the only place where money will have a direct impact on the linguistic behaviour of individuals. The commitment of public administration is an essential condition in this vision of language planning.

Economic Development

Land Agreements mostly concern surface management. Economic opportunities will probably come through renewable resources management. Inuvialuit and Gwich'in leaders have the right to ask companies harvesting their resources to make room for Inuvialuktun and Gwich'in in their operations. As part of the Status Planning effort, it is imperative to open the work place to Aboriginal languages. If the population cannot work in its own language, it will be extremely difficult to convince them that Aboriginal languages can play an important role in the sustainable development of the community. This pattern has to be implemented right at the beginning of any corporate partnership. It is an advantage that the implication of the Inuvialuit and the Gwich'in in their own economic development is just beginning. Thus, they will have to deal with only with a

small number of companies.

It is a mistake to imagine that the size of the company will affect their willingness to accommodate Aboriginal languages in their activities. Big companies are often as open to language accommodation as small ones. International companies have outlets all around the world and they are used to managing language issues. Inuvialuktun or Gwich'in are not different for them, at the regional level, than English, French, Spanish and the like.

The degree of inuvialuktunization or gwich'inization will be determined according to the industry. It will be very difficult and probably not useful to ask computer companies to provide manuals in Aboriginal languages. The technology is changing so rapidly that it is already difficult to obtain any manual in any language other than English and the volume of business in Aboriginal languages will not justify the costs of producing them. The situation is not the same however for woodlogging, construction, fisheries, the fur industry, tourism, etc. These industries can be made aware that the population wants to preserve the linguistic part of its identity; that this recognition will surely improve their relations with the Aboriginal population; and that the respect they show to this population can have an impact on the international perception of what their activities on Aboriginal lands.

Finally, it is the responsibility of the communities to provide the means to accommodate the Aboriginal languages within the industries. The will may already be there but if the infrastructures (quality translation, terminology, etc.) are not available, companies will probably not develop them. The companies' accountability towards the language issue will not go any further than the will of the population to preserve and enhance Aboriginal languages.

Images

Images often shape what a community thinks of itself. It is important for individuals to recognize themselves as members of the community just by looking around them. As would-be speakers of Inuvialuktun or Gwich'in living in an Inuvialuit or Gwich'in community, they have the right to see Inuvialuktun and Gwich'in on billboards, flyers, etc. Images are important but they are also empty. They cannot teach Aboriginal Languages to those who do not know them; they will not tell people how they can express original ideas in Aboriginal languages; nor will they make Aboriginal languages more useful in everyday life. Language loss cannot be reversed by images. They represent a second step that will be useful only if the global organization is modified first.

Mass Media

For our purposes, mass media can be divided in three groups: television, radio and newspapers. Television and radio in Aboriginal languages are already a reality in the Beaufort Sea-Mackenzie Delta Region. The number of hours is limited but it would be difficult to improve on

the present situation. The American context makes it an uphill battle for any language other than English when it comes to the electronic media. Movies, soaps, and talkshows will remain in English in an overwhelming proportion.

Newspapers are something else. The problem here is literacy. Literacy problems are the same for all languages in the world. Everybody know how to speak his or her mother tongue but very few have the capacity to read and write these languages. Newspapers of course rely on literate people. It is self-evident that a population that does not speak a language cannot be literate in it and it is also self-evident that if the Inuvialuit and the Gwich'in are not exposed to written material in Inuvialuktun or Gwich'in, they will never become literate.

A newspaper in Inuvialuktun or Gwich'in will need to be heavily subsidized. Readership is not enough right now to support a newspaper written in an Aboriginal language but the existence of such a newspaper should not be seen as an economic question but as a question of image. With time it may become profitable if the content is good. It is essential to make people see that important things can be said in Inuvialuktun and Gwich'in and that it is necessary to say them in these languages.

Advertising

The target-situation regarding advertisement is difficult to define. It makes no sense to wage a billboard war on the commercial world but it makes no sense either that every sign in Inuvialuit or Gwich'in communities should be written in English. Advertising is mainly a private sector activity. As such, it would be much more efficient to convince advertisers that profit and Aboriginal languages go hand in hand than to force them to make space for these languages. This, of course, would imply that the communities will support Aboriginal languages and direct their economic activities according to the place given to Aboriginal languages by commercial establishments. This may not be easy to achieve and maintain.

Should it be a policy that every sign be written in Aboriginal languages or should one hope that people will make the shift on their own free will? Advertising will change attitudes towards Aboriginal languages but the energy necessary to enforce language advertisement policies is such that the return on the investment may not be worth it. Decisions about advertisement are highly political. Given the size of these communities, it is my hope that advertisement policies can be avoided and that the population in general will put enough pressure on the private sector to create and maintain an Inuvialuktun and Gwich'in environment.

Terminology

It may seem strange to some linguists to put terminology in the section on images and not as part of corpus planning. In some situations, in some countries, treating terminology as corpus

planning would make sense, but the present situation is special. To have the “right word” does not make much sense when nobody speaks a language. The goal of language planning for Aboriginal languages is to make people use these languages as much as possible in everyday life. What is needed is everyday language, not specialty languages, and Inuvialuktun and Gwich’in are already well equipped for speaking about everyday life in the Beaufort Sea-Mackenzie Delta Region. Nonetheless terminology should be developed to answer the demand. If industries are asked to use Aboriginal languages in their advertising, if public administration is asked to use Aboriginal languages for some functions, translations for non traditional realities will have to be provided. However, this does not necessarily mean that there should be a word in Inuvialuktun or Gwich’in for every reality imagined by these people.

Languages from all around the world borrow terms from one another. Borrowing is not by itself a reprehensible action. It is all a question of why it is done and how it is done. For example, we may try to prevent homonymy (the situation where a word has many confusing meanings). It may be a good idea to preserve the traditional terminology, with its traditional meanings, to speak of traditional activities and borrow terminology for modern realities. This may however create a problem with young people or modern industry. These people may feel that they are cut off from the revitalisation effort. The creation of new terms to speak of new realities may be a possibility but there is no way to be certain that the population in general will accept these new terms. New realities usually come with their name and the population may accept a new Inuvialuktun or Gwich’in word to name these things. The best example of such a borrowing is the word Ski-Doo, which is used by everybody in the North. This last aspect is particularly important if public administration decides to set up a language office to create these terms. Sometimes a suggestion for a term works and sometimes it does not.

It is also important to remember that individuals have the capacity to create new terms by themselves. Language retention may be greater than expected. When the status of a language is low, it is often difficult to find out who speaks the language and what their degree of fluency is. It is important to convince people who do speak the language to come forward and share their knowledge. There are always many ways of saying one thing and researchers are never sure that their data is complete. It would not make sense either to create new terminology when Aboriginal languages already have terms to speak of these things. Some terms created by a terminology bureau may come in competition with terms created from the population and it should be a good policy for the people in the bureau to listen to what the population is actually saying.

It should be remembered that terminology development takes time. It will not be possible to create all the terminology needed overnight. Decisions will have to be made to determine which fields of activity should have priority over others for terminology development. Again, common sense should dictate the selection of these fields.

Finally, there is a language industry created by the Official Languages Act and by the Canada-NWT Languages Agreements that is already creating terminology. All of these people have to work together. If they do not, the image perceived by the population will be that of discord and cat-fights. In these conditions terminology will become a battlefield instead of a tool to preserve and enhance Aboriginal languages.

Corpus Planning

Terminology is opening the door to a much more complex problem. Since language planning is a concerted effort to preserve and enhance the use of a language, the question of which language should be preserved naturally comes to mind. Oral tradition is the epitome of variation. No two speakers speak exactly alike. Indeed, we recognize one another by intonation or by the way we pronounce certain consonants or certain vowels. If one wants to plan the use of a language in a given society, one also has to wonder about planning the form this language will have in this society.

The Polysynthesis Factor

Languages have different structures and these structures will modify the way we approach them. Inuvialuktun and Gwich'in are polysynthetic languages. As such, they have a special way of putting words together or at least a way that is different from that used in a word-based language like English. They also have a special way of using words to create sentences. These differences in structure have many implications for language teaching and language use. The following list contains examples of polysynthetic constructions:

Inuvialuktun Siglitun

tuktu pangaliksimaryuaq	: the caribou is running on all fours
tuktunik uqaqtuat	: they are talking about caribou
tuktutun nipaaqtuaq	: he made the sound of a caribou
tuktumin mikitqiyauyuq	: it is smaller than a caribou
tuktumun pisuktuaq	: he walked to the caribou
tuktumi ittuq	: it is on the caribou
tuktum niaqua	: the head of the caribou
tuktunguaq	: a caribou-shaped toy
tuktuvialuk	: a real caribou
tukturaaluk	: a small caribou
tuktutuaq	: he got a caribou
tuktudjvik	: a place to get caribou

tuktungittuaq	: he didn't get any caribou
tuktutuqsimayuaq	: he is eating caribou
tuktuturuktuaq	: he wants to eat caribou
tuktuturunriqtuaq	: he doesn't want to eat caribou anymore
tuktutuyuittuaq	: he doesn't eat caribou
tuktutunrayuittuaq	: he has never eaten caribou
tuktutunraqtuaq	: he ate caribou for the first time
tuktutun'nguliqtuaq	: he is tired of eating caribou
tuktusungnituaq	: it smells like caribou
tuktutuqluarniqtuaq	: he ate a lot of caribou meat
tuktuliaqtuaq	: he went caribou hunting
tuktuliarnaqiyuaq	: it is time to go caribou hunting
tuktuuyuq	: there are lots of caribou
tuktunraqtuaq	: he got his first caribou
tuktunraqtainaqtuaq	: he finally got his first caribou
tuktutupsaaqtuaq	: he had some more caribou
tuktutqaaqtuaq	: he was the first to get a caribou
tuktusiuqtuaq	: he is looking for caribou
tuktuniaqtuaq	: he is hunting caribou
tuktuliarungnaqtuaq	: he probably went caribou hunting
tuktuituq	: there are no caribou
tuktutqamiqtuaq	: he just got a caribou
tuktuniariaqsarumayuaq	: he intends to go caribou hunting
tuktusiurniariagaqsiyuaq	: he is getting ready to go caribou hunting
tuktuliaqtigiyaq	: he went caribou hunting with him
tuktuliaqatigivakkaluagaa	: he used to go caribou hunting with him
tuktututqingnapin'gnitunga	: I will never eat caribou again
tuktuliaqatigitqingnapin'ngitkiga	: I will never go caribou hunting again with him

(Lowe 1985:16)

In English a caribou is a caribou and it is pronounced caribou whatever function this word has in a sentence. In Inuvialuktun this is not exactly the case. It is easy to understand that *tuktu-* means caribou but there is absolutely nothing obvious for an English speaker in how this *tuktu-* will appear in a given sentence. It will do no good to ask children to learn vocabulary lists in a language like Inuvialuktun without teaching them how this vocabulary will appear in real speech. This situation is similar to Latin where a student needs to learn not only the meaning of the word

but also its nominative accusative, genitive, dative, and ablative forms. Students will never be able to make sentences in Inuvialuktun if the only thing they know is *tuktu-*. The situation is even worse with *nanu-* (polar bear), as this unit will never appear alone in a sentence, the closest form to it being *nanuq*.

This aspect of language is technical and its description should be done by specialists but it is important that everybody be aware of it. It is rare that an endangered language gets a chance to react before disappearing. It is even rarer for it to get a second chance. Studies should be made beforehand to make sure that the methods used to re-introduce Aboriginal languages are appropriate to its structure; that people will react well to them; and that they will make it possible, in a relatively short time, to achieve the goals of Language Planning.

Standardization

There is another characteristic of oral tradition languages that needs to be addressed before implementing a Language Plan. Modern societies give tremendous importance to writing, but a writing system does not make much room for variation. Inuvialuit and Gwich'in have to understand that the writing system of Inuvialuktun and Gwich'in has to be the same for everybody. Even though nobody pronounces the words exactly the same way, everybody has to write the same way. The way they are asked to write their language should not be seen by them as an attempt to impose a standard on their speech. Everybody should write more or less the same way but it should not prevent them from putting as much colour in their speech as they want to. A writing system should not be seen as an obstacle to the transmission of oral traditions but as a complement to it.

Dialects

Dialects are an important part of Inuvialuktun and Gwich'in structures and should not be thought of as diseases in need of eradication. It is evident that it makes it more difficult for individuals to learn these languages and to understand one another but it has been argued from the beginning of this paper that openmindedness and flexibility are needed across languages. The same should apply across dialects of a same language. Furthermore, dialects may not be as isolated from one another as one might think. Inuvialuit understand one another even though they do not speak the same dialect. The same is true of Gwich'in. People often marry people speaking different dialects. Over a generation or two, we may wonder which dialect can be considered the mother tongue of the children or their parents.

Once again, considerations about the structure of the languages have to be taken into account here. Borrowing formative elements may happen freely from one dialect to another. This is particularly true of radical elements denoting objects. These elements are bound to the land and will vary according to geographical locations and the presence of certain plants or animals. For

example, here are no grizzly bears on Victoria Island where the Kangiryuarmiut dialect is spoken but if someone speaking this dialect was to move to the main land, this person would have no problems borrowing the radical *aktaq*- from another dialect to speak of that reality.

Much will be gained by teaching all dialects at the same time. One problem clouding the relation between teachers and parents in the school system right now is that teachers teach their own dialect even when the majority of children come from parents speaking another dialect. There is no easy way to address this problem because the Aboriginal population in the Mackenzie Delta shows great mobility. The only real solution would be flexibility on the part of both parents and teachers in the language programs and a will to bring out both the common ground and the differences between dialects by teaching them all at the same time.

There are also differences in pronunciation within dialects and unfortunately these differences cannot be easily accounted for in writing. Again, people will have to understand that they can speak the way they want but they cannot write with the same kind of freedom. Decisions will have to be made regarding spelling and consensus will have to be reached on many issues. Defining the target spelling will be the greatest challenge in corpus planning.

The Language Industry

Aboriginal languages, if they survive as everyday languages, will change and evolve over time to adapt to new ways of living and new technology. As it was said before, terminology will have to be developed or modified to follow that evolution. Again, the biggest difficulty is the limited human resources we can count on. A language industry already exists in Inuvialuktun and Gwich'in. It should be the language industry's responsibility to account for changes in the relation between language and social activities. Adaptation to new realities is a priority to the people working in the language industry. If the industry wants to survive, it has to make sure that the choices its people make in terminology are known and accepted by the industry as a whole and by the population. Public administration could get involved in terminology but I would not recommend it. It is difficult to give control over translation to the private sector but keep terminology within the public sector.

To achieve this level of integration, the language industry has to organize itself into a professional association. Good translation cannot be improvised on the spot. Ability to speak a language does not guarantee ability to translate. Public administration and private industries will ask for high standards in translation. They will back the industry and pay for its products only if someone or some organisation can guarantee its quality. An autoregulated Language industry would be much more adaptable and sensitive to the public's desires than would an externally regulated industry or a centralized public office. Finally it will be important to maintain this language industry sound and economically viable. It should be a priority for authorities to encourage its develop-

ment by contracting for its services.

4.3. Strategy to achieve the Target-Situation

How the target-situation can be achieved is a question of means which is in turn a question of political structure and public will. How the leadership will establish its goals and priorities cannot be discussed from a theoretical point of view. Every detail of the policies will have to be weighed and discussed many times in many public meetings. Determining factors for these policies are however limited in number and can be analysed here in general terms.

Time

Nothing will happen overnight. It has taken 50 years to lose much of what Inuvialuktun and Gwich'in use to be. It will take at least as much time to get it back. This is a basic fact that nobody really wants to face since those who want Aboriginal languages back want them now! This is why Language Planning should be oriented towards production. We have to give the population the impression that it is happening faster than its real pace. This is why images are so important. Although they do not have an important language content, nor do they make people speak Aboriginal languages more often, they do give the impression that things are changing faster than they really are.

Money

Language loss reversal is expensive. We are talking thousands of dollars over many years. Budgets have to be stable. Incentive programs have to be maintained for many years to achieve their goals. Contracts for translation and in-office teaching are additional costs in public administration budgets. The Canada-NWT Agreements may support a big part of this effort but the target-situation described is fully decentralized. Before starting anything, Aboriginal leaders should make sure that the Federal Government and the GNWT will support their effort. The Inuvialuit and Gwich'in population should also be made aware that they will have to support the costs involved in such an operation over a long period of time. Their commitment to it has to be total even if it means that some other programs may not be funded or be delayed because of it. By changing their minds in the middle of the process, people will jeopardize the whole enterprise.

Power

What is proposed here is a kind of revolution. Things will not be the way they used to be anymore. The population at a general level may want to see Aboriginal languages used more often but they may not be willing to act, sacrifice or sweat for it at a personal level. Inertia is a powerful force. Leadership may have to coerce some individuals in participating to the collective project of

bringing back Inuvialuktun and Gwich'in. If it comes to that, they will need the power to do so.

Law

Language policies are difficult to design and difficult to apply but they are often the only available tool to leaders. In the beginning, language policies will only apply as administrative rules within Aboriginal institutions. Depending on the result of self-government negotiations, these policies may become by-laws or laws. It is important to keep this in mind when designing language policies. It would be a loss of time and money to create policies that would not be applicable in a different political context, at least in their essence. Again, we should keep in mind that language policies cannot apply to personal communication; they can only apply to institutional settings.

Enforcement

Policies have to be upheld. There should be an enforcement mechanism specified in the policies. How far this mechanism will go depends on the importance of the given policy in the global setting of the language planning effort and the nature of the offender. Global communication offenses should not be treated the same way as image offenses and individual offenders should not be treated the same way as corporate offenders. It is hoped that institutions and corporations will not have to be coerced into applying language policies but previous experiences in the world show that they may have to be. Unless the leaders give themselves the means to ensure that their language policies are applied, they will be wasting their time making such policies.

Justice

Policies are always blind to special cases. Language policies should include an appeal mechanism to address these cases. This last aspect of power is important because appeals often show where the legislator was either too harsh or too lenient. The possibility of discussing their own special case is also very important to the population. If they can appeal, they will get the feeling that the language policy was created to help them preserve their language, not to stop them from expressing their needs or their ideas. It will also increase their sense of responsibility in the process of Language Planning.

Popular support

Although Inuvialuktun and Gwich'in will have to be re-introduced as second languages, this is not the goal of language planning. Its goal is to give Aboriginal languages the status of common languages, of languages for all interactions at the regional level. To achieve this goal, we have to re-introduce Aboriginal languages in the government and schools activities because we can legislate on the language of institutions but we cannot legislate to force people to use Inu-

vialuktun or Gwich'in as common languages. Institutions are only a springboard to convince the population to use Inuvialuktun and Gwich'in more often. This, however, means that Inuvialuktun and Gwich'in will remain in these institutions and will eventually fade away unless the population takes them out on the street. Inuvialuktun and Gwich'in will become the everyday languages of the communities only if the population as a whole supports the language planning effort and promote these languages from second languages to vernacular languages, that is, to languages of everyday activities.

We cannot overestimate the value of popular support. This support may take many forms, but it has to come from every social group in the community. They may all be willing at first but we have to make sure that the interest they show in the first stages of this process does not fade away.

Community Commitment

Community support is complex because it involves different age groups and different attitudes towards language. At first the community will be favorable to the change in social images to show the new importance given to Aboriginal languages. But that feeling will be short-lived. People will be happy to know one or two words but they may not be willing to devote time and efforts to go further than that. The common language level (vernacularization) is much more than one or two words. Sociolinguist Joshua Fishman has devoted many years to the study of these questions. The following text is explicit on the question of community commitment:

Vernacularization is the opposite of institutionalization. Re-vernacularization requires not only inter-generational language transmission, but societal change. More than a language is involved. If you are going to change the language, you have to change the society. That is, informal society must change its way of living during the long stretch from one generation to the next. Schools do not stretch that long, from one generation to the next. Informal role relationships already established in a new language must come to be implemented in the old language, in order for the old language to be transmitted from parents to children. Parents are already talking the new language; they have to change themselves, and they need a society that is changing, too, for them to transmit it to the newborn as a mother tongue. Informal topics and places already associated with the new language must come to be associated with the old language, if it is to be transmitted via intimacy and infancy.

There must be consensual advantages for changing from the new ways to the old ways. No one changes to cut off their nose to spite their face. No one does it because they are masochists and they are just looking for something that is going to hurt. That is not why people change their way of living. There has to be something that they are gaining, that they believe they are gaining, something that means so much to them that it is a worthwhile gain to them. Every infant acquiring the beloved old language at home must have ample out-of-home interlocutors, topics, and places for informal use of the language all the way through to the time when he or she becomes parent. Every student, and I think this may shake many of you in this room, acquiring the beloved language in school must have ample out-of-school and after-school informal interlocutors, places, and topics to see him or her through his or her own child-

bearing stage. Re-vernacularization requires changes in established informal conventions and their reinforcement from various directions, from status-gain, from friendship-gain, from affection-gain. All of these sources of support that endangered languages (and institutionalized languages) typically lack.

Now I want to make it clear: I do not say that we can do without institutions such as schools, churches, or other agencies. But languages can become institutionalized and remain only within the institutions that teach them and espouse them and use them. Institutions should foster the language as links with the outside world, with the **informal** interactions that constitute the bulk of life, the crux of inter-generational mother-tongue transmission. And this is why it is hard to break through. That is why a revolution is required.

(J. Fishman 1995)

The community should be ready to modify its ways to accommodate the small revolution the Language Planning represents. If they do not commit to it, Language Planning will remain institutionalized, and even that, only for a time since institutions may lead the way but they cannot enforce the change. If we are not able to create a community environment to speak Inuvialuktun and Gwich'in, these languages will not make a comeback as common languages.

Parental Commitment

We have said earlier that the school will play an important role in Language Planning. But this role is limited. It is limited because the time children spend in school is limited. School can teach children how to pronounce words, how to make sentences, how to express ideas but the school is an institution and children do not want to exchange ideas and feelings with institutions. They want to speak with people and most importantly with people they like.

Parents today may feel that they have no responsibility in what their children learn in school. They may feel that the decisions made by the school regarding subject matters do not concern them. This attitude may have little impact on most subject matters, but for Aboriginal Language acquisition it is a major obstacle. Parents have to be the first ones to modify their attitude towards Inuvialuktun and Gwich'in. They have to make it clear to their children that learning Aboriginal languages is important and they have to support the Aboriginal language teachers and the school. The mother tongue is the language you learn as an infant. It is the language in which you establish trust and confidence for the first time. If we want to see Aboriginal languages come back one day as mother tongue, it is necessary to create and maintain that sense of trust and confidence throughout the learning process from childhood to young adulthood so that the day they themselves have children, they can teach them Inuvialuktun or Gwich'in as a mother tongue.

Another reason why language restoration is relatively unsuccessful, with all the commitment that I have mentioned to you, despite all the sense of holiness [given to languages], despite all the sense of kinship, despite all the sense of commitment, is because people do not know what to do. It is like fighting a disease without having

an idea of what to do. People generally do not understand the difference between, for example, mother tongue acquisition, mother tongue use, and mother tongue transmission. They are not the same thing. So, they frequently settle for acquiring the language not as a mother tongue, but during the school experience. By then it is not the mother tongue, because they already have another mother tongue. and schools are not inter-generational language transmission agencies. Schools just last a certain number of hours and a certain number of years and then, after that, they are over. How is the language learned there going to be transmitted to the next generation? So because of this confusion, having devoted a number of hours per week, per year, at school for a certain number of years, people frequently conclude, because the children are bright and pick up language, that they have done their bit.

But they have not started a system going that is self-renewing, which is self-replenishing because after school there are many years until that child has his or her children and could pass the language on. That is really a terribly important issue, to realize that the school itself is not going to transmit it to the next generation because society has not set up a transmission mechanism that picks up after school. School is a wonderful agency, and a crucial agency for particular aspects of language use, like literacy, versatility, or formality. But that is neither acquisition of the mother tongue nor transmission of the mother tongue. Finally, not knowing what to do and not having things like this clarified for them, people start altering all kinds of things simultaneously and that is about as desirable as taking all kinds of medicines simultaneously because you might hit upon one that might help you.

(J. Fishman 1994)

Parents are on the front line. They should not feel that the whole responsibility of restoring Aboriginal languages rests upon their shoulders. Other commitments are needed. But they have to make it a special commitment by taking an active part in the learning process of their children.

Elders

Elders are a resource in Language Planning. They are the repository of knowledge and they are the last examples of actual use. They do not speak Aboriginal languages because it is mandatory but because they want to do so and they have something they want to express in these languages. They use Aboriginal languages as common languages and they are the only ones able to pass them on as vernacular languages.

This being said, we also have to understand that Elders are not all equal in their fluency and their capacity to pass on their Aboriginal language. It may be for reasons of personality, it may be social problems, it may be physical problems, but the fact remains that all Elders cannot provide the same kind of help to the Language Planning effort. These facts have to be kept in mind to insure that no effort will be wasted and that nobody will be put in a difficult situation where they are being asked to share what they do not possess. Again Fishman's words are enlightening on this:

There are some societies represented in this room where elderly folk still enjoy life and they do so largely in their beloved language. They converse in it; they argue; they sing; and they pray, if prayer is permissible in that language. They entertain; they reminiscence; they counsel; and they feel fully alive in doing so and if you

visit them, you can see the pleasure that they have. But their children and grandchildren do not do that. These old folk might not even realize just how endangered their languages are because they speak so freely, because they enjoy so fully. They enjoy their reminiscences and the stories and the anecdotes and the proverbs, and, at times, some of them have newsletters and records and performances that they go to. But they have no younger heirs. In another decade or two or three, their ranks will be so thinned that anyone wondering how it sounded to banter in the language would have difficulty finding an answer. I got an e-mail request from a young scholar in California this week asking 'are there any recordings of just animated natural conversation' in a language that he is trying to learn, because all he has is language records where the teacher says the words very slowly and carefully and the other person in the conversation responds in the same fashion. So if you really want to know how it really sounded, you better get it while it is really being spoken, if only as an insurance policy, and do it when informants are plentiful, rather than when you only have one left and you have to take whatever that one has.

Now it has been said by scoffers that languages do not die, they commit suicide. And sometimes this is literally true. Some of them begin to do it far before they have any need to. Some of them do it toward the end. Sometimes they may say they wish there was a young generation that knew the language, but they do not really do anything about it. At an unconscious level, some of them may even enjoy being the last real native speakers. I have had people in old age homes come up to me and saying with pride, "Don't listen to him; listen to me. I am the real last native speaker." Such people might be quite upset to find out that there is a young speaker or there is a club of young speakers. So, worry about denial, that is important, and worry about death wish, not only death wishes towards someone else's language, but toward your own, at the end. Reinterpret the fact that older speakers sometimes do not even seek new ways of re-establishing the inter-generational connection in the light of the fact that they can only do the things they have been doing. They can only do the things that they have been doing all along. That is the only thing they know how to do. They have their cohorts; they have their hobby group or their club; and those things are age-graded. The things they talk about, the things they sing about, are old-age-graded and no young person is going to get any pleasure out of these kinds of conversation. ("What did the doctor tell you last time you went there?") Those are not young topics. New ways are needed because, obviously, the old ones have not succeeded. And these communities of old timers, enjoying the language, they will soon have to fish or cut bait. Fish -- that means to galvanize themselves to work out a joint effort with the generations of their children and grandchildren.

(J. Fishman 1995)

Community support, parental commitment and Elders involvement are but a few of the commitments that will be needed to achieve the goals of language planning. Again, reversing language loss is a question of will and means. If the will is applied where the means are, the possibility of success should be real.

5.- Conclusion

There's one final thing that has to be discussed. Much discussion was devoted to institutions and policies and this fact may have disturbed many. Some may say: Why protect languages? Why bring back languages that people have decided not to speak anymore? Why do it with institu-

tions? If people want Aboriginal languages back, they just have to start speaking them again!

It is true that if people just started using Aboriginal languages again and teaching them to their kids, there would be no need for Language Policy and Planning. But then one may wonder why it is not happening. Even if they would like to hear Aboriginal languages spoken more often, why don't people do it? The answer to this question is unfortunately known and it is called linguistic insecurity. When, for many years, a nation is told that its language has no value, that it is primitive and of no use to explain the modern world, this nation may start to believe this. If they are conquered, isolated and forced to go to foreign schools to learn foreign ways and foreign languages, they may start to believe that it would be better not to speak their ancestral language anymore. But the link between language, culture and nation cannot be broken so easily. It may take hundreds of years but a day comes when this nation wants to reclaim what it was and a need to re-learn its ancestral language is one of the first needs expressed by its population. However, years of language imperialism have taken their toll and people are very often still convinced that the language they would like to hear again is not as good as the language of the foreigner.

Language insecurity has to do with status. It has to be fought at the status level. This is why status planning is so important and why the state has to take such a strong position. Even with a strong state taking strong positions, one cannot be sure that language policy and planning will work because the level of linguistic insecurity individuals carry in their hearts cannot be measured. I cannot promise that the above plan will work to any degree because I do not know how much linguistic insecurity is in the heart of the Inuvialuit and the Gwich'in people. What I do know, however, is that if nothing is attempted now, this situation will not get better.

5.1. Recommendations for responsibility sharing for each group involved

These ideas were proposed to a special committee on Aboriginal Languages of the Beaufort-Delta Divisional Board of Education headed by Sarah Jerome. They were written in October 1997 by Sarah Jerome and myself. They basically correspond to the ideas expressed in this paper.

Schoolboard

- The Schoolboard should be responsible for developing, publicising and enforcing an Ancestral languages Policy. One aspect of this policy should be that Ancestral language courses are compulsory. It should also include some dispositions to insure visibility for Ancestral Languages within the schools.
- The Schoolboard has to make a long-term commitment towards Ancestral language teaching, particularly to provide the funding necessary to create and complete a full curriculum for all Ancestral languages spoken in the Mackenzie Delta.

District of Education Administrators

- The DEA should provide the means to in-service principals, non-aboriginal and aboriginal teachers working in the district in the cultural base of the community.
- The DEA should provide orientation on the land (geographical knowledge) to all its personnel.
- The DEA has to insure that the funding allocated to the Ancestral Language Program is really spent to improve and enhance that program.

Principals

- Principals are responsible for the application of the Schoolboard Ancestral Languages Policy within their schools.
- Principals are responsible for the application of the Ancestral Language curriculum in their schools.
- Principals should provide in-service training for all teachers in the cultural base of community they are working in.
- Principals should provide opportunities for Ancestral languages to be spoken at social and cultural functions.

Non-Aboriginal Teachers

- Non-Aboriginal teachers should use as much of the community cultural base as possible in teaching their respective discipline.
- Non-Aboriginal teachers should try to learn and use Ancestral languages.

Ancestral Language Teachers

- Ancestral language teachers should follow the curriculum developed for Ancestral language teaching.
- Ancestral language teachers have to use the teaching materials provided within the curriculum.
- Ancestral language teachers are responsible for the evaluation of the curriculum and the students' progress.
- Ancestral language teachers should have regular pedagogical development with their respective Teaching and Learning Center.
- Ancestral language teachers should have regular teacher-parent-student contacts to show student progress and answer parents' questions about the program.

Teaching and Learning Centers

- Teaching and Learning Centers are responsible for the development of the Ancestral language

curriculum.

- Teaching and Learning Centers are responsible for the development of the teaching materials to support the Ancestral language curriculum.
- Teaching and Learning Centers are responsible for the training of Ancestral Language teachers in using the Ancestral language curriculum.
- Teaching and Learning Centers should integrate the community cultural base into the Ancestral language curriculum.
- Teaching and Learning have to respect and provide for dialectal divisions.
- Teaching and Learning Centers have to provide adult Ancestral language classes.

Inuvialuit Social Development Program (ISDP) / Gwich'in Social and Cultural Institute (GSCI)

- ISDP and GSCI should provide the community cultural base for each one of the communities in BDEC.
- ISDP and GSCI should provide Ancestral language camps on the land.
- ISDP and GSCI should provide adult Ancestral language classes.

Parents

- Parents have to make a commitment to supporting the Ancestral language program and the staff in the school.
- Parents should encourage their children to learn and speak their Ancestral language.
- Parents should have regular teacher-parent-student contacts to see student progress and ask questions to the teachers about the program.
- Parents are responsible for protecting and transmitting the community cultural base.
- Parents should attend adult Ancestral language classes.

Leadership

- The leadership has to provide incentives for Ancestral language speakers.
- Leadership should provide opportunities for Ancestral languages to be spoken at social and cultural functions.
- Leadership is responsible for enhancing the visibility of Ancestral languages in the community and the media.

Elders

- Elders are responsible for protecting and transmitting the community cultural base and genealogy.

- Elders should reinforce Ancestral languages by speaking them as much as possible in their homes.
- Elders should make themselves available to whoever wants to learn and speak Ancestral languages and see it as their contribution to the well-being of the community.

6.- Notes

¹This research was financed by Indian Affairs and Northern Development Canada through the Northern Scientific Training Program and by the Gwich'in Social and Cultural Institute. The research was licenced by the Aurora Research Institute (permit 12948N).

²Lutra Associates Ltd (1996) *The Richness that Language and Culture Brings: An Impact Study of Canada-NWT Languages Agreements -Final Report*, prepared for the Official Languages Unit, Department of the Executive, GNWT.

³The Genesis Group and New Path Teachers (1996) *Aboriginal Language Community Consultations: A New Approach to Aboriginal Language Research, Development and Promotion*, prepared for the Department of Education, Culture and Employment, GNWT.

⁴International Language Development Consultants Ltd (1996) *Evaluation of Second Language Programs in the Beaufort-Delta Region*, prepared for the Beaufort-Delta Divisional Board.

⁵The linguistic behavior of an individual is shaped by his numerous and almost official contacts with the language of institutions. Accordingly, if we want to modify a linguistic situation or steer its evolution, it is necessary to modify the linguistic behavior of institutions. It is dangerous to make individuals accountable for linguistic change. Their responsibility in this is limited. To place too much responsibility on individuals to obtain significant change in a linguistic situation would only generate a general feeling of powerlessness and speed up the erosion of this situation as shown by the experience in Quebec between the end of the XIXth century and the beginning of the sixties.

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8. - Appendix: List of people interviewed or consulted

- 1- Rosie Albert, Language Instructor, Sir Alexander Mackenzie School, Inuvik.
- 2- Hanna Alexie, Language Instructor, Gwich'in Social and Cultural Institute, Fort McPherson.
- 3- Gloria Allen, Executive Director, Inuvialuit Social Development Program, Inuvik.
- 4- James Anderson, Director, Beaufort-Delta Education Council, Inuvik.
- 5- Sarah Anderson, Language Instructor, Mangilaluk School, Tuktoyaktuk
- 6- Alestine Andre, Cultural Director, Gwich'in Social and Cultural Institute, Tsiigehtchic.
- 7- Thomas D. Andrews, Subarctic Archeologist, Prince of Wales Northern Heritage Centre, Yellowknife.
- 8- Rennie Arey, Language Instructor, Moose Kerr School, Aklavik.
- 9- Morris Blake, Chief, Tsiigehtchic.
- 10- Benoit Boutin, Assistant to Language Commissioner, Yellowknife.
- 11- Cathy Cockney, Program Officer, Inuvialuit Social Development Program, Inuvik.
- 12- Nellie Cournoyea, Chair, Inuvialuit Regional Corporation, Inuvik.
- 13- Clara Day, Assistant Language Instructor, Sir Alexander Mackenzie School, Inuvik.
- 14- Mark Delaney, Media Resource Coordinator, Beaufort-Delta Education Council, Inuvik.
- 15- Mable English, Language Instructor, Gwich'in Social and Cultural Institute, Inuvik.
- 16- Bertha Francis, Gwich'in Language Center, Fort McPherson.
- 17- Robert Galipeau, Language Bureau, Yellowknife.
- 18- Pauline Gordon, Assistant Deputy Minister, Education Development Branch, Yellowknife.
- 19- William Gowan, Vice-Principal, Sir Alexander Mackenzie School, Inuvik.
- 20- Elizabeth Hanson, Teacher, Sir Alexander Mackenzie School, Inuvik.
- 21- Sandra Ipana, Teacher, Sir Alexander Mackenzie School, Inuvik.
- 22- Sarah Jerome, Principal, Moose Kerr School, Aklavik.
- 23- Janie Jones, Principal, Chief Julius School, Fort McPherson.
- 24- Bella Kay, Language Instructor, Sir Alexander Mackenzie School, Inuvik.
- 25- William Koe, Chief, Fort McPherson.
- 26- Ingrid Kritsch, Executive Director, Gwich'in Social and Cultural Institute, Yellowknife.

- 27- Sylvia McDiarmid, Principal, Mangilaluk School, Tuktoyaktuk.
- 28- Eleanor Mitchell, Gwich'in Language Center, Fort McPherson.
- 29- Richard Nerysoo, President, Gwich'in Tribal Council, Inuvik.
- 30- Carol Nowegian, DEA, Tsiigehtchic.
- 31- Miki O'kane, Campus Director, Aurora College, Inuvik
- 32- Don Risha, Principal, Chief Paul Niditchie School, Tsiigehtchic.
- 33- Maria Risha, Teacher, Chief Paul Niditchie School, Tsiigehtchic.
- 34- Annie Semple, Language Instructor, Moose Kerr School, Aklavik.
- 35- Mary Effie Snowshoe, Language Instructor, Chief Julius School, Fort McPherson.
- 36- Bob Simpson, Chairman, Beaufort-Delta Education Council, Inuvik.
- 37- Helen St-Amant, Former Principal, Chief Julius School, Fort McPherson.
- 38- Ron Varr, Vice-Principal, Mangilaluk School, Tuktoyaktuk.
- 39- Betty Vittrekwa, Gwich'in Language Center, Fort McPherson.
- 40- James Wilson, Vice-President GTC, Chair GSCI, Fort McPherson.