National Indigenous Languages Survey Report 2005

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Report submitted to the Department of Communications, Information Technology and the Arts by the Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies in association with the Federation of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Languages
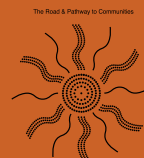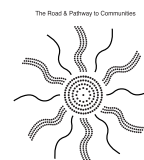
An Australian Government Initiative

AIATSIS
Australian Institute of Aboriginal
and Torres Strait Islander Studies

The Road & Pathway to Communities

FATSIL
FEDERATION OF
ABORIGINAL & TORRES
STRAIT ISLANDER
LANGUAGES
(CORPORATION)

Worldwide knowledge and understanding of Australian Indigenous cultures, past and present

20 November 2005

Ms Helen Williams
The Secretary
Department of Communications, Information Technology and the Arts (DCITA)
38 Sydney Avenue, Forrest ACT 2603

National Indigenous Language Survey Report

Dear Ms Williams,

Please find enclosed the National Indigenous Languages Survey Report prepared by AIATSIS and the Federation of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Languages (FATSIL) for your Department.

This report comprises a comprehensive review of the current state of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander language use across the continent as well as policy recommendations designed to improve these circumstances.

 In particular the report considers the key issue of language endangerment and identifies a worrying trend of increased language loss across the country. Other parts of the report identify the extent of materials that can be used to support language revival and learning. To counter issues of language loss the report also identifies a number of urgent policy and program recommendations to address the differing language needs of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander communities.

While the report addresses DCITA's Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander languages program, in the interests of coordinated departmental program delivery to communities there are also recommendations in respect to the programs of other departments.

We understand that DCITA may wish to take the lead in convening joint departmental meetings to discuss the recommendations and I would be happy for AIATSIS to continue to be a party in these considerations.

I trust that this report will be of strong assistance in the development of improved language programs for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander communities.

Yours sincerely,

Steve Larkin, AIATSIS Principal

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Acronyms

ABC	Australian Broadcasting Commission
ABS	Australian Bureau of Statistics
ACT	Australian Capital Territory
AIATSIS	Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies
AILF	Australian Indigenous Languages Framework
ALRRC	Aboriginal Languages Research and Resource Centre
ASEDA	Aboriginal Studies Electronic Data Archive
ATSIC	Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission
ATSILIP	Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Languages Initiatives Program
ATSIS	Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Services
AUSTLANG	Australian Language Online Database
BRACS	Broadcasting in Remote Aboriginal Communities Scheme
CAAMA	Central Australian Aboriginal Media Association
CD-ROM/CD	Compact Disk Read Only Memory
CLT	Community Language Team
COAG	Council of Australian Governments
DAC	Diwurruwurru-Jaru Aboriginal Corporation
DCITA	Department of Communications, Information Technology and the Arts
ESL	English as a Second Language
FACS	Family and Community Services
FATSIL	Federation of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Languages
ID	Identification (section of the NIL survey)
IESIP	Indigenous Education Strategic Initiatives Program
IL	Indigenous Language
ILDB	Indigenous Languages Database
ILT	Intergenerational Language Transmission
KKY	Kalaw Kawaw Ya
KLRC	Kimberley Language Resource Centre
LANG	Language (section of NIL survey)
LOTE	Languages Other Than English
LTG	Language Technology Group (University of Melbourne AUSTLANG development team)
NAATI	National Accreditation Authority for Translators and Interpreters
NALDIC	National Association for Language Development in the Curriculum
NAPA	Narungga Aboriginal Progress Association
NATSIS	National Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Survey (1994)
NATSISS	National Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Social Survey (2002)
nec	not elsewhere considered (ABS acronym)
nfd	not further defined (ABS acronym)
NILS	National Indigenous Languages Survey
NSW	New South Wales
NT	Northern Territory
OLAC	Open Language Archive Community
PY Media	Pitjantjatjara Yankunytjatjara Media
QLD	Queensland
RAHS	Royal Australian Historical Society
RALC	Regional Aboriginal Language Centre

REGION   Region (section of NIL survey)
RILC   Regional Indigenous Language Centre
RNLD   Resource Network for Language Diversity
SA   South Australia
SIL   Summer Institute of Linguistics
SOIL   State of Indigenous Languages
TAC   Tasmanian Aboriginal Centre
TAS   Tasmania
UN   United Nations (Organisation)
UNESCO   United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organisation
URL   Uniform Resource Locator
US/USA   United States of America
VIC   Victoria
WA   Western Australia
WILD   Web Indigenous Languages Database

Executive summary

Executive Summary

The National Indigenous Languages Survey (NILS) Report 2005 provides a summary and analysis of the results from a survey of Indigenous languages vitality status and resources that was carried out in 2004.

Databases of NILS responses are available from the Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies (AIATSIS), subject to NILS confidentiality provisions. AIATSIS contact details are provided at the end of this Executive Summary.

Chapter 5 and the Appendices of this report contain some detailed results, methodology and information from the survey, and detailed recommendations arising from NILS.

The survey itself was innovative in that it was an Internet survey with respondents providing online answers to a questionnaire, with assessments able to be processed as numbers or free text commentary. Telephone interviews and meetings supplemented the information gained from the questionnaire. A separate survey questionnaire was circulated to collecting institutions, and assessment of the AIATSIS audio-visual collection was also conducted.

The analysis of NILS was carried out using ten indicators of the vitality of languages, resources, attitudes and practice. The indicators were based on a United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) Expert Group's proposals on assessment of language vitality (UNESCO 2003). In developing the NILS Report language endangerment indicators, which are detailed in Appendix A, reference was also made to work on the State of Indigenous Languages (SOIL) report for Australia (McConvell & Thieberger 2001).

The NILS questionnaire provides a more detailed picture of language proficiency and use for a sample of languages than the Australian census. It is recommended that detailed surveys be carried out on a rolling basis in Australian regions in the future.

One of the main findings of the report was that the situation of Australia's languages is very grave and requires urgent action. Of an original number of over 250 known Australian Indigenous languages, only about 145 Indigenous languages are still spoken and the vast majority of these, about 110, are in the severely and critically endangered categories. This critically endangered category indicates languages that are spoken only by small groups of people mostly, over 40 years old.

Eighteen languages are strong in the sense of being spoken by all age groups, but three or four of these are showing some signs of moving into endangerment.

Many other languages are not fully spoken by anybody, but words and phrases are used, and there is great community support in many parts of the country for reclamation and heritage learning programs for such languages.

Other detailed recommendations for standards and processes for measuring language endangerment are to be found throughout this report.

Evaluation is an important part of these proposed initiatives and the language endangerment indicators used in NILS are recommended as a basis for the criteria to be used to measure progress in language maintenance and revival programs.

Collaboration between different departments, governments and different programs, particularly between language and education programs, is seen as important. The current Australian Government emphasis on a 'whole–of-government' approach is conducive to such initiatives. This report's recommendations are in line with current policy frameworks attempting to address Indigenous disadvantage.

Contacts for more information on NILS

For more information on the NILS Report or for enquiries on accessing additional NILS results raw data contact:

Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies (AIATSIS)
Address: Lawson Cres, Acton, ACT
Postal address: AIATSIS GPO Box 553 Canberra ACT 2601 Australia

Web: *www.aiatsis.gov.au*
Telephone: 02 6246 1111
                         (International +61 2 6246 1111)
Facsimile: 02 6261 4285
                         (International +61 2 6261 4285)

Subject to the availability of funding, it is envisaged that some of the data collected in the NILS will be incorporated into AUSTLANG, a web-based Indigenous database, which is under development at AIATSIS. To find this database go to:

http://austlang.aiatsis.gov.au

This database is yet to be launched publicly and at the time of publication it was undergoing upgrading to make it more user-friendly.

This report is also available on the Department of Communications, Information Technology and the Arts website at:

www.dcita.gov.au/indig/maintenance_indigenous_languages/publications

You can also find information on the Australian Government's Indigenous languages and culture programs at *www.dcita.gov.au/indig*

Key NILS results and recommendations

Key NILS results and recommendations

The key NILS results on the state of Australian Indigenous languages are, in summary:

- Most of Australia's Indigenous languages are now no longer fully or fluently spoken. As many as 50 languages can be expected to reach this stage of endangerment in the next 20–30 years, as the most severely and critically endangered languages lose their last speakers.

- At the other end of the scale, the numbers of strong or safe languages are holding relatively stable at around 20, and some are gaining population due to high birthrates. However, some of these languages are becoming threatened.

- There are many more extremely endangered languages, with only older speakers, than there are languages that are in the early moderately endangered and strong stages.

- The pattern of language loss in Australian Indigenous languages is that once the 'tip' into language shift starts, it moves very rapidly through the generations. However small groups of old speakers survive for some languages for up to 20 years after language shift has gone through all generations.

- Over 100 Australian Indigenous languages are currently in a very advanced stage of endangerment and will cease being spoken in the next 10–30 years if no decisive action is taken.

Analysis of the NILS results are throughout this report and are detailed in Chapter 5 and at Appendix F of this report.

The key NILS Report recommendations on Australian Indigenous languages are:

- **Language Nests**
  A pilot program of Language Nests, which are Indigenous language programs for early childhood, should be established following consultation and a scoping report. The nests should be run in communities for all language categories (strong, endangered, and no longer spoken) [Recommendation 1].

- **Community Language Teams**
  Community Language Teams should be established to assist the running of Language Nests and other projects, including the documentation of languages [Recommendation 2].

- **Regional Indigenous Language Centres**
  Regional Indigenous Language Centres should operate in all areas of need to provide infrastructure and technical support to Community Language Teams. Existing centres should continue to operate but should be evaluated and new centres should be considered for some regions which have no current coverage [Recommendation 3].

- **National Indigenous Languages Centre**
  A feasibility study should be ndertaken to evaluate the merits of establishing a National Indigenous Languages Centre [Recommendation 4].

Please view the full NILS Report recommendations at Chapter 9 of this report.

Part I

Introduction

Chapter 1 Introduction

This chapter includes background information on the 2004 National Indigenous Languages Survey (NILS), as well as recommendations on the best language measuring tools and policy proposals. A summary of the contents of this report is at the end of this chapter.

1.1 Indigenous languages in Australia: Matching programs and resources to needs

Indigenous languages have been embattled since European settlers took over the continent, and have been in severe decline across Australia, particularly in the last 100 years. Today we have reached a dire situation where only around 20 of the remaining languages are being passed on to children in their full form, and even those are beginning to face threats.

Around 100 more languages are still spoken by older people but are not being passed on effectively to children and young people. For most Indigenous and many non-Indigenous people, this is a tragic situation.

Many Indigenous people are struggling to maintain and reclaim their languages and the search for effective ways of halting and reversing the loss is an urgent task.

The purpose of this report is to provide solid evidence about the current state of Indigenous languages in Australia. This report presents recommended ways of tackling the preservation and maintenance of Indigenous languages and methods of targeting areas and types of programs that require urgent action and support.

The report presents data collected on Indigenous language *needs* on the one hand, and *resources* and *programs* on the other. Programs and activities utilise resources to meet needs. The desirable situation is where needs are correctly identified and resources are in place so that programs and activities effectively target the needs.

Urgent support is proposed for several key types of programs. Some of these are already fairly well established but require further support to achieve better results, and others are relatively new. This report will show that these programs could effectively meet the most important and urgent needs, according to the criteria the NILS Report has established and the evidence it has amassed. Since there is limited funding, we provide indicators to assess which particular areas should be targeted as priority pilot programs.

The types of programs that require the most urgent support are outlined below. These are listed from local to regional, state and national levels. Each of these programs requires the existence of the other to operate effectively so that support and services are coordinated.

- **Language Nests**
  These are pre-schools/crèches run by local Indigenous people where there is immersion in the local language and culture [Recommendation 1].

- **Community Language Teams**
  In order to have Language Nests and other programs which function well, it is necessary to have a support team resourcing and backing up the effort. These teams would include elders, who typically might know more of a language. It is also necessary for younger Indigenous adults to be involved to learn from the elders, to take responsibility for administration and be part of the teaching, care and production of resources on the languages [Recommendation 2].

- **Regional Indigenous Language Centres**
  These already exist in many, but not all, parts of Australia, and generate and conduct valuable community language programs [Recommendation 3].

- **A National Indigenous Languages Centre**
Beyond the regional and state language centre levels there is a need for some higher functions to be carried out, to assist regional and community initiatives and to provide policy advice to government [Recommendation 4].

We believe the recommendations that are detailed in Chapters 8 and 9 of this report are the most cost-effective means of supporting language development and that they could significantly improve language maintenance outcomes for Indigenous Australians. If implemented, they would protect an enormously rich part of Australia's cultural heritage—a heritage which is in grave danger of being completely lost in this century.

In order to ensure that these recommendations have positive outcomes for communities and languages, it is necessary to have both a process of consultation and a system of evaluation after a trial period. This consultation and evaluation is an important theme in this report [Recommendation 2, Recommendation 13].

All too often policy options have been presented in terms such as 'Indigenous languages versus English'. In fact there is no conflict, because bilingualism and the use of more than one language in education can bring enormous advantages. The Indigenous approach to languages as a community cultural resource and non-Indigenous 'scientific' approaches to languages are often wrongly represented as being irreconcilably different.

In fact, they can complement and support each other as has been shown in many successful projects. The requirements of language and cultural programs and the 'bread and butter' programs providing health, housing and employment have also been seen as conflicting. In fact though, these approaches can complement and support each other, as this report will explain.

At least part of the reason why programs are seen by some as conflicting and not mutually supportive is that different approaches are construed as being in competition for resources.

However, Indigenous 'two-way' ideas provide ways of building more cooperative and collaborative schemes.

In this report we stress programs that use the positive interactions between these different approaches. These factors, which have been seen as competing with each other, can be combined in positive ways.

Indigenous and non-Indigenous people can work together on languages: English and Indigenous languages can be combined in much better coordinated approaches to Indigenous education. Language and culture programs can support and improve the delivery of practical programs and can lift people's spirits, encouraging them to engage in community development based on traditional knowledge and values.

Recent government initiatives that, in some cases, seem to be breaking down the old divisions and are allowing for a more creative approach, have been encouraging. One example of this trend is an initiative of the New South Wales (NSW) state government—the first initiative by any state government to recognise and fund Indigenous languages programs in their own right in education as well as through a state language centre.

This initiative followed the production in 2000 of a report on NSW languages, *Strong Language: Strong Culture,* produced by AIATSIS, through initiatives by the Federation of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Languages (FATSIL) and in consultation with the language community network.

The NSW initiative is in the process of being replicated in Victoria (VIC) and South Australia (SA), with promising discussions also taking place in Queensland (QLD). There are also promising signs that the Northern Territory (NT) Government will revive positive bilingual programs in its schools.

Another promising development is the 'whole–of-government' approach to Indigenous affairs by the Australian Government that promises to break down many of the barriers that have hampered progress—and that could create for example better links between community language and education programs [Recommendation 6, Recommendation 8].

1.2   The NILS consultancy

The survey and the preparation of this report were carried out through a joint consultancy by the Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies and the Federation of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Languages (FATSIL). This grouping won a tender to carry out the survey in 2004.

The tender was offered by the former Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Services (ATSIS), the administrative arm of the former Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission (ATSIC), in 2003.

Since the time that the tender was awarded, both ATSIS and ATSIC have ceased to exist, and the functions of ATSIS have passed to several other Australian Government departments. The languages section of ATSIS has been incorporated into the Department of Communications, Information Technology and the Arts (DCITA), and with it the responsibility for this consultancy.

The team who worked on the report at AIATSIS included Professor Luke Taylor and Ms Dianne Hosking (project coordinators); and Dr Patrick McConvell, Mr Douglas Marmion and Ms Sally McNicol (researchers and writers).

The specific data collection and writing responsibilities of each are detailed in Chapter 4.

1.2.1   Background

The purpose of the consultancy was to make an assessment of the state of Indigenous languages and language programs in Australia and make recommendations about policy directions that would be closely connected to measurable evidence and outcomes.

The requirements of the consultancy as stated by ATSIS included three stages:

1.   Conduct and report on an Australia-wide survey on the status of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander languages. This task will identify languages and numbers of speakers, review existing research and provide recommendations where languages may be considered to be endangered.

2.   Identify, document and report on language resource material available, including the location of material.

3.   Develop strategies to address the findings of the Australia-wide needs survey, including considerations affecting program development and service delivery, and confirm the findings in a report.

The contract between AIATSIS and ATSIS/DCITA stated that the NILS Report should include:

- a summary of the survey results;

- an analysis of the survey results and resource review that utilised existing data compiled in the AIATIS Indigenous Languages Database (ILDB);

- a discussion on the status of Indigenous languages and language needs in Australia. This will include discussion and evaluation of the relative merits of current debates that will inform strategic resource distribution;

- recommendations regarding program development; and

- an executive summary and introduction and conclusion sections.

1.2.2   Partner bodies

FATSIL was strongly involved in the planning and promotion of the NILS project. For the collection of survey data, FATSIL made contact with every organisation from the national languages contacts network, as well as key individuals in each region. Staff and survey workers used meetings, face-to-face discussions, telephone contact and email communication to inform community members of the project. While many surveys were completed with the direct assistance of FATSIL personnel, many others were, after initial contact, filled out independently. The report of FATSIL NILS activity has been included in Appendix D.

The Department of the Environment and Heritage was represented on the project Steering Committee through Mr Tharman Saverimutu.

Surveys of this kind are indebted to the Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) which provided assistance on its census and other

survey work. During the period when this survey was being carried out, the ABS was also revising their Australian Indigenous languages classifications, and liaison occurred between ATSIS/DCITA, AIATSIS and ABS on these issues.

1.3   Outline of NILS Report

The theme of Chapter 2 is language endangerment. The Indigenous languages of Australia are the most threatened group of languages in the world. The reasons why this should be a cause for concern are outlined in this report and are followed with a discussion of the ways in which action by governments could make a difference.

More than half of the original languages of Australia are no longer spoken, except for a few fragments. All the others are in a sense endangered because it would take very little to tip the scales and for them to be lost within one or two generations.

However, it is valuable to distinguish between different degrees of endangerment, because the communities that have different language situations have different language needs that reflect their situations. Identifying the degree of endangerment accurately can assist with identifying appropriate types of programs for use in specific situations [Recommendation 11, Recommendation 32].

In Chapter 2 we look at these various needs in different types of communities and how they can be met. A 'one size fits all' approach is not going to work in all communities across Australia because each language situation is so different. Flexibility and the ability to respond to challenges are essential, as situations can change rapidly; for example, when a language becomes severely endangered or when it may be necessary to focus urgently on recording old people's knowledge systematically [Recommendation 23].

A general framework can be usefully applied to recognise different situations. Prime among the factors we need to consider is how endangered the language is. This is something that is objectively measurable in terms of the number of fluent speakers and potential heirs and learners.

But the expressed needs and perceptions of community members and language custodians must also be factored in. Once this needs analysis has been carried out, we can consider the resources and programs that are currently available to meet these needs.

This is partially a matter of assessing whether certain material conditions are in place to cater for these needs (descriptions of the languages, equipment and funds for jobs) and is something that can be objectively assessed.

Other vital 'human resources' for language projects and programs include enthusiasm, creative ideas and willingness to devote time and effort. Some communities may have more capacity to mount a campaign to regain control of their languages than others. These factors are less tangible and less able to be counted in a survey but must be taken into consideration when evaluating the chances of success or failure in a program.

In Chapter 2, we introduce the idea of 'indicators' of various aspects of language situations. These indicators can help us to compare various languages situations. This discussion is based in part on indicators developed in the Australian context for the State of the Environment surveys (1997 and 2001) but the NILS Report also recommends adapted use of UNESCO language endangerment indicators that were published in 2003.

In Chapter 2, the main demographic indicator used for determining levels of endangerment is presented. Other indicators are discussed in more detail in Appendix A, and are more amply illustrated in the way results have been generated from them, in Chapters 6, 7 and 8.

Chapter 3 focuses on the kinds of responses that are appropriate and relevant for the different language situations encountered, from a community level, right up to the government policy level. The chapter includes a brief introduction on previous and current state and federal government policies dealing with Indigenous languages and how they fit into the international scene. In the Australian context, the report outlines what local and regional groups are doing or planning to do

about the situations they face. It then looks at how governments can support positive developments by creating institutions, allocating funds or enacting legislation.

Governments obviously want to see successful outcomes from the public funds invested in this area, and this desire is shared by Indigenous people. All too often the outcomes of language programs have been difficult to assess or plainly inadequate—a disappointment for all concerned including the Indigenous community.

However, at times, governments or at least many of those who are in immediate control of Indigenous programs, have been overly concerned (albeit legitimately) with financial issues at the expense of true outcomes in the languages area. There is a need for solid guidelines for accurately assessing program outcomes and we believe that this is an achievable goal. In Chapters 2 and 3, we outline how needs and outcomes can be assessed.

Chapter 4 describes the methods used in NILS, including the development of the survey instrument and the interactive web survey, that were designed to capture information on the state of the languages, attitudes towards them and activities related to them. Collections such as libraries and archives were investigated separately. Other sources of information used in the survey are also mentioned.

Chapter 5 summarises the main results of the survey (both the general online survey and a Collections Survey) and includes some discussion and recommendations.

In Chapter 6, NILS results as they impact on language situations, are further discussed. These results are compared with similar findings from other sources, such as the ABS Census, and are analysed in terms of the indicators that have been proposed.

This discussion demonstrates how NILS responses reinforced the validity and robustness of language classifications and indicators used in earlier surveys—that is the existence of three major categories—'strong', 'endangered' and 'no longer spoken'.

This part of the report also shows that the NILS results are in many ways more detailed than those of the ABC Census. The NILS results reflect the strength of feeling from Indigenous respondents towards the maintenance of their languages.

Chapter 6 includes a listing of the most endangered languages according to the indicators and the combinations of indicators that can be used to select appropriate programs and evaluate program outcomes.

The focus of Chapter 7 is on resources available to language programs and projects, mostly those recorded by the NILS Collections Survey, and other sources of information such as the Indigenous Languages Database.

Chapter 8 briefly examines Indigenous language programs, including both those previously funded under ATSIC/ATSIS schemes—such as the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Languages Initiative Program (ATSILIP), and those under the aegis of education departments. This is a large field in which comprehensive information could not be gathered due to a lack of time and a lack of available documentation of programs. Further work on this is recommended.

In Chapter 8, we present the four key types of programs that this report recommends be established—Language Nests, Community Language Teams, Regional Indigenous Language Centres and a National Indigenous Language Centre. We outline their operation and inter-linkage, and justify each in terms of needs and policy.

We also demonstrate how outcomes can be assessed for these programs, keeping in mind both community goals and well-established indicators.

Chapter 9 contains this report's main conclusions and the 52 detailed recommendations that have emerged from NILS. In this final chapter, this report's main theme—matching programs to needs—is summarised and the contribution of the report is examined in relation to this theme.

There are a number of Appendices that provide further important and detailed background data and evidence to back up points made in the body of the report.

Part II

Background

Chapter 2 Language endangerment

2.1   The value of Indigenous languages

In this chapter we explore why it is worth expending effort and money on Australian Indigenous languages, against a background of public opinion that has not always been sympathetic to this endeavour but is becoming more so.

There is evidence that growing up bilingual or with a good knowledge of other languages, not just English, is an advantage. Indigenous people have little doubt about the value of languages—for them, languages are a key element in their identity and spiritual grounding.

2.1.1   Public perceptions

There is greater public awareness now of Indigenous languages than there was 20 or 30 years ago. The impact of the band Yothu Yindi, which had hit records sung in Yolngu Matha, and to a lesser extent other Indigenous bands playing this kind of material, should not be underestimated. In general though public attention to languages has been sporadic, and there is little systematic study of them in any educational institution.

However, there is increasing public awareness that Indigenous languages in Australia are endangered to the point that all of them may disappear in the next few decades. The worldwide concern with language endangerment has singled out Australia as the continent where languages are disappearing fastest (eg Nettle & Romaine 2000: 4-5) and this has had an indirect impact on campaigning and promotion of the issue within Australia.

At the same time as this concern about language loss has grown in some quarters, in the last decade or so, there has been a rolling back of measures that could save languages. For example, in the 1970s–80s, a high water mark was reached in the implementation of a bilingual education program in the Northern Territory but this program was closed down by the NT Government in 1998 and is only now being reconsidered by that government.

There is certainly a strong ideology of 'monolingualism' or what language policy experts Tove Skutnabb-Kangas and Robert Phillipson call 'linguicism' in Australia (Skutnabb-Kangas & Phillipson 1994). Under this ideology, minority languages are seen as handicapping the children of minority groups and preventing them from acquiring a valued resource (the majority language). English is promoted as 'the power language' which opens doors to education and employment. While this is undoubtedly true, too often proponents of this view ignore or undermine the important role of the Indigenous languages, and advance the misconception that it is a matter of one or the other.

As is quite clearly shown from many successful bilingual communities and education systems throughout the world, this is a narrow view that does not serve the interests of Australian Indigenous people. The great majority of Indigenous people in Australia are very positive about the use of Indigenous languages in some form in schools. In a SA survey of languages in 2002 (Amery et al 2002), 90 per cent of respondents condemned the 'English-only' view, many in the strongest terms (McConvell et al 2003). A NSW survey conducted recently recorded a similar view, and this has led to the introduction of the NSW Aboriginal Languages Syllabus K-10 throughout NSW schools in 2004 (Hosking et al 2000).

Furthermore, there is a significant current of support for Indigenous language maintenance in wider society and the media, and of course in the Indigenous community itself. These positive views should be assessed and harnessed. In particular, dichotomies such as choosing between English *or* Indigenous languages in schools should be shown to be false and rejected, and the great advantages of bilingualism should be promoted.

There is also potential for confusion and perceived conflict about the aims of language preservation. Firstly, there is the need for the recording of traditional knowledge in traditional languages which is a priority in some 'cultural heritage' and documentation projects. But there is also a desire for people to have languages and cultural knowledge, with which to talk about the present and the future as well as the past. Both of these are important and work in harmony.

In fact, the 'two ways' and *Garma/Ganma* philosophies (Marika 1999) developed by Indigenous people are building strong bridges between the old traditions and the new. Far from being 'irrelevant in the modern world' the old languages are providing crucial ways of understanding the present and are assisting Indigenous groups to survive as distinct peoples with a unique culture into the future.

Indigenous culture has always been able to accommodate outside groups and new ideas, particularly where those new ideas do not negate the traditional culture and language. Bilingual education is an example of this, as it creates the opportunity for cultures to meet and mix.

Sir William Deane, giving the Vincent Lingiari Memorial Lecture *Signposts from Daguragu* (Deane 1996), focused on the handover of the lease of Daguragu in 1975:

> As he concluded his remarks, the Prime Minister poured a handful of Daguragu soil into Vincent Lingiari's outstretched hand. Vincent Lingiari, having received both the Crown lease of his ancestral lands and a symbolic handover of the land itself simply replied:
>
> 'We are all mates now.'
>
> He then turned and addressed his people in their own tongue. He noted that the 'important white men' had come to Daguragu and were returning the Gurindji land. He exhorted the Gurindji thenceforth to live with 'the whites' as friends and equals.
>
> He concluded:
>
> 'They took our country away from us, now they have brought it back ceremonially.'

Vincent Lingiari's speech in Gurindji (Lingiari 1975) was significantly much longer than the one he made in English. In it, Lingiari used many ways of speaking designed to allow Gurindji people to understand what momentous events were taking place in terms of talk about the old culture. For instance, the quotations above used by Deane are English translations of the following used by Lingiari:

> *Ngali jimarri*
>
> *Ngurra ngungalangkulu kanya, ngulu linkarra kanya lurrpu.*

The English translation used by Deane does not do justice to the Gurindji version that packs more powerful messages. *Jimarri* is not just 'mate', as in the translation, but is someone who has been through initiation with a person—an inspiring interpretation of the relationship between black and white, if its full implications are understood. The theme of initiation is continued, with the word *linkarra*, translated 'ceremonially', but actually referring, through reference to the handful of dirt, to the symbolic 'relearning' of all the everyday tasks of life, like eating, speaking, cutting and shaping wood etc, which the initiates must go through after they have become 'young men'.

While Gurindji youngsters no longer speak the language fluently and it is an endangered language, use of the old language and its symbolic richness drawn from ancient ceremony is still important to both young and old Gurindji people. The banners and CD that were produced to commemorate the walk-off in 1966 were titled in the Gurindji language: *Mumkurla-nginyi-ma Parrngalinyparla,* which means in English—'From darkness into the light'.

This reaching into the old language for inspirational and symbolic purposes is something shared by all Indigenous groups, whether their language is still spoken or not, however the more people know of the language, the richer the resources are for such purposes.

2.1.2   Languages and Indigenous identities

A language is the main marker that identifies a distinct ethnic group. In Australia, most Indigenous people identify strongly with a traditional language identity. The tribe with

which they identify is a language group and in the great majority of cases, the tribal name is the language name.

Each language is associated with an area of land. This association is not just an accident of history and politics, as it may be with some larger world languages, but has deep spiritual meaning for Indigenous Australians. The creator beings bestowed languages on areas of country and their ancestral people in a distant age, which is sometimes called the Dreamtime. Today, the spirits of the ancestors of the tribe still live in the country, and can be spoken to only in the proper language for that country.

When asked why they wanted to maintain their language, Gurindji people said that it was to maintain their Law, which in the Gurindji language they call *yumi*. This word encompasses not just what we might call civil and criminal 'law' but the ways of behaviour and social control with regard to kin and the land that were bestowed by the ancestors and Dreamings. There are many words and expressions in the traditional languages that have a complex meaning and usage that cannot be replicated in English. This is discussed in the following section.

Even people who largely no longer speak their traditional language, and speak instead a variety of English, identify themselves by a traditional language identity. They grieve for the loss of the language and are making determined efforts to bring it back. Those whose languages are still spoken, but who are threatened by enormous pressures to give them up, are looking for ways to keep their languages strong.

The fact that language is so important in forming Indigenous identity and people's relationships to areas of land means that there is an intimate relationship between language-related activities and the current emphasis on Native Title claims and determinations. As Native Title rights are asserted and put into practice in land management schemes, it is likely there will be much more emphasis on a 'two-way' approach to landscape involving use of Indigenous place-names, names for landforms, water sources, flora and fauna and local terminology for management practices, such as use of fire and hunting/culling.

The Indigenous terminology and conceptualisation of rights to land is already important in land-related practices, (kin terms, words for special responsibilities etc), but it is not adequately recognised or documented. *Kirda/kurdungurlu* in Warlpiri, and related word pairs in other languages, are widely used in the NT not only by Indigenous people, but also by non-Indigenous people who have to deal with land matters. These word pairs refer to those people who have a relationship of reciprocity and complementarity in their dealings with land and ceremony, flowing from inheritance from the father line in the first case and from the mother's father in the second. The word pair, *Yothu Yindi*, incidentally, the name of the popular band already mentioned, has a similar meaning.

There is certainly a role for Community Language Teams and Regional Indigenous Language Centres to assist Native Title agencies and other bodies to be better informed on Indigenous language terminologies and the relations they describe. These are terms and relationships that, rather than disappearing, are actually acquiring more importance, as more Indigenous people manage large tracts of land (see also section 3.4.2 on the economic importance of language support).

2.1.3 Language as cultural treasure

Language, land and culture are as one. Languages are storehouses of cultural knowledge and tradition. Indigenous groups have developed their own special culture and relationship to the environment they live in, and in their languages they have developed rich means of expression for their culture and environment.

Apart from the question of Indigenous land ownership and native title rights discussed above, government departments such as park authorities and scientific organisations need to pay more attention to Indigenous knowledge of the environment, which has been largely ignored and neglected.

Much of this knowledge is now highly endangered along with the languages in which this knowledge is formulated. This knowledge is not outmoded superstition but is based on

thousands of years of observation and practical interaction with the Australian environment. It is knowledge that still has practical and economic value today, for Indigenous people and society at large.

As well as the environmental knowledge encompassed by the Indigenous languages of Australia, the languages contain the concepts in which a rich, spiritual and social life is couched. They are the cathedrals and Taj Mahals of the mind! Those who seek to preserve cultural heritage, such as agencies like UNESCO, are now beginning to understand the importance for many of the world's cultures of 'intangible heritage' such as language, music and dance.

While it is important to preserve intangible heritage in archives, it comprises of things that are not just museum pieces. The recording of the speech and song of elders, for example provides a way for the following generations to learn and recreate new cultural achievements, both now and in the future. As with any living culture, the results will not be the same as the original but may change in accordance with the times and needs of the new inheritors of the tradition.

2.1.4   The uniqueness of the languages

If a European language spoken by some people in Australia, say Estonian, is no longer learned by children here and dies out on this continent, it may be a cause of regret to the Estonian community. However, the language is still spoken by millions in Europe. Of course, the same is not true of the Indigenous languages of Australia. If any of these die out, they are gone altogether, unless by luck they have been documented in the rich detail necessary to bring them back to life at a later date.

Australian Indigenous languages are like no others in the world in the way their vocabulary and grammars work. While there are some common features of languages across regions, each one of the languages is unique and has many features that are not found elsewhere in the world. Linguists view the loss of the languages as a loss to science—we will never know about these unique human creations if they are not fully recorded.

Others may be skeptical of this view and regard it as a museum collector's perspective. Indigenous language speakers, however, usually match the enthusiasm of linguists in believing in the richness of the structures of their languages. Their hope though is that the languages may continue to be spoken by their living descendants. Typically, they also realise that fully documenting the languages is a good insurance policy in case revival does not immediately occur. In this way, the descendants can rediscover the lost riches at another time.

2.2   How can governments make a difference?

Governments can support Indigenous language by providing a national framework that would set up the necessary infrastructure to support language education.

Governments can also support Indigenous language learning by supporting community and regional groups to assist families to allow the learning of Indigenous languages to take place, without this having any detrimental effect on English. The Language Nests, recommended and described in this report (Chapter 8) provide a structure to involve families and elders in this type of role and can link communities to mainstream educational institutions in ways that will benefit both sides.

In the past, governments have had a significant hand in the decline of Australian Indigenous languages, not only through neglect but also through the use of active and punitive measures to suppress languages. This history is seen by many as creating a responsibility for present-day governments to do what they can to repair the damage, where this is desired by Indigenous people. It is not a question of restoring the past, but rather, of building new institutions for the future in which language and culture are recognised as playing a positive role in raising new generations who are self-aware, capable and proud of their heritage.

It is a truism that languages will be maintained when families make sure their children are

learning the ancestral language. This does not mean, however, that the sole responsibility for language maintenance should rest with families with no support from government or other agencies. The pressure to give up local languages and cultures applied by mainstream institutions, such as government departments, schools and the media, is strong even if sometimes not intended. Governments can successfully moderate this pressure, by allowing local and regional Indigenous networks for language maintenance to thrive and by supporting these networks to enter into partnerships with government and the wider society.

Once again, it should be made clear that English is present in all communities today and no-one, including Indigenous people, is arguing that it should not be. Children can, and certainly will, learn English. The point is that they can also learn an Indigenous language and become fully bilingual with no harmful effects on their education or life prospects.

In this era, Indigenous people should be given the opportunity to make decisions about their languages and run programs that support them. This feature is an important part of the proposal for Community Language Teams, and also for regional and national language centres [Recommendation 2, Recommendation 3, Recommendation 4].

Governments can also assist by raising the profile and prestige of languages. This in turn will affect the young learners and reinforce that the old languages can be used in higher functions in society and that they are still respected.

There are many ways in which this can be done—'dual naming' of places is one that is already being taken up by some governments. Providing more opportunities for people to use Indigenous languages in education, meetings, legal and health situations, with the provision of qualified interpreters, is another way of raising the profile of languages (Kimberley Interpreting Service 2004) [Recommendation 21].

Governments need to be better informed on the situation of individual languages so that they can take appropriate measures to formulate policy and practice. Becoming more informed would involve them assessing levels of language endangerment using the appropriate indicators. A National Indigenous Languages Centre would play a central role in keeping governments accurately informed [Recommendation 4].

2.3 Language endangerment on a world scale

At least 3000 of the world's 6000 languages are losing speakers and are endangered, and at least 800 are very close to extinction. The disappearance of languages is rapid and accelerating and UNESCO believes about 90 per cent of the world's languages may be lost by the end of the twenty-first century (UNESCO 2003: 3–5).

From a cultural heritage viewpoint, this is a disaster of huge proportions, and one that is moving so fast that international action is needed immediately to deal with it.

In the same way as the heritage value of buildings and natural features has been recognised, the importance of intangible heritage is now gradually being appreciated by international and national bodies. Languages are making an appearance on many agendas and the advantages (including sconomic efficiencies) of using local languages in at least the early stages of education are gradually being accepted in more and more countries.

Many of the world's Indigenous and minority peoples are very concerned with language preservation. However, many of these groups, and the nations they live in, are at the same time coping with high levels of economic distress, environmental problems and in some cases civil strife and war. These factors make it difficult in practice to give priority to languages.

2.4 Language endangerment in Australia

Australia has been singled out as the country that has witnessed the largest and most rapid loss of languages of anywhere in the world, over the last century (Nettle & Romaine 2000: 9). The overall decline and current situation in Australia is similar to North America—in both cases Indigenous groups are similarly relatively small and powerless inside states dominated by settler groups mainly of European origin. Some of the American Indigenous groups still maintain much larger numbers than any group in Australia, and the loss has taken place there over a longer period.

Most of the original 300 or so languages in Australia are now no longer spoken, and many more are teetering on the brink of extinction. Only about 20 are not currently endangered but in the longer term, none of these can be considered safe and are likely to disappear this century unless a major effort is made by governments and communities.

2.4.1 Language situations

It has been widely understood and accepted that there are three basic types of language situations:

- Strong—all age groups including children are speaking the traditional Indigenous language;

- Endangered—the children are not learning to speak the language (although they may understand it a little); and

- No longer spoken or 'sleeping'—nobody speaks the language except for a few words and phrases.

These categories correspond with the three categories found in earlier analysis and are discussed further in Chapter 6. The category 'strong' where all age groups speak the language, includes situations where people are 'using' the language a lot, as well as 'knowing' it. The category 'endangered' where mainly older people know and use the language, correlates with many more people knowing the language

than using it (ABS 1996, analysed in McConvell & Thieberger 2001).

> This finding confirms the importance of the age profile, that is applied in detail in Chapter 6, as a robust indicator of the condition of languages. This is because age profiling correlates so closely with another feature of endangerment—less use of the language.
>
> Decline in use directly relates to a decline of transmission of the language to children, and is the way a 'tip' into language loss tends to happen so rapidly. If children do not hear a language spoken, they will not learn it. Recreating a situation where the language is spoken to and around children is a major reason why the establishment of Language Nests is a central proposal of the NILS Report [Recommendation 1].

There are subcategories within the 'endangered' category that depend on how many speakers remain and what age groups they are in, both important factors when we look at the issue of the requirements for revitalisation programs.

The choice of particular revitalisation strategies will be dictated in part by the urgency of the situation. Assessment of the urgency of a situation is assisted by a three-fold subdivision of the 'endangered' category into:

- Early-stage endangerment—only children failing to speak language fully, others still continuing

- Middle-stage endangerment—young people also not speaking, middle-aged know some

- Severe endangerment—only a few old people still control language.

The 'strong', 'endangered' or 'no longer spoken' divisions can be combined with the above subdivision of the endangered category to create an Endangerment Index 6-point scale (from Grade 5 to 0), a measure that is explained more fully in Chapter 3.

2.4.2   Matching programs to situations

Many false starts and poor outcomes have resulted from taking language programs 'off the shelf' as they are often not appropriate when applied elsewhere. It has become obvious that some kind of general scheme for matching programs to situations would be valuable. Several schemes have been proposed that match language situations to appropriate programs, both internationally (eg Fishman 1991) and in Australia.

Problems with Fishman's scheme have already been documented (McConvell 1992, Lo Bianco & Rhydwen 2001). One of the criticisms is that it deliberately amalgamates and blurs the distinction between a language situation and proposed intervention strategies.

The approach recommended in this report is that the situation of a language can and should be assessed independently from intervention strategies. The intervention agenda should be developed from the evidence provided by the assessment tools (eg surveys and the NILS Report recommended language endangerment indicators proposed in this report).

There are different ways of approaching a given situation, but several general principles apply in linking intervention strategies to situations. Fishman builds certain doubtful assumptions into his combined scheme, for example, he asserts that languages can only be maintained on the basis of domain separation and that 'higher level' activities in the media and education arenas are of little value. It is therefore not recommended that his scheme be followed, although all workers in this field are tremendously indebted to his work.

Within Australia, an influential analysis has been that of Graham McKay (McKay 1996) which drew on the work of Patrick McConvell (McConvell 1986) and Steve Johnson (Johnson 1987) as well as Joshua Fishman (Fishman 1991). The McKay analysis follows the scheme of the Australian Indigenous Languages Framework (AILF) (Australian Indigenous Languages Framework 1993) which links language program types to situations, but also notes the variation in terminology in this area.

For convenience, this report adopts the terminology of AILF, set out following McKay (McKay 1996: 19) and which is reproduced below in Table 2.1. An analysis of how the AILF/McKay scheme can be fitted with the NILS Report recommended indicators is provided in Appendix A.

A great deal of work has come out of North America where language situations tend to parallel those in Australia; and other references and discussion can be found. (eg Reyhner 1997).

Table 2.1 Language maintenance program categories and their corresponding situations

AILF categories	Subcategories	Defining characteristics (AILF)
Language maintenance (first language maintenance)		All generations full speakers
Language revival	Language revitalisation	Generation of (older) speakers left—children likely good passive knowledge
	Language renewal	Oral tradition but no full speakers—children likely little or no passive knowledge
	Language reclamation	No speakers or partial speakers—relying on historical sources to provide knowledge
Language awareness		Non-speakers learning about the languages where it is not possible to learn and use the language—vestiges only documentation poor
Language learning (second language learning)		Non-speakers learning as L2

2.4.3   Prioritising

The question of how available funds should be spent in Australia has been debated ever since funding was first made available in the 1980s. Obviously, in fairness, languages in all situations should get support if they also have teams that can deliver useful products and programs.

The recommendations in this report are for the establishment and support of four major programs which serve 'strong', 'endangered' and 'no longer spoken' reclamation situations equally. These recommendations take into account that the Language Nests, for example, will operate effectively in different situations.

However, endangered languages are the most urgent priority and this should be reflected in the funding initiatives. There are over 100 endangered languages in Australia and if urgent action is not taken, in the next few years, there will be no speakers left and no-one will have learnt to speak the language. Once this happens, trying to revive a language from written documentation and recordings is much harder than intervening at the crucial point of 'tip' when there are still fluent speakers even though the language is not being transmitted to the children.

Clearly there is less time to spare in the more severe stages of endangerment. However, intensive work with the few remaining speakers of severely endangered languages on emergency documentation, can be stressful for some of them if they are old and not in good health. In these situations assistance from younger people of the group (including 'apprentices' to the older people) is crucial. This is described in more detail in the section on Community Language Teams in Chapter 8 [Recommendation 23].

Infirm elderly people whose language is endangered may not be in a position to take part in Language Nests directly. In these cases, middle-aged or younger 'apprentices' will have to gather information and act as caregivers in the Language Nest.

Given budgetary restrictions, it will no doubt be impossible to give appropriate assistance to all the endangered languages in the short time frame in which they need it. Of course a sizeable amount of any language budget has to also be devoted to the languages that are 'strong' or 'no longer spoken'. However, priority *must* be given to the endangered languages.

A positive attitude to languages (Indicator Seven in Appendix A) is clearly necessary, as well as the involvement of specific people who have the will, ability and energy to engage with a language documentation and maintenance project. A specific plan with outcomes specified by the community and/or regional centre team is another desirable feature that can make a proposal a higher priority for funding support.

The extent to which a language has been documented is rather a two-edged sword though. It is very helpful to have good documentation of a language in order to build an appropriate language program. At the same time, languages with low documentation need to receive urgent attention in order to improve that situation. It is possible to 'bootstrap' a Language Nests' program without much documentation to start with, but the documentation should then go hand-in-hand with the active teaching programs, keeping in mind the risk of overstretching the older speakers.

Regional Indigenous Language Centres and community programs juggle these priorities succesfully in many cases, especially where they have rapport with communities and past experience of the issues. The judgments of skilled Indigenous people and non-Indigenous staff in these centres should carry weight with the governments and policy makers charged with allocating resources to language activities.

Where there is no Regional Indigenous Language Centre in place, it may be necessary to apply the NILS Report recommended language endangerment indicators (detailed in Appendix A) to decide which language groups should be consulted first to establish pilot programs.

2.5 Measuring language endangerment

In order to assess what kinds of programs are appropriate and how urgently they need to be implemented, it is necessary to measure both language vitality and language endangerment. It is best if these measuring methods are as widely agreed upon as possible (preferably internationally) and that they are frequently tested in other ways to ensure the reliability and validity of results.

2.5.1 Indicators of endangerment

Both in Australia and internationally, all language situations are subtly different, but they also have many elements in common, such as the stages of language endangerment and language shift. It is useful to draw out these similarities and differences so that we can be clear what kind of situation exists in each place and what kind of response is appropriate. Many of the failures in language programs have been due to programs that are suitable for one type of situation being applied inappropriately to other situations.

Using 'indicators' means it is possible to measure a small number of aspects of a situation that will give a good overall picture of the situation. Some history of the use of indicators in gauging the state of Indigenous languages in Australia is provided at Appendix A.

The 'indicators' strategy has been used in this report, and while not all the data used is available in accurate form, much of it is has now been collected, from severable independent sources, by the ABS, by the NILS and in the AIATSIS AUSTLANG Database (see Appendix E). It is important that the AUSTLANG Database be maintained and upgraded [Recommendation 34].

The use of indicators should be checked from time to time to see if they are still providing accurate information. There have been some local and regional surveys that provide data that performs this function (eg. Katherine Language Centre 2001). We recommend that such surveys take place in a selection of regions at regular intervals [Recommendation 25].

The 'indicators' approach to assessing language situations has already been introduced in general terms. We will now show how this works with reference to one of the most important indicators of language endangerment, that is the age profile of speakers in a language community.

The other indicators that are recommended for use in assessing language situations are mentioned in this chapter, but are discussed in more detail with reference to some results in Appendix A.

It should be remembered that the indicators approach will simplify a situation, but it should not distort it. Before looking at language profiles, this report looks briefly at some of the complicating factors that arise when we use the indicators.

2.5.2 'Speaking', 'using' and 'identifying with' a language

A basic concept in a language profile or indicator is a judgment about whether an individual 'speaks' a language. There are several issues involved in this. One is that the ABS Census question on Indigenous language actually asks if people do speak (use) the Indigenous language in question at home, rather than whether they *can* speak it. It is possible that there are people who can 'speak' the language who answer 'no' because they rarely speak it at home. However, the opposite kind of answer is also given where people who only speak a little of a language claim to speak it. Often these two kinds of responses will cancel each other out.

It would be useful if the census and other surveys distinguished between 'knowing' and 'using' a language as well as 'identifying' with a language. Where this occurs, as in the Canadian census and partially in the National Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Survey in 1994 (ABS 1996), the presence of two or more questions evokes much more accurate and useful responses (for more discussion see McConvell & Thieberger 2001) [Recommendation 24].

2.5.3   Proficiency

'Speaking' also raises the question of how much or how well the person can speak the language. This is not allowed for in the strictly yes/no approach of the Australian census. Assessment of speaking a language might vary according to the situation of the language. For example, where the language is hardly spoken by anyone at all, someone who speaks a little may be regarded as a 'speaker' in that community. Terms like 'fluent' are often used to point to levels of proficiency, but once again the meaning can be variable and subjective.

One of the problems is that people may produce sentences that are basically English, with traditional language words thrown in, and say that they are speaking the traditional language. This set of issues is also examined below in the section on switching and mixing.

In the New Zealand census, there is a short guide to what is meant by 'speaking' a language, which is defined as an ability to carry out a simple conversation in the language. This is somewhat vague but is a fairly good compromise—one that could be used where no more rigorous assessment is available. It is possible to carry out much more objective assessments of proficiency in languages, and detailed proposals have been made about how to do this in Australian Indigenous contexts (McConvell 1994). This is unlikely to happen during a census, but assessing proficiency is an important part of language maintenance and reclamation programs because it establishes if and what outcomes are being achieved following interventions [Recommendation 12]. Such testing may be incorporated into the rolling regional surveys recommended in this report [Recommendation 25].

2.5.4   'Partial speakers'

In addition to the situation where there are still some fluent speakers of a language as well as 'partial speakers' or 'semi-speakers', there is also the situation where there are no longer any fluent speakers. In this situation most of the population engages in some form of use of the language, usually interspersing Indigenous English or Creole speech with some words and phrases of the old language under certain circumstances. We call this common practice 'word-mixing'.

Some people in this situation say that they 'use' or 'speak' the old language and are sometimes offended by suggestions that they do not. This accounts for the inflation of some of the figures of speakers of some languages. However, in the NILS, people in this situation were given a wider range of options to describe their own situation than just 'speak' or 'not speak', so they tended to give realistic answers about their lack of full ability and the limited use they make of language elements. Using the NILS Report recommended language endangerment Indicator One, which is Intergenerational Language Transmission (ILT) (see Appendix A for the details on the indicators) people in this language situation tended to score a Grade of 2 to 4 (that is from 'severly endangered' to 'unsafe') rather than the Grade 6 ('strong' or 'safe') or above, that was scored by full speakers.

The NILS questions therefore provide for the option of an extension to the Indicator One — Intergenerational Language Transmission indicator, to describe the situations after language shift has taken place. This extension is described in Appendix A.

The amount of language still used, even in the absence of full speakers, is an important factor in the ability of communities to mount a language reclamation program. Programs have been run both here and overseas based on 'word-mixing' in English, as building blocks towards learning the target language more fully.

2.5.5   Code-switching and mixing

The situation referred to above where people use an amount of traditional language vocabulary but nobody speaks it 'right through' or fluently, is different from the classic situation of code-switching. Code-switching typically involves bilinguals who know both languages well but choose to alternate between them. This is also found in Indigenous groups and does not mean that the languages are necessarily threatened.

However, in some cases, traditional languages become mixed and/or simplified, and the

younger speakers end up speaking a language which is in fact very different from that of earlier generations, even though they may call it by the same name (eg Modern Tiwi, Gurindji Kriol, Light Warlpiri).

A situation where speakers cannot speak the traditional language well or at all is different from code-switching. It also differs from 'word-mixing', which was discussed above, because typically in that situation, there are more than just odd words and phrases from the old language sprinkled into the mixture. Aspects of the traditional language grammar are present and the language has features that are different from both English/Creole and the traditional language. We call this type of language 'mixed language'. It could become the main community language of some groups if the traditional language is no longer spoken, although this stage has not yet been reached anywhere as far as we know.

This is problematic for censuses and surveys as it is hard to decide whether the language being spoken is 'the same' language as the traditional language or not, and therefore how it counts in terms of speaker numbers. When completing a census, other surveys or NILS, some respondents class their current language and the traditional language as the same language and some do not. For the present, we recommend that such mixed languages be treated in the same way as types of 'word-mixing'.

2.5.6   Age profile of speakers

In the arena of language and age profiling a recent UNESCO publication on measuring the vitality of languages (UNESCO 2003) leads the way. The approach was developed by a UNESCO languages ad hoc group and for the purposes of this report we shall refer to it and the indicators developed as the 'UNESCO approach' and the 'UNESCO indicators'.

The UNESCO approach uses nine indicators of language vitality, each (except one) with a 0-5 scale of grades. This report recommends some alterations to these UNESCO indicators and the addition of a tenth indicator on language programs. Details of the NILS Report recommended language endangerment indicators are provided in Appendix A. In this report the NILS Report recommended language endangerment indicators will be refrred to simply as the 'NILS indicators'.

But first, let us look at the first of the UNESCO indicators—Indicator One—Intergenerational Language Transmission. We also refer to this indicator as an 'Age Profile' because it measures language transmission according to which age groups speak the traditional language. Age profiling as a way of gauging transmission of a language is probably the most reliable of the gauging techniques (others are discussed in Chapter 6 and Appendix A).

Table 2.2: UNESCO language endangerment Indicator One—Intergenerational Language Transmission (UNESCO 2003:15)

Degree of endangerment	Grade	Speaker population
Safe	5	The language is used by all age groups, including children.
Unsafe	4	The language is used by some children in all domains; it is used by all children in limited domains.
Definitely endangered	3	The language is used mostly by the parental generation and upwards.
Severely endangered	2	The language is used mostly by the grandparental generation and upwards.
Critically endangered	1	The language is known to very few speakers, of great-grandparental generation.
Extinct	0	There is no speaker left.

The UNESCO indicator set out above in Table 2.2 is the most important of the language endangerment indicators. It is the best way of making a reasonably accurate assessment of the state of a language, either by observation and gathering information from the community, or by means of the national census data on languages.

This UNESCO indicator is also quite compatible with the language endangerment indicator that is used in the *State of Indigenous Languages* (SOIL) report (McConvell & Thieberger 2001). This SOIL report indicator is detailed below in Table 2.3 and is further discussed in Appendix A .

Similar measuring tools are the most favoured for the grading of language endangerment in North America (Ramirez-Shkwegnaabi 1996):

According to Congressional testimony, several hundred Indigenous languages were spoken on this continent at one time, but only about 155 still remain. Of these, it is estimated that:

- 20 are spoken by people of all ages, including children;

- 30 are spoken by adults of all ages;

- 60 are spoken by middle-aged adults; and

- 45 are spoken by only the most elderly.

Incidentally these North American figures for the endangered categories are quite similar to those for Australia (see Chapter 6).

The UNESCO Indicator One, particularly if it is slightly modified, should be used as a world standard, as it would provide a widely accepted indicator for comparative purposes. This report recommends that this UNESCO indicator, slightly modified, and its six-point scale (Grade 0–5) be adopted as the standard indicator for Australian endangered Indigenous languages [Recommendation 14].

This report is also recommending some new criteria for measuring language endangerment, based on some aspects of both the UNESCO and SOIL indicators.

The NILS recommended indicators are made up of modified UNESCO and SOIL indicators, and are as follows:

- The use of actual age-ranges as in the SOIL indicator (McConvell & Thieberger 2001). This is more rigorous, especially for use with the output of the census and other numerical surveys. The UNESCO wording based on notional 'generations' may be used as a secondary method if age groups are difficult to use for some reason. In fact, the 20 year intervals in the SOIL indicator are intended to roughly capture 'generations' counted back from the youngest children.

- Inclusion of the additional Grade 4 of the UNESCO language endangerment indicator —this is something that is not included in the SOIL indicator. This grade, however, is based on a different type of evidence from the other grades as to whether an age group (children in this case) use the language all the time or not, and is phrased in terms of 'some children in all domains and some children in limited domains'. This is too complex, and uses problematic concepts and assumptions. It also cannot be accommodated within the type of data provided by the census. This report recommends a simplified phrasing, and a definition which is amenable to usual census data (for further discussion see Appendix A).

- The SOIL term 'strong' for Grade 5 is as an alternative as it is already widely used.

See 2.5.3 'Proficiency' for discussion of what constitutes 'using' and 'speaking' a language for the purpose of the NILS indicators.

Table 2.3: SOIL recommended language endangerment indicator based on Age Profile (McConvell & Thieberger 2001: 65)

Age	Strong	Endangered (early stage)	Seriously endangered	Near-extinct	Extinct
0–19	speak	don't speak	don't speak	don't speak	don't speak
20–39	speak	speak	don't speak	don't speak	don't speak
40–59	speak	speak	speak	don't speak	don't speak
60+	speak	speak	speak	Speak	don't speak

2.5.7　Other indicators

In addition to measuring Intergenerational Language Transmission, the UNESCO approach proposes the use of eight more indicators, that is a total of nine, to be used when examining the state of languages.

Each one of these indicators, other than the second one (Numbers of Speakers) has a 0–5 grading scale associated with it. They are as follows:

1. Intergenerational Language Transmission (already discussed above)
2. Numbers of Speakers
3. Proportion of Speakers within the Total Population
4. Domains and Functions of a Language
5. Response to New Domains and Media
6. Materials for Language Education and Literacy
7. Governmental and Institutional Language Attitudes and Policies, including Official Status and Use
8. Community Members' Attitudes towards Their Own Language
9. Type and Quality of Documentation

The NILS recommended indicators include an additional tenth indicator—Language Programs, with an accompanying six-point grading scale.

A detailed description and discussion of the ten proposed NILS indicators are provided at Appendix A.

2.5.8　Use of the indicators

The indicators should be used to assess situations for the purpose of planning suitable programs. They can also be used to assign priority to interventions, as for instance a more endangered situation might require more urgent action to improve documentation; however, if the documentation level is already high, improving documentation may rate as a lower intervention priority in an overall assessment.

Indicators may also be used to assess program outcomes. After a certain period and with a certain expenditure of funding support, some increase in at least some of the indicators, or at least not a decline, might be expected.

The indicators may be used singly over time to discover trends, or in combination to reveal correlations or to highlight situations that are most suitable for certain kinds of action. For example, high endangerment combined with a moderate documentation level and positive community attitude might indicate what should be a priority site for a language program. Further details of how indicators can be used are given in Appendix A.

Table 2.4: NILS Report recommended language endangerment Indicator One—Intergenerational Language Transmission

Degree of endangerment	Grade	Speaker population	Age groups
Strong or safe	5	The language is used by all age groups, including children.	All
Unsafe	4	The language is used by some children in all domains; it is used by all children in limited domains.	Used by between 30% and 70% of the <20 age group
Definitely endangered	3	The language is used mostly by the parental generation and upwards.	Used only by > 20 years old
Severely endangered	2	The language is used mostly by the grandparental generation and upwards.	>40 years old
Critically endangered	1	The language is known to very few speakers, of great-grandparental generation.	>60 years old
No longer fully spoken	0	There is no speaker left.	None

Chapter 3   Policy responses to Indigenous language endangerment

3.1   Language policy

3.1.1   International: Language rights

Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson (Skutnabb-Kangas & Phillipson 1994: 71) define linguistic human rights as:

> The right to identify with mother tongue(s)
>
> The right to education and public services through the medium of it/them
>
> The right to learn an official language of the country of residence in its standard form.

It is common around the world for the first and second of these rights to be denied, even where 'multiculturalism' is an avowed policy. Education in only the majority language often forces people to assimilate and change identity (Skutnabb-Kangas & Phillipson 1994: 72).

The UN International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, written in 1966 and ratified in 1976, states:

> … persons belonging to ethnic, linguistic and religious minorities shall not be denied the right … to enjoy their own culture, to profess and practice their own religion, or to use their own language …

Of other initiatives within the UN, only the Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples is significantly more favourable towards overt recognition of language rights.

Articles 14 and 15 of the 1994 version of the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples states:

Article 14

Indigenous peoples have the right to revitalise, use, develop and transmit to future generations their histories, languages, oral traditions, philosophies, writing systems and literatures, and to designate and retain their own names for communities, places and persons.

States shall take effective measures, especially whenever any right of indigenous peoples may be affected, to ensure this right and to ensure that they can understand and be understood in political, legal and administrative proceedings where necessary, through the provision of interpretation or by other appropriate means;

Article 15

Indigenous children have the right to all levels and forms of education of the State. All indigenous peoples also have this right and the right to establish and control their educational systems and institutions providing education in their own languages, in a manner appropriate to their cultural methods of teaching and learning.

Indigenous children living outside their communities have the right to be provided access to education in their own culture and language.

This declaration has yet to be ratified by the world body.

In 1996, the UN Draft Universal Declaration of Language Rights was promulgated in Catalunya in Spain. This is a lengthy document which includes the following provisions:

Article 3

1.   This declaration considers the following to be inalienable personal rights which may be exercised in any situation:

   • the right to be recognised as a member of a language community;

   • the right to the use of one's own language both in private and in public;

   • the right to the use of one's own name;

   • the right to interrelate and associate with other members of one's language community of origin;

- the right to maintain and develop one's own culture; and

- all the other rights related to language which are recognised in the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights of 16 December 1966 and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights of the same date.

2. This Declaration considers that the collective rights of language groups may include the following, in addition to the rights attributed to the members of language groups in the foregoing paragraph, and in accordance with the conditions laid down in Article 2.2:

- the right for their own language and culture to be taught;

- the right of access to cultural services;

- the right to an equitable presence of their language and culture in the communications media; and

- the right to receive attention in their own language from government bodies and in socioeconomic relations.

This Barcelona statement makes less commitment to language rights, especially in education, than the 1994 UN Draft Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples' statement, which advocates Indigenous control of their own education. It also awaits ratification at higher levels of the UN.

3.1.2 UNESCO: Towards revitalisation

The UNESCO Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions was adopted at the 33rd UNESCO General Conference on 20 October 2005 in Paris. The Convention will enter into force three months after its ratification by 30 countries.

The objectives of this Convention include:

- to protect and promote the diversity of cultural expressions;

- to create the conditions for cultures to flourish and to freely interact in a mutually beneficial manner;

- to foster interculturality in order to develop cultural interaction in the spirit of building bridges among peoples; and

- to promote respect for the diversity of cultural expressions and raise awareness of its value at the local, national and international level;

In respect of cultural expressions and linguistic diversity, the preamble to the convention acknowledges:

13. *Recognising* that the diversity of cultural expressions, including traditional cultural expressions, is an important factor that allows individuals and peoples to express and to share with others their ideas and values,

14. *Recalling* that linguistic diversity is a fundamental element of cultural diversity, and reaffirming the fundamental role that education plays in the protection and promotion of cultural expressions,

16. *Emphasing* the vital role of cultural interaction and creativity, which nurture and renew cultural expressions and enhance the role played by those involved in the development of culture for the progress of society at large.

UNESCO is also moving away from an emphasis solely on research on endangered languages by experts 'before it is too late', that was evident in its earlier plans. It is now 'work[ing] directly with the endangered language communities towards language maintenance, development, revitalisation and perpetuation' with research being reciprocal and collaborative (UNESCO Ad Hoc Group 2003: 7-8).

3.2   Australian government policies

Australian governments have not moved towards language rights or legislation, in contrast to New Zealand (Aotearoa), where there are legal guarantees of the status of the Maori language under the treaty of Waitangi and the *Maori Language Act, 1987* (amended 1991*)*.

The Australian Government has, however, supported language programs directly, and has made various funding schemes available for community programs, as well as for scattered and rather marginal school programs in the states.

3.2.1 The recognition and funding of Indigenous language programs

The recognition of the right of Indigenous Australians to use and maintain their languages as put forward in 1967 in the *National Policy on Languages* report (Lo Bianco 1987) was a huge boost to language survival, especially as it was accompanied by a flow of funds to community language programs.

Government funding to back the national policy was modest, but some of the achievements of the initiatives generated by the report have been long-lasting, especially the results of work by by local grass-roots movements and Regional Aboriginal Language Centres (RALCs) that were established around the time the policy was released.

There have also been hopeful signs, more recently, of commitment to Indigenous languages in schools in some states and territories. This is a development that could strongly support the development of Regional Indigenous Language Centres and Community Language Teams.

The greatest single advance for Indigenous languages in Australia's history since colonisation was the establishment of bilingual education in some schools in the Northern Territory in 1974. This flagship Indigenous language program was terminated by the NT Chief Minister in 1998, without any prior announcement or consultation.

Recently, however, the NT Government has reassessed the situation, as this recent statement from the Territory's Minister of Education, Syd Stirling, indicates (Tenth Assembly debate: First Session, 16/08/2005, NT Parliamentary Record):

> The government is also putting bilingual education back on the agenda. It is another important teaching methodology, with some initial evidence that results from bilingual schools appear generally better than other like schools. More evidence is being collected and evaluated. The program will be discussed within the community engagement process, not imposed on communities, and, given its resource-heavy nature, will be carefully rolled out.

The NT Education Minister has recently acknowledged that academic and English results from schools with bilingual programs are as good as, if not better than, those in English-only schools.

NSW has recently broken new ground in supporting Aboriginal language curriculum across schools, and has established a state Indigenous languages centre. The NSW State Government is implementing Indigenous language and culture curriculum and this work is closely linked with the NSW Aboriginal Language Research and Resource Centre.

Language programs are also being supported in some South Australian and Western Australian schools, but they generally rely on meagre funding, such as the Languages Other Than English (LOTE) programs and Australian Government programs directed towards local Indigenous education.

The major Australian Government (federal) Indigenous languages education program funding, the Indigenous Education Strategic Initiatives Program (IESIP), provides no earmarked funds for Indigenous language teaching and learning. It only supports English teaching, referring to Indigenous language speakers as suffering from 'a language barrier which prevents them from being able to participate in the classroom' (*www.dest.gov.au/schools/guidelines/iesip*).

A disadvantage of many of the current schools-based programs is that they often leave too much power in the hands of individual school principals. If a particular principal, invariably a non-Indigenous person, does not want any Indigenous language program or has other projects which claim his or her attention, then Indigenous language programs will not be introduced.

The advantage of a centrally regulated system, like that which existed under bilingual education in the NT, and the current programs operating in NSW, is that if the Indigenous community and department approve a program, it will definitely proceed.

Education is the province of state governments and direct and active federal funding to school-based Indigenous language initiatives has not been undertaken in the past.

There is, however, huge scope for Regional Indigenous Language Centres to assist schools, and in the past many have done so, managing to get around the state–federal funding demarcations.

Although many Indigenous people and some non-Indigenous people see schools as the natural venue for language teaching and other activities, strict interpretation of the former ATSIS, now DCITA, guidelines, in the past, has meant these languages funds have not been generally used in schools.

The Australian Government's new whole-of-government approach creates an historic opportunity to overcome these frustrations and to put in place the initiatives, being recommended in this report, that encourage collaboration between programs in Indigenous communities and educational institutions from pre-school upwards. This cooperation between tiers of government, and particularly between schools and communities, is very much in line with current policy directions and research findings.

The federal funding for languages that was administered through the former ATSIC/ATSIS, and is now being administered by DCITA (*www.dcita.gov.au/indig*), could then be allocated as needs demand, including to school based projects.

3.2.2   The 'English-only' movement

One argument commonly produced is that any attention to Indigenous languages in education or community programs will be harmful to the learning of standard English in Indigenous communities. This argument has been refuted time and again but continually resurfaces.

As bilingual and multilingual communities around the world testify, it is quite possible to learn and use more than one language without any disadvantage—in fact there is strong evidence that bilingualism and bi-literacy are an advantage. It should not be a question of 'Indigenous languages versus English' but rather, of both being integrated in educational programs, to create a richer, multicultural life in Australia [Recommendation 5, Recommendation 9].

Past research demonstrates the advantages of bilingualism in terms of cognitive development. Lisa Chipongian (Chipongian 2000) reviews the cognitive effects of bilingualism and concludes '[d]espite the ongoing political controversy surrounding bilingual education, research continues to demonstrate the positive cognitive gains associated with bilingualism'.

Academic growth in a student's first language is linked to second-language academic success. Given this connection, and the cognitive advantages of balanced bilingualism, including increased metalinguistic awareness, it is clear that the knowledge of two languages has the potential to be much greater than the sum of its parts (Chipongian 2000, see also Bialystock 1991, Gonzalez 1999, Cummins 1984 & 2000, and *Bilingual Language Acquisition*).

Li Wei (Wei 2000) discusses the advantages of bilingualism in terms of improved communication/relationship (relationship with parents, extended family relationships, community relationships and transnational communication), culture (two or more worlds of experience), stronger economy (wider portfolio of jobs available) and a richer cognitive development.

In the US, a study on the variety of education services provided for language minority students and their long-term academic achievements was conducted over five years (1996–2001). The results of this study showed (Thomas, Collier et al 2001):

- English language learners immersed in the English mainstream show large decreases in reading and maths achievement by Grade 5 when compared to students who received bilingual/ESL services.

- Bilingually-schooled students out-perform comparable monolingually-schooled students in academic achievement in all subjects, after four to seven years of dual language schooling.

- The strongest predictor of Level 2 student achievement is the amount of formal Level 1 schooling. The more Level 1 grade-level schooling, the higher Level 2 achievement.

In summarising research in second language learning conducted in the last 30 years, Kenji Hakuta concludes: '[t]he native language and the second language are complementary rather than mutually exclusive. Further, native language proficiency is a powerful predictor of the rapidity of second language development' (Hakuta 1987, see also Cummins 1984 and Snow 1987).

Mary-Anne Gale (Gale 1990) reviews the state of bilingual education among Indigenous Australians and gives evidence of the benefits of bilingual education with examples from Australian Indigenous communities. The benefits of bilingualism that her work highlights include:

- improved academic achievement;

- higher proficiency in the second language; and

- improved school attendance.

3.3   Policy implications of the NILS Report

This report does not dwell on the problems of the past, but it is necessary to analyse and learn from past mistakes. The situation of Australian Indigenous languages is both serious and urgent and the amount of funding likely to be allocated to this area is so limited that there is no place for waste and misdirection of funds.

The design of programs, and the allocation of funds, must be based on needs and the ability of the funding recipient to deliver outcomes.

In this report we emphasise the importance of using the right sets of indicators to accurately

assess needs and outcomes. This is not the only element in the process, and convincing community and regional leaders and experts to support good proposals must obviously play a part. However, this report goes a long way towards providing good guidelines for decision making on what to support, when and how.

3.3.1   Assessing needs and outcomes

How 'success' is defined varies according to the basic situation of a language and the ability of those involved to achieve progress in projects and programs, given time and resource constraints.

It is very important to have agreed time-limited goals for projects and programs. This is not primarily for the bureaucratic convenience of accountability—it is most useful for communities and workers in language programs to have a clear plan, so that they can review progress themselves, can see how they are faring, and decide whether their approach needs to be adjusted.

Plans and goals need to be realistic—neither too ambitious nor too trivial. Programs which are too ambitious can cause frustration and disappointment; those which are too trivial can fail to engender any satisfaction and may make no real difference to the situation.

Obviously, input from a local team with intimate knowledge of the local situation can be very meaningful in the development of goals and plans. However, where local people have little or no experience of language programs, it is very important to draw on wider national and international experience because there are many established Indigenous language programs which can teach valuable lessons.

By learning from the experience of others, language workers and administrators can avoid making mistakes that other programs have already made. By looking hard at past experiences, 'reinventing the wheel' can be avoided. There is often not one 'best practice' in this field but there are certainly 'better practices'—they can be adopted and modified to suit local conditions.

This is one of the reasons why there is an urgent need to establish Regional Indigenous Language Centres and a National Indigenous Languages Centre—so community centres are able to tap into a wider perspective. These regional and national centres would provide the necessary analysis and back–up to community projects. They need to be funded for this function and to be evaluated on their performance (see Chapter 8).

3.4   Collaboration with other programs

Language program funding and administration has been constrained in the past by bureaucratic divisions. It has operated in a kind of vacuum with 'community' programs funded federally not able to work with such programs as education, as noted above. There are many possibilities for fruitful collaboration once a more flexible approach is established.

Many creative ideas will emerge from the approach favoured by Indigenous people. If they are given the chance to use their skills and a more flexible approach is used, any number of new partnerships could emerge. Indigenous people have been advocating this approach for many years, describing it, for example, as a 'two-way' view.

In this report, we explore some of the ways in which collaboration can be fostered, so the support institutions and programs that we are recommending can link to other needs in the community and wider society. There is a need to reserve some funding for projects which build these bridges [Recommendation 6].

This approach is in tune with the 'whole–of–government' strategy that focuses on beneficial goals and outcomes, which can often cross departmental borders. Synergies are also possible between our specific program recommendations and current governmental goals which are spelled out later in this chapter.

3.4.1   Indigenous languages and education

Indigenous languages and education have a natural affinity. Many of the projects run by community-based teams are, in effect, teaching and learning activities, and the main effort in resources production, aside from basic documentation of the languages, is focused on teaching and preparing learning material.

Sometimes the relationship between a language program, or the community, and the local school can involve misunderstanding and friction, especially if the principal is not sympathetic to the wishes of the community.

Alternatively, the relationship can be very amicable and productive.

It must be recognised that encouraging closer collaboration between Indigenous language and school programs will not be to the detriment of curriculums. Rather, it will add to a curriculum and will increase the good will of the community and the students.

It is well known that there are serious problems of attendance amongst Indigenous students in many areas and the presence of language and culture programs can help to overcome this. By introducing community involvement and language and culture input into schools at an early through Language Nests, young Indigenous children can get off to a good start and the school environment can become less alien and more familiar.

In Australia, Indigenous people believe they have a central role in language transmission, but they also look to schools to play their part in Indigenous language and culture maintenance. This is also true for Indigenous people in North America (McCarthy & Zepeda 1995):

> … schools have a definite and even a central role to play in turning that situation [the decline of Indigenous languages] around. We recognise, however, that schools and educators cannot act alone, and that ultimately, the survival of indigenous languages depends on what families and communities do to ensure that survival within the web of social institutions in which children are raised… Schools and educators are not the only ones to undertake the challenges required to maintain indigenous languages and cultures as valued parts of children's identities and everyday lives. But because of the social centrality of schools in indigenous communities, schools, and local educators, are the ideal places to start.

3.4.2   Indigenous languages and economic programs

School and language programs have also been central in launching the professional careers of Indigenous educators, especially in the NT. In bilingual and 'two-way' schools, these programs have been assisting young Indigenous people to become qualified and to take up important jobs without sacrificing their cultural identity. The existence of positions for bilingual and bicultural people who want to stay in the community and develop has increased the flow of income and social capital into communities. The jobs being generated provide role models for younger people as they grow up. Similar observations on the value of Indigenous language programs in capacity building, including new technology and management skills, have been made in North America (McCarthy 1994).

The trained Indigenous teachers working in schools with language programs have also become community leaders and developed far-reaching ideas and business opportunities for their communities, without completely breaking with their traditional lives. A system which insists that educators and trainers speak only English and consider only non-Indigenous ideas will not provide the openings for local people to shine.

Some of the other areas of synergy and collaboration that occur when Indigenous language programs work more closely with programs such as—land management, national parks and arts and crafts—include bilingual-bicultural people taking on more responsible positions and earning better salaries, the creation of more opportunities for Indigenous people to run businesses— making money from the sale of artefacts and from consultancies and practical land care activities.

Other observations about the relationship between economics and Indigenous languages are to be found in the paper by Peter Muhlhausler and Richard Damania (Muhlhausler & Damania 2004).

3.4.3   Indigenous languages and environmental programs

There is great potential for Indigenous rangers, consultants and contractors to use their Indigenous ecological and land related vocabulary and knowledge to add to the value of their work. Indigenous people hold Native Title rights over large tracts of country in Australia, and having cultural knowledge, including language skills, can make their role as land owners more productive.

While traditional knowledge can generate employment and add value to aligned programs, in many areas it is slipping away. That is despite the fact that language programs, in areas such as national parks, can result in younger members of an Indigenous community providing advice to non-Indigenous people, and in Indigenous elders teaching knowledge and language to young park rangers. This is an example of a Community Language Team, focused around environmental issues.

Among younger speakers of Dyirbal, a language of North Queensland, an example of loss of environmental knowledge as well as the loss of language knowledge has appeared prominently in international literature (Nettle & Romaine 2000: 51). Instead of distinguishing several species of eel, each with a distinct name, the younger generation now know only one generic word for 'eel': *jaban*. In a region of tropical rainforest now rare in Australia and renowned for its species diversity, this kind of loss of knowledge is serious not only for the Indigenous people but also for the scientific community which is only now beginning to realise the value of Indigenous knowledge.

Language loss also affects other aspects of local cultures. AIATSIS researcher Patrick McConvell found that the young people of the Girramay, who speak what linguists refer to as a 'dialect of Dyirbal', were rapidly losing knowledge of the hundreds of traditional place names in their country. Not only do these names provide a more complex map than the few names bestowed by Europeans (Hercus, Simpson & Hodges 2002), each embodies the knowledge of mythology and environment.

For instance, one area close to Cardwell town is called *Gunyin-barra.* Not only do some younger Girramay not know this term, but those that do may not be aware that *gunyin* in this term refers to a 'black eel' species distinct from *jaban.* In this case, there may be a connection between the environmental impacts of white settlement, species endangerment and the endangerment of environmental knowledge and language since the swamps which contained the eel species have been partially filled in.

In this case, Dyirbal/Girramay is a severely endangered language, but depletion of ways of speaking related to the local environments can also occur where the local traditional language is apparently 'healthy'.

Lizzie Ellis, a speaker of a 'strong' Western Desert dialect, has been researching the vocabulary and ways of speaking about desert fauna that belong to her grandparents' generation (Ellis 2000). Ellis has found much that is unknown to the younger generation, including detailed expressions about the behaviours and life-cycles of different animals. Once again, actual species endangerment impinges on this picture to some extent. Many small mammals of the Australian arid and savannah regions have become extremely rare or extinct in the last 50–100 years and the present cohort of old people are the only ones who know them well. This vanishing knowledge and its linguistic expression is surprisingly not a focus of study or concern, but in this case scientists have been interested enough in Lizzie's work to encourage her with it.

3.4.4   Indigenous languages and health programs

Good communication is a prime need in the area of Indigenous health, and the ability of Indigenous health workers to speak to patients and their families in their first language is a huge asset. Where this cannot occur—if there are no such health workers—interpreters should be used and they should of course have full training and command the correct rates of pay. Non-Indigenous health workers, too, should be trained in some basic aspects of

languages and the conceptual systems related to physical and spiritual functions, which are very different from the western systems.

Beyond this, it is important to note that some of the most prominent pieces of health research in recent years have recognised the importance of cultural and social context, including language, in their methods and their data collection.

For instance, the administrators of the Western Australian Telethon Institute for Child Health Survey on the health of children and young people (Zubrick, Stephen, et al 2004) were very concerned about the nature of the relationship between carers and children, and whether that involved transmission of a traditional language, as illustrated in Chart 3.1 below.

This Western Australian survey (Chart 3.1) not only records data on language use, it also records the finding that maintenance of traditional language is highly dependent on the existence of Indigenous-controlled initiatives supporting languages such as Regional Aboriginal Language Centres and bilingual schools.

It also locates the highest loss of language in large rural centres and recommends language maintenance activity be targeted at those areas (Zubrick, Stephen, et al 2004:35):

> The rate of loss of traditional Aboriginal language from one generation to the next can be gauged by comparing the distribution of carers and children who are conversant in an Aboriginal language. This is highly dependent on the degree of initiatives to preserve and recover traditional languages (eg Kimberley Aboriginal Language Resource Centre) or where there are local opportunities for bilingual or traditional first language education (eg several Western Australian Aboriginal Independent Community Schools have developed strategies which use the children's traditional language and culture as a bridge to developing competence in Standard Australian English).
>
> It is of particular interest to note that the rate of traditional language loss is greatest in those larger rural communities (eg Kalgoorlie, Broome, Port Hedland, and Carnarvon) that are service and educational centres for more remote, outlying traditional Aboriginal communities. Aboriginal children in these communities not surprisingly experience more acculturative stress

Chart 3.1: Aboriginal children and carers conversant in Aboriginal languages in Western Australia by remoteness (WA Telethon Institute for Child Health Research 2003:10)

than those within more traditional communities and those in larger metropolitan centres. This suggests that such transitional communities have a priority need for, and potential to benefit from, traditional language promotion and preservation initiatives.

Similarly, the summary booklet of this survey states that (Telethon Institute for Child Health Research 2003:10):

> The use of traditional Aboriginal languages is one marker of cultural preservation. The rates of inter-generational language loss appear to be in the order of about 20 per cent in areas of moderate to extreme isolation. Rates of language loss appeared particularly high in areas of moderate isolation. This suggests that, unless continued efforts are made to preserve, document, teach and encourage the use of Aboriginal languages, in a relatively short period this heritage will be lost to Aboriginal people and the world.

3.5   Relationship to current policy framework

In a speech on overcoming Indigenous disadvantage, by the chairman of the Productivity Commission, Gary Banks in 2003 (Banks 2003), Banks articulates a currently influential view of policy framework and priorities for dealing with Indigenous disadvantage. It is to be understood that 'disadvantage' in this context means the extent to which Indigenous Australians are worse off than non-Indigenous Australians in terms of life chances, health, employment, imprisonment, being a victim of violence etc. The gap is large and this is clearly due to a set of serious problems.

The loss of language and culture is not considered by most policy-makers as a disadvantage in this kind of context because it is not an area in which Indigenous disadvantage can be easily identified in comparison to the situation for non-Indigenous Australians. For Indigenous people though, language and culture are precious and unique possessions.

Indigenous people often observe that there is a relationship between the loss of language and culture and the social problems that bedevil many Indigenous communities. This is acknowledged in Commissioner Bank's 2003 speech (Banks 2003:7):

A strong theme running through our consultations with Indigenous people was that while spiritual and most cultural matters were not amenable to or appropriate for statistical reporting, access to traditional lands played such a fundamental role in their culture and community wellbeing (particularly for Aboriginal people) that it needed to be reflected in the reporting framework.

As well as access to traditional land, it should be noted that language use is 'appropriate for statistical reporting'. It is reported on by the ABS Census as well as by other reports such as the present one.

Other social scientists and non-Indigenous observers tend to agree that language and culture should not be swept aside as irrelevant. It has already been noted (see section 3.4.4) the importance the Western Australian Telethon survey gave to language. It found language was a key aspect in the care of the young and in social relationships which it found were the bedrock of good health and safe and happy lives.

While this appreciation of the value and importance of languages may be a minority view in fields dominated by economic and bio-medical paradigms, it is being recognised in more comprehensive policy debates. This report recommends that there should be more dialogue on the importance of languages and culture, to explore and reinforce the Indigenous view that the economic, social, cultural and spiritual aspects of a person, or a community, are all intertwined and are in fact inseparable.

The chairman of the Productivity Commission put it this way (Banks 2003:5):

At the apex of this framework are three over-arching priorities that were initially derived from [the Council of Australian Governments] COAG. They reflect a vision for Indigenous people that is shared by governments and Indigenous people alike:

- safe, healthy and supportive families with strong community and cultural identity;

- positive child development and prevention of violence, crime and self-harm; and

- improved wealth creation and economic sustainability for individuals, families and communities.

The Productivity Commission saw children and young people as being particularly important to target in any attempt to overcome Indigenous disadvantage (Banks 2003: 7):

In the three strategic areas that focus on young Indigenous people, the potential for cumulative disadvantage is plain to see. The first of these areas, early child development to age three, is widely seen as preconditioning outcomes in later life, particularly in health and education.

A diagram outlining the Productivity Commission's analysis and proposed intervention target areas follows at Figure 3.1.

If we correlate the 2003 Productivity Commission framework with the four main policy recommendations of the NILS Report, a close overlap of focus and direction emerges.

In brief, and as outlined in the Executive Summary, the four main policy recommendations of the NILS Report are:

- **Language Nests**—Pre-school crèches should be established, run by local Indigenous people, to foster an immersion of children in local language and culture [Recommendation 1].

- **Community Language Teams**—In order to have Language Nests and other programs which function well, it is necessary to have a team of people backing up the effort. These would include elders who typically might know more of the language, but also necessary are younger Indigenous community adults whose involvement is to learn from the elders, to take responsibility for administration, teaching and care, and the production of resources on languages [Recommendation 2].

- **Regional Indigenous Language Centres** —These already exist and perform valuable work in many, but not all, parts of the country [Recommendation 3].

- **A National Indigenous Languages Centre** —Beyond the regional and state language centre levels, there is a need for some higher functions, to assist regional and community initiatives [Recommendation 4].

Figure 3.1: 2003 Productivity Commission framework (Banks 2003:14)

Policy outcomes

Safe, healthy and supportive family environments with strong communities and cultural identity

Positive child development and prevention of violence, crime and self-harm

Improved wealth creation and economic sustainability for individuals, families and communities

Headline indicators

- Life expectancy at birth
- Rates of disability and/or core activity restriction
- Year 10 and 12 retention and attainment
- Post-secondary education – participation and attainment
- Labour force participation and unemployment
- Household and individual income

- Home ownership
- Suicide and self-harm
- Substantiated child protection notifications
- Drafts from homicide and hospitalisations for assault
- Victim rates for crime
- Imprisonment and juvenile detention rates

Strategic areas for action

| Early child development and growth (prenatal to age 3) | Early child engagement and performance (pre school to year 3) | Positive childhood and transition to adulthood | Substance use and misuse | Functional and resilient families and communities | Effective environmental health systems | Economic participation and development |

Strategic change indicators (see Fig 3.2)

Language Nests [Recommendation 1] are focused directly on early childhood where many positive and negative life patterns are established. The NILS Report proposes an approach where the parental generation is involved as carer, teacher and organiser, and where the grandparental generation provides the most respected knowledge and communication.

Through maintenance and revitalisation of the language, these relationships between generations would be strengthened and the young child prepared for school in ways that relate to his or her own background and culture. The social networking and the content is largely in the Indigenous domain. It involves negotiating the pathway to school in a way that does not threaten the child and that brings the community's knowledge into prominence as a valued contribution. This is a positive alternative to many existing situations where schools unwittingly aggravate tensions in the community, by undervaluing the culture of Indigenous students.

The Community Language Teams [Recommendation 2] are networks which form between the generations in the community, to create local resources and ideas and to negotiate with wider bodies, such as schools. These teams would build capacity in the community. Many skills would be learnt including better proficiency and literacy in English and in the local language, use of computers and recording equipment etc.

Figure 3.2: Productivity Commission 2003—Strategic areas for action (Banks 2003:15)

Early child development and growth (prenatal to age 3)	Early child engagement and performance (pre school to year 3)	Positive childhood and transition to adulthood	Substance use and misuse	Functional and resilient families and communities	Effective environmental health systems	Economic participation and development
- Rates of hospital admission for infectious diseases - Infant mortality - Birthweight - Hearing impediments	- Preschool and school attendance - Year 3 literacy and numeracy - Primary school children with dental carers	- Year 5 and 7 literacy and numeracy - Retention at Year 9 - Indigenous cultural studies in school curriculum and involvement of Indigenous people in development and delivery of Indigenous studies - Participation in organised sport, arts or community group activities - Juvenile diversions as a proportion of all juvenile offenders - Transition from school to work	- Alcohol and tobacco consumption - Alcohol related crime and statistics - Drug and other substance use	- Children in long term care and protection orders - Repeat offending - Access to the nearest health professional - Proportion of Indigenous people with access to their traditional lands	- Rates of diseases associated with poor environmental health (including water and food borne diseases, trachoma, tuberculosis and rheumatic heart disease) - Overcrowding in housing - Access to clean water and functional sewerage	- Employment (full-time/ part-time) by sector (public/ private) industry and occupation - CDEP participation - Long term employment - Self employment - Indigenous owned or controlled land - Accredited training in leadership, finance or management - Case studies in governance arrangements

In particular, the Community Language Teams, when assisted by Regional Indigenous Language Centres [Recommendation 3] can be lead players in the development and delivery of Indigenous cultural studies in schools as recommended in the 2003 Productivity Commission's strategic areas for action framework, illustrated in Figures 3.1 and 3.2 above.

In this way, the type of curriculum and educational materials developed will be much more relevant and tailored to local and regional cultures, rather than a generic Indigenous culture lifted from, for example, a metropolitan centre.

Socially, the Language Nests concept will work well as the developers and teachers will feel they own the curriculum. It will provide training and increase cohesion in the community and across communities through the regional centre.

Access to traditional lands, which is identified as a one of the strategic areas for action in the 2003 Productivity Commission report, can be a more rewarding experience for young people if

an elder can accompany them and pass on knowledge of place names and the environment, with the assistance of a Community Language Team or a language centre. This knowledge can also be recorded and reworked to become an Indigenous culture curriculum resource.

The regional centres and the proposed National Indigenous Languages Centre [Recommendation 4] could provide pathways to training and employment not just in the language area but in other areas such as administration, teaching, land management and other fields. They are also linked to other bodies, such as colleges and universities, through research projects and can provide pathways for remote Indigenous people to post-school education, where they notably lag behind non-Indigenous people.

Part III

NILS methodology

Chapter 4 NILS data collection methodology

4.1   The online questionnaire

4.1.1   Background to the web survey

NILS was designed to elicit information in three areas:

- the ID section—background information on the submitter

- the LANG section—information about one or more specific languages (chosen by the submitter based on their own knowledge)

- the REGION section—information about language activity across the region with which the submitter is most familiar.

The NILS questionnaire was developed through a series of meetings, and was based initially on the survey used in the 2002 ATSIS-funded and AIATSIS-conducted state survey of South Australian languages.

Given the difficulties involved in distributing a paper survey to the widespread groups and individuals at whom the survey was targeted, along with the intention of enabling anyone interested to participate, it was decided that the survey would be implemented online through a web interface. Many organisations and individuals, including many remote communities, now have an Internet connection. It was recognised, however, that not all individuals and organisations have access to a computer and an Internet connection.

To ensure that no-one in this circumstance would miss out on participating, FATSIL planned to organise and to attend meetings across Australia to conduct the surveys in face-to-face interviews. These interviews were then to be submitted online by FATSIL personnel. Due to time constraints, FATSIL did not engage in as much travel as was originally envisaged, instead carrying out numerous interviews by phone.

After the survey questions were developed, a number of companies and individuals with relevant expertise were asked to provide rough costings for developing the online version of the survey. Salsa Internet, a business specialising in Internet surveys, was selected to develop the online survey. A printed copy of the survey they developed is at Appendix B.

Once the online version was developed, FATSIL and a number of individuals were asked to trial and provide feedback on it. FATSIL distributed the survey to their committee members who provided useful feedback, which helped to improve the survey, particularly the explanatory text.

Once the survey was finalised, AIATSIS researcher, Doug Marmion, traveled to Brisbane to spend a day working through the survey with a team of interviewers assembled by FATSIL. As well as providing the interviewers with a detailed understanding of the survey and its aims, this exercise uncovered more problems in the survey. Working through these with the interviewers produced solutions which, in some cases, resulted in another set of changes to the structure of the survey and to the explanatory text.

Further details on FATSIL's role in the survey interview process are at Appendix D.

4.1.2   Structure of the survey

The survey was placed online and made publicly accessible as a series of web pages that comprised of the three sections: an identification section (ID), a section for collecting information on a specific language (LANG) and a final section for collecting information relating to a region (REGION).

No questions in the survey were compulsory, and this was stressed in the accompanying text, particularly with regard to the provision

of submitters' names. The survey remained online for five months, during which time a steady stream of responses was received.

Further detail on the NILS questions is included at Appendix B. The survey results are summarised and discussed in Chapter 5 and Appendix F.

4.2   NILS Collections Survey and research

4.2.1   Background

Australian languages materials are held in a variety of collecting institutions around Australia, and the world. There is no one database which provides information as to location of this material. This is, of course, due to the way the information has been collected. Material has been collected over two centuries, by a diverse range of people, both deliberately and incidentally, and in a wide range of formats, including published materials, manuscripts, electronic documents, and audio-visual materials.

How then to determine what level of materials is available for each Australian language?

The NILS team determined to undertake a specific survey of collecting institutions, in addition to the material that was to be received through the online survey. The collecting institutions contacted were generally not specifically Indigenous organisations, or organisations with a focus on Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples, because it was considered that these organisations would generally be captured through the online survey process and through FATSIL. Further details about the NILS Collections Survey are outlined below in Section 4.2.2.

In addition to surveying collecting institutions across Australia, specific research was undertaken on the audio section of the AIATSIS Audio Visual Archive, which includes a Sound Archive. The decision to survey the Sound Archive was based on the fact that there is already much written material reasonably accessible through various collections and

bibliographies (for example, OZBIB: Carrington and Triffitt 1999) but there is relatively little information about the audio-visual holdings of Australian Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander language materials. The AIATSIS Sound Archive is the largest collection of recordings of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander languages in the world. It contains some 45 thousand hours of audio recordings, many of which are specifically language-related. There are also substantial holdings of music and oral history recordings.

In addition, AIATSIS has a Film Archive which holds many hours of film and video containing language material. Due to the way that the moving image holdings are catalogued, it is not possible at this stage to search the collection to determine hours of language recordings. Further details about the research of the AIATSIS Sound Archive collections can be found at sections 4.2.3 and 5.3.

4.2.2   Survey of collecting institutions

The aim of the NILS Collections Survey of institutions was to determine the level and nature of Indigenous language materials available in locations that do not specifically focus on Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander matters. For this reason, most of the collecting institutions contacted were non-Indigenous organisations. The survey was intended to complement material collected from the larger online survey, and it ran concurrently with the online survey. Printed survey forms were accessible from the online survey, and were also posted and emailed to targeted organisations.

Two survey forms were developed which sought information on the nature and amount of Indigenous language material held in collecting institutions as well as how material could be searched for and accessed. These are attached at Appendix B.

Approximately 200 organisations were identified as needing to be contacted about their possible holdings of Indigenous language materials. They included: targeted federal, state and territory government departments, state/territory libraries, archives and museums, universities, historical

and archival associations, mining companies and education and church networks, Indigenous media outlets, some land councils and cultural centres and particular individual collections.

A NILS Contacts Database was created from information collected and will continue to be maintained by AIATSIS. Enquiries on how to obtain access to the database should be directed to AIATSIS, whose contact details are supplied in the Executive Summary of this report.

Information received was also included in a specifically created NILS Collections Database, with a record for each collecting institution that responded to the NILS. Indigenous language names (as supplied by each organisation) were included in the database and are now searchable. Once again information on this database can be obtained from AIATSIS.

4.2.3   AIATSIS Sound Archive

The AIATSIS Sound Archive contains over 45 thousand hours of audio material, and a large body of accompanying paper documentation. This is the largest body of Australian language material in the world. Material stored in the Sound Archive is invaluable for determining level of language documentation available for both language maintenance and language revival projects.

To gain an idea of the scope of material held in the archive, an audit of the material was undertaken as part of NILS. Catalogue reports were generated for all 765 reference names listed in the AIATSIS Indigenous Languages Database (ILDB). These reports on respective languages varied in size from one page to 245 pages. This ILDB Database has been incorporated into the AUSTLANG web database which is to be released publicly by AIATSIS in 2006.

The reports were examined in conjunction with associated documentation and an approximate duration of language recordings for each language was determined. For over two-thirds of the languages assessed, an analysis of the accompanying written documentation was also completed.

4.3   Language programs

A diverse range of Indigenous language programs has been operating in Australia for quite some time. Staff who manage the Australian Government funding program 'Maintenance of Indigenous Languages and Records' (administered by ATSIS until 30 June 2004, and now by DCITA) provided the NILS team with funding information for the 2001–02 to 2003–04 financial years. The NILS team also sought information from state/territory education departments and independent schools organisations.

A one-page survey form was sent to 48 departments and organisations seeking information on the types of Indigenous language programs operating and/or funded.

In some instances, this survey form was followed up with personal contacts, especially for Western Australia (WA), SA and the NT where language programs have been operating with state/territory government assistance for many years.

4.4   Meetings

Conferences attended by NILS team members to promote the survey were:

- National Native Title Conference (Adelaide, 3–4 June 2004)
- FATSIL Queensland State Meeting (Townsville, 17–18 June 2004)
- Australian Linguistics Society Conference (Sydney, July 2004)
- Australian Applied Linguistics Association Annual Conference (Adelaide, 17 July 2004)
- Australian Society of Archivists Annual Conference (Canberra, 16 September 2004).

Part IV

NILS results and discussion

Chapter 5   NILS results

5.1   The online survey

Following are short discussions of aspects of the survey results.

5.1.1   ID section

Two hundred and eighty-one responses to NILS were received. FATSIL supported Indigenous individuals and organisations to complete surveys through face-to-face interviews, meetings or via telephone, and encouraged many participants to complete the surveys independently.

There were 123 individual submitters, comprising mainly linguists and Indigenous individuals. A total of 56 organisations made submissions. These included schools, education departments, language centres, and various other organisations with an interest in Australian languages.

Finally there were 102 submissions made by FATSIL, based on interviews with both individuals and organisations. At least 24 of these interviews were by phone. However, these were not always recorded—inspection of the responses suggests there were more.

The level of participation in the survey varied widely as did the quality of the information collected. The length and complexity of the survey may have contributed to the differences in quality. However, the fact that 270 individuals made the time to complete the survey, either over the telephone, face-to-face or in their own time online, demonstrates a high level of commitment to providing information to the government and funding agencies about the language work being done. Respondents were keen to give information about the importance of language work. A number of individuals found themselves pushed for time once the deadline approached. The rush to provide information may also have affected the quality of some people's contributions.

What was clear to those collecting the information was the passion that language workers feel for the work that they are involved in. In some instances, this translates into passion for the existence of language programs even when individuals may not be directly involved in language work.

Linguists specialising in Australian and Torres Strait Islander languages were asked (via emails to the Australian-Linguistics email list) to participate in the survey. From the 109 members of this list, only 15 responded.

Table 5.1 shows submissions by state and type. As all questions were optional, the total numbers of responses are less than the actual numbers of surveys submitted.

Table 5.1: Number of National Indigenous Languages Survey responses submitted, by state and type

State	Individual	Organisation	Interview	Total
WA	4/5	8	13	26
SA	2/4	7	1	12
NT	3/0	7	35	42
QLD	30/26	11	3	40
NSW	26/33	5	1	39
VIC	8/10	3	22	35
TAS	0/0	1	0	1
ACT	3/2	0	0	2
TOTAL	**76/80**	**42**	**75**	**205**

The level of multilingualism of the submitters is indicated by the information in Table 5.2 which summarises the responses to NILS Question 12 which asked respondents which Indigenous languages they identified with.

Table 5.3 shows the total number of languages entered in response to NILS Question 12 on which languages the respondents identified with. There were 94 different language names given in this answer. Where a language has no number attached only one survey was returned from that language group.

5.1.2   LANG section

The NILS online survey was designed to accept information on any language, and with any spelling. However, it was also necessary to ensure that this information could be linked to known language names. For this reason, submitters completing the LANG section were asked to identify the language by choosing a name from a drop-down list. In order to attempt to ensure that no languages were left out, this list was made as comprehensive as possible, which resulted in the list containing 791 language names. The option '—NOT IN LIST—' was also available (as a first choice) in case the submitter could not find (or recognise) their language name. Submitters were asked to choose the most appropriate name from the list but were also given the option of providing a preferred spelling.

The online survey was set up so that, within a single survey, the LANG section could be repeated up to four times. This enabled submission of information on up to five languages within a single survey. It was felt that this was sufficient to cater for most multilingual individuals, while organisations that dealt with more than that number of languages would be able to complete multiple surveys.

The 281 NILS responses contained the following results:

- 396 LANG sections submitted

- 19 with no language name given

- 122 where the language identified was '—NOT IN LIST—'

- 255 with a language selected from the drop-down list

- 186 different language names selected from the list

- 180 with a 'preferred spelling' entered.

The number of different language names selected from the list is much less than the 791 that were available. This number (186) corresponds well with the usual estimates of the number of Indigenous languages in Australia.

5.1.3   REGION section

This section contained a series of subsections, collecting information on regional activities and needs. The subsections are listed below with a brief summary of the information received. The NILS questions in this section included some that would require specialised knowledge or information about uncommon situations, so there were understandably fewer responses. As well, much of the information in this section is hard to quantify. It provided, however, many useful comments, anecdotes, and other personal views on language work.

The subsections of the REGION section of the NILS and the number of responses are as follows:

- **Needs**—The submitter can list here up to 12 languages (using the drop-down list and/or providing preferred spellings) which define the region for which they are giving information. Following this are questions about what the submitter thinks should be priorities in language work, and whether or not language should be taught in schools. From the 196 REGION sections submitted, 132 included comments on what the repondent felt were the most important things to be done. Further, 126 felt that languages should be taught in schools, with only 6 feeling that they shouldn't be and 64 not answering.

- **Resources**—This section sought information on the types of language documentation/ collection activities being undertaken in the region. One hundred and eighteen submitters entered information in this section.

Table 5.2: NILS responses and numbers of languages idientified with

Number of languages identified with	Number of NILS respondents
1	50
2	11
3	11
4	5

Table 5.3: Languages of NILS submitters by number

Adnyamathanha x 2	Guugu Yimidhirr x 2	Nyungar x 2
Alawa	Iwaidja	Pitjantjatjara x 4
Alyawarr	Jaru	Ra—ang
Arrernte	Kaanju	Rembarrnga
Badimaya	Kalaw Lagaw Ya	Tagalaka
Bardi	Kaurna x 2	Tjungundji x 3
Bilinarra	Kayardild	Umbindhamu
Bindal	Kaytetye x 2	Umpila
Biri	Kriol	Waanyi x 3
Birpai/Biripi x 2	Kuku Yalanji x 2	Wadi Wadi x 3
Biyalgeyi	Kurnu	Wagaman
Butchalla	Lardil	Wajarri
Dalabon x 2	Majuli/Maiawali	Wambaya
Dharawal x 5	Malanbarra/Gulngay	Wanamara
Dhuduroa/Dhudhuruwa	Malkana	Wangkumara
Djambarrpuyngu	Mamu	Wargamay
Djarrwark	Maung	Warlmanpa
Djiru/Dyiru x 2	Mayali	Warlpiri x 2
Dyirbal	Mbabaram	Warumungu
Gamilaraay x 5	Mirning	Warungu
Ganggalidda	Mularidji/Gugu Muluriji	Wemba Wemba
Garuwali/Karuwali	Narangga x 2	Wik Mungkan x 2
Girramay x 2	Ngaatjatjara	Wiradjuri x 6
Gudyal	Ngalakan	Worimi
Gugu Badhun x 2	Ngarigo	Yankunytjatjara
Gugu Yau	Ngarrindjeri x 3	Yannhangu
Gumbaynggir x 2	Ngatjumaya	Yidiny
Gundjeihmi	Ngawun	Yugambeh x 3
Gundungurra	Ngiyampaa	Yuin
Gupapuyngu	Nhanta	Yukulta
Gurdanji	Nyangumarta	
Gurindji	Nyawaygi x 2	

- **Teaching**—One hundred and ten submitters entered information in this section.

- **Interpreting**—There were 75 submissions that contained information in this section. This reduced number reflected that the topic of interpreting, was relevant to a smaller number of respondents.

- **Media**—It was assumed that this section would attract fewer responses, but it returned 85, more than the interpreting section. This indicates that there is a reasonable amount of activity in the area of language and media, or at least an interest in it.

5.1.4   Comments on the survey process and recommendations for future surveys

Our experience with this survey has been somewhat mixed. While it has been possible to construct and implement a survey that collects valuable information, doing this at a national level is extremely difficult. When surveys of this kind are to be carried out in future, they should be conducted on a regional basis. There are other very useful ways of collecting language information that are being developed.

5.2   Survey of collecting institutions

5.2.1   Submissions

Seventy-four responses were received from the survey of collecting institutions. One hundred and twenty-two institutions did not respond. The response rate to the survey can be calculated as 37.7 per cent. Table 5.4 shows a breakdown of the responses received.

Note: Of the responses listed as 'Other', five were organisations providing information on Indigenous language programs, one advised of their inability to complete the survey due to time constraints, two advised that further information would be forthcoming (not received), and one involved arranging to meet with members of the organisation to explain the survey.

5.2.2   Who completed surveys?

All larger libraries (state/territory/national) and most larger archives (except WA, NT and the ACT) responded to the Collections Survey. These collections are large, and are usually focused on the state/territory in which they are based. However, some of the older collections (such as the Mitchell Library) hold much material from around Australia—a reflection of the earlier colonial jurisdictions and boundaries within Australia.

Other responses received were from:

- some state historical societies

- some individual independent schools

- two state museums (SA and QLD)

- three state Aboriginal affairs departments (QLD, Tasmania (TAS) and SA)

- one mining company (Mount Isa Mines)

- two Indigenous media organisations (Western Australian Aboriginal Media Association (WA) and Pitjantjatjara Yankunytjatjara Media (NT))

- three schools

- some city/regional libraries

Table 5.4: NILS responses re collections

Collection contains Australian language materials	46
Collection does *not* contain Australian language materials	8
Collection contains theses produced post–30/6/1999	3
Collection does *not* contain theses produced post–30/6/1999	1
Request for information sent out through organisation's networks	7
Other	9
Total responses	**74**

- some Aboriginal cultural centres

- two individuals (made aware of the survey through the Royal Australian Historical Society e-network)

- ScreenSound (ACT)

- Strehlow Centre (NT)

- Batchelor College (NT)

- Kakadu & Uluru Kata Tjuta National Parks

- Finke River Mission (NT)

- Benedictine Community of New Norcia Archives (WA)

- Tranby Aboriginal College (NSW)

5.2.3   Who didn't complete surveys?

Those who did not respond to the Collections Survey and who may hold Indigenous language material included the following:

Private individuals

It was hoped that the Collections Survey would capture some individuals that are not otherwise able to be identified readily. Only two private individuals, both in receipt of the RAHS mail-out, responded formally to the Collections Survey. In addition, a number of individuals informally advised that they had already deposited all their language material with AIATSIS.

Specifically targeted individuals or their agents

These include the trust manager for C. von Brandenstein's collection, manager for the late S. Wurm's collection, L. Hercus, and B. Edwards. AIATSIS has recently employed a copyright officer who will be contacting people regarding deposit conditions for materials that they have deposited at AIATSIS. This person could also discuss whether depositors have additional, undeposited materials in their possession.

Museums

Most museums contacted through the survey did not respond. In general, most museums would probably not hold a large amount of language material, although this will vary for each organisation (for example, the South Australia Museum, which did not respond to the survey, holds materials from Norman Tindale and Daisy Bates, two prolific ethnographers in Australia).

Local historical societies

This group, generally, did not respond to the survey. The focus of these organisations varies, depending on the interests of the people in the societies, and many do not hold information on Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people. However, it would be worth following up if visiting the area for another reason (such as AIATSIS comunity access visits).

Universities

Some did provide information on theses post-June 1999, but none provided information on their language holdings. University libraries have web-based catalogues which can be searched. These include all postgraduate theses completed at the university. In addition, many linguistics departments have smaller resource libraries which may hold theses. However, verbal advice from some universities indicates that these may not be comprehensive, as materials may not have been deposited or may have been lost over time.

The Berndt Museum, Perth

This museum did not respond to the Collections Survey. Verbal advice from people who have tried to access this collection is that there is a wealth of information: papers and documents as well as artefacts. It would be well worthwhile making further enquiries to the museum as the Berndts worked with Indigenous people in many areas throughout Australia.

Mining companies

With the exception of the Mount Isa Mines, mining companies did not respond to the survey. This is an area where more research and follow-up is required. For example, it is known that Comalco has a large collection of Indigenous materials.

State heritage departments

These departments did not respond to the survey. Because departments regularly change

names and functions, and there is often a high staffing turnover, corporate knowledge may be limited. This is an area which requires further follow-up.

Land councils

The land councils did not respond to the survey. Much information held by land councils will be confidential to some degree. However, the land councils deal with matters within their region, and it is likely that relevant people will be able to negotiate some form of access to appropriate materials. It would be helpful to get guidance from the councils on how to access the materials they hold in order for this information to be included in the NILS Collections Database.

Organisations from Tasmania

The organisations concerned did not respond to the Collections Survey. Advice provided by a number of government departments was that the Tasmanian Aboriginal Centre (TAC) was the first point of contact within the state for language matters. The TAC did not respond to this survey, but did advise FATSIL during the larger survey that they had been providing information on their language activities to ATSIC/ATSIS/DCITA for the past ten years.

A non-response to the Collections Survey does not necessarily mean that an organisation or a person does not hold language material. Reasons for a non-response included:

- A lack of understanding of what information was being sought by the survey, and why.

- A belief that the survey was irrelevant for collections where language materials are not organised and readily accessible.

- A reluctance to publicise information that a person or organisation does not wish to, or is unable to, make available—reasons for this might include personal preference, cultural restrictions, or lack of adequate documentation or resources.

Australians generally have a limited awareness about Australian languages and are usually unaware of the significance that the smallest amount of language material can have for an

Aboriginal person who has been dislocated from land, language and culture.

A couple of organisations contacted the survey to advise that they knew they had language information but were unable to provide any information about the nature of the material, its identity, when it had been received etc.

Where organisations made contact through the survey, people were encouraged to provide information about the collection, no matter how limited or inaccessible the information and materials were. It was stressed that information being provided on 'something' that existed was more beneficial than no information being provided at all.

It is suggested that follow-up on the Collections Survey should initially focus on collections identified through this survey, but that, later, other organisations and people should be contacted.

While some people and organisations had reservations about providing language information to this survey, it is still important that such materials be identified in some way. All Australian languages are considered endangered to some extent, and some of the materials could be a determining factor in whether a revival/maintenance program is possible or successful.

In most instances, individuals who may hold language material are identifiable through the academic and Indigenous communities. Approaches to use language materials collected by linguists/academics are sometimes met with opposition and a reluctance to provide information.

There are several reasons cited for this including:

- An uncertainty as to who are the 'correct' owners of the materials (and an unwillingness to offend and/or become embroiled in community politics).

- Materials being created from source data (such as grammars, vocabulary lists, text analyses) are 'works-in-progress' and the provision of inaccurate information can set the groundwork for future, avoidable, problems.

These concerns, while often quite legitimate, can cause immense frustration to Indigenous people who are trying to reclaim their language while some of the older people are still alive, and while the motivation to learn is strong.

5.2.4   Resources information received

Information received from respondents has been entered into a specially-constructed electronic NILS Resources Database by AIATSIS. With additional funding it is hoped to make this information more accessible to the public sometime in 2006. In addition, information from some other collections known to be of importance has also been entered into the database where alternate information sources (usually the Internet) are available.

5.2.4.1 Catalogues

Catalogues that include Indigenous language materials may be electronic, possibly accessible via the Internet, on location at collecting institutions or they may be non-existent. In general, web-based catalogues of large collections are *not* comprehensive, due to the extent of the collections and the timeframe and resources available to back-catalogue material electronically. Most large collections provide an explanation about the extent of their web-based catalogues. An example of this is the Mitchell Library in Sydney which has about 10 per cent of their material online.

Generally, libraries were able to provide a listing of Indigenous languages materials in their collections. In the main, these were published works, although a number of manuscripts were also identified for various collections. In general, libraries hold little in the way of audiovisual material, although in some instances commercial audio and video recordings were identified. Electronic cataloguing means that their holdings are searchable under a variety of terms, including language names.

An important thing to note is that there is no standard spelling for Indigenous language names, with some having over 50 alternate spellings. Unfortunately, in most collections these languages will only be locatable using the particular spelling of that item. This means that many items can be virtually unlocatable, unless a person has a list of all possible spellings of a language. Searching a catalogue would still be a time-consuming exercise even when these alternate spellings are known. AUSTLANG, a web-based Indigenous languages database developed at AIATSIS, lists AIATSIS standard (reference) names as well as spellings and names that have been used in literature for each Indigenous language. It would be very useful to have all institutions holding Indigenous language materials using these standard names [Recommendation 38].

5.2.4.2 Guides

Information about Indigenous language held in collections is not always easily locatable. In 1997, the Archives Working Group of Australia's Cultural Ministers Council produced a booklet, *Records of National Cultural Significance: Indigenous Australians,* which is available at www.archivenet.gov.au/Resources/records.pdf.

The booklet includes an index that lists guides and search aids for collections identified through an Archives Working Group project. While these guides and collections are not specifically focused on Indigenous languages, the booklet is a good place to start in order to gain an understanding of the extent and nature of collections holding Indigenous materials around Australia.

Often, and this particularly relates to government records, Aboriginal language information has been collected incidentally, and as a result of an individual's particular interests, rather than as a priority task. This material can be exceptionally difficult to locate and it is often only through accidental research that it turns up.

Twenty-two guides and lists are outlined in the *Index of Records of National Cultural Significance: Indigenous Australians.* These have not been reproduced here, but are accessible at the website referred to above.

Other guides identified through the NILS which were prepared after the above guide was published, include:

- *Katitjin—a guide to Indigenous records in the Battye Library*

- *A Little Flour and a Few Blankets—An administrative history of Aboriginal affairs in South Australia 1834–2000*

- National Library of Australia: *Mura Gadi*: *www.nla.gov.au/muragadi*

- SA Museum: Tindale & Bates: *www.samuseum.sa.gov.au/page/default. asp?site=1&page=Archives_Collections*

- AIATSIS: *Mura*: *http://unicorn. aiatsis.gov.au/index.html*

- University of Newcastle: *Aboriginal Dreamtime of the Hunter Region www.newcastle.edu.au/services/library/ collections/archives/int/page24.html*

- University of Newcastle AWABA Database— *A Database of Historical Materials*

- *Relating to the Aborigines of the Newcastle/Lake Macquarie Region www.newcastle.edu.au/group/amrhd/awaba*

5.2.4.3 Information prepared specifically for this survey

ScreenSound Australia and the South Australian State Library prepared extensive listings of their holdings of Indigenous language materials for NILS. This material was entered into the NILS Collections Database, and is also held at AIATSIS as part of the material gathered during the NILS project. Parts of the ScreenSound material has also been incorporated into a separate database, which can be accessed through language names, to determine the duration and scope of audio and visual materials held in the collection.

5.2.5 Comments on the survey process

A number of factors limited the responses to the Collections Survey. These included the short timeframe, and the limitated number of face-to-face discussions about the survey.

5.3 Collections research: AIATSIS Sound Archive

Searches for 765 of the 767 language names in the AIATSIS Indigenous Languages Database (ILDB) (which has now been incorporated into the AUSTLANG Database) were undertaken over a two-month period. Of these, there were no audio materials held at AIATSIS for 341 of these language names.

In addition to language recordings, the AIATSIS Sound Archive also holds many hours of recordings of songs, music and ceremonies for quite a few of the languages. Where this is the case, it has been noted in the NILS Sound Collection Database.

The level and quality of documentation for the language recordings ranges from none or very little (field tape covers or summary sheets) through to audition sheets, transcriptions and other material. Copies of some of these materials are held in the AIATSIS Sound Archive documentation room, while other material is lodged in the AIATSIS Library and is available through the library.

5.4 Language programs responses

Eighteen responses were received as a result of the emailed NILS form on language programs, a copy of which is attached at Appendix B.

The responses were from:

- State/territory education departments: NSW, NT, SA

- Catholic education agencies (state/ territory overview): NT, VIC

- Independent schools (state/ territory overview): VIC, WA

- Individual schools: NSW, SA, VIC, WA

- Universities: NSW, SA

In addition, information was received from the Western Australian and South Australian education departments.

Table 5.5: Audio recordings in AIATSIS Sound Archives

Hours of audio recordings	Number of languages
Less than one hour	108
Between 1–10 hours	149
More than 10 hours	165
Unable to determine (insufficient documentation)	2
Total	**424**

Part V

Analysis and trends

Chapter 6 Analysis of language situations

In this chapter, the results of NILS as they bear on language situations are discussed. These results are compared to similar results from other sources, such as the ABS Census, and analysed in terms of the indicators which have been proposed in this report.

The analysis reveals how NILS responses replicate earlier surveys that classified language situations into three major categories—'strong', 'endangered' and 'no longer spoken'. The similarities demonstrate the robustness of the indicators. NILS results, however, are able to add additional dimensions to the view provided by the census. The NILS results also reflect the strength of feeling of Indigenous respondents towards the maintenance of their languages. This chapter includes a listing of the most endangered languages according to the indicators and the combinations of NILS Report recommended language endangerment indicators which can be used to select appropriate programs and evaluate program outcomes.

6.1 Results of NILS and other surveys—language vitality

This section analyses the NILS results in terms of the NILS indicators (Appendix A) with reference to other survey results. The NILS adds significantly to coverage and accuracy in some areas, but there is still need for further work on a number of other areas.

The first four of these NILS indicators, Intergenerational Language Transmission, Absolute Numbers of Speakers, Proportion of Speakers and the Domains and Functions of a Language, look at basic demographic situations and trends.

6.1.1 The main NILS results on language vitality

The main NILS results on language vitality, in summary, are:

- Most of Australia's Indigenous languages are now no longer spoken fully or fluently. As many as 50 languages can be expected to reach this stage of endangerment in the next 20–30 years, as the most severely and critically endangered languages lose their last speakers.

- At the other end of the scale, the numbers of strong or safe languages are holding relatively stable at around 20. Some are gaining population due to high birthrates. However, some of these languages are becoming threatened.

- The numbers of extremely endangered languages, with only older speakers, are much greater than the early-stage moderately endangered languages and the strong languages.

- The pattern of language loss in Australian Indigenous languages is, that once the 'tip' into language shift starts, it goes very rapidly through the generations. However, small groups of old speakers survive for some languages for up to 20 years after language shift has gone through all generations.

- Over a hundred Australian Indigenous languages are currently in a far-advanced stage of endangerment and will cease being spoken in the next 10–30 years if no decisive action is taken.

The details of the NILS results (and in some cases, ABS Census statistics), support these general findings and are analysed below using the NILS Report recommended language endangerment indicator grades (Appendix A).

Using the NILS Indicator One—Intergenerational Language Transmission data of proficiency/use by age group it is evident that:

- Between 3 and 6 languages are 'safe/strong' (Grade 5)

- 2 languages are 'definitely endangered' (Grade 3)

- 9 languages are 'severely endangered' (Grade 2)

- 14 languages are 'critically endangered' (Grade 1).

The ABS Census data for 2001 analysed using the SOIL Age Profile Endangerment Index, shows:

- 14 languages are 'safe/strong' (Grade 5)

- 4 languages are 'unsafe' (Grade 4)

- 7 languages are 'definitely endangered' (Grade 3)

- 11 languages are 'severely endangered' (Grade 2)

- 6 languages are 'critically endangered' (Grade 1).

Between 1996 and 2001, using the same SOIL index, the number of endangered languages (Grades 1–3) increased from 14 to 23.

Using estimated numbers of speakers of languages, based on several available sources including NILS, there are 145 languages still being spoken, of which:

- 19 languages have more than 500 speakers

- 45 languages have between 10 and 50 speakers

- 67 languages have less than 10 speakers.

It should be noted that language shift and endangerment are the critical factors in languages having less than 50 speakers.

The above analysis shows the large proportion of languages which are severely or critically endangered.

6.1.2   Intergenerational Language Transmission—NILS Indicator One

Intergenerational Language Transmission (ILT), the first of the NILS recommended language endangerment indicators, is the most reliable and accurate measure of the vitality of languages and is detailed in Appendix A.1. This is because if there is no uptake of languages by the younger generations, the language will be lost. If the process of language shift occurs abruptly and throughout the community, the language will disappear within two to three generations (50 years roughly from the first onset of language shift).

The ILT grades from five down, represent a language loss countdown to zero, when the language becomes 'no longer spoken', each 'second' of the countdown is a generation, or roughly 20 years. This is why it is essential to take action as soon as language shift starts.

The Intergenerational Language Transmission indicator includes a Grade 4, for situations where the language is only partially or irregularly spoken by teenagers and children, but is still spoken by other age groups.

Grade 4 is the beginning of loss of proficiency and use among children and is an early warning sign. It indicates that there is a little time left for the community to deal with the looming language shift.

Such a situation has been documented by Annette Schmidt (Schmidt 1985) in relation to the Dyirbal language, and current NILS figures show that that language has since declined to a point where there are only a handful of full speakers left.

At Lajamanu in the NT, a similar first phase of shift could also be occurring, in the Warlpiri language (O'Shannessy 2005), since although the children there still understand the old language and can speak it under certain circumstances, they mostly choose not to and instead speak a mixed code of 'Light Warlpiri'.

6.1.2.1 NILS data

The NILS questions were more specific than the ABS Census questions, and to some extent distinguish between 'speaking' and 'understanding' ability, and active 'use' of a language. They can therefore identify cases where there is passive competence, but where active proficiency and use are limited.

Table F.2 in Appendix F uses the NILS respondent ratings of speaking and understanding and regularity of use to calculate a measure or grade of Intergenerational Language Transmission, for each language. Details of numerical coding of the survey are also in the Appendix.

Some of the main findings from the NILS basic language situation data are shown below in Table 6.1. The findings show the great majority of languages for which information was collected are in the 'no longer spoken' (Grade 0) category.

For the remainder, most fell into 'safe/strong' (Grade 5), 'severely endangered' (Grade 2) and 'critically endangered' (Grade 1) categories.

Of the languages still spoken, it is notable that at least 25 fell into the 'endangered' category, and 23, that is 23 per cent, were 'severely or critically endangered'.

According to these findings, languages appear to decline somewhat more slowly than the model in which there is a total shift in one generation. However, this kind of pattern is reported for Kokobera, where from a decline in use by the middle-aged group, the children and teenagers end up with no ability in the language whatsoever.

Note: The three languages marked with a '?' in Table 6.1 should have an 'at least' descriptor preceeding their classification because the NILS results place them in the 'strong' category. This rating appears inaccurate according to information from other NILS respondents and elsewhere that these languages are, in reality, endangered to a greater or lesser degree.

It is important to note that the NILS results do not necessarily reflect a representative sample as the survey was completed only by people volunteering to be part of the survey. That said, the NILS results do appear to represent a reasonable cross-section of languages.

6.1.2.2 ABS Census data

ABS Census data provides age group figures for the question 'which language do you speak at home?' This question evokes a variety of different responses, but nevertheless there is much of value in this material. The census provides data only on 49 individual languages; other language numbers are aggregated into large regional categories.

Table 6.1: Languages assessed using NILS Indicator One: Intergenerational Language Transmission

Rating	Endangerment description	Number of languages	Languages
5	Safe	3–6	Alyawarr, Girramay (?), Nyangumarta, Walmajarri(?), Warlpiri, Yanyuwa(?)
4	Unsafe		
3	Definitely endangered	2	Garrwa, Kuku Yalanji (or 2)
2	Severely endangered	9	Adnyamathanha, Kayardild, Kaytetye, Kokobera, Mudburra, Rembarrnga, Tainikuit, Waanyi (or 1), Warlmanpa
1	Critically endangered	14	Alawa, Bardi, Kalaw Lagaw Ya, Kalaw Kawaw Ya, Lardil, Meriam Mir, Ngarlawangka, Tjungundji, Umbindhamu, Wajarri, Wambaya, Wangkatha, Wargamay, Yidiny
0	No longer fully spoken	155	

Table 6.2 below provides age-group data on numbers of speakers from ABC Censuses in both 1996 and 2001. This has the potential to show trends in Intergenerational Language Transmission. The age groups are the same as those used for NILS. Analysis has not been carried out rigorously on trends in these numbers but some comparisons of 1996 and 2001 have been analysed using the SOIL Age Profile Endangerment Index (McConvell & Thieberger 2001) and 1996 language data.

The 1996–2001 data in Table 6.2 shows some 'strong' languages are relatively stable in total number, for example, Anindlyakwa, Pitjantjatjara, Pintupi, Kukatja and Warlpiri speakers increased slightly and Alyawarre speakers decreased slightly. Tiwi shows a substantial rise, but it must be kept in mind that the Tiwi spoken by the younger generations differs substantially from traditional Tiwi.

Arrernte, Anmatyerr, Dhuwal-dhuwala, and Kunwinjku remain 'strong', they are large languages but their numbers declined significantly in these five years. Some Western Desert dialects surveyed declined slightly, but this may be a case of change of self-identification since others increased (as mentioned above).

Central Torres Strait and Ritharrngu have slipped into the 'endangered' category after being strong in 1996, and this may be a realistic assessment. Gurindji, Jaru and Meryam Mir speakers have declined, although it is likely that they were already 'endangered' in 1996. The rising numbers of Jaru might need to be checked in a regional survey since this group (with the exception of some people in isolated places) has been undergoing language shift to Kriol for 20–30 years. Walmajarri, a neighbouring language in a similar situation, is registering a fall in numbers of speakers, but the figures for 2001 may still be optimistic. Guugu Yimidhirr is also losing numbers fast and was moving into the 'unsafe' category in 2001. It has possibly moved into the 'endangered' category by now (2005).

Most of the other languages began with low numbers in 1996 and declined by 2001.

However, even in these cases, child and teenage speakers are reported. If so, this is good news but requires on-the-ground checking.

6.1.2.3 Age profiling and language endangerment

In most Indigenous populations today, the population structure is pyramidical so there are more people in each succeeding generation. If the numbers of speakers in the youngest age group is the 'same as' or 'more than' that in the previous generation, the language is relatively healthy. If the number is less, then it is endangered.

Since there is no easy way of finding out the proportion of speakers in an entire population who identify with a language, the SOIL Age Profile Endangerment Index was devised as an indicator of language endangerment (McConvell & Thieberger 2001). This index is based on the relationship between the number of speakers in the 0–19 years age group with the numbers of speakers in the 20–39 years group.

The index is another way of measuring Intergenerational Language Transmission— Indicator One of the NILS indicators.

In theory, the SOIL Age Profile Endangerment Index is a reasonable measure but in practice it does not always work well as an indicator of language endangerment because of some degree of over-reporting of speaker numbers in the youngest generation, for various reasons, by some groups.

This was commented on in relation to the 1996 ABS Census figures (McConvell & Thieberger 2001) and also for the 2001 figures (McConvell & Thieberger 2003).

The 2001 figures and the index are set out below in Table 6.3 for those 42 languages with more than 10 speakers. The seven languages with less than 10 speakers can be assumed to be severely or critically endangered.

In this table a numerical rating of 0–5 has been applied to the language data using the language level according to the SOIL Age Profile Endangerment Index. The SOIL index is set out in Chapter 2 in Table 2.3.

Table 6.2: Number of Indigenous language speakers by age group (ABS Census 1996, 2001)

Language name ABS 1996	Language name ABS 2001	AIATSIS code	No. of speakers 1996 0–19yrs	No. of speakers 2001 0–19yrs	No. of speakers 1996 20–39yrs	No. of speakers 2001 20–39yrs	No. of speakers 1996 40–59yrs	No. of speakers 2001 40–59yrs	No. of speakers 1996 60+yrs	No. of speakers 2001 60+yrs	No. of speakers 1996 TOTAL	No. of speakers 2001 TOTAL
	Adnymathanha (Yura Ngawarla)			29		37		34		7		107
Alyawarr	Alyawarr (Alyawarra)	C.014	673	656	500	456	193	172	86	89	1,452	1,373
Anindilyakwa	Anindilyakwa	N.151	570	577	460	478	175	216	35	39	1,240	1,310
Anmatyerre	Anmatyerr (Anmatyirra)	C.008.1	509	375	414	282	191	134	110	73	1,224	864
Arabana	Arabana (Arabuna)	L.013	3	0	9	0	6	6	3	0	21	6
Arrernte	Arrernte (Aranda)	C.008	1,663	1,068	1,341	849	589	400	224	127	3,817	2,444
	Australian Creoles			0		3		3		0		6
	Australian Indigenous Languages,			4,184	3,679	2,036		798		798		10,697
Bardi	Bardi	K.015	89	69	134	74	97	52	60	40	380	235
Bibbulman	Bibbulman	W.001	77		60		19		11		167	
Bunuba	Bunuba (Bunaba)	K.005	55	57	66	72	21	40	23	21	165	190
Burarra	Burarra	N.135	342	367	230	287	96	98	28	28	696	780
	Cape York Peninsula Aboriginal,			37		85		82		32		236
	Cape York Peninsula Aboriginal			0		0		0		0		0
	Central Aboriginal			1,616		1,303		780		369		4,068
	Central Aboriginal			0		0		0		0		0
	Dhaangu			9		3		0		0		12
Dha?i	Dhay'yi	N.118	33	0	25	3	6	0	6	0	70	3
Dhuwaya	Dhuwal-Dhuwala	N.116	1,793	617	1,280	412	487	287	85	61	3,645	1,387
Djinang	Djinang	N.094.1	50	38	46	40	18	11	6	13	120	102
	Eastern Aboriginal			199		153		103		23		478
	Eastern Aboriginal			0		3		3		0		6
Gugu Yau	Kuuku-Ya'u	Y.022	12	3	3	3	6	3	0	0	21	9

Table 6.2: Number of Indigenous language speakers by age group (ABS Census 1996, 2001) (Continued)

Language name ABS 1996	Language name ABS 2001	AIATSIS code	No. of speakers 1996 0–19yrs	No. of speakers 2001 0–19yrs	No. of speakers 1996 20–39yrs	No. of speakers 2001 20–39yrs	No. of speakers 1996 40–59yrs	No. of speakers 2001 40–59yrs	No. of speakers 1996 60+yrs	No. of speakers 2001 60+yrs	No. of speakers 1996 TOTAL	No. of speakers 2001 TOTAL
Gunwinggu	Kunwinjku (Gunwinggu)	N.065	640	447	499	342	190	138	76	34	1405	961
Gurindji	Kuurinji (Gurindji)	C.020	259	239	181	184	79	88	26	42	545	553
Guugu Yimidhirr	Guugu Yimidhirr	Y.082	313	219	241	209	124	111	61	42	739	581
Jaru	Jaru (Djaru)	K.012	148	222	100	194	58	107	38	52	344	575
	Kalaw Lagaw Ya (Kalaw Kawa Ya)			241		273		208		94		816
	Karrwa (Garrwa, Garawa)			24		33		13		16		86
Kija	Kija (Gidya)	K.020	198	80	142	61	34	51	34	35	408	227
	Kriol			1,599		987		314		90		2,990
	Kukatha (Kokatha, Gugada)			9		3		4		6		22
Kukatja	Kukatja (Gugaja)	A.068	246	273	198	209	85	88	51	39	580	609
Kuku Yalanji	Gugu Yalanji	Y.078	63	50	104	81	55	60	23	12	245	203
Maung	Maung	N.064	95	133	88	110	47	59	9	13	239	315
Meriam Mir	Meryam Mir	Y.003	54	28	100	39	119	73	44	42	317	182
Miriwoong	Miriwoong	K.029	53	60	38	53	17	18	3	9	111	140
Mudburra	Mutpurra (Mudburra)	C.025	31	17	46	25	24	6	14	9	115	57
Murrinhpatha	Murrinh-Patha	N.003	813	624	406	348	199	132	45	53	1,430	1,157
Ngaatjatjara	Ngaatjatjara	A.043	413	0	346	3	163	6	71	3	993	12
Ngangikurunggurr	Ngangikurungurr	N.008	107	17	78	13	24	25	14	10	223	65
Ngarluma	Ngarluma	W.038	11	3	3	3	4	3	3	0	21	9
	Northern Aboriginal			18,64		1,417		542		169		3,992
	Northern Aboriginal			3		3		0		0		6
Nunggubuyu	Nunggubuyu	N.128	141	10	116	15	67	14	32	0	356	39
Nyangumarta	Nyangumarta	A.061	99	122	90	63	34	30	36	30	259	245
	Nyungar (Noongar)			88		66		43		15		212

Table 6.2: Number of Indigenous language speakers by age group (ABS Census 1996, 2001) (Continued)

Language name ABS 1996	Language name ABS 2001	AIATSIS code	No. of speakers 1996 0–19yrs	No. of speakers 2001 0–19yrs	No. of speakers 1996 20–39yrs	No. of speakers 2001 20–39yrs	No. of speakers 1996 40–59yrs	No. of speakers 2001 40–59yrs	No. of speakers 1996 60+yrs	No. of speakers 2001 60+yrs	No. of speakers 1996 TOTAL	No. of speakers 2001 TOTAL
Pintupi	Pintupi	C.010	165	242	138	189	63	127	24	33	390	591
Pitjantjatjara	Pitjantjatjara	C.006	825	1,183	791	1,038	368	507	137	235	2121	2,963
Rembarrnga	Rembarrnga	N.073	29	0	31	8	9	3	0	0	69	11
Ritharrngu	Ritharrngu	N.104	33	15	25	15	23	18	13	13	94	61
Tiwi	Tiwi	N.020	751	879	703	754	310	336	68	81	1,832	2,050
	Torres Strait Creole (Broken)			563		404		189		84		1,240
	Torres Strait			165		193		136		62		556
Walmajarri	Walmajarri (Walmadjari)	A.066	272	131	312	234	189	150	85	81	858	596
Warlpiri	Warlpiri	C.015	1,146	1,261	918	997	390	470	212	209	2,666	2,937
	Warumungu (Warumunga)			195		116		65		20		396
	West Coast Aboriginal			31		12		21		3		67
	Wik-Mungkan			264		224		131		49		668
	Yankunytjatjara			31		26		7		6		70
	Yanyuwa (Anula)			25		31		16		6		78
Yindjibarndi	Yindjibarndi	W.037	116	83	119	76	70	59	27	15	332	233
Yulparija	Yulparija	A.067	34	18	36	7	12	9	14	13	96	47
Yumu	Yumu	C.011										
	Total			21,359		17,381		8,755		3,436		50,391

Table 6.3: Age group figures with Age Profile Endangerment Index figures (ABS Census 1996, 2001)

Endangerment grading legend:
- 5—Strong/safe
- 4—Unsafe
- 3—Definitely endangered
- 2—Severely endangered
- 1—Critically endangered
- 0—No longer fully spoken

Language name	1996 Endangerment grading	2001 Endangerment grading	Total Speakers 2001 ABS	Endangerment Index 2001 SOIL	Proportion of speakers at each age-group level, 2001							
					0–19 years		20–39 years		40–59 years		60 years and over	
Adnymathanha (Yura Ngawarla)	2	2	97	0.79	26	26.80%	33	34.02%	29	29.90%	9	9.28%
Alyawarr (Alyawarra)	5	5	863	1.33	376	43.57%	282	32.68%	136	15.76%	69	8.00%
Anindilyakwa	5	5	1302	1.22	579	44.47%	475	36.48%	210	16.13%	38	2.92%
Anmatyerr (Anmatyirra)	5	5	1379	1.44	663	48.08%	459	33.28%	171	12.40%	86	6.24%
Arrente (Aranda)	5	5	2445	1.22	1053	43.07%	865	35.38%	408	16.69%	119	4.87%
Bardi	2	2	255	1.24	84	32.94%	68	26.67%	61	23.92%	42	16.47%
Bunuba (Bunaba)	3	2	184	0.69	52	28.26%	75	40.76%	38	20.65%	19	10.33%
Burarra	5	5	775	1.31	373	48.13%	284	36.65%	97	12.52%	21	2.71%
Central Torres Strait (KKY)	4	3	833	0.88	250	30.01%	283	33.97%	207	24.85%	93	11.16%
Dhuwaya/ Dhuwala	5	4	1374	1.17	604	43.96%	518	37.70%	204	14.85%	48	3.49%
Djinang	4	1	101	0.48	21	20.79%	44	43.56%	22	21.78%	14	13.86%
Gugu Yalanji	2	2	194	0.63	50	25.77%	79	40.72%	54	27.84%	11	5.67%
Guugu Yimidhirr	5	4	586	1.06	223	38.05%	211	36.01%	113	19.28%	39	6.66%
Jaru (Djaru)	5	3	572	1.16	213	37.24%	184	32.17%	113	19.76%	62	10.84%
Karrwa (Garrwa, Garawa)	1	2	88	0.62	21	23.86%	34	38.64%	15	17.05%	18	20.45%

Table 6.3: Age group figures with Age Profile Endangerment Index figures (ABS Census 1996, 2001) (Continued)

Language name	1996 Endangerment grading	2001 Endangerment grading	Total Speakers 2001 ABS	Endangerment Index 2001 SOIL	Proportion of speakers at each age-group level, 2001							
					0–19 years		20–39 years		40–59 years		60 years and over	
Kija (Gidya)	5	2	241	1.01	75	31.12%	74	30.71%	56	23.24%	36	14.94%
Kukatha (Gugaja)	5	5	597	1.31	268	44.89%	205	34.34%	84	14.07%	40	6.70%
Kunwinjku	5	5	974	1.31	461	47.33%	352	36.14%	129	13.24%	32	3.29%
Kuurinji (Gurindji)	5	3	555	1.31	244	43.96%	186	33.51%	84	15.14%	41	7.39%
Maung	4	4	317	1.17	134	42.27%	115	36.28%	57	17.98%	11	3.47%
Meryam Mir	5	3	180	0.83	30	16.67%	36	20.00%	72	40.00%	42	23.33%
Miriwoong	5(?)	3 (1)	127	0.96	52	40.94%	54	42.52%	12	9.45%	9	7.09%
Murrinhpatha	5	5	1160	1.79	624	53.79%	349	30.09%	130	11.21%	57	4.91%
Mutpurra (Mudburra)	2	3	56	0.90	18	32.14%	20	35.71%	12	21.43%	6	10.71%
Ngangkikurungurr	1	2	65	1.46	19	29.23%	13	20.00%	24	36.92%	9	13.85%
Nunggubuyu	(2?)	2	54	0.67	12	22.22%	18	33.33%	24	44.44%	0	0.00%
Nyangumarta	4	5	246	2.10	124	50.41%	59	23.98%	31	12.60%	32	13.01%
Nyungar (Noongar)	5(?)	1	196	1.28	78	39.80%	61	31.12%	51	26.02%	6	3.06%
Pintupi	4	5	585	1.33	245	41.88%	184	31.45%	125	21.37%	31	5.30%
Pitjantjatjara	4	5	2968	1.14	1187	39.99%	1037	34.94%	508	17.12%	236	7.95%
Rembarrnga	3	1	21	0.50	3	14.29%	6	28.57%	6	28.57%	6	28.57%
Ritharrngu	5	2	49	0.75	9	18.37%	12	24.49%	19	38.78%	9	18.37%
Tiwi	4	4	2065	1.16	884	42.81%	760	36.80%	336	16.27%	85	4.12%
Walmajarri (Walmadjari)	3	1	580	0.51	118	20.34%	230	39.66%	152	26.21%	80	13.79%
Warlpiri	5	5	2931	1.28	1264	43.13%	987	33.67%	469	16.00%	211	7.20%
Warumungu (Warumunga)	4	1	401	1.63	196	48.88%	120	29.93%	64	15.96%	21	5.24%
Wik Mungkan	4	5	650	1.20	256	39.38%	213	32.77%	130	20.00%	51	7.85%
Yankuntjatjara	4	3	72	0.82	27	37.50%	33	45.83%	6	8.33%	6	8.33%
Yanyuwa (Anula)	(?2)	2	63	0.72	21	33.33%	29	46.03%	10	15.87%	3	4.76%
Yindjibarndi	4	3	245	0.92	79	32.24%	86	35.10%	59	24.08%	21	8.57%
Yulparija	3	5	60	1.29	22	36.67%	17	28.33%	9	15.00%	12	20.00%

In the SOIL Age Profile Endangerment Index shown in column 5 in Table 6.3 above a rating of '1' is used if figures for the two age groups is the same; a rating of less than '1' indicates a degree of endangerment.

- >1.2 is given a SOIL rating of 5 ('strong/safe')
- 1–1.2 is given a SOIL rating of 4 ('unsafe')
- 0.8–0.99 is given a SOIL rating of 3 ('definitely endangered')
- 0.6–0.79 is given a SOIL rating of 2 ('severely endangered')
- 0.4–0.59 is given a SOIL rating of 1 ('critically endangered')
- <0.4 is given a SOIL rating of 0 ('no longer fully spoken')

The numbers on the left in the figures above show the percentage of speakers in the youngest generation divided by the percentage of speakers in the young adult generation. This measures the sharpness of the rise (>1) or dip (<1) in speakers in the youngest generation (McConvell & Thieberger 2001: 58). The number on the right is a 0–5 ratings scale that correlates with Indicator One of the NILS report language endangerment indicators.

Note: In the 1996 ABS Census figures, there are at least a couple of languages in which over-reporting lifts the rating higher than what it probably should be (3), although not high enough to be in a 'strong' category (4 or 5). These include the Miriwoong language that was mentioned in the SOIL report as a case of over-reporting in the 1996 census.

The seven shaded languages in Table 6.3 are those that show an apparently healthy rating but that are probably, in reality, endangered to some degree. The distortion is due to over-reporting in most of these cases.

Let us look at Gurindji. In Table 6.3, above, it has the same index as Kunwinjku. However, it is quite clear that while Kunwinjku children are generally learning and speaking the language, Gurindji children are not, so the indices should be decisively different.

It is a problematic issue, because Gurindji children speak Gurindji Kriol, a mixed language, but the vast majority have no active proficiency in traditional Gurindji. The language survey conducted by Diwurru-Jaru Aboriginal Corporation (DAC), also known as the Katherine Regional Language Centre, paints a picture of very low levels of active competence in the younger age groups, as shown in the following chart. The types of competence listed are the same as those of NILS but the age groups sampled are different.

If we compare this to the census figures (using the same age groups as the DAC survey), the difference is immediately obvious. A relatively large number of Gurindji 'speakers' are found in the younger age groups, where the DAC survey finds only very limited active command of the language. It is a question of the census question being answered on the basis of these young people being identified with the Gurindji language and/or the identification of the mixed language that they speak as 'Gurindji'.

There are of course many other languages, many of them endangered, that are not individually counted by the ABS Census. These will be discussed later.

If we regard the languages shaded in Table 6.3 (Bardi, Jaru, Kija, Kuurinji, Ngangikuunggurr, Nyungar, Warumungu) as endangered instead of relatively safe, those languages counted in the 2001 ABS Census can be analysed as follows:

- Endangered languages: 30 or 61 per cent
- Langues *not* endangered: 19 or 39 per cent

Table 6.4 below uses the SOIL Age Profile Endangerment Index as a way of measuring NILS Indicator One: Intergenerational Language Transmission.

It should be noted that these tables only include the languages individually counted by the ABS, and of those, seven with less than 10 speakers are excluded. Many are not individually counted in the census, including some quite large and strong languages and many severely and critically endangered languages.

Nevertheless, the trends are fairly obvious: there is some stability in a number of relatively strong languages with some decrease from 26 (adjusted figure) to 18 while the general trend is for languages to slip fairly fast down the scale, even in over just five years, increasing the number of endangered languages in the sample from 14 to 23 (34 per cent to 57 per cent).

Chart 6.1: Gurindji speakers by age (ABS Census 2001)

Chart 6.2: Gurindji proficiency by age (Lee & Dickson 2003)

6.1.3   Absolute Numbers of Speakers—NILS Indicator Two

Table 6.2 (which appears earlier), gives the figures of numbers of speakers of all the languages gathered by NILS and compares them with an array of other figures going back over time, including the 1996 and 2001 ABS Census. The final three columns of this table are our best estimate of the situation in 2005, based on surveys and other communications from experts in the field, using the Reliability Index (see Appendix A.2.1) and NILS Indicator Two—Absolute Numbers of Speakers, 0–5 gradings (which are also at Appendix A).

Table 6.5 below shows the numbers of languages in each Absolute Numbers of Speakers category, not including 0, and Chart 6.3 plots this as a pi-chart.

6.1.4   Proportion of Speakers—NILS Indicator Three

It is difficult to assess this indicator which looks at the number of Indigenous language speakers in relation to the total population of that language group, from any existing figures such as the census, as the census does not ask who 'identifies' with a language. Such an enquiry could also not be attempted in the kind of survey carried out in NILS. Exacting fieldwork and regional surveys can give a better perspective on this.

For many groups, age is the most decisive factor as to whether or not people speak the traditional language, and the proportion of the population who are speakers can generally be estimated from consideration of which age groups are typically speakers. The older the person, the more likely they are to have that ability.

However, some groups are fragmented in other ways, such as having been removed as part of the 'stolen generation' or moved to mixed settlements where language maintenance was difficult and frowned upon. In those cases, different proportions may be found, sometimes reflecting degree of remoteness.

6.1.5   Domains and Functions of Use—NILS Indicator Four

The basic question in relation to this indicator is who speaks what to whom, when and where. In bilingual and multilingual communities, it is often difficult to make hard and fast generalisations about this issue as people can switch their usage to achieve subtle effects like humour.

Discussion on this indicator can be divided into the categories of :

- Interlocutors/participants (who talk together)
- Topic (what they talk about)
- Situation or location.

6.1.5.1 Who is speaking language to whom

A rule in a community that the traditional language is not spoken to children can be fatal to language maintenance. People in the Kimberley seem to often follow this pattern even if they want language maintenance. It may be because as they say 'the children find it too hard' or perhaps that they have been affected by the ideas of white authorities in earlier days who discouraged the speaking of traditional languages.

Encouragingly, in some communities, such as the Kalaw Kawaw Ya speaking islanders of the Torres Strait, who also live in other areas of Queensland, the rule is the opposite. In these communities the young people must talk the old language to the old people—a rule that supports language maintenance. As one NILS respondent commented:

> Perhaps half the community uses the language, particularly the older people, they prefer to use this language. Younger people generally have to use this language when speaking with older people.

Lardil and Ganggalida respondents also reported 'talking to elders' as a main function of the old languages, and from other places, as one NILS respondent put it, 'with the elders, with my aunties'.

Table 6.4: Analysis of age profile numbers (ABS Census 1996, 2001)

Age Profile Index		Number and percentage of languages— ABS 1996	Number and percentage of languages— ABS 2001
1 Unsafe	Endangered	2 (5 per cent)	6 (14 per cent)
2 Definitely endangered	Endangered	7 (17 per cent)	11 (26 per cent)
3 Severly endangered	Endangered	5 (12 per cent)	7 (17 per cent)
4 Critically endangered	Not immediately in danger	10 (24 per cent)	4 (10 per cent)
5 Strong/safe	Not immediately in danger	18* (43 per cent)	14 (33 per cent)

*includes two languages which should have lesser index

Table 6.5 Number of languages in each speaker-number index category

Numbers of speakers rating	Large Grade 5	Medium Grade 4	Small Grade 3	Severely endangered Grade 2	Critically endangered Grade 1
Numbers of speakers in this range	>500	201-500	51-200	10-50	<10
Number of languages	19	2	15	46	63
% of total (145)	**13%**	**1%**	**10%**	**32%**	**43%**

Chart 6.3: Number of languages in each of the number of speaker categories

From NSW there have been a number of reports from different language groups that their languages were being used more and more, and in some cases (eg Wiradjuri), classes were being held.

Mostly people used 'word-mixing', but in Wiradjuri, use of full sentences is also progressing. Other groups at the moment mainly just use some words and greetings but are keen to see more recording and teaching done.

From South Australia 'Dieri mixed with English' is reported as the most common style of speech.

6.1.5.2 What, when and where

The most commonly cited speech events in the NILS responses where Indigenous languages are used are:

Formal events:
- Welcome to country
- Greetings
- Speeches

Visiting country:
- Cultural trips, site visits
- Plant identification

Teaching culture:
- Songs, story-telling
- Teaching traditional dances, actions and words
- Dreaming stories
- Teaching in school
- Language workshops
- Cultural interpretation, exhibitions

Family:
- Family gatherings and conversation
- Children, home and family

6.2   Types of language situations and patterns of language shift

The NILS results are not comprehensive but do provide a broad cross-section of the types of situations found and an analysis of what stages of language shift they represent. The results of NILS, when added to other data, confirm major findings about Indigenous language situations in Australia.

These major findings include the following:

- **Languages can be clearly divided into the three main categories: 'strong', 'endangered' and 'no longer spoken'.** The most important indicator for evaluating this is NILS Indicator One: Intergenerational Language Transmission. ILT is measured by whether people of different age groups speak the language. In situations where the language is 'strong' (Grades 5–4), all age groups speak it. In the situations were languages are 'endangered', older people but not younger people speak it (Grades 3–1); and in the category of 'no longer spoken', no age groups speak it (Grade 0).

- **The endangered situation is a result of language shift, and speaking ability is progressively lost through the age groups from old to young.** In this way it is possible to distinguish grades of endangerment from 3 to 1 according to age, the last being when only old people over 60 know the language. Certainly, there may be a few cases of younger people that go against the trend. So far at least, it is relatively rare for the trend to be reversed systematically—for a whole group of young people to speak better than older people. Some reports of this are discussed in this report and seem to be genuine examples of language revival.

- **The NILS provides a more detailed picture of situations by asking about 'understanding' ability somewhat separately from 'speaking', and quite separately from degrees of 'use'.** Typically, 'passive competence' (understanding) is retained when active speaking ability is limited or never used. These patterns of 'speaking' lagging behind 'understanding' are fairly common, but also show that the loss of understanding is not generally delayed for more than one generation after speaking proficiency is lost.

- **The distinction between 'understanding' and 'speaking' is not the same as that between 'knowledge' and 'use', but they are in some ways parallel.** Generally, 'knowledge' and 'use' are correlated. This provides evidence that measuring only one of these ('use' in the case of the census) is a robust indicator of endangerment in more general terms.

- **The relationship between 'knowledge' and 'use' is also a key to transmission, because if a language is not used, it will not be transmitted.** In the case of attrition, individuals who do not use a language, or hear it used for a number of years, can themselves lose proficiency in it. As one NILS respondent admitted:

  > I used to speak Kaanju language all the time, now I have no one to speak to, I forget.

This point leads on to the two following connected findings.

- **People who are scattered in different communities are more likely to forget and not pass on their language, and the effect of attrition gets worse when there are only very few speakers left as they may not be in a position to speak much to each other.** There is a general correlation between Indicator One—Intergenerational Language Transmission, and Indicator Two—Absolute Numbers of Speakers. It is true that in the Australian context, languages with 50–100 speakers have survived possibly for centuries and have remained vital even to recent years (for example, some small languages of the Maningrida area). However, most languages which have less than 50 speakers today are in a process of language shift.

- **There is also a general correlation between Indicator One—Intergenerational Language Transmission and Indicator Three —the proportion of the group speaking the language.** This correlation is hard to measure but logically the proportion will decline as more and more young people stop speaking the language.

- **Both the NILS responses and, for example, the SA Survey (Amery et al 2002) provide evidence that prohibition and strong discouragement of Indigenous languages had a powerful and long-term effect lasting beyond the generation which experienced it directly.** Many old people who are the repositories of the languages have had instilled into them a fear about speaking it, especially to children, and even while they no longer consciously fear punishment or removal of children, they find it hard to reverse the habit. The children, therefore, have missed out on the opportunity to hear the languages spoken.

6.2.1 The main three stages

There is a correlation between the difference between 'speaking' and 'knowing' a language, as measured in the 1994 National Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Survey (NATSIS) (ABS 1996); the difference between 'speaking' and 'understanding' in the NILS, and the distribution of language ability between age groups.

Three broad groups emerge using the data from these indicators. These roughly line up with the 'strong', 'endangered' and 'no longer spoken' (near extinct) categories which have been proposed for language endangerment.

The NATSIS results showed how these groupings corresponded to different former ATSIC regions:

- Language shift to a non-Indigenous language is either absent or just beginning in the regions of Nhulunbuy, Apatula, Jabiru, and Warburton.

- Language shift took hold in many groups 20–50 years ago, including in the regions of Kalgoorlie, Broome, Port Augusta, Alice Springs, Torres Strait, Cooktown, and Katherine.

- Associated with early white settlement and early language loss over 50 years ago, it was found there was a very low level of speakers in all other regions, except the anomalous groups mentioned below.

There are some anomalous patterns in the NATSIS 1994 data, for these groups involving

apparent dip and recovery, that warrant further study. NILS results have not been collected for the Kununurra, Cooktown, Hedland, Ceduna, Geraldton, and Adelaide regions. These involve rural/remote areas with medium urban centres to which Indigenous people have been attracted in phases: this may be a factor in their complexity.

The following map (Map 6.1) shows how these 'strong', 'endangered' and 'no longer spoken' patterns that emerged in the 1994 NATSIS (ABS 1996) data correlate with data collected by the 2001 ABS Census on the percentage of Indigenous people speaking their language.

In the NILS data a clear distinction is also evident between the 'strong', 'endangered' and 'no longer spoken' categories, At the two extreme ends, using the grades of NILS Indicator One: Intergenerational Language Transmission, we find:

- Languages which are known well and used frequently by all age groups (eg Anindlyakwa, Arrernte, Maung)—'strong' or 'safe' (Grade 5)

- Languages which are acknowledged by locals as not having any speakers (eg Mularidji)— 'no longer fully spoken' (Grade 0)

In the middle are a number of subtypes of 'endangered' languages, dealt with in the next section.

Map 6.1: Patterns of language shift (ABS Census 2001, NATSIS 1994)

Map produced by the Communications Research Unit
Data provided by the ABS
Produced October 2005, email:cru.mail@dcita.gov.au

Status of languages based on NATSIS 1994 results (ABS 1996)

Strong: nearly all speak language at home; not much difference between age groups

Endangered: Many less speak language at home than claim to know it; sharply declining use of language among young.

No longer fully spoken: Very few speak language at home; proportion of speakers low in all age groups and declining

Anomalous patters area

Percentage of Indigenous language speakers (ABS Census 2001)

Greater then or equal to 79%

30% to less than 79%

7% to less than 30%

0% to less than 7%

6.2.2 The sub-stages of endangerment

At the lower end of the 'strong' group and about to move into the 'endangered' group are languages which are generally known and used in the community but where there is some decline in use by the young adults and children (eg Anmatyerre). These languages might be in the 'unsafe' category (Grade 4).

Languages where there are changes in children's and teenagers' language, but where these may not be true signs of impending language shift, can also be classed as 'unsafe' (Grade 4).

One NILS respondent classed Pitjantjatjara in this category, but the lower score that in this case was assigned to young people's speech, probably relates to the changes in their speech rather than a general loss of fluency (as described by Langlois 2004).

Similarly, changes in young people's speech were reported through NILS for many languages. One NILS respondent wrote:

> 200 speakers of Kaytetye. Differences between the way people under 30 speak Kaytetye and those over. Kaytetye people sometimes refer to 'old' and 'new' Kaytetye. 'New Kaytetye' shares many features with neighbouring Anmatyerr and Alyawarr. There are around 100 speakers of 'old Kaytetye'.

Garrwa and Girramay are said to be in the category of slight decline among young people, but the degree of knowledge and use by young people may be overrated according to other observers. These languages may actually be categorised as 'definitely endangered' (Grade 3) or 'severely endangered' (Grade 2), like Dyirbal, Kuku Yalanji and Ritharrngu languages.

Responses to NILS data for these languages showed old people know the languages fairly well and use them quite frequently. But the results also showed, for these languages, knowledge and use declined with age, and that children and teenagers were least proficient or inclined to use the language.

In the 'critically endangered' (Grade 1) category are languages which are known and used a little by old people but that are very little known or used by anyone younger. The NILS responses showed that languages such as Badimaya would fit into this category.

6.2.3 Knowledge and use

'Knowledge' and 'use' can be related in a vicious spiral whereby less use makes transmission more difficult and people with less knowledge tend to speak less as they lack confidence in their ability.

However, they can also be related in different ways—in some cases people have limited competence, for example, a few dozen words, but these are used a lot in everyday speech in the Indigenous community.

In some cases, knowledge is weak in all age groups but use is said to be moderate. This may refer to the common practice of use of 'language words' in an Aboriginal/English matrix (Gugu Badhun, Nyawaygi). In some cases this word mixing is what some people term a 'hybrid'. As one NILS respondent put it:

> People speak sort of a hybrid. They use some Mandandanji and an Aboriginal English, which uses key words and phrases within English. There are around 200 people who speak the language, in terms of using words, but there are no fluent speakers of the language.

One of the problems some respondents see is that people may use words from other Indigenous languages rather than the local one, or mixed with it. Sorting out one language from the other then becomes a task for new revival programs.

6.2.4 Absolute numbers: The most endangered languages

Some of the languages that are in the 'critically endangered' (Grade 1) category, where only the old people are speaking the language, also have very small numbers of fluent speakers. The Badimaya language, for instance, is said to have only three speakers. Other languages, for which there is no age group data, record very low speaker numbers. For example, the Thalanyji language is said to have only six speakers and Wagiman is said to have only 11.

6.2.5   Speed of language shift

Another interesting difference in situations is between languages which decline very fast and those which decline slowly. In the fast decline case, there can be fluent speakers among the old, but children and teenagers know just about nothing of the language, as in the case of Kokobera that has been mentioned above, and Bardi and Gugu Yau.

In the slow decline case, there is much more gradual loss and this may involve cases where younger people speak a 'mixed code', like Gurindji. Other more gradual cases may include the following one that one NILS respondent reported:

> I believe there are less than ten people who speak Lardil fluently, possibly up to 50 who understand well but only speak a little, and then up to 200 who understand and speak a few words.

In the cases of rapid language shift, picked up by NILS, numbers of fluent speakers are in the extremely endangered range. This applies to, for example, the Gugu Yau language which is said to have 10 speakers.

These two scenarios have different implications for language programs.

In the rapid shift case, fluent elders are on hand, but the task of language learning is virtually one of learning a second language. In the gradual shift case, there may be much more learning 'scaffolding' in place even including quite good passive competence for young learners.

On the other hand, if the young learners speak a different 'mixed' version of the language, there may be hard decisions to be made about which variety to use in language programs, as has been the case in the Tiwi bilingual programs.

6.2.6   Language prohibition and its effects

There are many reports of the older generations being forbidden to speak the language by authorities, and many such parents were wary of teaching their children as they thought speaking the language could get them into trouble. Reports from areas where languages are no

longer fluently spoken point to the central roles of Christian missions in suppressing the languages.

Government 'welfare' agents and schools also spread the same message. Physical punishment and deprivation of food and benefits were used against people speaking the languages in many cases.

The few children who did acquire language did so passively, as this respondent states—by listening to adults talking in private situations where they were not being monitored:

> North Queensland. Five speakers—one elder converses with Girramay community on the differences between the two languages, speaks words and phrases and knows some sign language. Learnt language by passive language. Parents forbidden to speak language. Another elder knows words and phrases of both Biyay and Warragamay language. Teaches both.

6.2.7   Spontaneous revival?

Some languages which are generally thought of as having gone out of use, a generation or more ago, are now reported to have numbers of moderate or fluent speakers (see also Chapter 2 on 'speaking' and proficiency). As one NILS respondent put it:

> 'Speak' is a loaded word. 200–300 people would use Butchulla words in their vocab everyday. Regarding Question 8 people of all age groups use Butchulla 'some words a day', all day, most days.

A very few languages exhibit an unusual pattern of greater use by middle-aged and younger people than by old people, and of children knowing more than young adults. The Wangaaybuwan, Yukulta, and Butchulla languages are some of the few.

In the case of Wangaaybuwan, at least some kind of language revival appears to be occurring. This should be compared to the unusual profile emerging from data on the Kaurna language, something that was not reported on in NILS (Amery 2000).

In the case of the Butchulla language from Frazer Island in Queensland, one NILS respondent had this to say:

There has been a bit of a role reversal where the young children are learning more about language and telling their parents what words mean. In the younger age group, there would be about 30–40 children learning language at primary school and they are learning verbs, pronouns, and adjectives etc. These children know a lot of words, place names and meanings, and songs. However, there are less people speaking language at high school age. The group from 20 years old and up are learning language through dances where workshops are run and members of the dance group are learning language and how to pronounce it.

Some accounts paint a much more optimistic picture than is warranted—for Walmajarri, for instance, the speaker number is given as 1,000, with only a slight decline recorded in knowledge by young people and no decline in use. This contrasts with results of recent fieldwork, which indicate that young people and children use Kriol all the time with hardly any Walmajarri words. A few other reports seem to inflate the number of speakers considerably, eg 1,000 for Kaanju, which elsewhere is estimated to have 40 speakers some years ago, and two speakers currently.

6.3   Overall levels of Indigenous language speaking in Australia

Mostly, NILS has been concerned with obtaining data on specific languages. However, it is worth putting this into the context of the situation of Indigenous languages as a whole. According to ABS Census figures over 15 years up to 2001, there has been a steady decline in the proportion of Indigenous people speaking an Indigenous language, as shown in Chart 6.4 below. Most worrying is the fact that the decline is sharper in the younger age groups.

One factor which may partially explain the rapidity of this dropping off is that during this 15-year period, many people newly identified themselves as Indigenous who had not, or whose families had not, previously. Most of these people do not speak an Indigenous language, which would tend to exaggerate any decline.

However, on the other side of the coin, the birth-rate of Indigenous groups has been higher and the level of infant mortality has declined due mainly to better health care.

Chart 6.4: Proportion of language speakers by age group (ABS Census 1986, 1996, and 2001)

Chart shows % of population (y-axis) versus Age of speakers (x-axis), with bars for 1986, 1996, and 2001:

Age of speakers	1986	1996	2001
5 - 14 years	16.00%	10.88%	5.28%
15-24 years	16.96%	14.46%	12.23%
25-44 years	19.70%	14.21%	11.24%
45- years	28.48%	16.80%	23.53%

Chart 6.5: Trends in language population and Indigenous language speakers (ABS 1986–2001) by the number of speakers

Chart 6.6: Trends in language population and Indigenous language speakers over 5 years old (ABS 1986–2001)

If these new children were speaking an Indigenous language, that would tend to increase the proportions in the younger groups.

One oddity in the ABS Census figures for this period is the quite significant increase in the proportion of older people apparently speaking an Indigenous language in the 2001 census. This needs further investigation.

Another view of language trends is gained by plotting the total figures of Indigenous language speakers, as recorded in ABS Censuses, against the overall Indigenous population, as in Chart 6.6 above, which shows data for language speakers over the age of five years old. In this chart the proportion of speakers in the total Indigenous population is plotted as a percentage.

Many more investigations could be made into language situations and trends, both Australia-wide and regional, using available data. Even, for instance, in readily available 2002 National Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Social Survey (NATSISS) data (ABS 2002), for instance, it is possible to look at correlations of Indigenous language speaking with remoteness, education, and other factors related to community and social life as in Table 6.6.

Among connections to be gleaned from this correlation of language spoken and environmental factors are that more than half of the Indigenous people of Australia

'identify' with a language group or similar, even though only around 12 per cent of all Indigenous Australians 'speak' a language.

While identification with a language group declines in younger age groups, it does not decline fast, and attendance at cultural events is maintained at pretty much the same level by all age groups.

6.4 Responses to language situations

The material from NILS described in this section provides some evidence in relation to NILS Indicator Eight—Community Members' Attitudes towards Their Own Language. However the NILS data is not quantified. This discussion also has some bearing on the question of NILS Indicator Ten—Language Programs.

Most NILS respondents made positive comments about the language and expressed an interest in speaking it themselves or in having the children in their community learning it. Of the respondents, only two stated that they spoke no Indigenous language and were not interested in learning any.

Reclamation movements are gathering momentum in various places. In SA, the Kaurna language has been a well known example (Amery 2000). Other projects are following

Table 6.6: Correlation of language and environmental factors
(Percentages are of the total number of Indigenous people across Australia)

Age	15–24 years	25–34 years	35–44 years	45–54 years	55 years & over	Total
Identifies with clan, tribal or language group	46.7%	54.5%	60.4%	55.2%	60.0%	54.1%
Currently lives in homelands/traditional country	18.1%	22.5 %	23.1%	23.7%	25.7%	21.9%
Attended cultural event(s) in last 12 months	65.6%	68.9 %	72.6 %	65.1%	67.9%	68.1 %
Speaks an Indigenous language	18.2%	22.3%	21.8 %	19.5%	26.1%	21.1 %
Main language spoken at home						
English	86.6%	85.2%	86.3%	86.8%	84.1%	85.9%
Aboriginal language	10.0%	12.1%	10.0%	9.7%	13.4%	10.9%
Torres Strait Islander language	1.1%	0.8%	1.6%	1.0%	1.3%	1.2%
Other	2.3%	1.8%	2.0%	2.4%	1.3%	2.0 1%

similar patterns, and NILS respondents pointed to the production of materials on and in the languages as an important impetus.

For example, as the following NILS respondent commented in relation to the Buandik language:

> This is a sleeping language. Revival through the production of resources by the Education Dept. of S.A. such as Mar the Cockatoo: A Boandik Dreaming Story, 1991.

The role of school programs was also stressed by many NILS respondents. This was what one had to say:

> There is a growing number [of speakers] from the courses and teacher training that we have been running. There are now 23 trained teachers of Ganai and they would all use Ganai daily. In general, people know a few words and phrases.

> No one [speaks Gamilaraay] fluently. Many people use the language though. There is an increasing number of people who are using and being proud of the language, mainly in towns where there are school programs.

It should be noted in this comment, as in many other submissions, the distinction being made between fluent 'speaking' and 'using' (which in practice means using a few words and phrases from the old language in Aboriginal English). This practice of 'using' seems to be a good basis on which a reclamation program can start.

The introduction of an Indigenous languages syllabus in NSW is clearly having a positive impact, but the following NILS respondent also stresses the importance of community action:

> Within the Aboriginal community of Coonabarabran, it would be estimated that no more than 5 per cent on an overall basis of the Coonabarabran shire council have the basic skills, although they have kept their basic knowledge within the language to hand down to their children. As a result of this, there is currently a rejuvenation of the language, not just within the new Aboriginal language syllabus (K–10) but also within the community as well.

Those who have lost their language lament the lack of transmission to children, which would be the prime means of reviving the language, but in some regions there are no programs to cater for this. That is the case in Queensland, for example, where the following respondent came from:

> The language is largely unspoken as most of the fluent speakers have passed away. There is now a strong movement to revive and retain language in the region, however, without language being spoken in the home and from childhood it makes it very difficult.

The Language Nests idea provides a way forward here.

Chapter 7   Resources for languages

This chapter looks mainly at text and audio-visual resources for languages and how they can be better collected, looked after and made accessible. Other topics of great importance to Indigenous languages are the human resources which make programs possible, the training that is necessary for these people, and the programs themselves. These have not been a main focus of this report, but should be scoped out more fully in future.

7.1   Human resources

7.1.1   Speakers and elders

Obviously the speakers of the languages and the elders who retain knowledge of the language and culture, even in the cases where the languages are no longer spoken, are the most important resource. They should be valued and respected by their communities and by the mainstream authorities and rewarded for work they do in projects and programs. Some may not wish to undertake technical training themselves but may guide and teach in such programs. They are also people who tend to be sought out for many different tasks, and extreme care must be taken not to 'burn out' such people, especially if they are old and frail.

7.1.2   Learners and helpers

Learners, too, should be valued because they are making the effort to learn the language for the sake of their people and the coming generations. Employers should make it easier for people to engage in this activity and training and should recognise its value alongside other training courses. With the emphasis on indicators and showing the value of programs, it is possible to demonstrate progress both on a community and individual level.

Those who help in the Community Language Teams, and in activities such as Language Nests, should have their roles and contributions recognised and should be paid as legitimate workers, rather than just receiving 'work for the dole'. Some of these people could be employed as full-time Indigenous language workers, either at community level or attached to a regional centre.

7.1.3   Linguists

Trained linguists are important people for language programs too, providing key advice and assistance. Some linguists are employed by universities and some by Regional Indigenous Language Centres. We are recommending that all such centres employ at least one linguist who can look after several local community programs and teams in the region.

There has been some opposition in some quarters to the work of linguists, because they tend to be non-Indigenous and some people feel they will wield too much power over language programs. These ideas often come from people who have not worked with linguists themselves or understood very well what they do. While there are good and bad people in every walk of life, there are very few linguists who try to take over community programs from the language custodians or pretend to be 'the expert' on the language and push people around. In the context of language centres especially, they work in 'two-way' relationships with Indigenous people.

Of course, it would be a good thing if there were more Indigenous linguists. There are only a handful who have been through full university training, but there are several more who have gone part of the way and are trying to find ways of completing their degree, often struggling with family and other responsibilities. There are quite a number more who have undertaken basic training, through some colleges which have specialised in Indigenous language work, and are working either in that field or in another field for example as community leaders or teachers. A recommendation is made under the heading 'Training and support' below.

7.1.4   Teachers

Several times in this report we have referred to the potentially crucial role of schools in the language maintenance arena. The potential contribution of schools has not been realised because of the division between education and community programs, and a lack of sympathy on the part of some principals and departmental officials. Typically, though, there are teachers in schools who are happy to work with Indigenous people on language and cultural programs in schools, even though these are marginalised.

Where there are numbers of trained Indigenous teachers working in schools, they readily take up the task of promoting language and culture in schools and try to develop curriculum for their local situations. Unfortunately, there is usually very little in teacher training to prepare them for doing this, and very little central development of curriculum and teaching aids which can be adapted to local languages and situations. Sometimes, though, as in the case of the South Australian education department, a small dedicated unit can achieve great things—but even more could be achieved with more funds and more recognition.

7.1.5   Translators and interpreters

The provision of interpreting services for Indigenous people has been relatively neglected over the years compared with that for migrant ethnic groups. This lack of equality can have life threatening consequences in health care, can result in miscarriages of justice and many other disadvantages for Indigenous people. A paper commissioned by DCITA from the Kimberley Interpreting Service refers to this point and can be found at: *www.dcita.gov.au/indig/maintenance_ indigenous_languages/publications*.

The NILS Report recommends that a translation and interpreting unit be attached to all those Regional Indigenous Language Centres which have large numbers of Indigenous people who do not speak English well in their zone [Recommendation 22], and that training for Indigenous interpreters to National Accreditation Authority for Translators and Interpreters (NAATI) standards be provided by at least one institution [Recommendation 50]

7.1.6   Indigenous language workers

There are already numbers of skilled language workers in community and school programs, and regional centres, and more will be expected to join as new programs such as Language Nests and Community Language Teams/Master-Apprentice Schemes develop. They bring some skills to the programs, but also need training and support to become fully fledged practitioners (see below).

7.1.7   Training and support

Training for Indigenous personnel in the languages area is an essential part of all the NILS Report recommendations and should be provided from certificate level through to degrees and postgraduate work [Recommendation 51].

It should be emphasised again that such training is not for an obscure skill that has no other application. In such training, people acquire high-level multiple skills, including: community liaison, organisational, research and computer skills, all of which are readily transferable to other jobs. We have identified that Regional Indigenous Language Centres should be the main facilitators of the provision of training, together with the proposed National Indigenous Languages Centre. They should coordinate with the current training providers in this area, such as the Batchelor Institute, to improve the system and outcomes.

The Resource Network for Language Diversity (RNLD) is an important initiative to provide support links online, or through on-site training for people working on languages especially in remote regions. However, this important resource has no funding base at the moment. The NILS Report strongly recommends that the RNLD should be considered for funding. Further, AIATSIS may be able to assist with these elements, perhaps in collaboration with RNLD—workshops have been carried out, but the funding allocated so far has been very limited [Recommendation 52].

This report also recommends that training of Indigenous teachers be a priority and that a sizable segment of such training should focus on development of local language and culture programs [Recommendation 49].

This should especially include training for early childhood work to fit in with the establishment of Language Nests. By starting in the early school years, new ideas and curriculum can be introduced slowly through the school if and when the local situation is ready for it [Recommendation 1].

7.2   Language materials and documentation

The following are the key issues when considering strategies to improve language materials and documentation:

- What is the optimal level and types of documentation needed for viable work on a language for which there are still fluent speakers?

- How to locate already existing language materials?

- How to ensure language materials are preserved and accessible for future use?

7.2.1   Written materials

To support language maintenance it is vital that documentation is stored in an effective and easily accessible manner.

The following are important existing collections of written material on Australian Indigenous languages:

- **Indigenous Languages Database:** The AIATSIS Indigenous Languages Database (ILDB) contains a variety of databases with listings of mainly written materials. This database has now been incorporated into the AUSTLANG Database (see below). The ILDB Database includes electronic versions of the Australian Indigenous languages bibliography (OZBIB) (Carrington & Triffitt 1999), the Sourcebook for Central Australian languages, and the WA and Kimberley

Handbooks, and an index of documentation level of languages. An index for NILS Indicator Six—Materials for Language Education and Literacy is at Appendix A.

- **AUSTLANG (formerly called WILD):** AUSTLANG (Australian Language Online Database) is an online version of the ILDB and is currently in a non-public beta-testing version. An improved version, which incorporates the ILDB, will be launched publicly in 2006. The new AUSTLANG will include an upgrade of OZBIB, to 2004. It will also include the NILS data, if funding is provided to AIATSIS to carry out this task.

- **Collections Database:** This is a database of collecting institutions which contain Indigenous languages materials. It is a resource that has been created as a result of the NILS survey of collecting institutions. The database is held and maintained at AIATSIS. The Collections Database should be accessible to interested people for comment and feedback. It is recommended that AIATSIS be resourced to continue to maintain and upgrade the database as required in the first instance. Further, it is recommended that investigations occur as to the feasibility of placing the database on the Internet [Recommendation 39].

- **OZBIB:** OZBIB (Carrington & Triffitt 1999) provides information on published linguistics works and theses up until 30 June 1999. Copyright of OZBIB has been purchased by AIATSIS and it is expected the material will be electronically linked into the ILDB/AUSTLANG. An update of OZBIB is to take place in the near future and post-1999 publications and theses will be incorporated into this, along with the ILDB amendments. It is recommended that OZBIB is updated every two years [Recommendation 34, Recommendation 36].

- **Unpublished manuscripts to 1959:** John Greenway prepared a bibliography of Australian anthropology up until 1959 (Greenway 1963). This includes, but is not limited to, material on Australian languages. The manuscript is in four parts: Part 1, refers

to books and articles in periodicals other than newspapers, and was published in 1963. This part was referred to during preparation of OZBIB. Parts 2–4 have never been published, but the manuscripts are held at AIATSIS. These consist of, in Part 2, manuscripts, typescripts, letters and other unpublished material. Part 3 includes references to governmental documents, and Part 4 to newspapers. This manuscript was not consulted during preparation of OZBIB (G Triffitt, personal communication). However, a check of the AIATSIS Mura (online) catalogue reveals that information from the Greenway manuscript has been listed in Mura. Where documents are not held at AIATSIS, the holding institution is listed.

- **Language learning materials:** There is no one list or catalogue for materials created for language learning activities. In fact, these materials are often 'one-offs' created during a school or community project. Much of this material could be classified as 'ephemera'. A method needs to be developed to ensure that these materials are kept safely for use over long periods of time. Materials produced by schools in earlier years can provide a record of changes to a language over time.

- **Central Australian audit of language materials:** The Schools Branch of the Northern Territory Department of Employment, Education and Training has recently conducted an audit of language materials held at schools in its jurisdiction. The audit has identified that much of the material requires attention so that it is not lost/destroyed.

- **Language learning materials at AIATSIS:** Many language learning materials from around Australia, though by no means the majority, have been lodged with the AIATSIS Library (classified under 'L'). In some instances this been beneficial for a language community, such as when Katherine in the NT experienced severe flooding in 1998 and the local language centre lost the bulk of its material. Much language material had been deposited at AIATSIS over several years and,

as a consequence, the centre was able to rebuild their language materials collection quickly. It is recommended that community organisations and language centres be made aware of the benefits of lodging copies of their materials with another organisation for safe-keeping purposes [Recommendation 28].

- **The University of Adelaide (future resource):** The university has recently advised that they are about to compile an audit of the resources of the Indigenous languages of South Australia. This aims to be a user-friendly guide for communities or teachers to access resources easily, such as recordings, grammar descriptions, vocabulary lists, theses and journals on language maintenance among others. Further audits of resources in other states, territories or regions would be valuable.

A discussion of available guides, both web-based and print-version, is at section 5.2.4 of this report.

7.2.1.1 Grammar

Information on available grammars is accessible through the ILDB. Information received from the online survey and from universities will be included in an update of AUSTLANG. The ILDB/AUSTLANG documentation index has a way of grading grammatical descriptions as to size, but the quality and comprehensiveness of the coverage is also an issue, as well as how user-friendly the grammar is for language maintenance activities where users may have minimal or no training in linguistics. In recent years, language centres in particular have been doing work on 'translating' academic technical grammars into 'Learners' Guides' or similar. Information received from universities has also been provided for the impending update of OZBIB. Collection of such grammatical work should continue.

7.2.1.2 Dictionaries

Dictionaries are extremely valuable documents for language maintenance activities as many spin-off language learning materials can be easily generated from them. In a digital form, multimedia dictionaries can be produced with

sound files and pictures. Indigenous people in general find dictionaries useful and appealing.

Development of open-source software and publication outlets for Indigenous language dictionaries is a key element of successful language programs because on the basis of such databases, it is possible to derive a wide range of educational material, including paper and multimedia. Providing funding for such a project, or the support of associated collaborating projects, would be much more valuable than lavish spending on closed-source multimedia Indigenous language products, which are very thin in content and cannot be reused or extended [Recommendation 48].

7.2.1.3 Text collections

Text collections can be produced in paper form or digitally with sound (and in some cases pictures) as 'Talking Stories'. These can be linked to dictionaries so the meanings of words can be displayed while reading the story, or vice-versa, examples from stories can be produced while accessing the dictionary.

7.2.2 Audio-visual materials

The Collections Database of collecting institutions which contain Indigenous languages materials was created as a result of the NILS survey of collecting institutions. The database is held and maintained at AIATSIS.

The AIATSIS Sound Archive holds the largest collection of recorded Australian language material in the world. The database developed for this survey provides easily accessible summarised basic information about the Sound Archive's holdings by language name.

The AIATSIS Film Archive also contains much language-specific material. Due to the nature of the collection and the way it has been catalogued, time constraints precluded this survey from auditing the Film Archive's holdings. Research should be undertaken into the nature of language material in various film and video archives, including the AIATSIS archives [Recommendation 44].

ScreenSound Australia has provided a listing of Indigenous audio and visual materials held

in its collections by language name. This material does not include new material that has not been consistently catalogued by language name. A database has been developed to store basic information relating to the ScreenSound collection. Once it has been ascertained that the collection holds material for a particular language, it would be informative to examine the associated printouts.

A few Indigenous media organisations responded to the Collections Survey, but there are many which did not. Indigenous media organisations range from small community Remote Indigenous Broadcasting Services (RIBS), through to larger organisations such as the Central Australian Aboriginal Media Association (CAAMA), Warlpiri Media and Pitjantjatjara Yankunytjatjara Media (PY Media). These organisations are likely to be holding a plethora of material, much of it containing Indigenous language content, of varying quality. Often, there may be a range of materials collected over time. Storage of these materials will vary depending on the resources available to the Indigenous media outlet.

It is recommended that an audit of Indigenous media organisations be conducted to ascertain the amount and quality of language materials held by Indigenous media organisations, and guidelines be developed to ensure that language recordings are stored so that they are accessible and protected. One possible solution could be to include a requirement that language materials be archived in an appropriate place whenever government funding is received by an organisation [Recommendation 30].

Language centres also hold large amounts of audio-visual material which is only partially catalogued in many cases and often not accessible.

Grant conditions attached to funding should require not only that any language materials produced be deposited into an archive, but also that the archive conforms to minimum archival standards.

It is recommended that appropriate, cost-effective ways to archive language material be promoted when funding is provided to conduct

language work. The AIATSIS *Keeping Your History Alive* workshop, which, due to limited resources, is only conducted intermittently, is one avenue for providing relevant and practical information to community-based organisations. DCITA (and other funding bodies) should provide an allocation within any grant to ensure that this type of workshop can be conducted. Further, it would be valuable if a cataloguing and archiving advisory program could be established.

7.2.3   Digital documentation

Some collecting institutions are digitising materials they hold, including language materials. Various issues are associated with this process, including ensuring that access to materials is appropriate and that copyright and moral rights are appropriately and sensitively dealt with. These matters need to be considered not only in relation to 'secret/sacred' materials, but also in relation to all Indigenous materials, including language materials held in collections, particularly when there are plans to provide access to these through the Internet.

Community-based organisations and Regional Indigenous Language Centres are starting to create 'born-digital' products (ie, material that is created digitally rather than being transferred from an analogue form into a digital format). Because digital technology changes so quickly, there is a critical need to ensure that minimum technical standards are met so that any language materials created digitally will be accessible in the future.

Preservation requirements for digital media are different to non-digital requirements. Digital media needs to be continually 'migrated' to new software formats to ensure that the material is not unusable in the future. Electronic equipment rapidly becomes obsolete, so it is important that people have good advice about what equipment and software will best suit their needs, at present and into the future.

Consideration as to how digital media is stored is a major concern. There are minimum technical standards which need to be met to ensure that digital material is accessible both now and in the future. Storage is of particular

concern for larger archives, and can be very expensive. Another critical concern is that when digital media fails, it often does so spectacularly and irrevocably, with the result that retrieval of information may be impossible.

It is recommended that protocols and guidelines about how to develop, store and access Indigenous language materials are developed in consultation with Indigenous communities and collecting institutions [Recommendation 29].

7.2.4   Multimedia

Comments have already been made about the need for caution in allocating high levels of funds to companies to produce 'one-off' multimedia products, or such things as flashy animated products which have little content and little potential for extension, especially if they are closed-source and cannot be replicated elsewhere.

For some years, language maintenance programs and language centres have been calling for an open-source set of templates that can be used and adapted by them, but such a resource has not been made available yet. There have been some very good multimedia products in this field, and there is potential to produce a 'bank' of such things, distribute them and advise on their use and adaptability [Recommendation 48]. The Aboriginal Studies Electronic Data Archive (ASEDA) web page is relevant to this discussion: http://coombs. anu.edu.au/SpecialProj/ASEDA/multimedia. html. Comments at 7.2.3 (above) regarding considerations for the preservation and access of digital documentation which apply equally to multimedia are also relevant.

Indigenous organisations currently involved in major multimedia projects include the NSW Aboriginal Languages Research and Resources Centre (ALRRC), and Ara Irititja (in Central Australia). The Northern Territory has also been establishing 'Knowledge Centres' in many communities. In many instances, a lack of ongoing resources and some poorly developed policy guidelines for the nature and structure of these Knowledge Centres are issues of concern in some communities.

7.3   Institutions and organisations

The demand for resources, both human and financial, will always be greater than those available for working on Australian languages. The following suggestions relate to ways various types of institutions and organisations might enhance their ability to provide quality services and meaningful support for work being undertaken on Australian languages.

Matters for consideration include:

- Developing an underlying awareness among staff about Australian languages, including general background information as well as an understanding of the cultural sensitivities associated with information held in collections such as libraries and archives.

  Awareness-raising about Australian languages and Indigenous cultural property rights for all staff working in collections, including background information as well as information on the cultural sensitivities associated with information held in collections (the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander protocols for libraries, archives and information services is a good starting point).

- Developing active strategies for identifying, cataloguing and communicating Indigenous languages materials held in collections in a culturally sensitive way.

- Developing practical strategies on how to store Indigenous languages materials, both for preservation and for appropriate access.

- Securing commitments from organisations and institutions to investigate the nature and extent of Indigenous language materials in their collections. These groups and institutions have collections that may contain information on Indigenous languages, but easy access to these collections has not been possible, perhaps because the information has not been clearly identified, was collected in an ad hoc way, or because it is incidental to the core collection.

7.3.1   Community-based bodies and Regional Indigenous Language Centres

The key issues for community-based bodies and language centres are:

- determining how best to work within the limitations of an organisation's resources (human, technical and funding), and

- being able to manage language materials for both preservation and access.

These issues, and others, are addressed in the *Keeping Your History Alive* workshops that AIATSIS runs. The workshops can be conducted either in Canberra or at a community, depending on the availability of funds.

The following are some steps that need to be taken:

- AUSTLANG (formerly WILD) should be provided, online or on CD if there is not Internet access, to interested persons as a first point of reference for information on Indigenous languages, thus enabling community bodies to investigate resources that already exist and to get in touch with relevant people (such as linguists, educationists, etc).

- When working on a language, consideration should be given to the recommended optimal levels of resources discussed in this report.

- The optimal archival practice of safe-housing copies of language materials in another location, preferably a long distance away to guard against local disasters (such as the flooding) should be followed.

- Participation in workshops and courses which provide practical strategies for creating and storing language materials should be promoted and adequately resourced.

7.3.2   Libraries

The key issues for libraries and Indigenous languages are as follows:

- Developing an underlying awareness among staff about Australian languages and Indigenous cultural property rights, including

general background information as well as an understanding of the cultural sensitivities associated with information held in collections such as libraries and archives, A good general starting point can be found in the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander protocols for libraries, archives and information services, available at *www.cdu.edu.au/library/protocol.*

However, often more specific protocols are necessary.

- Developing active strategies for identifying, cataloguing and communicating Indigenous language materials held in collections in a culturally sensitive way.

- Facilitating the employment of more Indigenous staff within the collections management and access areas. The Australian Society of Archivists has recently launched a brochure, *Pathways to Your Future and Our Past*, aimed at raising awareness of the role that Indigenous people can play in archives and records management. This is an important step towards the goal of increasing Indigenous staff numbers in areas involving archives and records management.

- Adopting the use of a standardised thesaurus for language names, to facilitate comprehensive searching. The AUTSLANG Database has a standard name set also linked to international standards.

7.3.3   Archives

Key issues highlighted in the above section on libraries are also applicable to archives. However, in addition, due to the different nature of archives, another matter for consideration is developing and articulating appropriate search strategies for a collection.

Information that was provided by various archives for the NILS Collections Survey has been entered into the NILS Collections Database.

7.3.4   Museums and keeping places

Very little information was received from museums regarding materials held in their collections. This may be because museums do not believe they hold relevant information. However, there are some particular instances where this is not the case, such as the South Australian Museum, which contains the collections of two very significant ethnographers, Norman Tindale and Daisy Bates. It is recommended that further follow-up with individual museums takes place, preferably face-to-face.

Responses were received from the Victorian Royal Historical Society and the Western Australian Historical Society. The Royal Australian Historical Society (which also deals with the NSW historical societies' network) distributed the Collections Survey through their network, and several responses to the NILS were received as a result.

It is recommended that contact with other historical societies is followed up (SA, TAS, and QLD). These organisations are usually staffed by volunteers, so the level of interest and response probably depends on the particular individuals involved in each organisation. A regular mail-out about Indigenous languages to these organisations once or twice a year may encourage responses.

The key issues for museums and historical societies in relation to Indigenous languages are:

- Securing commitment that organisations will investigate the nature and extent of Indigenous language materials that may have been collected ad hoc, and/or may be held incidentally to their core collections.

- Developing an underlying awareness among staff about Australian languages, including general background information as well as an understanding of the cultural sensitivities associated with information held in collections such as libraries, archives and other places. A good starting point can be found in the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander protocols for libraries, archives and information services, referred to above.

- Developing active strategies for identifying and communicating Indigenous languages materials held in collections in a culturally sensitive way.

7.3.5 State/territory governments and education

The key issues for education departments in relation to Indigenous languages are:

- Securing commitment that state/territory education departments will investigate the nature and extent of Indigenous language materials that may have been collected ad hoc and/or may be held incidentally in their collections.

- Developing and maintaining consistent comprehensive databases on language programs supported, materials developed, and individuals involved.

- Awareness-raising about Australian languages and Indigenous cultural property rights among staff responsible for Indigenous education matters, including general information about Indigenous languages and the cultural sensitivities associated with this information.

7.3.6 Schools

The key issues for schools in relation to Indigenous languages are:

- Developing practical strategies on how to store Indigenous languages materials, both for preservation and for appropriate access.

- Without burdening schools too heavily, ensuring that information about what the schools are doing on languages is communicated to a broad audience. This would be best done through coordination by a state/territory or regional agency.

It is recommended that copies of locally based materials are provided to a designated central location, with appropriate access restrictions on material, to ensure that the materials are not lost over time. Possible locations might include state/territory education departments and libraries, AIATSIS, or another organisation which has sufficient resources and expertise to be able to manage the collection appropriately [Recommendation 33]. It is further recommended that information on materials produced (not necessarily the materials themselves) and their location is provided to AIATSIS for inclusion in the Collections Database [Recommendation 46].

7.3.7 Heritage and other associated departments of state/territory governments

The key issues for cultural heritage departments is securing commitment that relevant state/territory departments will investigate the nature and extent of Indigenous language materials that may have been collected ad hoc and/or may be held incidentally in their collections. It is recommended that contact be made with state/territory departments responsible for Indigenous cultural heritage matters to initiate discussions on Indigenous language materials that may have been collected through cultural heritage projects [Recommendation 47].

7.3.8 Australian Government

The key issues for the Australian Government in relation to Indigenous languages are:

- Securing commitment that relevant Australian Government departments will investigate the nature and extent of Indigenous language materials that may have been collected ad hoc and/or may be held incidentally in their collections.

- Promoting good practices for the development and storage of, and access to, Indigenous languages materials.

- Promoting and coordinating a whole-of-government approach which recognises, promotes and incorporates activities related to Indigenous languages.

7.3.9 International bodies

Due to time constraints and limited resources, international bodies were not contacted during this survey. However, research does need to be undertaken as to what language materials may reside in overseas collections such as the London Missionary Society. It is recommended that research be undertaken to determine the nature and extent of Indigenous language materials held in overseas collections.

7.4   Indigenous language programs in Australia

While the prime recommendations of this report deal with language programs, NILS, with its time and resource limitations, has not been able to assemble a comprehensive database of existing and past programs or provide an analysis of the programs and their outcomes. We have received some records from DCITA/ATSIS, such as previous surveys and performance indicator records. State and territory education departments have also contributed, as have some individual respondents. This, together information recorded in the Programs Section of ILDB and by FATSIL, provide a solid basis for further work in this area.

We therefore recommend that a comprehensive national survey of language programs be carried out and the results made available through AUSTLANG [Recommendation 27]. Because of the start made on this task and the networks developed, it is estimated that one or two people working on this for two to three months would produce a valuable ongoing resource.

It is important to do this within this financial year (2005–06) as we are recommending the development of new programs starting in 2006–7, and these need to build upon good knowledge of what program resources already exist. It is also important to see how programs, particularly their outcomes, have been evaluated in the past in order to improve on former efforts.

Some sets of data, in particular those provided by the South Australian Education Department, appear to provide a model of 'best practice' in many respects, but there is surely much to be learnt from other areas by collecting all data.

The program areas to be reported on should include the location, numbers and hours, aims and outcomes, personnel, resources and funding of:

Education programs

- Pre-school
- Primary
- Secondary
- Tertiary

Community and regional programs

- Language maintenance
- Language learning as part of revival/reclamation
- Heritage activity
- Place-names
- Dictionary making
- Materials production
- Translation and interpreting

Research and evaluation

Chapter 8   Main policy recommendations

This chapter outlines the need for policy directions in the field of Indigenous languages, putting forward four main proposals, and a model of how these might work together and with other government programs. These proposals are linked to the needs revealed by the NILS and other surveys, and show how program proposals and performance can be linked to the indicators used by NILS.

8.1 Language Nests

'Language Nests' are an early childhood initiative in which young children are exposed to high levels of a local language from elders who speak the language, in a relaxed environment of play, combined with some traditional activities as well as other activities encouraging readiness for school.

The concept of Language Nests was developed by Maori communities in Aotearoa (New Zealand), but has been adapted for use by other Indigenous groups throughout the world. It has proved to be the most successful strategy for reversing language endangerment. It aids community cohesion and cultural pride, and is eminently suitable for government education-community collaboration.

It is also a timely proposal, that fits with current initiatives by various Australian governments to target early childhood education as a key strategy to overcome Indigenous disadvantage.

The failure of language transmission to young people is the central problem in language endangerment. International experience among Indigenous groups with endangered languages (especially in New Zealand, Hawaii, and now in Canada and continental USA) has shown that Language Nests have been turning the tide of language shift, without interfering with English outcomes.

Language Nests can be run in a variety of situations, not only with endangered languages, but also with relatively strong languages. With modifications, they could be run with languages which are no longer spoken. This initiative is best handled in conjunction with state/territory and federal education bodies (further discussed below) [Recommendation 1].

'Te Kōhanga Reo' as it was called in Aotearoa (New Zealand) where Language Nests was started in 1982, has probably averted the imminent complete loss of the Maori language as was threatening to occur in the 1980s, and has been a key component and inspiration to the reclaiming of Maori culture and the rebuilding of communities in the last 15 years (Fleras 1989, McKay 1996, King 2001 and *www.kohanga.ac.nz*).

In 2001, 20 per cent of Maori people aged 15 and over were able to speak *te reo Maori* (Maori language) at least fairly well, including 19 per cent of those aged 15 to 24.

In July 2001, 10,600 Maori children, or 34 per cent of all Maori enrolments in early childhood education, were enrolled in *kōhanga reo* (Maori language nests). At the same time, 4,300 Pacific children, or 39 per cent of all Pacific enrolments in early childhood education, were enrolled in Pacific Language Nests.

For the young age group, this figure shows an improvement over the situation in the mid-70s. Then, Maori was only spoken by about 25 per cent of the Maori, mostly by people over 50 years old, and by a vanishing small proportion of teenagers and children, almost all located in a few rural locations in the North Island. While this has still to be fully confirmed by research, the indications are that the Language Nests have been a large factor in preventing the almost certain disappearance of the language within a generation or two.

From New Zealand, the Language Nests movement has spread to Hawaii where it has also been very successful, and to various North American Indigenous locations. In Canada, it is

currently the major initiative of the First Nations. In their handbook, the reason for Language Nests is stated as follows (Ignace 1998:1):

> Experience and research have demonstrated that it is easiest to learn a language in early childhood, and that it becomes increasingly hard to learn a language as people age. The benefit of early childhood education programs is therefore evident, and it is useful if Elders who are fluent in the language spend time with young children, communicating with and encouraging them to use their language. This situation can be achieved through initiatives such as Language Nests and/or daycare programs.

In Australia, there have been a few attempts by communities to run Language Nests. By all accounts, they have been popular and successful (eg the Kija and Bunuba nests, assisted by the Kimberley Language Resource Centre) (McGregor 2004: 310).

In December 2003, the report *Future Directions for Secondary Education in the Northern Territory,* was submitted to the Northern Territory Government by Gregor Ramsey and his team. Although it is primarily about secondary education, their first recommendation for Indigenous Education concerns Language Nests.

Recommendation 19

The NT Government to establish a cross agency task force to develop community-based Language Nests that link to the existing Indigenous Knowledge Centre initiative. The task force should consider:

- the ways in which such [Language] Nests should operate;

- [the] educational potential of consolidating contemporary ways and means to value Indigenous knowledge capital in schools;

- [identifying] existing programs or initiatives that the Language Nest model could build on;

- [developing] business models and emerging enterprise opportunities that could be facilitated;

- [developing] the role of Indigenous education workers and community members in brokering the knowledge capital enhanced by this initiative.

The links with Indigenous Knowledge Centres (a concept being advanced in the Northern Territory) is similar to the emphasis in this report on building links between the Community Language Teams and Regional Indigenous Language Centres. The latter have been well and truly road-tested and shown to be capable of making the links between generations and with outside sources of knowledge.

The NT recommendation for a task force dovetails with the recommendation in this report for a deeper scoping of how Language Nests can be established. A partnership with the NT in the Language Nests pilot scheme proposed in this report would be of great value. However, it appears that the 2003 Ramsey report uses the term 'Language Nests' not primarily to refer to early childhood as we use it here and as it is used all over the world.

The most important thing to do for Indigenous languages is to enable young children to understand and speak them. The key proposal of this report is to fund a national Australian Language Nests program. This will cover all three types of language situation: 'strong', 'endangered' and 'no longer spoken'. We recommend the funding of least two pilot programs in each of the five categories of endangerment (0–5) above.

8.1.1   Positive spin-offs from Language Nests

As well as being an effective strategy for maintaining and revitalising language and culture, Language Nests are an innovative strategy for dealing with the disadvantage of Indigenous young children in a way which community members will welcome and in which they can play an essential role.

Material prepared by the Department of Family and Community Services (FACS) to initiate a Longitudinal Study of Indigenous Children makes this point:

> Indigenous children remain significantly under-represented in early childhood services, including all forms of Australian Government funded childcare, and over-represented in state based

systems of child protection. They continue to have some of the poorest outcomes among Australian children... At present Indigenous children are:

- Three times less likely to access early childhood education services.

- Six times more likely to be in the care and protection system.

- Twenty-five percent in care are not with Indigenous family carers.

Language Nests provide a team drawn from the community that can provide access to early childhood education in a culturally appropriate way, and also make a contribution to protecting children from harm.

Other action research initiatives are pursuing similar goals. Late in 2004, Charles Darwin University was awarded a $681,000 grant to develop an early intervention program for pre-school children on the Tiwi Islands and in Darwin. The Australian Government's Stronger Families and Communities grant will fund the *Let's Start: Exploring Together for Indigenous Preschools* program until 30 June 2008. The program is a test model of intervention and therapy for Indigenous children of pre-school age and their parents in five child care centres or preschools with significant Indigenous enrolments.

The emphasis on the importance of language in reducing the risk of problem behaviours is not mentioned in the promotional material, but it is clear that in communities such as the Tiwi, the Tiwi language will form a significant part of the relationship between carers and children and will be the main medium for discussing issues.

As already mentioned in Chapter 3, the Western Australian Telethon Survey of the Health of Aboriginal Children has also been concerned with the role of traditional language in the relationship between carer and child and the impact of this on mental and physical health. A leader of this Western Australian team, Sven Silburn, comments (Silburn 2003:3-4):

> There is now a growing convergence of prevention approaches based on social context and individual risk and protective factors research... Current approaches to prevention aim to identify the critical 'leverage' points in human development and to create opportunities in the environments most proximal to children. This includes policies and initiatives to build the capacity of communities and services to ensure that families and schools are properly supported in their shared task of child rearing.

The sharing of the task of child-rearing between family and school is a major part of the agenda of Language Nests. There are great advantages in providing a pathway into school which involves the community and family members presenting a local cultural view.

However, this does not mean that the aims of early childhood education as seen by the school and education authorities will be neglected. In a well-developed program, the Language Nest activities will also have strong elements of preparing children for school and of building the foundation of literacy skills in the traditional language, as well as in English.

This is not to say that the introduction of such a program will be without debate and negotiation. It is important for a good relationship to be built up with the school, and pre-school if there is one, and for the relevant departments of education to be fully informed and part of the process of introducing the program. This is why we are advocating that a pilot program be introduced as soon as possible, after careful evaluation and discussion with all stakeholders.

8.2   Community Language Teams

In order to have Language Nests and other programs which function well, it is necessary to have a team of people supporting the effort. These include the 'grandmothers' and other elders who typically might know more of the language. However, it is also necessary to have younger Indigenous community adults involved to learn from the elders, to take responsibility for administration, teaching and care, and to be involved in the production of resources on the languages which can be used in 'Language Nests' and at other levels of education.

Depending on the amount of resources that already exist in the language, and the level of training of local people, a linguist working full-time with the team may be needed. More efficient in many cases will be access to the use of a linguist employed by the regional language centre, who can share their time between various teams in a region. Archived audio-visual resources should be located, transcribed and translated by these teams with the assistance of regional centres, where this has not already been done [Recommendation 2].

8.2.1　Master–apprentice schemes

At the heart of the Community Language Team concept is a 'two-way' relationship between knowledgeable elders and younger people in the community who have perhaps more education and command of technology, and an interest in learning and passing on the traditional language and culture. These two groups can exchange knowledge and pass the combined product on to the children and others in the community.

A variety of such a relationship is a 'master-apprentice scheme'. These are schemes in which a language speaker (usually an older person) passes on language and cultural knowledge to a younger learner or small group of learners within the community who identify with the language in question. This idea has come from Indigenous endangered language communities which have recognised that opportunities for transmitting such knowledge today are much more limited than in the past.

Special efforts have to be made to make the time for this and to recognise and value these roles to the extent of supporting them financially.

These schemes are probably best known from North America (Hinton 2001, 2002) but they have spontaneously emerged in Australian Indigenous communities without official support.

A highly respected lady, one of the last speakers of a language in North Queensland who recently died, developed this idea by herself, in a traditional Aboriginal manner, without knowing about the North American examples. She recruited a young woman who was a relation in the same group to be with her and talk with her

in the traditional language as much as possible so that the young woman would learn the language. One aim was for the young woman to teach children language in school. But the older woman also asked her to do other things, such as, act as a guide for visiting scientists to the surrounding rainforests. As well as telling them of the local environment, plant names and so on, the young woman had to learn the language used for calling out to spirits so they would not harm the visiting strangers.

Master-apprentice schemes are usually carried out informally by means of normal interactions between small groups, rather than formal instruction from curricula and texts, although special cultural activities may be involved, such as hunting trips, ceremonies, making artefacts, singing and composing songs. The more successful schemes do set aims for learning and keep records of activities and progress.

The aim of such a program is for the apprentices to become (relatively) fluent speakers and teachers of the old language, to kick-start the stalled process of language transmission to children. Such apprentices as they achieve mastery, can take over key roles from the old masters, such as the leadership of a Language Nests movement.

8.2.2　Emergency Language Documentation Teams

The above two types of programs—Language Nests and master-apprentice schemes—can be run with a minimal amount of documentation about a language, as long as there are competent older speakers willing and able to pass on what they know. The programs can be improved by careful planning, including the preparation of written materials, but documentation is not strictly necessary. This is an advantage as it means that such programs can be started right away without the need for existing extensive written or recorded material. Being able to start without delay is important because of the urgency of the task.

However, there is another aspect of the intervention on endangered languages that also cannot be delayed—documentation of

the language. There are in Australia many languages which have only a small number of old speakers, which have been very little recorded or described. Almost equally problematic are languages in this situation with archived recordings but very little annotation (such as transcripts), so the recordings will be meaningless to anyone including the descendants of the speakers if they do not know the language. We estimate that well over half the archived recordings of endangered languages have very little or no annotation. This, too, is a matter for urgent action.

In the last decade or so, world-wide there has been increasing realisation of the drastic crisis of language endangerment, and a couple of charitable foundations and, increasingly, governments and universities, have begun putting resources into the documentation of languages that are on the brink of extinction. The motivation is often documentation for scientific and cultural posterity, rather than for the language community or language maintenance, although these factors are also receiving some attention.

It is important to recognise that documentation has community and language maintenance benefits as well as serving the scientific community. Such documentation helps to provide the tools for language maintenance education programs (such as spelling systems, dictionaries, texts and audio-visual materials adaptable to teaching purposes). And, in the worst case scenario, if 'reversing language shift' fails to occur before the death of the last speakers, the documentation will provide a solid basis for language revival or other cultural revival activity if and when the language group descendants are ready to undertake it.

Special funding should be provided to establish Emergency Language Documentation Teams through Community Language Teams and/or Regional Indigenous Language Centres to document endangered language and knowledge as a priority [Recommendation 23].

The concept of Emergency Language Documentation Teams is also different from some other approaches to documentation which give great prominence to the linguist and background community and other participants. The concept here gives more prominence to the relationship between the older generation (more proficient speakers) and younger speakers who have an interest in learning, and who also often have more literacy and technical skills than the older people. It draws heavily on 'two-way' principles espoused by Indigenous people, and the practice of team teaching, as occurred in bilingual education in the NT.

It is no coincidence that the pairing of the older Indigenous expert and younger learner is like the master-apprentice pairing described above —we see it as very much the same relationship, although the task of documentation involves some different elements. The third party here is the linguist, who at present would usually be non-Indigenous or perhaps Indigenous from another community. This person brings a raft of technical skills to the task and is a kind of apprentice to the Indigenous community members in their language and culture. He/she can also be a teacher and mentor, particularly for the younger community members who want to develop linguistic and general documentation skills.

This strand in the approach to reviving and maintaining endangered languages requires more technical skills and, to some extent, linguistic analytical skills to ensure solid recording of a wide range of language materials and the annotation (transcription etc) necessary. In cases where there is little time for local Indigenous people to acquire the skills and carry out all these tasks, the process can be short-circuited in part by doing sound or video recordings of local speaker translations of materials, and archiving them in a way that they remain connected to the original materials.

8.2.3   Documentary linguistics

The practice of 'documentary linguistics' is now gaining ground over the more recently fashionable approach of focusing only on elements which are deemed to be 'theoretically interesting' (at the time). Documentary linguistics is an approach which records a much wider scope of types of speech and cultural performance, to ensure that a good coverage

of the old language and culture is preserved. This approach is also much more to the liking of most Indigenous people, who also want this broad coverage and are generally less concerned with issues of linguistic theory.

Nevertheless, anyone embarking on language documentation, whether Indigenous or non-Indigenous, would be well advised to acquire some knowledge of linguistics, at least of the major ways which are used to write down and analyse materials. This leads into the important question of training, which deserves more attention than it has received in this report. There is also now an organisation dedicated to helping people carrying out linguistic fieldwork and documentation of endangered languages with technical and method questions—the Research Network for Linguistic Diversity (*www.linguistics.unimelb.edu.au/RNLD*).

An advantage of this broad type of data-gathering is that it can give a fuller picture of the 'language ecology' of a group. A picture of the language ecology would include enumeration of which languages and varieties of languages are spoken, and for which purposes, in the bilingual or multilingual situations, which are the typical sociolinguistic contexts of endangered languages. The language ecology can tell us what the risk factors are for different languages.

However, we need a broad picture of the social and cultural embedding of languages to work this out. On the positive side, a documentary linguistic approach can tell us the elements of a language ecology which have been shown to be conducive to language maintenance, and thus provide models for interventions which are more likely to work.

Some of the more specific advantages of the documentary linguistic approach to language maintenance include that it can be:

- **A source of user-friendly information on the old language which can assist and inspire the community to learn and maintain it.**

  Full documentation enables people who would otherwise be partial speakers or non-speakers (if the language group

has undergone language shift after documentation) to learn a more comprehensive and fluent form of the language.

The existence of such a corpus can inspire people to make more effort both in their own research and in establishing language learning programs. Access to direct spoken language with helpful annotation is much less daunting than technical grammars and dictionaries which often need linguistic experts to interpret them.

- **A repository of more natural kinds of speech.**

  Traditional grammars, dictionaries and even texts often do not contain the most common everyday ways in which people communicate with each other using language. Grammars may be based on elicitation, so the choice of sentences represents the linguist's choice of elements to test grammatical hypotheses rather than the way the speakers might naturally express themselves.

  Even the texts gathered, while immensely valuable, might be skewed towards particular genres, for example, myths and legends, because the speakers, and perhaps the linguist, thinks these are important cultural material. While this maybe useful, it may mean that more everyday styles of speaking are not recorded. In the worst case scenario, all the texts may be in a special oratorical style that is used for such narratives, which is quite different from ordinary language. Where care is taken to include all major styles in the corpus, this situation should not happen.

- **A repository of special registers (ways of speaking) which may be important in language revival.**

  On the other hand, some special registers, like speech making, may be particularly important for language revival because they are public activities invested with a lot of prestige. Among Maori, learning oratory was maintained longer than use of everyday language at home, and has formed the basis for people re-expanding

their knowledge of other genres. In Adelaide, the making of speeches at funerals and festivals etc has been a key element in Kaurna language revival (Amery 2000) and similar patterns are clear from other languages in NILS. Recording of such genres before they are forgotten provides a platform for later learning of them by descendants.

- **A provider of information and learning that is a key element in land claims.**

In Indigenous land and native title claims, both in Australia and overseas, knowledge encoded in the old environmental and general vocabulary has been crucial to presenting cogent evidence in land claims. Not only that but the land claim process itself also provides a means by which the descendant applicants learn or relearn about these things, with growing pride and confidence.

- **A way of facilitating the involvement of community researchers who can discover more than outsiders.**

One type of community research already mentioned is that stimulated by land claim and native title cases, but there is also a growing body of Indigenous researchers separate from this. They collect information on old language and cultural practices from written and recorded sources and from those elders who remember. Some of these researchers are undertaking formal education and using the techniques of linguistics and other disciplines. Others are less engaged with the western modes of data collection and analysis but proceed in their own way.

It is important to harness this vital force of Indigenous researchers in the task of documentary linguistics. The process can be empowering for the Indigenous community researcher, as they may find that because of their prior knowledge and relationships, they can make more discoveries than a non-Indigenous researcher.

For instance, Lizzie Ellis (Ellis 2000), a Western Desert language speaker with some training in linguistics, undertook research with elders on words and expressions relating to fauna and discovered a great deal more detailed vocabulary than had ever been recorded before.

Raymattja Marika, a Yolngu woman from north-east Arnhem Land who has a Masters Degree, has been studying both the clan languages (like her own, Rirratjingu) and the newly evolving Koine Dhuwaya in her community, and has the great advantage of understanding all the varieties and the social circumstances in which they are used.

- **A way of stimulating recovery of endangered languages affected by attrition, through local education projects.**

As people engage in team projects on endangered languages, it has been observed that they begin to remember more detail of the old language. This seems to be particularly the case where there is a concrete outcome for the community, for instance educational resources. June Oscar (personal communication), Chairperson of the Kimberley Language Resource Centre, thinks that this occurred during the intensive community work on the production of the Bunuba CD-ROM (Kimberley Language Resource Centre (KLRC) 2001). Helen Harper (Harper 2001) also reports that older people working on educational projects involving the old languages and culture in northern Cape York Peninsula, where the languages are well on the way to being lost, were beginning to recall more and more as they engaged in the activity.

- **A way of adding to the value that some outsiders place on this work, and of increasing its prestige in the community.**

As well as local prestige and pride gained from projects in language documentation, local Indigenous people are also aware that other Indigenous people and non-Indigenous people are interested in and impressed by their efforts. This provides positive feedback to drive projects along.

- **A way of assisting the development plans for language maintenance projects through the provision of information on 'linguistic ecology'.**

As mentioned above, wider documentation of all the languages and varieties spoken, and of the situation of languages, helps to build a picture of the linguistic ecology which aids language planning and can help to 'reverse language shift'. The aspect of documentary linguistics which requires all types of speakers to be recorded logically, also involves recording children and adult–child interactions. This can give direct pointers about language change and language shift, and help in planning what kind of language is appropriate for language learning materials at different ages.

8.3   Regional Indigenous Language Centres

One of the most important initiatives of the 1980s was the creation of Regional Indigenous Language Centres. In the best cases, these have been able to provide good services on a local and face-to-face basis to a variety of locally supported projects.

There may be one such centre in a state or several in different regions. They are able to meet a range of different needs for different types of programs and also have a system of Indigenous governance which enables decisions to be made about competing projects at a regional level. They employ (or should employ) Indigenous or non-Indigenous trained linguists, and Indigenous language workers who can assist with the production of resources for language projects. In particular they can assist with the production of both applied (community and school) material and language and culture documentation in the sense of 'documentary linguistics' discussed above.

Bonnie Deegan writes in the Kimberley Language Resource Centre Newsletter 2000:

The year I turned five years old, I was taken away from my mother, a full-blood Aboriginal woman, and my father, a white man… by Native Welfare. I spoke in

language (Jaru) and Kriol… Nobody ever spoke their language in school. That's how I lost my language. It was one of my dreams to learn to speak my language again… I love the Language Centre. I am proud to have been the chairperson for this many years. I am happy to see lots of dictionaries and books produced by the language centre in different languages. The idea of the language centre is to preserve and revive all languages. We are proud to help all surrounding communities with language projects… Old people should be talking to the young ones in Language all the time. We shouldn't be ashamed but be proud to speak our Language.

Julie Finlayson (Finlayson 2004), who comes from a discipline completely outside the languages field and looks at Indigenous organisation in social and economic terms as well as cultural, has provided an in-depth study of Wangka Maya Pilbara Aboriginal Language Centre. She describes what she assesses to be the centre's success, in her work *Success in Aboriginal Communities*. She notes Wangka Maya is efficiently run: it promotes Aboriginal decision-making, employment and capacity building, has deep and friendly connections with all sections of many communities in the region, and is very productive in its core task of language maintenance. It also lends a hand with other matters where its expertise can count, like Native Title issues—and all this with a rather minimal budget compared to many organisations (see also Sharp & Thieberger 2001).

This is a typical profile of the better regional Indigenous language centres, which have been the 'quiet achievers' in Indigenous affairs. Some other centres may have, at various times, become less productive, or to some extent lost track of their main purpose—language maintenance and reclamation. Some may allow certain feelings about linguists or linguistics to prevent them from acquiring the expertise that they need. It is important, therefore, to have ways of evaluating the performance of centres on the basis of criteria which everyone, including the communities they serve, agrees to. We make some suggestions about this later in the chapter, but it is a matter that perhaps needs further thought and consultation, and the inclusion of other ideas about the 'best practice' of organisations, such as those raised by Finlayson (Finlayson 2004).

On the issue of the number of language centres, there are three or four regions which appear to lack effective language centres at the moment. One is Arnhem Land, where certainly a substantial amount of language work goes on, but usually through the NT Education Department, or in the case of Maningrida, an arts/cultural centre. This may work reasonably well, but we have heard reports that people in north-east Arnhem Land are wanting to have a language centre. Another case is Torres Strait—there is a small centre in Townsville, but having a language centre in the Torres Strait Islands has been talked about for a long time.

The state which has numbers of languages in all categories, but is most notably lacking in language centres, either state or regional, is Queensland. There are at least three small centres in different parts of the state, without much funding or functional capacity.

If a regional model were adopted in Queensland, it would be possible to build on these existing centres or develop a different strategy. It is not our intention to make recommendations about this here, but it would be worth starting a consultation process to formulate recommendations. Queensland is also far behind in Indigenous language programs in state schools, and it might be possible to build a relationship to the language centre or centres into the development of school programs, especially if the state government would assist in funding arrangements.

8.4   National Indigenous Languages Centre

The functions of a National Indigenous Languages Centre would include high-level documentation of the languages and their situation, policy development and advice, a forum for Indigenous views, and either training of language workers or close liaison with a body or bodies carrying out this training [Recommendation 4].

This is an idea which has been around at least since the 1980s, and as the Indigenous educationalist Lester Irabinna Rigney notes (Rigney 2002), the concept has even made it as far as the 1983 *National Language Policy for Australia*. Yet for various reasons, it has never become a reality.

According to Rigney the functions of such a National Indigenous Languages Centre would include:

- Legislating a statutory body

- Collecting information and funding research into stabilising Indigenous languages

- Collecting information from overseas on language education, language planning relevant to the Indigenous language experience situation in Australia

- Making this information and expertise available to groups and individuals who need them

- Building up a 'resource centre' of language teaching materials and technology, including an evaluation of these

- Advising governments on language issues

- Contributing to the development of a National Indigenous Language Policy and necessary legal and legislative changes

- Implementing the National Indigenous Language Policy once developed

- Coordinating an Indigenous geographical place names committee to advise governments.

It is envisioned that the activities of such an organisation would be supported by the Australian legal system—whether this be within a framework of legislative protection or by opting for a constitutional amendment to protect the remaining Indigenous languages of this country.

Most importantly, the establishment of a National Indigenous Languages Centre will require significant discussions with all stakeholders and appropriate planning and resourcing from governments. While the eventual development of the centre may take some time, this report advocates the commencement of a process to assess its feasibility.

NILS POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

Key stakeholders in the first instance would include:

- Relevant government departments led by the Indigenous languages and culture branch at DCITA

- FATSIL as the national body advising government, assisting in the development of state and national language policies, the collection of data and resources, the development of guidelines for language programs, the sharing of information and promotion of languages, and liaison with international organisations

- AIATSIS as the body responsible for the largest archive of language materials, for coordination of independent research about Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander languages, maintenance of key language information databases, metadata research, collection documentation, and publications

- Representatives of regional language centres and Indigenous language workers.

Discussions on the establishment of a National Indigenous Languages Centre should consider the option of stronger formal links between these existing agencies as a key first stage in the development of the proposed centre. Given the extent of discussions required, this report is not recommending this plan in a detailed form, but submits that this and similar proposals deserve serious consideration. We will not canvass the available options now, but suggest that the appropriate people and bodies be brought together before too long to examine this.

8.5   Structures and linkages between language programs

This report does not prescribe in too much detail how the programs might run, as such detail should be the subject of further investigation and negotiation, especially involving Indigenous people who work in the languages area. However, this report does present a possible model.

Diagram 8.1 below, shows how Language Nests would function.

Diagram 8.1: Functioning of Language Nests

Diagram 8.2: Linkage between different levels of language maintenance programs

The core of the support network for the Language Nest is the 'two-way' relationship between the old 'knowledge people' and the younger learners or 'apprentices'. This is also the core of the Community Language Team, as illustrated in Diagram 8.2, which shows some of the wider links of this arrangement, including liaising with the community and the school. The programs involved can go beyond Language Nests to higher levels of school and other programs such as land management, arts and crafts and so on.

As well as producing pre-school and school resources, the younger people also document language and culture. There is actually not a huge difference between these activities, as Language Nest and higher school materials can be adapted and edited to be used as teaching material.

These activities can start fairly simply, but would soon involve expert advice and a training component. These are areas where the links to the Regional Language Centres and the proposed National Indigenous Languages Centre become crucial, as well as the further links to government, research and educational institutions.

8.6   Evaluating programs and centres using indicators

There is a need for more evaluation that focuses on concrete outcomes, and the NILS indicators provide a range from which some valuable indices could be drawn—like more people speaking and understanding more of the languages, or increasing the amount of documentation and resources for a language.

It is essential to have some kind of language testing in a program to show that some progress is being made. This is not just for government departments to establish that money is being spent effectively—it is also a valuable tool for Indigenous people running those programs, so they can evaluate whether they are achieving something.

The NILS scale below could be used as a first approximation in assessing progress in language maintenance programs:

- 0 = Doesn't speak or understand
- 1 = Understands some, speaks some
- 2 = Understands well, speaks some
- 3 = Understands well, speaks fluently

When assessing language proficiency, having a simple measuring scale (perhaps six grades of 0–5) for measuring 'speaking' and 'understanding' separately could be very useful.

An example of such a scale is detailed below at Table 8.1.

Appendix A has details of other measures for evaluating language proficiency and language programs.

Developing targets for any language maintenance intervention strategies is also valuable for evaluating both national and local and regional programs. There should not be a single target for every situation but there could be a set of scales for evaluating whether a language is being maintained, lifted or degraded within a set time span. Such targets should not be interpreted too harshly, eg no implication should be drawn that funding will be withdrawn if the target is not reached.

Working out factors conducive to effective programs in terms of concrete outcomes should be an ongoing goal.

Table 8.1: Sample language scale for measuring language proficiency

Level	0	1	2	3	4	5
Speaking	Cannot speak language at all	<100 words, fixed phrases	100–500 words, carries out basic conversations	500–1000 words,	Fairly fluent with only some missing vocabulary	Full fluency
Understanding	Cannot understand at all	<100 words, fixed phrases	100–500 words, understands basic slow conversations	500–1000 words	Understands most, less when fast	Understands all, at fast pace

Part VI

Conclusions and recommendations

Chapter 9 Conclusions and recommendations

9.1   Assessment of NILS

The National Indigenous Language Survey has been a useful exercise in gathering data on the state of Australia's Indigenous languages in 2004. The numerical data is more fine-grained than that of the ABS Census, but not so comprehensive or rigorously analysed. The added dimension to the NILS however, was the 'free text option' on many subjects related to Indigenous languages that provided us with many examples and commentaries, especially from Indigenous people.

A notable feature of the NILS was that it was conducted as an online survey. Quite a number of Indigenous people filled in the survey themselves, and in addition, data was collected over the phone and at meetings to ensure a wider response.

The work of compiling an accurate picture of the state of Indigenous languages is incremental: each survey adds more information and answers many questions as well as raising more. Now we have a database that includes online feedback, which can be progressively updated in AUSTLANG. This database will become more accessible to the public in 2006, AIATSIS funding permitting.

Of course, more time and the ability to send researchers out to talk to people where they live would have provided a more comprehensive and accurate view—the recent Yukon language survey (Yukon Native Language Center 2004) is a model of this painstaking kind of survey work. Given the funding constraints and the urgent language maintenance work to be done in Australia it is not recommended that such a survey be conducted throughout Australia at this time.

The NILS Report therefore recommends that ongoing rolling regional surveys be carried out by Regional Indigenous Language Centres, or under their auspices. This, together with ABS Census and surveys, and cumulative information on AUSTLANG, should provide better information in future.

We would recommend, though, that information on language programs be more systematically assembled in a separate exercise, as well as updating the stocktake done in this survey of available resources on the languages.

9.2   Matching resources and programs to needs

This report began with a fundamental principle—that resources and programs have to match needs. In the case of Australia's Indigenous languages, the needs are overwhelmingly great. We have highlighted the urgency of addressing the looming loss of languages as the prime need to be met, and the provision of programs for children, especially young children, as the most effective way of meeting that need.

We now have the NILS data and other information in our hands. This means that while we can clearly see that 20 or so languages are relatively strong, and only a few of these are losing some fluency, these are belong to a small group standing on the edge of a dangerous cliff. Many more languages—over 100—are falling over that cliff, with many very close to losing their last speakers.

This dire situation should make us think carefully about how to effectively use the resources available, which are unlikely to be enough to reverse this situation for all these languages in the very short time available—20 years at most for the critically endangered languages.

This situation poses tough decisions for those who allocate funding, and makes it very clear that *no* funds can be wasted.

In order to make programs for children work, we need to overcome the division between 'community' and 'school' language programs that is causing persistent difficulties. The division is mainly created by non-Indigenous political arrangements and makes little sense to Indigenous people on the ground.

Focusing on Language Nests for pre-schoolers is important because they reach children at the time when they are most receptive to learning languages. Language Nests are also important because they are institutions that sit between schools and communities and can help to bring the two together.

Programs for children also need to produce documentation of the languages. To some extent, such programs can operate as oral language programs, but after a point, literacy needs to be introduced along with curriculum planning, so there are more points of contact with schools. Documentary records of languages can be edited and adapted for use as early childhood materials.

These documentary records are also an insurance policy. Should the programs not be funded or not work fast enough, there will at least be enough left behind for descendants to draw on, as so many communities are doing today—drawing on whatever has been recorded, to run reclamation programs or simple heritage knowledge programs.

This report puts a lot of emphasis on endangered languages. But it should be remembered that all the main programs recommended here, from Language Nests, to Community Language Teams, Regional Indigenous Language Centres and the National Indigenous Languages Centre, would all cater for the other language categories as well.

'Strong' languages and languages 'no longer spoken' can equally benefit from these programs, and in any pilot of Language Nests it should be clear that all these groups should be included.

The indicators proposed and tested in this survey can be used to assess programs against a basic needs profile, since they distinguish between levels of endangerment and levels of resources and programs, among other things.

One view might be that highly endangered languages should have a high priority especially if they are low in resources. But this means that more effort needs to be expended in building up the resources at the expense of active intervention programs such as Language Nests.

It may be more cost effective in such cases to choose to work first on the language with better resources because more can be achieved quickly, or on the language which is not so endangered because of the longer time available to achieve outcomes.

We do not have the theoretical answers to these questions—they will depend on the judgment of Community Language Teams and Regional Indigenous Language Centres at the time. However, the NILS indicators we have presented here will be useful in adding up the factors that will have a bearing on those decisions.

Once the decisions have been made and the programs are under way, these same indicators, or variations that people wish to make, will be useful in evaluating how far a program has progressed and what gains or losses have taken place.

9.3   Endangered languages need urgent and effective action

There is only a small window of opportunity for 'reversing language shift' once it has started for most Indigenous Australians. Our figures show that once language shift starts, it proceeds very rapidly. One generation fails to learn to speak the language, but may understand. The following one does not learn the language at all because it does not hear the parental generation speak it.

There may be some exceptions to this, where people associate very closely with the

grandparental generation, and learn more than usual, but these few individuals cannot be relied on to maintain a language and they are unlikely to pass it on. By the time the second generation is growing up not speaking or understanding the language, there will be very few, if any, old people still speaking the language. This means that even if the second generation does decide to relearn the language, the sources of knowledge are almost gone. Thus from the start of language shift in a community, it can be as little as 40–50 years before the language is irretrievably lost.

In some other parts of the world, the progress of language shift may not be so disastrously rapid and may be amenable to rearguard action which builds up slowly. In Australia, this is generally not the case and revitalisation action must be taken very swiftly to avoid loss of the languages. This difference is in part because of the very small scale of language groups in Australia, even traditionally, where numbers for each language ranged from as low as 50 to a few thousand, even before colonisation took its toll.

We do not believe that language endangerment can be measured by raw numbers of speakers. Rather, it is the size of the population that matters in language endangerment situations for at least three reasons:

- Death, illness or senility of a small number of speakers can have a disproportionate effect on the situation. There are high rates of death in middle age in Indigenous populations today and this cuts into the knowledge base that can be transmitted.

- In many overseas situations, language shift to English or some other world language or lingua franca can occur in some communities where a traditional language is spoken, but in the case of a widespread language with a larger population, there are often other communities where the language is maintained. This contrast can alert the language group to the onset of language shift and precautionary measures can be taken. The more 'conservative' communities, with more and younger language speakers, can help out those with greater endangerment in maintaining and relearning the language. In Australia, this situation is rare, although it does occur with some larger languages. Typically, there are only a small number of communities (possibly only one) where a language is spoken and language shift occurs abruptly in all, at approximately the same time.

- Migration (or forced movement) of people away from traditional country to other areas and towns can have a more profound effect on small-population languages because when they become scattered, people tend to become isolated and no longer have many or any other people to talk to in the language, accelerating attrition and preventing transmission.

Once the first symptoms of language decline are seen, action should really begin immediately to counter the trend. However, there is, in all communities, a tendency towards leaving the issue until it is too late. In part, this is a general human failing, aggravated in this case by the fact that the wider society either does not care about, or actively denigrates and undermines, the traditional languages. It is also often the case that young people are not very worried about the old people's concerns like loss of language and culture—and again the wider society assists by offering a smorgasbord of 'cool' new culture from the cities and America.

Some years later, however, many of these same people regret that they ignored the loss of their heritage, and try to make up for it through learning. Sometimes, tragically, it can be too late to rescue all that was available when they were young. This situation has been well recognised by Indigenous people, such as Topsy Chestnut, who was reported as saying the following (Hudson and McConvell 1984:37):

> Young people don't care about the language,
> but when they get older they feel sorry about it.
> That's why we want to keep the languages.

9.4   NILS Report recommendations —a way forward

Community and regional initiatives

Recommendation 1

A pilot program of Language Nests, which are Indigenous language programs for early childhood, should be established following consultation and a scoping report.

The Language Nests will provide early childhood exposure to local languages and should be run in communities for all language categories (strong, endangered, and no longer spoken).

The development of Language Nests should involve coordination with state and Australian Government education authorities. The pilot phase of Language Nests could include a planned evaluation process.

A working party should be established to examine ways of linking language teams/centres and schools/education systems as a first step in developing a pilot Language Nests program.

Discussion should focus on the way that children graduating from such programs to primary school can continue their Indigenous language learning.

Recommendation 2

A pilot scheme of Community Language Teams should be established in a range of communities involving younger and older people.

These teams would assist in establishing and operating Language Nests and carry out other language maintenance activities, including the preparation of learning resources, in conjunction with the nearest Regional Indigenous Language Centre.

Each Community Language Team would have access to and use of the services of a trained linguist, either part-time or full-time depending on circumstances, normally through the nearest Regional Indigenous Language Centre.

Archival resources for each of the Community Language Teams in the pilot program should be located by the team, and the Regional Indigenous Language Centre working with AIATSIS, and emergency digitisation/ transcription/translation should be carried out as appropriate.

Recommendation 3

Regional Indigenous Language Centres (RILCs) should operate in all areas of need to provide infrastructure and technical support to Community Language Teams. These will include RILCs that are currently funded, and for areas without a RILC a review should take place in 2005–06 to determine if a centre can be established.

Each RILC will employ at least one trained linguist (Indigenous or non-Indigenous) and one Indigenous language specialist full-time. Each RILC will have a governing body of Indigenous people representing a range of groups in the region, which will make decisions about policy matters and determine priorities.

National initiatives

Recommendation 4

A feasibility study should be undertaken in 2005–06 to evaluate the merits of establishing a National Indigenous Languages Centre.

This process should involve cooperation and consultation between government departments, FATSIL, AIATSIS, existing Regional Indigenous Language Centres and other relevant agencies.

The possible functions of a National Indigenous Languages Centre are the following:

- Collecting information on stabilising Indigenous languages and providing high-level documentation of languages at a level beyond the scope of Regional Indigenous Languages Centres

- Making this information and expertise available to groups and individuals who need it

- Advising governments on language issues

- Contributing to the development of a National Indigenous Language Policy and necessary legal and legislative changes

- Implementing the National Indigenous Language Policy once developed

- Facilitating access and adding value to AIATSIS and other archival sources on Indigenous languages

- Maintaining and improving a national database on Indigenous languages (building on AUSTLANG) in coordination with the Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS).

- Organising communications and meetings between people involved in the delivery of practical work on Indigenous languages

- Forming partnerships with other relevant bodies, national and international

- Advocating and promoting the role of Indigenous languages in national life

- Working with existing educational institutions to provide appropriate applied linguistic training, especially for Indigenous people

- Putting regional centres and communities that need intensive documentation work in touch with linguists, and putting linguists and researchers in touch with communities so that their work can be of maximum practical benefit.

The feasibility study should consider the development of stronger formal linkages between the organisations currently undertaking these tasks as a first step towards establishing a national centre.

It is envisioned that the activities of such a centre would be supported by the Australian legal system—whether this be within a framework of legislative protection or by opting for a constitutional amendment to protect the remaining Indigenous languages of this country.

Whole-of-government initiatives

Recommendation 5

All Australian states and territories should consider the introduction of initiatives such as those being employed by the NSW government, including the introduction of an Indigenous language curriculum component in state schools and the funding of a state language centre.

Recommendation 6

In the spirit of a whole-of-government approach, Australian and state/territory government agencies should build links between language maintenance activities and other relevant activities, such as education, native title and land, environmental and parks management, cultural heritage, arts and crafts, and media.

This would enhance opportunities for employment of Indigenous people as language workers in local contexts, and provide career pathways for Indigenous people who have enhanced linguistic skills.

Recommendation 7

Policy coordination between government departments including the Department of Communications, Information Technology and the Arts, the Department of Education, Science and Training and the Department of Family and Community Services, should be strengthened to implement the key recommendations of this report.

Recommendation 8

All levels of government should support the profile and prestige of Indigenous languages by allowing them to be used in a range of public functions including:

- Dual naming of places

- Governmental consultations with communities and individuals

- Legal situations

- Health situations.

These functions support the civil rights of Indigenous people to use their languages and will assist them to fully understand government announcements and information.

Advocacy initiatives

Recommendation 9

A National Indigenous Languages Centre and Regional Indigenous Language Centres should promote the importance of Indigenous languages in the education sector.

There are widespread misconceptions that adversely affect public attitudes towards Indigenous language programs. These include misperceptions that Indigenous language programs detract from English learning and mainstream education.

A national centre and regional centres would promote the feasibility and value of bilingualism and bi-literacy as alternatives to monolingual 'English-only' approaches.

Ongoing research of this issue should be fostered by these organisations and by government agencies.

Recommendation 10

Promotion to raise awareness in 'mainstream' Australia about the value of Australian Indigenous languages should be undertaken by a National Indigenous Languages Centre, government agencies and other language groups. Such promotions should target the wider Australian community and organisations, such as staff in libraries and archives, and relevant government departments.

Quality control in language programs

Recommendation 11

Language programs must be tailored to the type of language situation in the local community.

Recommendation 12

The goals of language programs should be based on specific desired outcomes and be built around achieving:

- Increased knowledge of the language by members of the community

- Increased use of the language by members of the community

- Development of material products on the languages and knowledge systems

- More positive feelings in the wider Australian community and other agencies towards Indigenous languages.

Recommendation 13

The performance of Regional Indigenous Language Centres and Community Language

Teams should be evaluated over three-year periods, starting in 2006, to determine outcomes and set priorities based on the recommendations of this report.

Recommendation 14

To ensure transparency and equity in the support of Indigenous languages across the nation, decisions on the level and type of program support to be provided should be based on objective evidence about the language situations, resources and ability of teams to carry out support activities.

The 10 NILS language endangerment indicators, outlined in Appendix A, should be adopted as a standard in Australian Indigenous languages assessment. These indicators can be used to inform decision making on the funding of language programs.

Recommendation 15

The NILS Report recommended language endangerment indicators should be used as simple tools for surveying and measuring progress on language maintenance.

However, further research should be done to develop more detailed and widely accepted indicators of proficiency.

Recommendation 16

The scale of language proficiency and use in 'partial speaker' situations (NILS Report endangered languages Indicator One: Intergenerational Language Transmission, Grade 0–0.5) should be used and further developed as a tool for assessment of situations without fluent speakers (see Appendix A for the recommended scale).

Recommendation 17

Progress in improving or acquiring language skills should be assessed in terms of proficiency level as gauged by appropriate NILS Report language endangerment indicators. Community impact should be assessed by increases in the levels of NILS Report Indicator One (Intergenerational Language Transmission), Indicator Two (Absolute Numbers of Speakers) and Indicator Three (Proportion of Speakers) (see Appendix A).

Recommendation 18

Increased use of a language should be assessed by increased levels of NILS Report language endangerment Indicator Four (Domains and Functions of a Language) and Indicator Five (Response to New Domains and Media) (see Appendix A).

Recommendation 19

Increase in positive attitudes and policies should be assessed in terms of NILS Report language endangerment Indicator Seven (Government and Institutional Attitudes and Status and Use) and Indicator Eight (Community Attitudes towards Their Own Language) (see Appendix A).

Recommendation 20

Product outcomes from language maintenance activities should be assessed in terms of the quantity and quality of materials produced and by the extent to which they increase NILS Report language endangerment Indicator Six (Materials for Language Education and Literacy), Indicator Nine (Type and Quality of Documentation) and Indicator Ten (Language Programs) (see Appendix A).

Translating and interpreting services

Recommendation 21

For public functions where Indigenous languages should be used, interpreting and translation services should be made available.

This could increase Indigenous employment opportunities. Providing these services could be a role of Regional Indigenous Language Centres and/or Community Language Teams.

Recommendation 22

A translation and interpreting unit should be attached to all those Regional Indigenous Language Centres which have large numbers of Indigenous people who do not speak English well in their region.

Documentation and accessibility

Recommendation 23

Special funding should be made available for the urgent documentation of endangered languages and knowledge in priority cases.

Such cases would include situations of severe language endangerment where only a few elderly fluent speakers remain and where it may be necessary to prioritise intensive documentation of their knowledge.

This documentation should be provided by establishing Emergency Language Documentation Teams, which would work closely with Community Language Teams and Regional Indigenous Language Centres.

Recommendation 24

The Australian Bureau of Statistics should continue to include at least one question on Indigenous languages in its five-yearly census, and should add two others which would distinguish between 'use' and 'knowledge' of a language and 'identification' with a language.

More in-depth analytical ABS Census questions should be included to assess trends and correlations between other social and demographic factors and language survival.

Recommendation 25

Apart from five-yearly national census /surveys by the ABS, more in-depth regional surveys should be carried out to capture the kind of data assembled in this report and based on the 10 NILS Report language endangerment indicators (see Appendix A).

Where feasible these regional surveys should be carried out by Regional Indigenous Language Centres on a rolling basis (eg two to three regions every two years) and should be incorporated where possible into the regular work of the regional centres.

Recommendation 26

The NILS detailed data on speaking proficiency and use (not just the combined NILS indices used in this report) should be further analysed for the current survey and past and future surveys using the same scales.

Recommendation 27

A comprehensive national survey of Indigenous language programs should be conducted in 2005–06 and the partial or full results made available through AUSTLANG.

Such a survey is necessary because the NILS Report and other reports have not covered the field of language programs adequately. The survey should be based on guidelines recommended in Recommendation 32 of this report.

Recommendation 28

Community organisations and language centres should be made aware of the benefits of lodging copies of their material with another organisation for safe-keeping purposes.

This will protect valuable language materials in case of a local disaster or mishap.

Recommendation 29

Protocols and guidelines about how to develop, store and access Indigenous language materials should be developed in consultation with Indigenous communities and collecting institutions.

Recommendation 30

There should be negotiations between communities and funding agencies to develop mutually agreed protocols, which would be written into all funding contracts, to ensure that language materials produced from a program are deposited into archives for safety and under appropriate minimum archival standards.

Recommendation 31

Appropriate, cost-effective ways to archive language materials should be promoted when funding is provided to conduct language work.

Recommendation 32

Guidelines for the collection of data on Indigenous language programs should be produced based on existing good practice (eg SA Education Department) and based on the NILS Report language endangerment indicators (see Appendix A).

Recommendation 33

There should be negotiations with communities to ensure that copies of locally based materials are provided to a designated central location, with appropriate access restrictions on material, to ensure the materials are not lost over time.

Possible locations might include state/territory education departments and libraries, AIATSIS, or other organisations with sufficient resources and expertise to be able to manage a collection appropriately.

Recommendation 34

Australian Government funding should be provided for the development and maintenance of the AIATSIS AUSTLANG (formerly ILDB/WILD) Database, using data collected through the methods outlined in Recommendations 24 and 25, and in other ways.

In the first instance this work should be carried out by AIATSIS, in consultation with government departments, FATSIL, existing Regional Indigenous Language Centres and other relevant agencies.

The upgrade should involve the inclusion of the NILS results into the database.

Recommendation 35

Australian Government funding should be provided to compile and assess data from the 1996 ATSIC Needs Survey of Community Languages, with other records of the former ATSIC language programs where possible.

With regard to privacy and confidentiality, the data should be integrated with the AUSTLANG Database.

Recommendation 36

OZBIB, the Australian languages bibliography, now part of AUSTLANG, should be updated every two years.

Recommendation 37

In order to improve the accessibility of Indigenous language materials on the web, standard metadata on the material, including standard AIATSIS/AUSTLANG and/or Ethnologue codes (Gordon 2005) for specific languages,

and Open Language Archive Community (OLAC) codes for types of documentation, should be placed on the Internet.

Recommendation 38

AUSTLANG should be promoted through art, archive, and library peak bodies, interagency committees and forums, as a source of language name metadata.

Recommendation 39

The NILS Collections Database should be made accessible to interested people for comment and feedback.

AIATSIS should continue to maintain and upgrade the database as required in the first instance. Further, it is recommended that the feasibility of placing the database on the Internet be explored.

Recommendation 40

Archives should be made aware of the importance of passing information on their collections to the AIATSIS Indigenous language AUSTLANG editor, and of providing feedback to AIATSIS on good methods of recording incidental information on languages.

Recommendation 41

A project should be developed with collection agencies to track collections with useful language information that have not yet been documented.

This report has identified organisations with potentially useful collections that should be targeted in a strategic program to review their holdings so their material can be added to the NILS Collections Database.

Recommendation 42

Restricted materials and collections in collecting institutions should be identified and negotiations undertaken to ensure that senior Indigenous people of appropriate local standing have some form of access to them.

Recommendation 43

A consolidated database of names of individuals recorded in archival documents should be developed.

Recommendation 44

Research should be undertaken to determine the nature of language material in film and video archives, including the AIATSIS Film and Sound Archives.

Recommendation 45

Research should be conducted to ascertain the amount and quality of language materials held by Indigenous media organisations, and guidelines should be developed to ensure these recordings are held in a way that is accessible and protected.

Recommendation 46

There should be negotiations with communities to ensure that information on language materials produced (not necessarily the materials themselves) and their location is provided to AIATSIS for inclusion in the NILS Collections Database.

Recommendation 47

Contact should be made with state/territory departments responsible for Indigenous cultural heritage matters to initiate discussions on identifying Indigenous language materials that may have been collected through cultural heritage projects.

Recommendation 48

In order to facilitate the easy dissemination of support materials for language learning, the development of open-source software and publication outlets for Indigenous language dictionaries should be considered.

This is a key element of successful language programs because such databases support a wide range of educational material, including materials developed in paper and multimedia.

Dictionaries can also be linked digitally to 'Talking Stories'—text collection, transcriptions and translations, and audio or video records. A 'bank' of open-source multimedia software should be collected which could be widely accessible for the construction of such dictionary databases.

Training

Recommendation 49

Training of Indigenous teachers should be a priority and should include training in the development of local language and culture programs.

This should especially include training for early childhood work to support the establishment of Languages Nests.

Recommendation 50

Training for Indigenous interpreters to National Accreditation Authority for Translators and Interpreters (NAATI) standards should be provided by at least one institution.

Recommendation 51

Training for Indigenous personnel working in the language sector should be provided at certificate, degree and postgraduate levels.

Recommendation 52

The Resource Network for Language Diversity should be encouraged to apply for funding.

The network is an important initiative providing support links online and on-site training for people working on languages, especially in remote regions.

A

Appendices

Appendix A NILS Report recommended indicators

This Appendix presents ten NILS Report recommended language endangerment indicators. These proposed indicators are based on the UNESCO Ad Hoc Expert Group (UNESCO 2003) recommended indicators, and have been modified, taking into account the findings of the State of Indigenous Languages Report (McConvell & Thieberger 2001), and the results of NILS.

A.1   Indicator One: Intergenerational Language Transmission

This indicator is discussed in this report at Chapter 2. This NILS Report recommended language endangerment indicator is rated as follows:

Table A.1: NILS Indicator One : Intergenerational Language Transmission

Degree of Endangerment	Grade	Speaker Population	Age groups
Strong or Safe	5	The language is used by all age groups, including children.	All
Unsafe	4	The language is used by some children; part of the time, or in a partial fashion and by the parental generation upwards.	Used by between 30% and 70% of the <20 age group part of the time.
Definitely endangered	3	The language is used mostly by the parental generation and upwards.	Used only by >20 years old
Severely endangered	2	The language is used mostly by the grandparental generation and upwards.	>40 years old
Critically endangered	1	The language is known to very few speakers, in great- grandparental generation.	>60 years old
No longer fully spoken	0	There is no speaker left.	None

A.1.1   NILS data and the modification of Indicator One: ILT

The NILS data provides a more complex picture than the ABS Census data which simply divides speakers (those who speak the language at home) from non-speakers. NILS has separate scales for 'speaking' and 'understanding' (partially distinguished) and levels of use.

In order to provide comparability between NILS and other indicators, based on speaking/non-speaking, the NILS levels were converted into numbers. If the 'speaking'/'understanding' and 'using' values totaled 6, this was considered to describe a 'speaker'. Codes used in the calculation of NILS ILT index are as follows:

NILS Question 7—'How well do the following age groups speak and understand the language?' ('How well spk?')

0—Don't speak or understand
1—Understand some, speak some
2—Understand well, speak some
3—Understand well, speak fluently

NILS Question 8—'How often do these age groups use the language?' ('How often spk?')

0—Not at all
1—On special occasions
2—Few times a week
3—Some words a day
4—Often
5—All day, most days

It is still possible of course to use the raw numbers, before aggregation, to examine the relationship between proficiency and use. This has not been done in the current analysis but we recommend that this be carried out in future [Recommendation 26].

A.1.2   Recommended scale for languages with no full speakers

Using the NILS data it is also possible to plot the gradations of speaking ability and use for languages with only partial speakers.

The NILS Report recommended language endangerment Indicator One: Intergenerational Language Transmission index includes decimals of less than one to indicate level of 'speaking'/ 'understanding' and 'use' of a language when there are no fluent speakers alive.

This refers to situations where no age group reaches a proficiency grade of 6 or above. In this case, an average is calculated between the different values (5 or less), divided by 10 to give a value between 0 and 0.5, and rounded to the nearest whole number.

Table A.2: NILS Indicator One: Intergenerational Language Transmission decimal index

NILS ILT score	Decimal index	Examples of types of situation covered
5–Strong or Safe	0.5	Understand well, speak some, some words a day or understand some, speak some often
4–Unsafe	0.4	Understand well, speak some, few times a week or understand some, speak some, some words a day
3–Definitely endangered	0.3	Understand some, speak some, few times a week
2–Severely endangered	0.2	Understand some, speak some, on special occasions
1–Critically endangered	0.1	Understand some, speak some, but not use at all
0–No longer fully spoken	0	No understanding, or speaking

The averaging between the different age groups obviously does not give a detailed picture of what may be occurring in the different age groups, that is, of whether there is decreasing use and competence, or of whether, competency is increasing as a result of a successful language program.

Further development of this 'partial speaker' grading scheme would be very useful to measure changes in such situations and evaluate programs [Recommendation 26, Recommendation 15].

A.2   Indicator Two: Absolute Number of Speakers

A.2.1   Numbers of speakers

There are problems with using absolute numbers as an indicator of language endangerment. There are some languages in the world with a million or more speakers which could go out of existence in 50 years because so few children are speaking the language.

On the other hand there are very small languages, including some in Australia, of 50-100 speakers, that have maintained that level for hundreds of years. In some cases, like the language Gurrgone of Maningrida, numbers have actually increased in the last 50 years (ATSIC 1996).

However what the UNESCO Ad Hoc Expert Group writes in regard to Indicator Two—Absolute Number of Speakers, is undoubtedly true (UNESCO 2003:16):

> A small speech community is always at risk. A small population is much more vulnerable to decimation (by disease, warfare, or natural disaster, for example) than a larger one. A small language group may also easily merge with a neighbouring group, giving up its own language and culture.

For this reason, Absolute Number of Speakers is included as a recommended indicator, but it must be noted that it is less important as an indicator of endangerment than NILS Indicator One: Intergenerational Language Transmission.

To keep Indicator Two in line with the other indicators it is useful to have a 6-point scale for this factor as for the others, rather than using raw numbers. The average numbers of speakers of Australian languages are—and probably always have been—low compared to languages in many parts of the world—varying between 50 and about 5,000, with 500 being probably near the average in pre-contact times. Of course many languages have dropped in number of speakers dramatically due to frontier violence, disease, removals and language shift. This is a scale that would work for Australia, but not elsewhere.

Keeping in mind that Indicator One: ILT is a better indicator, in this report, for Indicator Two, we have used a population of <50 as a rough indicator of 'endangerment' (Grades 1 and 2 in the calculation below).

It has been noted that there have been some languages which have apparently maintained stability between 50 and 100 speakers but those below 50 are likely to be unstable and endangered. Mostly these low numbers do correlate with lack of transmission of the language to the younger generation and so indicate a need for urgent action to deal with the situation. Of course many languages with higher numbers of speakers are also threatened.

Numbers of Australian Indigenous language speakers can be graded as follows:

Large (Grade 5)—Over 500 speakers
Medium (Grade 4)—201-500 speakers
Small (Grade 3)—51-200 speakers
Severely endangered (Grade 2)—10-50 speakers
Critically endangered (Grade 1)—≤10 speakers
Not spoken (Grade 0)—0 speakers

There is also a need for an assessment of reliability for speaker figures.
The following is a recommended Reliability Index:

- Grade 5— Recent evidence from reliable local observers with good understanding of the language situation and what 'speaking' a language means; a definite number not an estimate.

- Grade 4— Recent reliable evidence but real number may vary slightly from this (+/-20 per cent).

- Grade 3— Evidence is somewhat unreliable (extrapolation from older data and/or from people who do not know the situation well or at first hand).

- Grade 2— Implausibility of estimate, or great disparity in estimates, probably due to lack of agreement about what 'speaking' a language means; estimate chosen errs on cautious side.

- Grade 1— Very little evidence, none reliable; a 'guesstimate'.

- Grade 0—No evidence [no number provided].

A.3　Indicator Three: Proportion of Speakers

The number of speakers of the ancestral language in relation to the total population of an ethno-linguistic group is a significant indicator of language vitality.

The following scale can be used to appraise degrees of endangerment.

Table A.3: NILS Indicator Three: Proportions of Speakers

Degree of Endangerment	Grade	Proportion of Speakers within the total reference population
Safe	5	Nearly all speak the language [>90 per cent]
Unsafe	4	The great majority speak the language [70-90 per cent]
Definitely endangered.	3	A majority speak the language [50-70 per cent]
Severely endangered	2	A minority speak the language [30-50 per cent]
Critically endangered	1	Very few speak the language [<30 per cent]
No longer spoken	0	None speak the language.

The absence of any ABS Census question on people 'identifying' with a language makes it impossible to analyse Proportion of Speakers figures from the census figures alone.

Once again, this indicator is not as good a predictor of language endangerment as Indicator One, as it does not involve the critical factor of age. For instance, it is possible that only 20 per cent of people speak a particular language because they live in the bush and 80 per cent do not as they live in town. The 20 per cent in the bush could well continue speaking it as long as children are learning it. This is a hypothetical example, and there is no language like this in Australia as far as is known.

To add accuracy to the results, should we be able to gauge this number from other sources, we have added numerical ranges to the vaguer formulations of the UNESCO group ('nearly all' etc). This modification means the categories in this indicator differ from calculations used in the UNESCO categories. For example the UNESCO Grade 5 'all' has been modified to 'over 90 per cent'.

Actually there are usually a few individuals who identify with a language who do not speak it: they have gone to live in a city or otherwise become separated from the group, as with the 'stolen generation'. This does not mean that the language is 'unsafe'. We have therefore reworded the formulations of the UNESCO group: 'nearly all' replaces 'all' for Grade 5 and 'the great majority' replaces 'nearly all' for Grade 4.

The other modification is that for Grade 1, we interpreted 'very few' as 'less than 30 per cent', which may sound too high a number. However there is a history of use of 30 per cent as a low figure in this type of measurement internationally (Wurm 1996). This also allows for the 10 per cent or so of non-speakers mentioned in relation to Grade 5, who are not in that grade due to systematic language shift but rather because of other extraneous life chances.

A.4   Indicator 4: Domains and Functions of a Language

Table A.4: NILS Indicator Four: Domains and Functions of a Language

Degree of Endangerment	Grade	Domains and Functions
Universal use	5	The language is used in all domains and for all functions.
Multilingual parity	4	Two or more languages may be used in most social domains and for most functions; the ancestral language usually is rare in the public domain.
Dwindling domains	3	The ancestral language is used in home domains and for many functions, but the dominant language begins to penetrate home domains.
Limited or formal domains	2	The language is used in limited social domains and for several functions.
Highly limited domains	1	The language is used only in very restricted domains and for a very few functions.
No longer spoken	0	The language is not used in any domain at all.

Domains can be a difficult concept, however 'public' and 'home' are probably applicable cross-culturally. Language choice is not necessarily determined by such factors.

A.5   Indicator Five: Response to New Domains and Media

Table A.5: NILS Indicator Five: Domains and Media, and Functions of a Language

Degree of Endangerment	Grade	New Domains and Media Accepted by the Endangered Language.
Dynamic	5	The language is used in all new domains.
Robust/active	4	The language is used in most new domains.
Receptive	3	The language is used in many domains.
Coping	2	The language is used in some new domains.
Minimal	1	The language is used in only a few new domains.
Inactive	0	The language is not used in any new domains.

A.6   Indicator Six: Materials for Language Education and Literacy

Table A.6: NILS Indicator Six: Accessibility of Written Materials

Grade	Accessibility of Written Materials
5	There is an established orthography and literacy tradition with fiction and non-fiction and everyday media. The language is used in administration and education.
4	Written materials exist and at school children are developing literacy in the language. The language is not used in written form in administration.
3	Written materials exist and children may be exposed to the written form at school. Literacy is not promoted through print media.
2	Written materials exist but they may be useful only for some members of the community; for others, they may have a symbolic significance. Literacy education in the language is not a part of the school curriculum.
1	A practical orthography is known to the community and some material is being written.
0	No orthography is available to the community.

Note: 'Orthography' in the table above refers to standards of correct writing/spelling.

A.7   Indicator Seven: Governmental and Institutional Attitudes and Policies, including Official Status and Use

Table A.7: NILS Indicator Seven: Official Attitudes towards Language

Degree of Support	Grade	Official Attitudes towards Language
Equal support	5	All languages are protected.
Differentiated support	4	Non-dominant languages are protected primarily as the language of the private domain. The use of the non-dominant language is prestigious.
Passive assimilation	3	No explicit policy exists for minority languages; the dominant language prevails in the public domain.
Active assimilation	2	Government encourages assimilation to the dominant language. There is no protection for minority la nguages.
Forced assimilation	1	The dominant language is the sole official language, while non-dominant languages are neither recognised nor protected.
Prohibition	0	Minority languages are prohibited.

A.8   Indicator Eight: Community Members' Attitudes towards Their Own Language

Table A.8: NILS Indicator Eight: Community Members' Attitudes towards Their Own Language

Grade	Community Members' Attitudes towards Their Own Language
5	All members value their language and wish to see it promoted.
4	Most members support language maintenance.
3	Many members support language maintenance; many others are indifferent or may even support language shift.
2	Some members support language maintenance; some are indifferent or may even support language shift.
1	Only a few members support language maintenance; many are indifferent or support language shift.
0	No one cares if the language is given up; all prefer to use a dominant language.

A.9   Indicator Nine: Type and Quality of Documentation

Table A.9: NILS Indicator Nine: Type and Quality of Documentation

Nature of Documentation	Grade	Language Documentation
Superlative	5	There are comprehensive grammars and dictionaries, extensive texts and a constant flow of language materials. Abundant annotated high quality audio and video recordings exist.
Good	4	There is at least one good grammar, a few dictionaries, texts, literature, and everyday media; adequate annotated high-quality audio and video recordings.
Fair	3	There may be an adequate grammar, some dictionaries, and texts, but no everyday media; audio and video recordings may exist in varying quality or degree of annotation.
Fragmentary	2	There are some grammatical sketches, wordlists, and texts useful for limited linguistic research but with inadequate coverage. Audio and video recordings may exist in varying quality, with or without any annotation.
Inadequate	1	Only a few grammatical sketches, short wordlists, and fragmentary texts exist. Audio and video recordings do not exist, are of unusable quality, or are completely unannotated.
Undocumented	0	No material exists.

In ILDB and AUSTLANG a more explicit points system was used for calculating the level of documentation of a language. There is a 20-point system implemented in the ILDB (revised version 2002) as shown for the Gurrgoni language in Figure A.1 below. It shows Gurrgoni having a documentation level of 17.

Using this method, resources can be allocated points with a maximum of '4' as follows:

- Dictionaries   4
- Text collections   3
- Grammars   4
- Ethnolinguistic work   3
- Audio-visual collection   3
- Literature in language   3

Figure A.1: Documentation information on ILDB

Documentation levels are also shown in the WILD/AUSTLANG Database but at the time this report was published the points system was not implemented in the beta version.

There is a need for criteria on language documentation that is more exact and operational.

The following proposal for assessing the type and quality of documentation for a language is suggested:

Dictionary

- Over 100 pages and over 1000 entries   4
- 50-100 pages and over 500 entries   3
- 10-49 pages or 200-499 entries   2
- Less than ten pages or less than 200 entries   1

Text collection

- Over 100 pages of text with glossing   3
- 50–100 pages with glossing   2
- Over 100 pages without annotation   2
- Less than 50 pages   1

Grammar

- Over 200 pages 4
- 100–200 pages 3
- 50–99 pages but comprehensive and coherent 2
- Less than 50 pages 1
- >50 pages of articles/notes on limited points 1

Ethnolinguistic

- Over 100 pages 3
- 50–99 pages 2
- Less than 50 pages 1

Audio-visual

- >10 hours of audio (on audio-tape/video/film) ... 3
- 1–10 hours 2
- Less than 1 hour 1

Literature

- More than 100 pages 3
- 0–100 pages 2
- Less than 50 pages 1

Additionally, there needs to a correlation between the UNESCO Indicator Nine and this ILDB/AUSTLANG measure out of 20.

The following index that grades 0–20 is recommended:

Table A.10: ILDB/AUSTLANG measure and UNESCO indicator

ILDB/AUSTLANG POINTS	NILS/UNESCO INDEX
17–20	5 Superlative
13–16	4 Good
9–2	3 Fair
5–8	2 Fragmentary
1–4	1 Inadequate
0	0 Undocumented

A.10   Indicator Ten: Language Programs

Table A.11: NILS Indicator Ten: Status of Language Programs

	Grade	Status of Language Programs
Successful	5	A regular and successful program is running involving >5 per cent language identifiers.
Good	4	A program is running with two out of three of the following: regularly; successfully; >5 per cent language identifiers.
Fair	3	A program is running with one out of three of the following: regularly; successfully; >5 per cent language identifiers.
Basic	2	A program is running involving a small group (<5 per cent of identifiers) irregularly and with few or no outcomes.
Aspiring	1	No language programs but a group are talking of starting one.
None	0	No language program and no interest in starting one.

'Language identifiers' is a group of people that identifies with a language. The cut-off point here is deemed to be 5 per cent of that population. Under this measure, if 400 people identify with the local language and more than 20 of them are involved with the program (in any capacity eg. teaching, learning, producing materials or administering) that is relatively large and the program will register at beyond the Basic (Grade 2).

As a rule of thumb, if more than a month passes by without any significant activity lasting several hours, the program is categorized as 'irregular'. Obviously this may vary according to whether the program is funded, and if so at what level. If it is funded and people are paid for work then obviously there is a higher expectation that they will be regularly active.

If a year passes without any significant activity then the program registers in the 'aspiring' or 'none' categories (Grades 1 or 0).

Where a program has been in a higher grade and has sunk to Grade 1 or 0, this can be plotted as a trend if necessary.

'Successful' is defined in terms of outcomes but more work is needed to establish a clear formulation.

A.11   Use of indicators

A.11.1 Singly

> Each of these NILS Report recommended indicators may be used separately to give information to the public and policy-makers. Indicator One is the most important for assessing language health but there can be certain problems with collecting this data, so we recommend that the basic NILS Endangerment Index be a combination of the NILS Report recommended Indicators One and Two.

If we had a measure of the number of people who identify with a particular language the measurement of NILS Report recommended language endangerment Indicator Three: the Proportion of Speakers, could be a useful analysis measure.

However, in Australia, this is not counted, as it is in North America. We recommend that ABS consider including such an 'identity' question, despite the fact that not all Indigenous people identify with a language group [Recommendation 24, Recommendation 15].

A.11.2 Trends

Trends can be tracked by comparing figures for the same indicator over a period of time. Numbers of speakers or numbers in particular age groups, can be a useful way of seeing if language shift has been occurring and how fast it is proceeding. By contrast, if there is maintenance or revival occurring, this will show up in these figures.

Since the ABS Census has now been carried out twice and is about to be carried out a third time, collecting figures on individual languages is a useful way of looking at trends (bearing in mind the limitations already discussed). The use of trend figures is discussed in Chapter 6.

NILS is not an exact replica of earlier surveys, so exactly comparable data is not available to report trends. Some data from earlier surveys (ATSIC Needs Survey of Community Languages 1996) may be usable in this way, but has not been sorted and analysed at this stage.

A.11.3 Combinations

There has been some discussion of the use of combinations of NILS indicators for the purpose of giving priority measures. For instance, the combination of NILS Indicator One (endangerment), NILS Indicator Eight (community attitudes) and NILS Indicator Nine (documentation) could be useful.

However, there are some complications with these calculations and no definitive formulation has been arrived at. A small number of older speakers and a low level of existing documentation (especially if combined with a high value placed by the community on the language) would indicate urgent support for a program is required. In this situation, extremely low numbers of speakers would indicate a need for prior documentation by Community Language Teams before any full scale active programs begins.

More complex versions of this calculation would involve literacy factors and community attitudes. In the latter case, there is a need to reverse the index as more positive attitudes (higher numbers) are an indication of a need for further funding.

The most useful Endangerment Index should be a combination of NILS Indicator One: Intergenerational Language Transmission, and NILS Indicator Three: the Proportion of Speakers. However, we do not generally have figures on Indicator Three from surveys and the ABC Census.

Further, while not ideal, NILS Indicator Two can also provide useful endangerment information. We therefore recommend that a NILS Endangerment Index should include a combination of some measures from both NILS Indicator One and Indicator Two.

The prior existence and success of language programs (NILS Indicator Ten) can be a positive factor, although there is also the argument that communities which have had no programs deserve a chance to benefit from such activities. There is no recommendation here for incorporating this indicator directly into an Urgency Measure.

A.11.4 Correlations

In relation to the 1994 NATSIS data, the correlation between age profile and discrepancy, and between knowledge and use of a language has already been discussed. Our indicators do not exactly measure the latter dimension. However, another similar element which may be related is Indicator Four (domains and functions)—greater restriction on domains may go hand in hand with lack of knowledge or use.

It is quite likely also that there are correlations between some of these language indicators and other social and demographic features, including those on which we have data through the ABS Census and other surveys.

This goes beyond what we have examined for NILS. For instance, Indigenous people often say that being separated from other speakers of their language leads to a decline in the use and knowledge of their language (through what is known as 'attrition').

If this is so, then the practice of removing elders from their communities for medical treatment, for example renal dialysis, may have a disproportionate effect on both the transmission of the language to younger people and its retention by the old. These are important research issues which could be followed up [Recommendation 24].

A.12   How NILS indicators fit with AILF program categories

How the NILS indicators fit with Australian Indigenous Languages Framework (AILF) program categories has already been discussed in Chapter 3, but some further details are included in Table A.12 below.

An extra column has been added to this table to (approximately) link language program types to the NILS indicators, and in one case, where level of documentation is mentioned, the language program is also linked to the documentation indicator.

Some of the terminologies are used in different ways around Australia eg. 'language revival' which in this table is taken to mean a super-category including situations where there are still fluent speakers, is often used to describe situations where 'language reclamation' is taking place. In general, however, it is better to stick to one definition rather than altering it and risking confusion.

Table A.12: Language maintenance program categories and their corresponding situations

AILF categories	Subcategories	Defining characteristics (AILF)	Corresponding Endangerment Index (NILS)
Language maintenance (first language maintenance)		All generations full speakers.	5
Language revival	Language revitalisation	Generation of (older) speakers left—children likely good passive knowledge.	4–1
	Language renewal	Oral tradition but no full speakers—children likely little or no passive knowledge.	1–0
	Language reclamation	No speakers or partial speakers —relying on historical sources to provide knowledge.	0
Language awareness		Non-speakers learning about the languages where it is not possible to learn and use the language— vestiges only documentation poor.	0 Documentation index: 2–1
Language learning (second language learning)		Non-speakers learning as second language.	0

Clearly there is not a very good fit between the recommended NILS Endangerment Index (or other available data on languages) and the AILF set of categories. This is due in part to the use of the category 'partial speaker' in AILF.

The NILS questions can actually be used to capture this sort of data. It can also gauge (in a limited way) whether children have passive knowledge or not. ABS Census data will not capture these kinds of distinctions. Of course, in setting up a language program, one does not rely on census data alone, but rather relies on much more intensive consultation with a community. However, data based on NILS and the NILS indicators could be useful for planning language programs.

The Table A.13 shows how within the AILF category 'language revival' programs, the categories can be matched to NILS questionnaire responses.

Table A.13: Language maintenance program categories and their corresponding situations (including ILT)

Subcategories of language revival	Defining characteristics (AILF)	Corresponding NILS responses
Language revitalization	Generation of (older) speakers left —children likely good passive knowledge	At least one age group over 20 years is Grade 6 or over; 0-19 years group is Grade 4–5
Language renewal	Oral tradition but no full speakers —children likely little or no passive knowledge	At least one age group over 20 years is Grade 4–5, none are Grade 6 or over; 0–19 years group is Grade 2–3
Language reclamation	No speakers or partial speakers —relying on historical sources to provide knowledge	All age groups are Grade 0-1

In Table A.13 the grades in the third column are based on the age columns of Table F.2.

In reality, it is more useful, to use the NILS Indicator One: Intergenerational Language Transmission, as it combines the above data with a 5 point grading scale on the levels of usage of a language.

Any number of '6 and above' for an age group categorises the age group as 'speakers'; grades of '5 and below' indicate that they are 'partial speakers'. This is translated into decimal point numbers in the range 0–0.5 where the NILS ILT score corresponds to a NILS Endangerment Index grading of '1' and so on.

Table A.14 shows how language revival programs can be subdivided on the basis of the recommended NILS Endangerment Index. The value of doing this is that the nature of the program, its urgency and its needs for support and funding, can be correlated with the level of the endangerment of the language.

Table A.14: Language maintenance program categories and their corresponding indices

Subcategories	Defining characteristics	NILS Indicator One (ILT)	Corresponding NILS post-shift index (0-0.5)
Language revitalisation—early stage	Unsafe	4	
Language revitalisation—urgent	Definitely endangered	3	
Language revitalisation—very urgent	Severely endangered	2	
Language revitalisation—critical	Critically endangered	1	
Language renewal	No longer spoken; partial speakers	0	At least one group over 20 0.4 or 0.5; 0-19 0 -0.3
Language reclamation	No longer spoken; no partial speakers	0	All groups 0-0.1

Appendix B The NILS questionnaire

The material below is the summary of the information given to the public and the questions which were contained in the online survey questionnaire as described in Chapter 4.

National Indigenous Language Survey

Background

This survey is being run by the Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies (AIATSIS) and the Federation of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Languages (FATSIL) under contract to Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Services (ATSIS).

The survey is being done to collect information on the current state of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander languages. This information will be used to write a report to ATSIS which will identify languages and numbers of speakers, review existing research, primary source materials and other language resource materials, and provide recommendations where languages may be considered to be endangered. The survey and report will be finalised by September 2004.

It is important that this survey collects accurate information from as many different sources as possible. For this reason, we ask people to take the time to fill in the forms and tell us about their languages.

Doing the Survey

The personal information collected in part A of this survey will only be seen by FATSIL, ATSIS and AIATSIS, and will not be given out to any other person or organisation. If you want to fill out the form but don't want to put your name on it, that is okay, although we would like to have the other personal information filled in. The information collected in sections B-E will be entered into the Indigenous Languages Database, and may be seen by other people. All parts of the survey are optional and may be skipped over if desired.

It is assumed that if you begin the survey and enter information, then you are giving ATSIS and AIATSIS permission to use the information you enter (apart from the personal information) for the purposes of the survey, which might include putting the information onto a website.

You may stop the survey at any time, and the information will be saved and you will be able to return to it at a later time.

At the end of the language section there is an option to allow you to enter information on a second (or third, fourth or fifth) language.

There are two forms that can be downloaded and filled out if you want to give more detailed information about a collection of language resources. They may be downloaded from the resource section of the survey and the End page.

Thank you,

ATSIS, AIATSIS and FATSIL

The survey team can be contacted at:

FATSIL:
Phone: (07) 3846 3738
Email: carolyn@e-soup.net
Postal: C/- Carolyn Barker
1/23 Rosecliffe Street
Highgate Hill Q 4101

Or

AIATSIS:
Phone: (02) 6246-1166
Email: nils@aiatsis.gov.au
Postal: NILS
AIATSIS
GPO Box 553
Canberra ACT 260

Section A

Are you filling this form…

as an Individual?

on behalf of an Organisation?

as an Interviewer?

Section B—Identification Information INDIVIDUAL

1. **What is your name?**

   You do not have to put your name on this form if you do not want to.

2. **What Organisation are you from?**

   You do not have to name any organisation.

3. **Where do you live?**

4. **In which state?**

5. **What is your postcode?**

6. **Where do you come from originally?**

7. **From which state?**

8. **What was your original postcode?**

9. **Are you male or female?**

   Female

   Male

   No answer

10. **What is your age group?**

    0–19

    20–39

    40–59

    60 or over

    No answer

11. **Are you Australian Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander?** *(Tick any that apply)*

    Australian Aboriginal

    Torres Straight Islander

    No, I am not Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander

12. **Which Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander Language/s do you identify with? If you are a researcher please list the Language/s of your research. Put down up to four of the main ones.** *(You will be able to provide other language names later in the survey)*

Language 1	
Language 2	
Language 3	
Language 4	

Section B—Identification Information INTERVEIWER

(This section is for a group interview or use at a meeting)

1. **What is the interviewer's name?**

2. **Where is the interview taking place?**

3. **In which state?**

4. **What is the postcode of the meeting location?**

5. **When is the meeting taking place?**

6. **Who are the people present?**

7. **What age-groups are represented?**
   (Tick any that apply)

   0–19

   20–39

   40–59

   60 or over

   No answer

8. **Where do the people present live?** *(List places)*

9. **Do the people agree to be recorded on paper and on audio-tape?** *(See survey guide)*

   Yes

   No

   No answer

Section B—Identification Information ORGANISATION

1. **What is the name of the organisation?**

2. **What is your name?** *(The name of the person completing this survey for the organisation)*

3. **Where is the organisation based?** *(If in more than one place, give the location of the main office)*

4. **In which state?**

5. **What is the postcode of your organisation's main office?**

6. **What is the postal address for the organisation?**

7. **What is the contact email address for the organisation?**

8. **Who is the primary contact person for the organisation?**

9. **What kind of work does the organisation do?**

Section C—Language Information

In this section we would like you to give us information about each of the languages you identify with, one at a time. If you are going to complete this information for more than one language please make sure you have enough copies of the following 6 pages. You can copy them, or call us and we will provide you with additional copies.

1. **Language Name?**

   If you are completing this survey on behalf of an organisation, please go to Question 5.

2. **How well do you know the language?**

   Don't speak or understand

   Understand some & speak some

   Understand well & speak some

   Understand well & speak fluently

   No answer

3. **How often do you use this language?**

   All day, most days

   Often

   Some words a day

   A few times week

   On special occasions

   Not at all

4. **On what occasions do you use it?**

5. **In general, how well do the following age groups speak and understand the language?**
   Please note that through this question we are trying to find out the difference in language use between age groups. Add any additional information to Question 6.

   Please tick the most appropriate box for each age group

	Don't speak or understand	Understand some & speak some	Understand well & speak some	Understand well & speak fluently	N/A
Old people (60 & over)					
Middle-aged people (40–59)					
Young adults (20–39)					
Children & teenagers (0–19)					

6. **How many people do you think speak the language?** *(Please include as much detail as you want)*

7. **Where do they live?**

8. **How often do these age groups use the language?**

   Please tick the most appropriate (average) box for each age group.

	All day, most days	Often	Some words a day	A few times week	On special occasions	Not at all	N/A
Old people (60 & over)							
Middle-aged people (40–59)							
Young adults (20–39)							
Children & teenagers (0–19)							

The next questions are about resources for this Language. First we have asked questions about dictionary, grammar, wordlist and text resources. Followed by questions on audio visual resources and other resources. There is an additional section on Language resources for your region later in the survey.

9. **What amount of language resources are available for this language?**

   Please tick the most appropriate (average) box for each type of resource.

	Dictionary/Wordlist	Collection of texts/stories
Large (more than 200 pages)		
Medium (100–200 pages)		
Small (20–100 pages)		
Less than 20 pages		
N/A		

10. **What amount of language description (grammar) resources are available for this language?**

    Large grammar (more than 200 pages)

    Small grammar (100–200 pages)

    Sketch grammar (less than 100 pages)

    A few articles

    N/A

11. **Who provides these resources?**

    Please tick the most appropriate (average) box for each type of resource.

	Dictionary	Wordlist	Texts/stories	Grammar
Completed by others (Linguists, etc)				
Completed by local programs				
Currently underway				
Being planned				
N/A				

12. Other information about these products:

(For example, key people involved in producing these, and any other relevant info you wish to provide)

13. What audio/visual language resources are available for this language?

Please tick the most appropriate (average) box for each type of resource.

	None	Less than 10	More than 10	N/A
CD-ROMs				
Books, language readers				
Audio/film/video materials (in hours)				

14. Who provides these audio/film resources?

Please tick the most appropriate (average) box for each type of resource.

	Audio/film/video materials	CD-ROMs	Books, language readers
Completed by others (Linguists, etc)			
Completed by local programs			
Currently underway			
Being planned			
N/A			

15. Other information about these audio/visual products:

(for example, key language speakers involved, names of books, CD-ROMs, etc)

16. What other language resources are available for this language?

Please tick the most appropriate (average) box for each type of resource.

	Games	Maps	Promotional goods	Photographs	Unpublished field notes	Other things…
Completed by others (Linguists, etc)						
Completed by local programs						
Currently underway						
Being planned						
N/A						

17. Do you have any further comments on this language?

Are all the resources available to the community?

Do AIATSIS have copies of all the resources?

If you would like to complete this information for another language you will need additional copies of this section of the survey. There is one additional copy attached at the back of this package, you can make further copies or contact us and we can supply further copies.

Section D1—Your Region Support & Needs

1.   Which are the main Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander languages in your region? List up to twelve.

(By 'region' we mean just the larger area that you visit and know about around where you live) If you have already completed information about each of these languages in Section C, then please go to Question 2.

Languages 1	
Languages 2	
Languages 3	
Languages 4	
Languages 5	
Languages 6	
Languages 7	
Languages 8	
Languages 9	
Languages 10	
Languages 11	
Languages 12	

2.   What are the most important things that should be done for Indigenous languages in your region?

3.   Would you like to see Indigenous languages taught in schools in your region?

Yes

No

No answer

4.   If you answered 'No' above, please state your reason.

5.   How would you like to see Indigenous languages officially recognised in Australia and your local region?

6.   Any other comments about Indigenous language needs?

Section D2—Language Programs in Your Region – LANGUAGE INFORMATION COLLECTION

This section is about the People and Organisations in your region who are involved in collecting information on languages.

If you are not able to answer questions about information collection in your region please go to Question 10.

1.   Which people/organisation collects information in your region?

2.   In which place or places is the information collected?
(eg. Schools, cultural centre, library)

3.   **For which language or languages is information collected?**

4.   **What kinds of projects/programs are in place in your region?**
     (_Tick any that apply)_

     Recording words from speakers

     Recording stories from speakers

     Compiling dictionary/wordlists

     Cultural descriptions

     Knowledge of the environment

     Other:

5.   **How many people are involved in programs involving collecting language information?**

6.   **How long have these programs been running?**

7.   **What was the source of funding for the language information collection projects/programs?**

8.   **What have been the effects on the people from these projects/programs?**

9.   **What resources have been produced from these projects/programs?**
     (just a summary - you can list them in more detail in the next section)

10. **Do you have any comments in regards to the information collection programs in your region?**

Section D3—Language Programs in Your Region – TEACHING and LEARNING LANGUAGES

This section is about teaching and learning languages in your region.

If you are not able to answer questions about teaching and learning languages in your region please go to Question 9.

1.   **Which people/organisation teaches languages in your region?**

2.   **In which place or places are languages taught?**

3.   **What kinds of teaching project/program exist?**
     Tick any that apply

     Pre-school

     Primary

     Tertiary

     Community-based

     Other:

4.   **How many people (in total) are involved in these programs?**

5.   **How long have the programs been running for?**

6. **What was the source of funding for the educational projects/programs?**

7. **What have been the effects on people from the educational projects/programs?**

8. **What educational resources have been produced from these projects/ programs?**
    (just a summary - you can list them in more detail in the next section)

9. **Do you have any comments in regards to the teaching & learning programs in your region?**

Section D4—Language Programs in Your Region – INTERPRETING AND TRANSLATION

This section is about interpreting and translation in your region.

If you are not able to answer questions about interpreting and translation in your region please go to Question 11.

1. **Which people/organisation does interpreting/translation in your region?**

2. **In which place or places?**

3. **What kinds of interpreting projects/programs exist?**
    Tick any that apply

    Courts

    Police custody/prisons

    Hospital

    Clinic

    Other government departments

    Other:

4. **If you selected other government departments, please specify:**

5. **What written translation projects/programs (if any) are available in your region?**

6. **How many people in your region are involved in the translation/interpreting programs/projects?**

7. **How long have these programs been running for?**

8. **What was the source of funding for the interpreting/translation projects/programs?**

9. **What have been the effects on the people from the interpreting/translation projects/programs?**

10. **What resources have been produced from the interpreting/translation projects/programs?**

11. **Do you have any general comments about the interpreting and translations services in your region?**

Section D5—Language Programs in Your Region – MEDIA and MATERIALS PRODUCTION

This section is about media and materials production in your region.

If you are not able to answer questions about media and materials production in your region please go to Question 9.

1. **In your region which people/organisation produces language media and materials?**

2. **In which place or places are language media and materials produced?**

3. **What kinds of media/materials are produced?**
   Tick any that apply and please give details about the kind of activity

Kind of activity?		
MACROBUTTON HTMLDirect	☐	Radio
MACROBUTTON HTMLDirect	☐	Television
MACROBUTTON HTMLDirect	☐	Video/film
MACROBUTTON HTMLDirect	☐	CD-ROMs
MACROBUTTON HTMLDirect	☐	Newspapers/newsletters
MACROBUTTON HTMLDirect	☐	Teaching materials
MACROBUTTON HTMLDirect	☐	Other. Please specify:

4. **In total how many people are involved in producing media and materials?**
   Total number of people across the region

5. **How long for have these projects been running for?**

6. **What are the sources of funding for the media and materials production?**

7. **What have been the effects on people from the production of language media and materials?**

8. **What resources have been produced as a result of the production of language media and materials?**

9. **Do you have any comments in regards to the production of language media and materials in your region?**

Section E—Comments

Do you have any comments about this survey?

Thank you.

The survey team can be contacted at:

FATSIL:
Phone: (07) 3846 3738
Email: carolyn@e-soup.net
Postal: C/- Carolyn Barker
1/23 Rosecliffe Street
Highgate Hill Q 4101

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GPO Box 553
Canberra ACT 260

Appendix C ILDB and AUSTLANG Databases

C.1 ILDB Database

The Indigenous Languages Database (ILDP), was developed by linguist Nick Thieberger. It assembles disparate data sources on Australian Indigenous languages. ILDB refers to two things: the single database known as ILDB, and the ILDB dataset, which consists of seventeen databases. Some of these databases are from publications such as the *Handbook of Kimberley languages*, the *Sourcebook for Central Australian Languages*, and *OZBIB*, and they also include maps. These databases are linked to a front-end, the ILDB Database, where the information in the other databases is displayed. The data is grouped into different pages or `layouts' which can be navigated in various ways, some of them are not always obvious. There are eleven different layouts of the information in ILDB, along with an extra `docsum' screen that appears in certain circumstances. These layouts are as follows:

- **Intro**: This is the starting layout providing introductory information.

- **Individual languages**: This layout presents detailed information on individual languages (most of the fields should be reasonably self-explanatory), including Tindale's comments (Tindale 1936).

- **Documentation**: This layout provides a summary of documentation information for the selected language or languages. In particular it gives the ILDB standard name, the documentation point score (0–20), a name reliability assessment and the AIATSIS standard name.

- **Resources summary**: Contains the documentation point-scoring scales. Some languages also have a map graphic visible in this layout.

- **Speaker population list**: Shows a list (similar to the one in the `list' layout) and speaker number information from a variety of sources. Beside each language is a button which opens the `speaker #' page for that language.

- **Language population**: This is the same layout that can be accessed by clicking the `speaker #' button in any other layout. It gives speaker numbers from a variety of sources.

- **List**: This layout simply presents a list of languages (either all the language or a selection made in another part of ILDB) with basic information such as name, speaker number, source, alternatives and location.

- **1:250 map**: This layout shows two maps of Australia, one smaller one with a 1:1000 000 map grid overlaid, and a larger one with both 1:250K and 1:100K map sheet references overlaid. From this layout it is possible to select the languages found in a particular map sheet. This layout is not responsive to selections made elsewhere so the only way to go from a language name to location is to note down the map sheet (on the `indiv lgs' layout) then visually search for the appropriate map sheet in either the 1:250K set or the 1:100K set (on the larger map of Australia, seen by scrolling right and downwards).

- **Working page**: A layout which is used to work on data entry and comparing sources.

- **AIATSIS code map**: On this layout is a map of Australia with AIATSIS regions and codes displayed.

- **Resource working**: This layout shows more detailed information of the sort that is summarised on the `resources summary' and is used to work in data entry, validation and sources.

Figure C.1: ILDB Database

On each layout, there are buttons which are linked to other layouts.

Although ILDB has succeeded in assembling scattered information on the Indigenous languages of Australia it is constrained by several factors, including:

• Format—ILDB was created with FileMaker, proprietary software without true relational database capabilities. It doesn't also allow web integration.

• Modality—ILDB is a standalone database with many read only instances.

• Usability—ILDB is not constructed in a way that makes it easy to use. It is not certainly for general use.

• Update—The database should be kept up-to-date as the new resources become available. However, because of its format and the restricted accessibility/availability, this cannot be easily done.

C.2   AUSTLANG Database

C.2.1   Background

In order to resolve the limitations of ILDB (see above), the idea of developing a web-enabled database has arisen. In January 2004, AIATSIS contracted Doug Marmion to prepare a proposal for such a database. The proposal presents an overview of database development and a proposed layout.

The new database, named initially WILD (Web-enabled Indigenous Languages Database) and then subsequently changed to AUSTLANG, would be created with open source software and would be available on a website. One of the features of the new database would be its ability to locate where a language is spoken using the language name. It would also allow users to find what languages are spoken at a certain location by clicking a map. AUSTLANG would be created in a simple easy to use layout that would attract a much wider audience than ILDB is doing currently.

C.2.2 Development and deployment

Doug Marmion's proposal was in accepted in principle by AIATSIS, and AIATSIS then contracted computer scientists (Steven Bird, Baden Hughes, David Penton, and Amol Kamat) from the Department of Computer Science and Software Engineering, University of Melbourne, to develop a web-enabled database. Their research agenda includes development of databases for language materials, and draws on significant experience in building such software and releasing it back to the language research community. They are currently working on another project with the NSW Aboriginal Languages and Resource Centre.

On the basis of Doug Marmion's report, in September 2004, the software development team prepared software requirements specification and preceding requirements for the development of the database. This was followed by the development of the database. At this stage, the scale and functions of the database have been reduced due to resource constraints.

The Alpha version of AUSTLANG was developed in December 2004 and the Beta version of AUSTLANG became available in February 2005. AIATSIS has presented a demonstration of the database on a few different occasions and has received positive comments as well as suggestions. Suitably knowledgeable people have been invited to send in their feedback on contents as well as the layout and functions of the database for improvement and correction, and for further and future development.

AUSTLANG currently contains the following data sets, all of which are owned by AIATSIS or used under license:

- AIATSIS internal data sets—Library thesaurus

- Third-party linguistic materials—Regional handbooks and other publication

- National data sets—Australian Bureau of Statistics and Geoscience

- International data sets—SIL Ethnologue

- ILDB data sets.

C.2.3 Layout and search function of the database

The search page of AUSTLANG has a simple layout. Users search by entering a key word, eg. language name or by clicking a location on a map. Users can also browse language profiles.

Figure C.2: AUSTLANG layout

Search on AUSTLANG provides ranked results similar to web search.

Figure C.3: Search on AUSTLANG

The above page has links to the Open Language Archives (OLAC), ASEDA and Google. The search will be directed to these websites/databases without users typing the key word again.

From the search result, users can bring up a language profile, which provides information on:

- AIATSIS language code
- AIATSIS reference names and alternative names
- Summary of documentation (Audio, ethnolinguistic, grammar, language and literature)
- List of maps where the language is spoken
- Number and distribution of speakers from 2001 ABS Census (when available).

This comes with a map which shows the location where the language is spoken (marked in red).

In the next development of AUSTLANG, the data from *OZBIB: a linguistic bibliography of Aboriginal Australia and the Torres Strait Islands* (Carrington & Triffitt 1999) will be added. This will allow AUSTLANG to provide information about publications and theses available on each language. New references or references which

are not in OZBIB can be added to the OZBIB data by an 'Add reference' function, allowing continuous update of OZBIB. AUSTLANG will also be linked to the AIATSIS library catalogue, MURA. Users will be able to conduct the library catalogue search from the language profile page.

AUSTLANG has great potential for development and expansion—many more functions, data and linkages can be added. A zooming function on maps is highly desirable. The maps should contain Indigenous place names so that users can do search by Indigenous place names. More information on each language, such as a brief language description would consolidate the language profile page.

On the other hand, some of the data needs to be updated. The current information on documentation is drawn from limited resources and requires comprehensive research in order to provide more accurate, updated information. This is work for the future work, which is subject to the availability of funding and resources. AUSTLANG can be found on *http://austlang.aiatsis.gov.au/.*

Figure C.4: Language profile on AUSTLANG

Appendix D FATSIL report on the process of NILS data collection

D.1   Background

During the course of NILS, which ran from June to the end of August 2004, 317 organisations and 264 individuals were personally contacted by FATSIL to inform them of the survey and request their participation. Information was then collected in the following ways:

- Individual completing survey on paper
- Individual completing survey via the Internet
- Face to face interview with FATSIL representative
- Face to face group meeting with FATSIL representative
- Telephone interview

The method chosen was determined by the needs of the participants.

Around the country, participation in the survey was encouraged in different ways as directed by language workers, language committees, language centres and FATSIL delegates in each region. This flexible but coordinated approach was required to meet the needs of the various people/regions around the country.

The approach used by FATSIL was to encourage and support organisation/individuals to participate effectively. Initially, key people and organisations were contacted in each state for their opinion on how information should be collected in their region. This initial advice provided a starting point to determine how information about the survey was distributed and data collected in each region.

The amount of information collected during the short time available was due primarily to the commitment of workers in their regions and their ability to dedicate time to encouraging participation in the survey at very short notice.

The following pages outline:

1. How the information was collected in each state;

2. Comments received from community members/organisations;

3. Comments on the survey form;

4. Comments and issues from NILS workers; and

5. Possible omissions to be considered in the future.

D.2   Information collection by state/territory

D.2.1   Queensland

In Queensland, each of the Regional Language Maintenance Committees and FATSIL delegates were contacted and asked to provide the names of appropriate individuals within their region who could contribute data to the survey and with whom FATSIL workers would therefore make contact.

FATSIL, AIATSIS and DCITA made a presentation on the NILS at the Queensland State Languages Conference which was held in Townsville in June 2004. Those attending had the opportunity to discuss the project and were invited to participate. Many did so either at the meeting or afterwards.

NILS project workers traveled to a number of community meetings around the state to collect survey information as requested by local communities.

D.2.2   South Australia

In South Australia, contact was made with the state language centre which provided statewide information. Contacts for

regional programs and a list of individual contacts were also provided, so that these people could be approached directly.

The details of schools programs was sought from the SA Department of Education who recommended that each of the schools programs be contacted directly, to be informed of the survey and invited to participate.

The language centre invited a NILS worker to South Australia to meet with community members and committee members to encourage participation in the survey, and collect information.

D.2.3   Victoria

The state's language centre requested that NILS project workers contact each of the language projects in the state for their participation.

The language centre made contact with other groups and organisations around Victoria to support their participation. If the contacted individuals were unable to complete the survey on behalf of their language group, the language centre offered to complete it on their behalf.

The language centre invited a NILS worker to Victoria to meet with community members and committee members to encourage participation in the survey, and collect information.

D.2.4   New South Wales

A meeting with key representatives from around the state was held with the support of the state language centre. At the meeting, the survey was completed by those in attendance and a list of contacts around the state was drafted.

NILS project staff were requested to contact each of those people on the list and support their participation. New contacts were added to this list as workers were made aware of gaps and oversights.

NILS project workers attended community meetings, as requested, to work with those in attendance to complete the survey.

D.2.5   Western Australia

In Western Australia, each of the major language centres were contacted and it was agreed that

they would be in the best position to provide the information for their regions. In the Noongar language region, where there is no organisation at present, FATSIL delegates provided the names of individuals so the information for that region could be collected.

As the survey progressed, a number of language centres recommended that FATSIL make direct contact with some of the school programs and other individuals in their regions so that they could provide further detail about their programs and needs.

Two state language meetings were planned to coincide with the information collection. A number of organisations were waiting for these meetings to get their members and key individuals to participate. Unfortunately, the meetings were delayed and did not fall within the data-collection timeframe. This change in plans meant a last minute rush to provide information for the survey for some of the WA organisations. Sadly, two of the organisations were not able to provide information about their region within the timeframe.

D.2.6   Tasmania

The state's language centre was contacted but declined participation, stating that the information being collected in the survey had been provided to ATSIS through their twice-yearly reports to ATSIS over the past ten years. No additional contacts were provided, and a meeting in Tasmania was considered unnecessary.

D.2.7   Northern Territory

In Northern Territory, each of the major language centres were contacted and said that they would be in the best position to provide the information for their regions.

Contact was made with Batchelor Institute, Aboriginal Interpreters Service and the NT Department of Education (School Projects), who distributed the information through their networks.

NILS workers were invited to attend the annual Batchelor Institute staff-planning week, held in Alice Springs, but unfortunately this fell outside the data collection deadline.

D.2.8   Nationwide

Each of the organisations and committees listed in the contacts database were contacted about the survey. An email was also sent to all those individuals listed in the database encouraging their participation.

FATSIL prepared a press release for the NILS which resulted in over 20 radio broadcast interviews being conducted around Australia during the months of June to August. The broadcasters included mainstream and Indigenous services, ABC radio and local regional services.

D.3   Comments from community members and organisations on NILS

D.3.1   Initial response to announcement of the NILS

The response to the survey from around the country was diverse.

In the vast majority of cases, people were pleased to hear that the survey was being undertaken and to be invited to contribute. People appreciated being consulted in the initial stages about how the survey should best be conducted in their region, and who were important people to contact. The individuals who were asked to complete the survey were pleased that their knowledge and expertise was recognised and appreciated.

Many people and organisations had never participated in a language survey before, and were pleased to be asked to be involved.

In those instances where people did express concerns, they were for the following reasons:

- A number of organisations were at first hesitant due to their existing workload and ability to provide accurate information on each of the languages they represent within the short time frame. This difficulty was overcome with the offer of one-on-one assistance in completing the survey and the assurance that the amount of data to be contributed was at the discretion of the person contributing information.

- Concern was expressed from people who have been involved in language work and other indigenous programs, that information is often collected with no feedback or positive benefits to the community who provided the information. FATSIL project workers were given information to help discuss these concerns and explain to community members how the information would eventually be used to benefit their programs.

- There were a small number of regions in which people had been recently surveyed and did not want to participate again.

- Community members commented that often people are wary of academic reports and of the information collection process (eg someone from outside the community visiting collecting information and then leaving again). This is a similar concern to the second point listed above, and prompted a discussion on respect and Intellectual Property concerns, and the need for statistics to support policy development.

D.3.2   Comments regarding the survey form

There were issues with timing in that the survey coincided with a number of organisations having to go through a process of providing additional reports to ATSIS/DCITA. On occasion, NILS project workers found organisations who wanted to participate but had difficulty doing so due to the fact that they were unusually insecure about their ongoing funding and the continuation of their programs.

There was also a strong level of recognition that this information is an important tool for use in lobbying for ongoing and increased support for language programs at all levels of government.

Many people objected to the length of the survey. People asked if there was a shorter version that they could complete.

People wanted to know the intention behind the questions so that they could be clear about the way their questions would be interpreted.

There was a degree of suspicion expressed regarding the outcomes of the survey. Concern was raised that no matter what information was provided, that it could be used in inappropriate ways, or influenced by the writers of the report, the commissioning body or the broader government.

Many of the Indigenous TV and radio broadcasters around the country expressed an interest in participating. Unfortunately, once they viewed the survey, some reported that the questions were not very relevant to them. This was also a comment that came from other types of organisations. There was a general complaint that the questions were repetitive and that the choice of questions did not encourage people to give the information that they would like to be hearing from other people.

Some concern was raised that the questions in the survey did not enable people to express the depth of feeling communities have for language and the importance of language work in their region.

D.4   Comments and issues from NILS workers

The initial concerns meant that the NILS project workers spent a great deal of time building up a relationship with the participants in order to gain their trust and to reassure them that the information would be used appropriately and flow back to the community for use at the regional level.

It was usually necessary to contact individuals multiple times before gaining participation.

There were a number of instances when the project workers reported that there was not the time within the project to build a sufficient relationship for an adequate level of information to be collected. In areas where this was common, this information has been passed on to the local language management bodies so that they can take this into account in the design of future projects.

There was a general consensus among the project workers that a shorter

simpler structure would have been much easier to get people to complete.

There were opportunities for organisations to have the survey on stalls at large regional events, so that community members could participate, and also to encourage local discussion about language. However, once the organisations viewed the survey, it was considered inappropriate for completion at these events due to the NILS length and complexity.

We received a few surveys back where people had only completed a few pages of the survey before stopping (for example, people who completed their personal details, language and then stopped).

Survey project workers commented that people expressed their gratitude at being able to go through the survey with someone (either on the phone or in person). These participants felt doing it on their own would have been more difficult. They added that they would have contributed much less information. A number of people called to go through the survey with someone after making an attempt to do it themselves either online or on paper.

D.4.1   Further comments from community members not included in NILS

The comments included below were recorded by project workers during the survey process. However, we have not had confirmation that they have been included in the survey.

- A well-respected community member in NSW commented at a meeting at Tranby that a Language may have a very low number of speakers or only speakers with partial knowledge and fluency in their language. However, the same language may also have a high number of community members who are actively and passionately involved in relearning their language. That is, there can be a very high level of activity of language work, even/especially associated with languages which have few/no full speakers. These languages/programs need support and funding as much as languages which have higher numbers of full speakers.

Furthermore, people whose languages have been profoundly affected by colonisation and whose first and dominant language is a variety of Australian English, often under-report their knowledge of their ancestral languages. Often they use language words in their daily speech, which people all around them in their community also use, and so are not conscious of the fact that they are language words. Some people know more because they have been involved in language revitalisation programs. But every Aboriginal person in NSW has some degree of knowledge of his or her traditional language, which needs to be fostered and built on.

- There were also comments from people who have worked on their language programs for years without any ATSIS support for the initiative. This made people reluctant to take the time to complete the survey. Others suggested that they could not see the point in filling in NILS as they did not believe anything would come of it.

Although these people did not want to complete the survey, they will continue working on their language because they feel it is important. They all agreed that language work should be better supported.

D.5   Possible gaps

There was cases where the regional organisation committed to gathering the data in their region but were unable to do so within the project timeframe, due to other pressures on their time eg. Yamaji Language Centre.

There was also regions where there have been centres or committees in the past but they no longer receive funding and thus there is no central way to contact language groups in those regions, for example, the Noongar Language Centre, WA and Miwatj Language Management Committee, NT.

In these regions, attempts were made to contact individuals who had knowledge of the region that made them able to complete the survey or able to contact people in the region to support

their participation. In particular, Arnhem Land and the Cape York were two regions in which there may be gaps in the information gathered.

There were also regions where it was acknowledged that there has never been a coordinating body for language work, or it does not have the resources to adequately support the whole region (eg region 2 Queensland). In these regions, information collection is more difficult as there is not a history of project support. We have attempted to fill these gaps by providing additional support to those areas, as requested.

D.6   Summary

In summary, NILS workers and participants felt that the survey was a worthwhile process and a means through which they could provide information to government about the work they are doing, including their needs and successes.

Being flexible about how people could participate was essential to gaining a high level of input from diverse groups. Having a simpler form of survey (still flexible enough to be used nationally) would make it easier to gain participation and make participants more comfortable with the process.

It was strongly reported that people want feedback from the survey in a form that can be understood by community members and used regionally as a tool to encourage support for local programs.

Appendix E Language case studies

E.1 Jaru animal and plants project

By Janelle White

The 'Jaru Animal and Plants Project', is a community language project aimed at the sustainability of language and traditional ecological knowledge in the East Kimberley, W.A.

I've come to the Kimberley Language Resource Centre (KLRC) to work on a project with Elders of the Jaru language group. We're putting together a book on animals and plants found in Jaru country, collecting the names and traditional uses of all sorts of bush tucker in and around Halls Creek. I'm working alongside a lovely, lively mob of people, all intent on keeping their language alive and meaningful for their children and grandchildren, as a key aspect of defining and caring for Country.

Project participant, Bonnie Deegan, explains: 'the project is important so the children can learn and the names of the plants and animals don't disappear altogether, for the young generation to carry it on and on.'

The Elders, their relatives and friends are keen to see their country properly cared for and hope to provide the young people who have been brought up in town with a chance to re-connect with the land, their language and culture. They are working on a book and taking their children out bush in the hope of encouraging them to become more self-sufficient, to increase their pride, dignity and self-esteem and to help them avoid the culture of violence and social decline now found in town.

Elder Barbara Sturt explains:

> Sometime I feel in my heart I feel inside I'm sad... the things that're happening in town. We try to bring our young children out here and tell them story, to learn them a bit of bush life. To bring back the memories of what we done and our family, our grandparents and our ancestors.

Barbara grew up on Old Flora Valley Cattle Station where her father was a stockman. Bush tucker was a major part of everyday life, supplementing station rations and providing important nourishment. Since her family was forced off the land in the 1960s she has made regular trips back to the country she recognises as home, to introduce her children to their heritage.

Bonnie said:

> It was one of my dreams to learn to speak my language again.

She was taken away from her mother at age five and brought up in an orphanage in Broome, (a coastal settlement approximately 1000km west of Halls Creek). At the time she lived with her people on Margaret River Station, she spoke her native tongue, Jaru, and Kriol, but she soon lost her language knowledge when she went to school.

Bonnie recalled:

> Nobody ever spoke their language in school. That's how I lost my language

She has since studied how to speak, read and write her own language and actively supports language projects and activities run at the KLRC.

> This (plants and animals) project is important so the children can learn and so the language doesn't disappear altogether. I think it's really and truly important that we shouldn't lose all our knowledge about all these animals and plants and that the new generation of children should learn.

E.2   Gamilaraay/Yuwaalaraay Guwaaldanha Ngiyani

'We are Speaking Gamilaraay/Yuwaalaraay' is the latest in a range of publications (a book and CD) by the Walgett Gamilaraay/ Yuwaalaraay Language Program and is a

response by the project team to the growing interest in language in their area. The book and CD provide a simple way for anyone to learn 100 Gamilaraay/Yuwaalaraay words.

The book is designed to be read while listening to the CD, and has interesting photographs and lively illustrations by Aboriginal artist Warren Mason from Goodooga. To ensure authenticity in pronunciation, the CD contains words spoken by Fred Reece and Arthur Dodd that were recorded in the 1970s.

The Gamilaraay/Yuwaalaraay language is now being taught at Walgett primary and high schools, St. Joseph's Convent Walgett and at a number of other schools in the Gamilaraay area.

The benefits for the students involved have been increased self-esteem, a stronger sense of identity and belonging, an increase in learning skills and a sense of pride and ownership.

The language area extends from Walgett in the west to Tamworth in the east and from Moree and Boggabilla in the north, down to Coonabarabran.

E.3   The Kokoberrin and their languages

The Kokoberrin are the people of the Inkerman Station area, between and a bit beyond the Nassau and Staaten Rivers, in Western Cape York Peninsula, QLD. Today, they are mainly found in Kowanyama and Normanton, but also in some other North Queensland communities. Kokoberrin means 'true language of the land' or Kokoberrin homeland.

In this area of North Queensland, it seems typical for the older people who still speak Aboriginal languages to speak several of them, not just one: multilingualism is the norm, not the exception. So too the Kokoberrin have been using several different languages. The Kokoberrin have been active in promoting their lifestyle and culture in many ways.

In 1998, they recorded their first music CD, 'Songs of the Kokoberrin'. This compilation was produced at Tarrch Menang in Kowanyama and

formed the basis for a new way of maintaining language for the people of Kowanyama. The recording was done on country, with recording equipment set up outside. This was a special event for the 15 singers involved, who were pleased to be recording their traditional songs in a traditional context.

The CD has been a source of pride for the Kowanyama people. In 2000, the Kokoberrin began to focus more on the arts and craft and began to work on the development of their arts and a cultural centre. The Kokoberrin Arts and Cultural Centre has become a hub for protecting and promoting art and craft. It is building strong relationships with galleries and the emerging Cape York art movement.

The centre's first show was held in Cairns in 2000, at the Cairns Regional Art Gallery. This opened the door for traditional Elders and young Kokoberrin artists to showcase their work in a professional art space, and to incorporate their language as part of the display. The exhibition was solely curated by Kokoberrin people. This included sourcing of funds and administration. Their next exhibition was staged at the Cairns Hilton Hotel in 2002. This show was named 'Ngerr Werr Kung', meaning 'old days stories'. The works presented a visual overview of language and traditional weapons including the *Pam a korum* silk batiks.

E.4   Yung-a undee Gunggari, Unyah Dhagul Yugambeh—A first for the Queensland Museum

An exhibition opened in July 2002, at the Queensland Museum featuring the Gunggari and Yugambeh languages of southern Queensland, with photographic images highlighting the link between country and language. This was the first Indigenous languages exhibition ever to be held at the Queensland Museum, and reflected the work of both communities through Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Languages Initiatives Program (ATSILIP) funded projects.

The senior curator of Aboriginal Studies at the Queensland Museum, Olivia Robinson said:

The Queensland Museum is thrilled to support the efforts of the Yugambeh and Gunggari people in *Yung-a undee Gunggari, Unyah Dhagul Yugambeh, Our Country—our language* as a major contribution in our Community Access exhibition program.

Indigenous languages are alive in communities throughout Queensland. For many Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people, it is their traditional language that defines their Aboriginality, their individuality, and for many, the connection they have to country.

Running for a seven week period, including school holidays, the exhibition seen by an estimated 30, 000 or more visitors.

E.5 Ngadlu wanggadja Narungga wara 'We are speaking Narungga language'

Edited from the *Language of the Month* in FATSIL Newsletter Volume14.

At a community meeting held on November 30, 2001, Narungga people made speeches in Narungga language for the first time in many decades.

The historic nature of this event made it important that it should be held on Narungga land—Yorke Peninsula, South Australia. The meeting, which will stand as an important landmark in the restoration of the language, was organised by the Narungga Aboriginal Progress Association (NAPA) in order to launch their seven-month old Language Reclamation Project in the general Narungga community. A second presentation was given in Adelaide (Kaurna land), to ensure that the event was made available to Narungga people who are not currently living on their heritage land.

Phoebe Wanganeen, one of the most senior elders of the Narungga nation, had thought that the language would not be spoken again in her lifetime. Being able to formally open this meeting in language was powerful evidence to her that Narungga culture would be retained and the language restored to its people. A week later, she was invited to open a community festival day—which she was also able to do in language.

The Narungga people were removed in the 1860s to a small area of Yorke Peninsula now known as Point Pearce, where a mission was set up by the Moravian church. This was largely at the instigation of settler businessmen, for the purpose of 'civilisation and evangelisation of the Aborigines'. The mission was maintained until it was taken over by the government in 1915.

Point Pearce continued as an Aboriginal reserve until 1972, when its management was finally relinquished into the hands of its Indigenous residents. From the beginning of this institutionalisation, the loss of Narungga as an everyday spoken language was rapid.

A number of factors contributed to this. Formal education was in English, as were religious activities sanctioned by the mission. Institutionalised people from other Indigenous nations were also brought to live at Point Pearce, resulting in a mix of languages and marriage arrangements very different from that of earlier times.

It appears that quite early on, several key Narungga elders made a conscious decision to stop passing on their language and culture knowledge, as a way of refusing to be fully controlled and owned by the white authorities (Mattingley et al 1992).

Although some people did work with white researchers to have their language recorded in writing for the future, even this petered out by 1900. The well-known wordlist by Louisa Eglinton, published by Norman Tindale in 1936 (Tindale 1936), was no more than a re-editing of an earlier list that she and her settler husband had made with James H. Johnson more than thirty years before.

Despite this bleak scenario, Narungga descendants did manage to keep knowledge of the language alive. Elders such as Gladys Elphick, Phoebe Wanganeen, Doris Graham, Eileen Jovic and others maintained the knowledge of around 200 words and a very few idiomatic phrases.

The eighties saw a surge of activity by the community towards reclaiming Narungga Language, and formally teaching it to the

children at Point Pearce school. The Eglintons' list was reproduced as part of the 1987 book, *Point Pearce: Past and Present* by Eileen Wanganeen with the Narungga Community College (Wanganeen 1987).

In a program coordinated by Lizzie Newchurch, a number of wordlists, including the Eglintons' as well as lists drawn up by contemporary members of the community, were collected together and published, along with teaching aids such as photographs and a cassette tape.

In theory, the publications of this phase released around 700 words to general access, but in practice the number of words taught did not increase beyond the 200 or so maintained by the elders—and the words remained for the most part as single words, the crucial structures for recombining them into new sentences was still lacking. Speaking Narungga at that time was a matter of interspersing language words while speaking English.

It is from this base that NAPA commenced their language project. The vision of Project Manager Lesley Wanganeen was to restore the language to a level where it could be used independently, for speeches, stories, conversations and written language. She aimed to provide resources whereby children could claim their language heritage, and to make the language available to all Narungga people and their descendants.

Michael and Lesley Wanganeen set up a Reference Group comprised of key Narungga people and informed non-Narungga to direct the project, and employed a linguist, Christina Eira, as a primary researcher.

In the first seven months of the project, a comprehensive search incorporating the knowledge of Narungga elders with over 200 sources enshrined in museums and libraries across Australia yielded around 1000 words and phrases. From there followed a careful analysis of all the materials found, to reconstruct the grammar of the language. This is now being used to restore the knowledge of how to use the words, to create sentences, narratives, songs etc.

It is now clear that a great deal of language has been left unrecorded and untransmitted.

This project is proving to be of very major significance for two reasons. The first is that all the words found will be accessible to use, because for the first time the many discrepancies and errors in the old documents are being reconciled and corrected, by comparison with other words and with related languages.

The second reason why this program had such a major impact, is that these sources contain a great deal more grammatical information than it was previously known had existed.

Moreover, it is now possible to fill in some of the grammatical gaps where words were not recorded, by applying the same language patterns that can be seen in the words we do have.

What all of this means is that it is becoming possible again, as demonstrated by the speeches of elders at the historic community meeting, to speak Narungga—not just single words, but fluent language.

E.6   'Text and art—where is it?'

'Text and art—where is it?', is an installation of plant and fibrous material from Angeldool and Lightning Ridge by Gamillaroi artist Mayrah Dreise. This was a highlight of the *Text and Art, Where is it?* exhibition, that was held in Brisbane in 2003.

Language is multifaceted and almost dimensionless. Language as social control, symbolic language and the cryptic nature of language are three areas where artist Mayrah Dreise has exposed and scrutinised language through her art.

Mayrah's work and that of countryman Archie Moore were featured in the recent exhibition which was held at the Brisbane Black Peppers Gallery.

Archie's work focused on a series of translations to mimic language change and morphology, with words enlarged from dictionaries and transposed to bold wall displays. The exhibition was curated for Black Peppers by Jarren Borghero.

E.7 Dual naming and Indigenous-language place names: international and in Australia

Discussion at Helsinki in 1990, between Australian and Canadian naming authorities, led to Canada's decision to adopt the following dual naming principles:

- the principle of dual/alternate naming be accepted in the aboriginal context, except in the case of populated areas;

- the status of each name in the dual/alternate context be clearly specified;

- the use of dual and/or alternate names be given further consideration especially in the context of use of the English generic—either as an additional or as a replacement for the Aboriginal generic—and possible orthographic adaptations of the name; and

- gazetteers incorporating aboriginal names should always cross reference dual and/or alternate names.

On 23 August 1993, the United Nations' Working Group on Indigenous Populations produced its final Draft Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples. Article 14, of the draft declaration, concerned with naming and other rights, provides:

- Indigenous peoples have the right to revitalise, use, develop and transmit to future generations their histories, languages, oral traditions, philosophies, writing systems and literatures, and

- to designate and retain their own names for communities, places and persons.

Before European colonisation, the whole of Australia was mapped by a network of place names in Indigenous languages. In the past couple of centuries, this intricate network has been overlaid by an introduced system of place naming, and the traditional names supplanted.

Some vestiges remain within the introduced system, but they have been imported without consultation with the users, and are accompanied by mutilation of their forms, misunderstanding of their application, disinterest in their meaning and the loss of the associated stories.

Only within the past couple of decades has there been an interest in going some way to redress this situation. Several initiatives have been looked at including:

- assigning long-standing Indigenous names —in the correct form and attached to the correct feature—as official place names;

- allowing dual naming of significant landscape features whose traditional names have been overlaid by European imports; and

- renaming features whose introduced names are offensive to Indigenous people.

At the Fifth United Nations Conference on the Standardisation of Geographical Names held in Montreal in Canada in 1986, proposals on the recording and use of traditional Aboriginal place names were presented by Australia and Canada, and the following resolution was adopted:

The Conference,

Aware that groups of aboriginal/native people exist in many countries throughout the world,

Also aware that these groups have their own languages, cultures and traditions,

Recognizing that the geographical names of these groups are a significant part of the toponymic traditions of every area or country in which they live,

Recognizing also that aboriginal/native people have an inherent interest in having their geographical nomenclature recognised as important:

1. **Recommends** that all countries having groups of aboriginal/native people make a special effort to collect their geographical names along with other appropriate information;

2. **Recommends also** that, whenever possible and appropriate, a written form of those names be adopted for official use on maps or other publications;

3. **Recommends further** that regional and international meetings be held to discuss the methodology for collecting and recording aboriginal/native geographical names.

In 1992, the Committee for Geographical Names in Australasia, an umbrella body for all Australian nomenclature authorities, agreed on a set of Guidelines for the Recording and Use of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Placenames. Updated in 2001, the document is posted on the website of the Intergovernmental Committee for Surveying and Mapping, www.icsm.gov.au.

In 1994, the United Nations' Working Group on Indigenous Populations produced its final Draft Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples. Article 14, concerned with naming and other rights, provides that:

> Indigenous peoples have the right to revitalise, use, develop and transmit to future generations their histories, languages, oral traditions, philosophies, writing systems and literatures, and to designate and retain their own names for communities, places and persons.

South Australia has been the most pro-active of the Australian states and territories in this area. In 1991, it adopted a formal policy whereby important landmarks are given both European and Aboriginal names.

In the case of the Flinders Ranges, Adnyamathanha names have been adopted where a feature did not have a European name, existing names have been corrected, and dual naming has been introduced, as for example Ngarutjaranya/Mount Woodroffe. In March 2000, Adelaide's main watercourse was dual named as the River Torrens/Karrawirra Parri in a gesture of respect to the local Kaurna people.

Unlike South Australia, the Northern Territory has no formal policy to ensure that dual names are used, but according to the Northern Territory's 1993 Rules of Nomenclature, dual naming may be used for a topographic feature where no official or recorded name exists and where a name change is not possible or acceptable.

Examples of dual naming arising out of the *Aboriginal Lands Rights (Northern Territory) Act 1976* include Nitmiluk (Katherine Gorge) National Park, and Gurig (Cobourg Peninsula) National Park. Sites of great significance to

Aboriginal people were first dual named as Ayers Rock/Uluru and Mount Olga/Kata Tjuta in 1993; in 2002 they officially became Uluru/Ayers Rock and Kata Tjuta/Mount Olga.

In Victoria, place naming is devolved to local authorities, with the guideline that where a feature has an existing European name that has been in common use for a long period of time, dual naming should be considered as an appropriate mechanism to recognise both Indigenous and European cultures. The state's land department has produced a brochure *Naming Victoria's Landscape: Respect and Recognition of Indigenous Culture* to publicise the importance of Aboriginal names and the requirements for submitting a naming proposal.

In New South Wales, dual naming has been possible since June 2001. The first features to be dual named were Dawes Point/Ta-ra in October 2002, South Creek/Wianamatta in March 2003, and a group of twenty features on Sydney Harbour in January 2005. Several more proposals are in the pipeline.

The NSW Aboriginal Languages Research and Resource Centre, funded by the NSW Department of Aboriginal Affairs (DAA), is involved, along with the NSW/ACT Committee of the Australian National Placenames Survey and the NSW Geographical Names Board, in a project to increase the number of Aboriginal place names available for dual naming. The DAA has also funded a project for members of the Asia-Pacific Institute for Toponymy at Macquarie University to work with Aboriginal communities to record Aboriginal place names state-wide.

A policy of dual naming is also being proposed in the ACT, but at present there are no such initiatives in Queensland, Tasmania and Western Australia.

At the Eighth United Nations Conference on the Standardization of Geographical Names held in Berlin in 2002, Australia took the lead in offering to prepare a report, which is to be presented in 2007 at the Ninth United Nations Conference

on the Standardization of Geographical Names, on the promotion of minority group and Indigenous geographical names by nomenclature authorities throughout the world.

In connection with this undertaking, Bill Watt of the SA Geographical Names Advisory Committee (who has been involved in this area since 1985) and Greg Windsor of the NSW Geographical Names Board recently took part in an international conference on minority names/Indigenous names and multilingual areas held in the Netherlands and spoke about the various Australian initiatives.

E.8   School is deadly for Noongar students

Article from The West Australian newspaper, June 2003.

Aboriginal students in Perth's eastern suburbs cannot wait to get to school since the gates of Moorditj Noongar Community College opened in 2001. The Middle Swan Primary School is the only WA Department of Education school that has been purpose-built in the metropolitan area, with an Aboriginal vision.

With 140 students from kindergarten to Year 5, acting deputy principal Barbara Clayton said the Moorditj Noongar was working toward having a Year 7 class in 2005. Three school buses collect students from their homes in suburbs such as Midland, High Wycombe, Beechboro, Maylands and Bellevue.

Ms Clayton said attendance had improved dramatically among students who transferred from mainstream schools, along with literacy and numeracy.

Nyoongar language played a big part in the curriculum and gave both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal students a sense of pride.

'They love it when they can go home and sing a song to their parents and their parents say the kids know more language than they do,' Ms Clayton said.

E.9   Goldfields interpreters assist vital services

From the FATSIL Newsletter, Volume 15, 2000.

Wangkanyi Ngurra Tjurta Aboriginal Language Centre in Kalgoorlie, WA has undertaken projects aimed at breaking down communication barriers within the Goldfields community. The centre has offered a course in translation and interpretation which has been funded by the WA Ministry of Justice.

Language centre coordinator Sharon Hume, says the course instruction in Wongatha and Ngaanyatjarra, is designed to help people communicate in a broad range of areas, including the justice, medical, education and welfare fields.

She says breaking down language barriers in the legal system was very important, due to the fact that English is not Aboriginal people's first language and it is difficult for many to understand the complicated proceedings.

Appendix F NILS endangerment and absolute number results

In the framing of NILS questions the responses to survey Questions 7 and 8 on proficiency and use were the following:

Question 7—'How well do the following age groups speak and understand the language?' ('How well speak?')

- 0—Don't speak or understand

- 1—Understand some, speak some

- 2—Understand well, speak some

- 3—Understand well, speak fluently

Question 8—'How often do these age groups use the language?' ('How often speak?')

- 0—Not at all

- 1—On special occasions

- 2—Few times a week

- 3—Some words a day

- 4—Often

- 5—All day, most days

Table F.1 below shows the language group of NILS respondents and their answers to NILS Questions 7 and 8 ('How well speak?' and 'How often used').

Table F.1: NILS proficiency and use responses with age of speakers

NB: Where no response was provided a grade will not appear (ie blank cell).

(?) in the 'Language name' or 'Respondent's spelling' column indicates there may be some uncertainty over the language being referred to.

How well spoken

0—Don't speak or understand
1—Understand some, speak some
2—Understand well, speak some
3—Understand well, speak fluently

How often spoken

0—Not at all
1—On special occasions
2—Few times a week
3—Some words a day
4—Often
5—All day, most days

Language name	Respondent's spelling	How well spoken				How often spoken				NILS reference number (admin only)
		0–19 years	20–39 years	40–59 years	60 + years	0–19 years	20–39 years	40–59 years	60 + years	
Aboriginal English	Aboriginal English									268
Adnyamathanha										251
Adnyamathanha										273
Adnyamathanha		1	2	3	3	2	3	4	5	68
Adnyamathanha	Wailpi									263
Alawa		0	1	1	3	0	0	1	3	4
Alawa			1	1						119
Alyawarr										44
Alyawarr	Alyawarr	2	2	3	3	4	5	5	5	52
Anindilyakwa		3	3	3	3					275
Anmatyerre	Anmatyerr	2	2	3	3	4	4	5	5	52
Antakirinya										273
Antakirinya	Antikirinya									251
Arabana										274
Arabana	Arabunna									210
Arabana	Arabunna									251
Arabana	Arrabunna									202
Arrernte	Eastern/Central Arrernte	3	3	3	3	5	5	5	5	278

Table F.1: NILS proficiency and use responses with age of speakers (continued)

Language name	Respondent's spelling	How well spoken				How often spoken				NILS reference number (admin only)
		0–19 years	20–39 years	40–59 years	60 + years	0–19 years	20–39 years	40–59 years	60 + years	
Arrernte	Aranda (Arrente)	1	1	1	2	1	2	2	3	251
Badimaya										27
Bangerang (Yorta Yorta?)	Bangerang	1	1	1	1	3	3	3	3	213
Banyjima	Banyjima									243
Banyjima	Banyjima									244
Baraba Baraba										214
Bardi		0	0	1	3	0	0	1	4	17
Bardi										162
Barranbinya		0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	175
Bedaruwidj	Portaruwutji			1						262
Bilinarra					1				1	120
Bilinarra										13
Binbinga										140
Biri	birra gabba	1	1	1	1	3	3	3	3	60
Birladapa	Pilataka (Pilatapa)									261
Biyalgeyi	biyay	1	1	1	1	3	3	3	3	75
Boonwurrung										214
Broken/Torres Strait Creole										232
Broken/Torres Strait Creole	Torres Strait Creole	3	3	3	3	5	5	5	5	107
Broken/Torres Strait Creole	Torres Strait Creole	3	3	3	3	5	5	5	5	67
Buandig	Boandik									251
Bundhamara	Bunthamurra									103
Bundjalung	Wahlubal-Bundjalung	0	0	0		3	3	3	3	113
Butchalla	Butchulla	2	1	1	2	5	3	2	3	20
Butchalla	Butchulla	1	1	1	1	3	3	3	3	221
Dadi Dadi / Dardi Dardi										215

NILS RESULTS

Table F.1: NILS proficiency and use responses with age of speakers (continued)

Language name	Respondent's spelling	How well spoken				How often spoken				NILS reference number (admin only)
		0–19 years	20–39 years	40–59 years	60 + years	0–19 years	20–39 years	40–59 years	60 + years	
Dagoman										141
Dagoman										142
Dalabon			1						1	121
Danggali										254
Daruk	Dharug							1		172
Daruk	Danuk			1				1		186
Daungwurrung	Taungurung									24
Dhangatti	Dhunghatti			1				4		185
Dharawal	Tharawal or Turrawal	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	39
Dharawal	Tharawal or Turrawal	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	40
Dharawal	Tharawal or Turrawal	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	41
Dharawal	Dharwal	1	1	1	1	3	3	3	3	179
Dharawal	Tharawal	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	171
Dharawal	Tharawal	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	174
Dhauwurd wurrung (?)(not in ILDB)	Dhauwurd wurrung									224
Dhauwurd wurrung(?) (not in ILDB)	Dhauwurd wurrung									224
Dhirari	Tirari									262
Dhuduroa / Dhudhuruwa	Dhudhuroa	0	1	1	0	0	2	2	0	5
Diirru (not in ILDB)	Diirru									188
Diyari	Dieri									254
Djabwurrung										225
Djadja wurrung										233
Djargurd wurrung (not in ILDB)	Djargurd wurrung									237
Djiru / Dyiru	Djirru	0	0	0		0	0	3	3	76
Djiru / Dyiru	Djirru									87
Djuban?	Tjuran	1	1	1	2	1	2	3	3	65

Table F.1: NILS proficiency and use responses with age of speakers (continued)

Language name	Respondent's spelling	How well spoken				How often spoken				NILS reference number (admin only)
		0–19 years	20–39 years	40–59 years	60 + years	0–19 years	20–39 years	40–59 years	60 + years	
Dyirbal	Jirrbal	1	2	2	3					69
Gai wurrung (not in ILDB)	Gai wurrung									224
Gajerrong										143
Gamberre		1	1	1	1	4	4	4	4	160
Gamilaraay		0	0	0	1	0	0	1	2	2
Gamilaraay						2	1	2	3	26
Gamilaraay		2	0	1	1	4	1	3	2	47
Gamilaraay		1	1	1	1	3	1	2	2	50
Gamilaraay	As above	0	1	0	1	1	4	1	2	55
Gamilaraay	Gumiliraay	2	1	1	1	2	2	2	2	59
Gamilaraay	Kamillaroy	1	1	1	1					222
Ganggalidda	Ganggalida	0	0	1	2	0	0	1	2	8
Ganggalidda	Ganggalida	1	2	3	3	3	3	5	5	86
Garanguru	Karanduru (Karanguru)									255
Garrwa		1			2					144
Garrwa	Garrawa	3	3	3	3	4	5	5	5	23
Garrwa	Gawara Language	3	3	3	3	4	4	5	5	82
Garrwa	Garrawa	1	3	3	3	3	5	5	5	269
Garuwali	Karuwali									255
Garuwali	Maiwali & Karuwali	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	187
Gayiri	Kairi	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	96
Gayiri	Kairi (sic) & Wealwandangee (sic)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	191
Giraiwurung	Giraiwurung / Girrea / Kirrae Whurrong									227
Girramay		2	3	3	3	4	4	4	4	81

Table F.1: NILS proficiency and use responses with age of speakers (continued)

Language name	Respondent's spelling	How well spoken				How often spoken				NILS reference number (admin only)
		0–19 years	20–39 years	40–59 years	60+ years	0–19 years	20–39 years	40–59 years	60+ years	
Gooniyandi										161
Gooreng Gooreng	Gurang Gurang				1					272
Gubbi Gubbi	Kabi Kabi	1	1	1	1	3	3	3	3	110
Gudyal		0	0	0	0	5	5	5	5	62
Gugu Badhun		1	1	1	1	3	3	3	3	83
Gugu Badhun		1	1	1	1	3	3	3	3	190
Gugu Wakura	Wakura	1	1	1	1	3	3	3	3	1
Gugu Yau	Kuuku Ya'u	0	0	2	3	0	0	1	3	95
Gulidjan (not in ILDB)	Gulidjan									231
Gumbaynggir		1	0	1	1	1	1	1	2	3
Gumbaynggir	Gumbaingry				1				1	181
Gumbaynggir	Gumbaynggirr	1	1	1	0	3	3	3	3	115
Gunwinggu	Kunwinjku									124
Gupapuyngu		3	3	3	3	5	5	5	5	277
Gurdanji										146
Gurindji										122
Gurngubanud (Not in ILDB)	Gurngubanud									224
Guugu Yimidhirr		2	3	3	3	4	5	5	5	168
Jaminjung										147
Jardwadjali										234
Jaru										148
Jaru										162
Jauranworka (not in ILDB)	Jauranworka									255
Jawoyn										123
Jingulu										149
Jiwarli										268

Table F.1: NILS proficiency and use responses with age of speakers (continued)

Language name	Respondent's spelling	How well spoken				How often spoken				NILS reference number (admin only)
		0–19 years	20–39 years	40–59 years	60 + years	0–19 years	20–39 years	40–59 years	60 + years	
Jurandali (not in ILDB)	Jurandali									7
Jurruru										267
Kaanju					2	4	4	4	4	170
Kalaamaya	Gubrun	0	0	0	0				0	58
Kalaw Kawaw Ya	Kulkaljlya	1	1	2	3	3	3	3	4	107
Kalaw Lagau Ya	Kala Lagau Ya	1	2	2	3	1	3	2	4	67
Karajarri										246
Kariyarra										266
Kartujarra										243
Kartujarra										244
Katubanut(?)	Gadubanud									226
Kaurna										178
Kaurna										256
Kaurna										211
Kaurna										273
Kayardild		1	1	2	3	1	1	4	5	11
Kaytetye		1	2	3	3	3	3	4	4	117
Kija										162
Kija										161
Kokatha										256
Kokatha										274
Koko berra?	Kokoberrin	0	1	3	3	0	4	5	5	35
Kriol										139
Kukatja										162
Kuku Yalanji		1	2	2	3	4	4	4	5	88
Kuku Yalanji		1	1	3	3	3	3	3	4	165

Table F.1: NILS proficiency and use responses with age of speakers (continued)

Language name	Respondent's spelling	How well spoken				How often spoken				NILS reference number (admin only)
		0–19 years	20–39 years	40–59 years	60 + years	0–19 years	20–39 years	40–59 years	60 + years	
Kurnai	Ganai or Kurnai									199
Kurnai	kunai/ Ganai said as Gun-eye	2	1	1	1	4	3	2	2	6
Kurnu										114
Kurrama										265
Kuuk Thayorre	Thaayorre	2	3	3	3	3	4	4	4	166
Kuuk Thayorre?(nothing like Tahialay in ILDB)	Tahialay	0	1	1	3				1	200
Kuungkari	Gunggari	1	1	1	1	3	3	3	3	105
Kuungkari	Gunggari									103
Kuungkari	Gunggari	1	1	1	1	3	3	3	3	106
Kuwarra	Koarra	0	0	1	2	1	2	2	4	61
Kuyani	Kujani									256
Kwini										160
Ladji Ladji										217
Lardil		2	3	3	3	3	4	5	5	80
Lardil		0	1	1	2	0	1	2	3	8
Majuli / Maiawali		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	89
Malanbarra / Gulngay		0	1	1	1	0	1	3	3	102
Malanbarra / Gulngay	Gulngay	0	1	1	1	0	1	3	3	196
Malkana	Malgana	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	1	27
Malngin										150
Malyangapa or Yandruwantha	Ngurunta									260
Mamu		1	1	1	1					72
Mandandanji	Mandandanji	1	1	1	1	4	4	4	4	108
Mandjindja	Matuntara									256
Mangala										265

Table F.1: NILS proficiency and use responses with age of speakers (continued)

Language name	Respondent's spelling	How well spoken				How often spoken				NILS reference number (admin only)
		0–19 years	20–39 years	40–59 years	60 + years	0–19 years	20–39 years	40–59 years	60 + years	
Mangarrayi			1	1						125
Manjiljarra	Manyjiligarra									253
Manjiljarra	Manyjilyjarra									243
Manjiljarra	Manyjilyjarra									244
Mara	Marra									126
Marawara	Maraura									256
Mardidjali	Marditjali									257
Martuthunira										266
Martuwangka										243
Martuwangka										244
Martuwangka	Martu Wanga									247
Maung	Mawng	3	3	3	3	5	5	5	5	10
Mbabaram	Bar-Barum	0	0	1	1					98
Mbabaram	Barbarum	0	0	1	1					194
Meindangk	Meintangk									257
Meriam Mir	Meriam Le	1	2	2	3	1	3	2	4	67
Miriwoong										151
Miriwoong										161
Miriwoong		0	1	1	2	1	2	3	3	18
Mirning		0	0	1	1	1	1	2	2	64
Mirning										257
Mudburra		1	2	3	3	2	3	5	5	90
Mudburra		1	1	3						128
Mularidji / Gugu Muluriji	Mularidji	0	0	0	0					71
Nakako	(Nakaku)									257
Narangga										273

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Table F.1: NILS proficiency and use responses with age of speakers (continued)

Language name	Respondent's spelling	How well spoken				How often spoken				NILS reference number (admin only)
		0–19 years	20–39 years	40–59 years	60 + years	0–19 years	20–39 years	40–59 years	60 + years	
Narungga	Narungga									257
Nawo	Nauo									258
Ngaanyatjarra		0	1	1	2	1	3	4	4	57
Ngadjuri										258
Ngalakan	Ngalakgan				3					129
Ngalia		0	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	78
Ngalea	Ngalea									258
Ngaliwurru	Ngaliwurru									152
Ngamini	Ngameni									258
Ngandi				3						130
Ngangurugu	Nganguruku									259
Ngaralda	Ngaralta									259
Ngarigo										6
Ngarigo	Ngarigo or Monaro	2	2	2	3	4	4	4	5	199
Ngarigo	Ngarigu									235
Ngarinman	Ngarinyman	0		3						131
Ngarinyin										160
Ngarkat	(Nargad)									259
Ngarla										245
Ngarlawangka (Not in ILDB)	Ngarlawangka	1	1	1	2	3	3	3	4	27
Ngarluma										265
Ngarrindjeri										29
Ngarrindjeri		0	1	1	1	1	3	3	4	276
Ngarrindjeri										273
Ngarrindjeri										259
Ngarrindjeri	Ngerrindjeri									211

Table F.1: NILS proficiency and use responses with age of speakers (continued)

Language name	Respondent's spelling	How well spoken				How often spoken				NILS reference number (admin only)
		0–19 years	20–39 years	40–59 years	60 + years	0–19 years	20–39 years	40–59 years	60 + years	
Ngatjumaya	Ngadu	1	1	1	2	1	2	3	3	77
Ngawait										259
Ngawun					1				0	7
Ngayawung	Ngaiawang									258
Nggerigudi / Yupngayth	Yupangathi	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	241
Ngintait										260
Ngiyampaa		0	1	2	3			3	1	279
Ngugin (Not in ILDB)	Ngugin			2	3					184
Ngurawola	Ngurawola									260
Nhanda	Nhanda	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	27
Nhuwala										267
North Queensland languages	Most North Queensland languages	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	93
Nukunu	Nukunu									260
Nungali										153
Nunggubuyu										132
Nyamal										246
Nyangumarta		3	2	3	3	4	3	4	5	94
Nyangumarta										245
Nyangumarta		3	3	3	3	4	4	5	5	248
Nyangumarta										249
Nyangumarta										250
Nyawaygi	nyawaigi	1	1	1	1	3	3	3	3	73
Nyawaygi	nyawaigi	1	1	1	1	5	5	5	5	74
Nyiyaparli										242
Nyungar	Noongar	0	0	0	2	2	3	3	3	16

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Table F.1: NILS proficiency and use responses with age of speakers (continued)

Language name	Respondent's spelling	How well spoken				How often spoken				NILS reference number (admin only)
		0–19 years	20–39 years	40–59 years	60 + years	0–19 years	20–39 years	40–59 years	60 + years	
Nyungar	Nyoongar	1	1	2	3	0	3	3	3	51
Nyungar	Noongar	2	1	1	3	4			1	212
Palawa Kani (Not in ILDB-generic term for Tasmanian langs)	Palawa kani									282
Palyku										265
Parnkalla	Pangkala (Barngala; Parnkalla)Bangarla									260
Payungu										266
Peramangk	Permangk									261
Pinikura										267
Pitjantjatjara		2	2	3	3	4	4	5	5	28
Pitjantjatjara		3	3	3	3	5	5	5	5	30
Pitjantjatjara		3	3	3	3	4	5	5	5	68
Pitjantjatjara										261
Pitjantjatjara										274
Pitjantjatjara	Pitjanjara									203
Pitjantjatjara	Pitjanjara									204
Pitjantjatjara	Pitjatjantjarra	1	1	2	2	1	3	4	4	63
Portaulun	other spelling (Portawulun)									261
Purduna										267
Putijarra										242
Ramindjeri										262
Rembarrnga		1	2	3	3	2	2	3	4	38
Rembarrnga		0	1	1						133
Ritharrngu		1	2	2	3					134
Tagalaka		0	0	1	1				1	99

Table F.1: NILS proficiency and use responses with age of speakers (continued)

Language name	Respondent's spelling	How well spoken				How often spoken				NILS reference number (admin only)
		0–19 years	20–39 years	40–59 years	60 + years	0–19 years	20–39 years	40–59 years	60 + years	
Tagalaka		0	0	0						159
Tainikuit?	Thanikwithi	1	1	2	2	2	3	4	4	238
Tanganekald										262
Taribelang		1	1	1	1	3	3	3	4	21
Thalanyji										265
Tharrkari										266
Thiin										267
Tiwi		3	3	3	3	5	5	5	5	32
Tjungundji		1	1	1	2	3	3	3	4	239
Umbindhamu	Umpithamu	1	1	1	3	0	0	0	4	118
Umpila		0	0	2	3	0	0	1	3	95
Umpila	Kuuku-yani & Umpila				3			4	4	164
Waanyi										154
Waanyi		2	2	2	3	3	3	4	4	167
Waanyi	Wanyi	1	1	1	2					31
Wadabal (not in ILDB)	Wadabal	1	1	1	1	2	3	3	4	182
Wadi Wadi										218
Wadigali	Widikali (Wadigali)									263
Wagaman	Wakaman									97
Wagaman	Wakaman									192
Wagaman	Wakamin									201
Wagilak		1	3	3	3					135
Wagiman										155
Wailwan	Wayilwan	0	0	0	1	1	4	3	3	114
Wajarri		1	1	1	3	1	1	3	4	27
Waka Waka	Wakka Wakka	1	1	1	1	3	3	3	1	110

Table F.1: NILS proficiency and use responses with age of speakers (continued)

Language name	Respondent's spelling	How well spoken				How often spoken				NILS reference number (admin only)
		0–19 years	20–39 years	40–59 years	60 + years	0–19 years	20–39 years	40–59 years	60 + years	
Waka Waka	Wakka Wakka				1					272
Waka Waka (Willi Willi submitter says the lang is in Eidsvold, Qld, which makes it Horton's Willi Willi)	Willi Willi				1					272
Walmajarri		2	2	3	3	5	5	5	5	37
Walmajarri										161
Wambaya		0	0	1	3	0	0	3	4	13
Wanamara		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	101
Wangaaybuwan	Wanamarra	0	0	0	0					195
Wangaaybuwan	Wangaibuwan	1	0	1	3	2	3		1	84
Wangkajunga										162
Wangkangurru	Wong Kanguru (Wangkangurru)									263
Wangkatha	Wangkatja	0	1	1	2	1	3	4	4	54
Wangkatha	Pindini									261
Wangkumara	Wangkumarra	1	1	1	1	4	4	4	1	111
Wanyjirra										156
Wardaman		0	1		3					136
Wargamay		0	1	1	2	1	3	3	4	49
Warki	Respondent says this is 'language of the Ngarrindjeri nation'									262
Warlmanpa		1	1	2	3	3	3	4	5	42
Warlmanpa		1	1	2	3	3	3	4	5	100
Warlpiri		3	3	3	3	5	5	5	5	31
Warlpiri		3	3	3	3	5	5	5	5	53
Warlpiri		1	2	3	3	5	5	5	5	137

Table F.1: NILS proficiency and use responses with age of speakers (continued)

Language name	Respondent's spelling	How well spoken				How often spoken				NILS reference number (admin only)
		0–19 years	20–39 years	40–59 years	60 + years	0–19 years	20–39 years	40–59 years	60 + years	
Warluwarra	Waluwarra	2	2	1	3	0	1	3	4	7
Warndarrang			2							138
Warnman										242
Warumungu		1	1	3	3	1	1	4	5	25
Warumungu		0	1	2	3	3	3	5	5	43
Warungu	Warrungu									70
Wathawurrung		0	0	0	0					116
Wemba Wemba		1	1	1	1	4	4	4	4	45
Wemba Wemba										219
Wemba Wemba	Wamba-Wamba/Barapa Barapa	1	1	1	1	2	2	0	0	112
Wergaia										220
Wik Mungkan		3	3	3	3	5	5	5	5	92
Wik Mungkan		3	3	3	3	5	5	5	5	169
Wik Mungkan		3	3	3	3	5	5	5	5	240
Wiljali	Wiljakali									263
Wiradjuri		0	0	0	1	2	2			85
Wiradjuri		1				3				91
Wiradjuri		1	1	1	2	5	5	5	5	109
Wiradjuri		1	1	1	2	4	2	3	4	127
Wiradjuri		0	1	2	3	0	1	2	3	145
Wiradjuri								1	1	173
Wiradjuri				0	0			1	1	183
Wirangu										274
Wirangu										263
Woiwurrung										236

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Table F.1: NILS proficiency and use responses with age of speakers (continued)

Language name	Respondent's spelling	How well spoken				How often spoken				NILS reference number (admin only)
		0–19 years	20–39 years	40–59 years	60 + years	0–19 years	20–39 years	40–59 years	60 + years	
Worimi	Worimi	1	1	1	1	3	2	3	1	12
Worla										161
Worrorra										160
Wullu Wurrung (Not in ILDB)	Wullu wurrung									224
Wunambal		1	1	1	1	3	3	3	3	160
Yalata Kriol	Yalata Kriol									264
Yandruwantha	Jandruwanta (Yandrowandha)									254
Yangman										157
Yankunytjatjara	Yankunytjatjara									264
Yannhangu	Yan-nhangu	0	1	3	3	0	0	4	4	17
Yanyuwa										158
Yanyuwa	Yanyula	3	3	3	3	4	5	5	5	23
Yanyuwa	Yanula	2	3	3	3					269
Yapurarra	Yapurarra									266
Yapurarra (Not in ILDB--should be)										
Yaraldi	Jarildelald (Yaralde)									255
Yardliyawara	Jadliaura/ Yardliwarra									254
Yarluyandi	Jeljendi (Yarluyandi)									255
Yaygir		0	0	1	1				1	104
Yidiny	Yidinyi	1	1	1	3	3	3	3	5	66
Yindjibarndi										252
Yindjibarndi	Yindjibarndi									242
Yinhawangka										242
Yirawirung	Erawirung									254
Yorta Yorta										229
Yugambeh					2				4	14
Yugambeh		1	1	1		2	1	2	3	270

Table F.1: NILS proficiency and use responses with age of speakers (continued)

Language name	Respondent's spelling	How well spoken				How often spoken				NILS reference number (admin only)
		0–19 years	20–39 years	40–59 years	60 + years	0–19 years	20–39 years	40–59 years	60 + years	
Yugambeh		1	1	1	1	2	1	2	3	271
Yuin	Yuin. Jerrigah. Umbarra (?)	0			1	5			3	177
Yukulta		1	0		2	3			2	9
Yulparija										243
Yulparija										244
Yuwaalaraay		1	1	1	3	2	3	3	4	163
	No language name given in NILS response (?)	2	2	3	3	4	4	4	5	34
	No language name given in NILS response (?)	0	1	1	1					180
	No language name given in NILS response (?)									205
	No language name given in NILS response									207
	No language name given in NILS response									208
	Unknown				2	2			2	176
Language given not in list		1	2	2	2	2	2	3	3	22
Language given not in list		1	1	1	1	3	3	3	3	56
Language given not in list		1	0	0	1	3	0	1	2	79
Language given not in list		1	1	1	1	3	3	3	3	111
Language given not in list										197
Language given not in list										209
Language given not in list										216
Language given not in list										209
Language given not in list										227
Language given not in list										274

Table F.2 below shows gives an average figure for each language on a combination of the answers given on NILS Questions 7 and 8.

Using the NILS results, in Table F.2 below, the middle column shows answers to NILS Questions 7 and 8 as numerical values. If the value shown is '6' or more, then that age group can be regarded as 'speaking' the language. If the value shown is less than '6' then that age group is regarded as 'not speaking' the language.

These calculations do not distinguish between Endangerment Grades 5 ('safe') and 4 ('unsafe'). However it is possible to distinguish 'unsafe' when '6' and above is reached in the 20-39 age group, but '3-5' is reached in the 0-19 age group. As it happens in the NILS responses there is no case like this reported, so no '4' ('unsafe') appears in the far right Endangerment Grade column.

The information provided in response to the NILS endangerment and absolute numbers questions was of good quality, but the issue of judgments being used has rendered some of the data less comparable than it could have been.

The issue of over-reporting of proficiency by some speakers of some languages has been mentioned earlier in this report.

Butchulla, Gamilaraay, Kurnai, Ngarigu, Yugambeh and Yuwalaraay are all languages of the south-eastern part of Australia which, by repute, have not been spoken fluently for many years.

However NILS respondents on these languages reported in some cases very high levels of speaking among children and teenagers, and in others the existence of fluent old speakers. Other observers of the same languages had given them a lower grade, putting them in the 'no longer fully spoken' (Grade 0) category.

The reports do, however, indicate enthusiasm for the languages and possibly their resurgence. Nyoongar also had differing assessments from different respondents, one classing it as 'no longer fully spoken' (Grade 0) but another putting it into 'critically endangered' (Grade 1) category on the basis of the existence of some fluent speakers over 60 years old.

For Garrwa, a range of responses came in—'strong/safe' (Grade 5),'definitely endangered' (Grade 3) and 'severely endangered' (Grade 2) have all been recorded.

Girramay was reported to be spoken by all generations but on the basis of other observations, this is very doubtful.

Walmajarri was reported as a strong language with full speakers in all generations 'strong/safe'(Grade 5) but language shift to Kriol has been going on among Walmajarri speakers since the mid–1950s (Hudson 1983) and it is not generally spoken by children or young people even in remote communities today.

Both Walmajarri and Yanyuwa show up clearly as endangered in terms of the SOIL Endangerment Index discussed below.

Compared with the ABS Census over-reporting was less of a problem with NILS where a number of specific questions were asked. However a few respondents gave low ratings to speakers of what are by other accounts clearly large strong languages.

In one case, the response came from a linguist with long experience of a language, who was comparing present speakers to some ideal of elders some years ago and found that they had changed the language and used it relatively less.

This is not only something found in non-Indigenous commentators—some Indigenous NILS responders were hard on what they perceived to be relative inadequacies in young people's speech. This is an issue which has been discussed in Section 2.5.

The western Torres Strait Island languages Kalaw Lagaw Ya and Kalaw Kawaw Ya (KKY) may be a case in point. It may be subject to rather strict judgment in NILS which produces the 'critically endangered' (Grade 1) rating, because the middle-aged are considered not to speak the language fully and/or not use it much (because of the currency of Torres Strait Creole). However, at least for the far western dialect, KKY middle-aged people do retain quite high levels of proficiency and use.

Another case in point maybe the NILS results for Kaytetye, where a low assessment of young people's speech, yielded a rating of 'severely endangered' (Grade 2). This is probably related to young people's use of 'new Kaytetye', a mixed and changed form of language.

Similarly, the NILS rating of Ngaanyatjarra at 'critically endangered' (Grade 1) and Pitjantjatjara at 'severely endangered' (Grade 2) or 'definitely endangered' (Grade 3) seems to relate to judgments like that of the respondent on Ngaanyatjarra that 'many who speak it aren't fluent'—especially children and young people.

Many similar comments were made by Pitjantjatjara about their own children's speech by Pitjantjatjara in the earlier South Australian language survey (Amery et al 2002, see also Langlois 2005). While there is some change going on in the language, there seems little reason at this stage to regard either of these languages as immediately endangered.

On the other hand, the Grade 1, for another Western Desert dialect, Wangkatha, probably reflects a real shift to English in the younger generations, although complaints about the young people using incorrect versions of the language are also heard.

The following Table F.3 (see page 198) provides a selection of assessments of speaker numbers over the past 25 years (Yallop 1981, Schmidt 1990, Senate Standing Committee 1984). There is then an estimation which the NILS consultants have carried out based on available information. This estimation is then converted into the NILS Report recommended language endangerment Indicator Two (Absolute Numbers of Speakers) in the in the last column.

The reliability of evidence column in Table F.3 is based on the Reliability Index outlined at A.2.1 of this report.

A number of the cases of gross discrepancies in figures in Table F.3 are fairly obviously due to people using different criteria for speakerhood. For instance, the figure of 175 in the NILS responses for Rembarrnga would be close to the number of people who identify as Rembarrnga. However the number reported in the 2001 ABS Census is much more like the number of fluent speakers of the language at that time.

In some cases, this tendency continues after the language no longer has any speakers. It is probably because respondents take 'speaking' the language as including 'identifying' with and 'using' words from the old language in an overall context of speaking Aboriginal English. Some other cases involve more profound mixture and radical change in the language.

Over-reporting of number of speakers is often an indication that the community puts a high value on the language and could be engaged in some form of revitalisation program, perhaps informally. On the other hand, not recognising the true state of a language can be a problem for planning realistic programs to alleviate the situation.

FATSIL notes the point that has been raised at community meetings, regarding the figures collected in the 2001 ABC Census, that there was a very strong disinclination on the part of many Indigenous people to divulge information relating to their cultural practices when completing this form.

Table F.2 Proficiency and use averages for each language (NILS responses 2004)

NB: '-' in this table indicates no response was receieved to the NILS proficiency and use questions (Questions 7 and 8).

(?) in the 'Language name' column indicates there may be some uncertainty over the language being referred to.

Language Name	Average proficiency and use per language (NILS results) 6 or more—language spoken Less than 6— language not spoken				Endangerment Grade
	0-19 years	20-39 years	40-59 years	60+ years	5—Strong/safe 4—Unsafe 3—Definitely endangered 2—Severly endangered 1—Critically endangered 0—No longer fully spoken
Aboriginal English	-	-	-	-	0
Adnyamathanha	3	5	7	8	2
Alawa	0	1	2	6	1
Alyawarr	6	7	8	8	5
Anindilyakwa	3	3	3	3	0
Anmatyerre	6	6	8	8	5
Antakirinya	-	-	-	-	0
Arabana	-	-	-	-	0
Arrernte	8	8	8	8	5
Badimaya	2	3	3	5	0
Bangerang (Yorta Yorta?)	4	4	4	4	0
Banyjima	-	-	-	-	0
Baraba Baraba	-	-	-	-	0
Bardi	0	0	2	7	1
Barranbinya	0	0	1	1	0
Bedaruwidj	-	-	-	-	0
Bilinarra	-	-	1	1	0
Binbinga	-	-	-	-	0
Biri	4	4	4	4	0
Birladapa	0	0	0	0	0
Biyalgeyi	4	4	4	4	0
Boonwurrung	-	-	-	-	0
Broken/Torres Strait Creole	8	8	8	8	5
Buandig	-	-	-	-	0
Bundhamara	-	-	-	-	0
Bundjalung	3	3	3	3	0
Butchulla	5.5	4	3.5	4.5	0
Dadi Dadi / Dardi Dardi	-	-	-	-	0

Table F.2 Proficiency and use averages for each language (NILS responses 2004) (continued)

Language Name	Average proficiency and use per language (NILS results)				Endangerment Grade
	0-19 years	20-39 years	40-59 years	60+ years	
Dagoman	-	-	-	-	0
Dalabon	-	1	1	1	0
Danggali	-	-	-	-	0
Daruk	-	-	2	-	0
Daungwurrung	-	-	-	-	0
Dhangatti	-	-	5	-	0
Dharawal	0	0	0	0.5	0
Dhauwurd wurrung	-	-	-	-	0
Dhirari	-	-	-	-	0
Dhuduroa	0	3	3	0	0
Diirru	-	-	-	-	0
Diyari	-	-	-	-	0
Djabwurrung	-	-	-	-	0
Djadja wurrung	-	-	-	-	0
Djargurd wurrung	-	-	-	-	0
Djiru	0	0	0	4	0
Djuban(?) (respondent' spelling was Tjuran)	2	3	4	5	0
Dyirbal	1	2	2	3	0
Gai wurrung	-	-	-	-	-
Gajerrong	-	-	-	-	-
Gamberre	5	5	5	5	0
Gamilaraay	3	1.5	2	3	0
Ganggalidda	2	2.5	4.5	6	1
Garanguru	-	-	-	-	-
Garrwa	5	5.5	6	7	2
Garuwali	0	0	0	0	0
Gayiri	0	0	0	0	0
Giraiwurung	-	-	-	-	0
Girramay	6	7	7	7	5
Gooniyandi	-	-	-	-	0
Gooreng Gooreng	-	-	-	1	0
Gubbi Gubbi	4	4	4	4	0
Gudyal	5	5	5	5	0
Gugu Badhun	4	4	4	4	0
Gugu Wakura	4	4	4	4	0
Gugu Yau	0	0	3	6	1
Gulidjan	0	0	0	0	0
Gumbaynggir	3	2.5	3	3	0
Gunwinggu	-	-	-	-	0

Table F.2 Proficiency and use averages for each language (NILS responses 2004) (continued)

Language Name	Average proficiency and use per language (NILS results)				Endangerment Grade
	0-19 years	20-39 years	40-59 years	60+ years	
Gupapuyngu	8	8	8	8	5
Gurdanji	-	-	-	-	0
Gurindji	-	-	-	-	0
Gurngubanud	-	-	-	-	0
Guugu Yimidhirr	6	8	8	8	5
Jaminjung	-	-	-	-	0
Jardwadjali	-	-	-	-	0
Jaru	-	-	-	-	0
Jauranworka	-	-	-	-	0
Jawoyn	-	-	-	-	0
Jingulu	-	-	-	-	0
Jiwarlis	-	-	-	-	0
Jurandali	-	-	-	-	0
Jurrurru	-	-	-	-	0
Kaanju	4	4	4	6	1
Kalaamaya	0	0	0	0	0
Kalaw Lagaw Ya	3	4.5	4.5	7	1
Karajarri	-	-	-	-	0
Kariyarra	-	-	-	-	0
Kartutjarra	-	-	-	-	0
Katubanut (?)	-	-	-	-	0
Kaurna	-	-	-	-	0
Kayardild	2	2	6	8	2
Kaytetye	4	5	7	7	2
Kija	-	-	-	-	0
Kokatha	-	-	-	-	0
Koko berra?	0	5	8	8	2
Kriol	-	-	-	-	0
Kukatja	-	-	-	-	0
Kuku Yalanji	4.5	5	6	7.5	2
Kurnai	6	4	3	3	5
Kurnu	-	-	-	-	0
Kurrama	-	-	-	-	0
Kuuk Thayorre	5	7	7	7	3
Kuuk Thayorre(?)	0	1	1	4	0
Kuungkari	4	4	4	4	0
Kuwarra	1	2	3	6	1
Kuyani	0	0	0	0	0
Kwini	-	-	-	-	0

Table F.2 Proficiency and use averages for each language (NILS responses 2004) (continued)

Language Name	Average proficiency and use per language (NILS results)				Endangerment Grade
	0-19 years	20-39 years	40-59 years	60+ years	
Ladji Ladji	-	-	-	-	0
Lardil	2.5	4.5	5.5	6.5	1
Majuli / Maiawali	0	0	0	0	0
Malanbarra / Gulngay	0	2	4	4	0
Malkana	0	0	1	2	0
Malngin	-	-	-	-	0
Malyangapa or Yandruwantha	-	-	-	-	0
Mamu	1	1	1	1	0
Mandandanji	5	5	5	5	0
Mandjindja	-	-	-	-	0
Mangala	-	-	-	-	0
Mangarrayi	-	1	1	-	0
Manjiljarra	-	-	-	-	0
Mara	-	-	-	-	0
Marawara	-	-	-	-	0
Mardidjali	-	-	-	-	0
Martuthunira	-	-	-	-	0
Martuwangka	-	-	-	-	0
Maung	8	8	8	8	5
Mbabaram	0	0	1	1	0
Meindangk	-	-	-	-	0
Meriam Mir	2	5	4	7	1
Miriwoong	1	3	4	5	0
Mirning	-	-	-	-	0
Mudburra	3	4.5	8	8	2
Mularidji / Gugu Muluriji	0	0	0	0	0
Nakako	-	-	-	-	0
Narangga	-	-	-	-	0
Nawo	-	-	-	-	0
Ngaanyatjarra	1	4	5	6	1
Ngadjuri	-	-	-	-	0
Ngalakan	-	-	-	3	0
Ngalia	-	-	-	-	0
Ngaliwuru	-	-	-	-	0
Ngamini	-	-	-	-	0
Ngandi	-	-	3	-	0
Ngangurugu	-	-	-	-	0
Ngaralda	-	-	-	-	0
Ngarigo	6	6	6	8	5

Table F.2 Proficiency and use averages for each language (NILS responses 2004) (continued)

Language Name	Average proficiency and use per language (NILS results)				Endangerment Grade
	0-19 years	20-39 years	40-59 years	60+ years	
Ngarinman	0	-	3	-	0
Ngarinyin	-	-	-	-	0
Ngarkat	-	-	-	-	0
Ngarla	-	-	-	-	0
Ngarlawangka	4	4	4	6	1
Ngarluma	-	-	-	-	0
Ngarrindjeri	1	4	4	5	0
Ngatjumaya	2	3	4	5	0
Ngawait	-	-	-	-	0
Ngawun	-	-	-	1	0
Ngayawung	-	-	-	-	0
Nggerigudi / Yupngayth	0	0	0	2	0
Ngintait	-	-	-	-	0
Ngiyampaa	0	1	5	4	0
Ngugin	-	-	2	3	0
Ngurawala	-	-	-	-	0
Nhanta	0	0	0	2	0
Nhuwala	-	-	-	-	0
North Queensland languages	0	0	1	2	0
Nukunu	-	-	-	-	0
Nungali	-	-	-	-	0
Nunggubuyu	-	-	-	-	0
Nyamal	-	-	-	-	0
Nyangumarta	7	6	7.5	8	5
Nyawaygi	5	5	5	5	0
Nyiyaparli	-	-	-	-	0
Nyungar	3	3.5	4	5.5	0
Palawa Kani (Generic term for Tasmanian languages)	-	-	-	-	0
Palyku	-	-	-	-	0
Parnkalla	-	-	-	-	0
Payungu	-	-	-	-	0
Peramangk	-	-	-	-	0
Pinikura	-	-	-	-	0
Pitjantjatjara	5.5	6	8	8	3
Portaulun	-	-	-	-	0
Purduna	-	-	-	-	0
Putijarra	-	-	-	-	0
Ramindjeri	-	-	-	-	0

Table F.2 Proficiency and use averages for each language (NILS responses 2004) (continued)

Language Name	Average proficiency and use per language (NILS results)				Endangerment Grade
	0-19 years	**20-39 years**	**40-59 years**	**60+ years**	
Rembarrnga	0	1	1	-	**0**
Warki (Respondent says this is 'language of the Ngarrindjeri nation')	-	-	-	-	**0**
Ritharrngu	1	2	2	3	**0**
Tagalaka	0	0	0.5	2	**0**
Tainikuit?	3	4	6	6	**2**
Tanganekald	-	-	-	-	**0**
Taribelang	4	4	4	5	**0**
Thalanyji	-	-	-	--	**0**
Tharrkari	-	-	-	-	**0**
Thiin	-	-	-	-	**0**
Tiwi	-	-	-	-	**0**
Tjungundji	4	4	4	6	**1**
Umbindhamu	1	1	1	7	**1**
Umpila	0	0	4.5	6.5	**1**
Waanyi	4.5	4.5	5.5	6.5	**1**
Wadabal	3	4	4	5	**0**
Wadi Wadi	0	0	0	0	**0**
Wadigali	-	-	-	-	**0**
Wagaman	-	-	-	-	**0**
Wagilak	-	-	-	-	**0**
Wagiman	-	-	-	-	**0**
Wailwan	1	4	3	4	**0**
Wajarri	2	2	4	7	**1**
Waka Waka	4	4	4	2	**0**
Walmajarri	7	7	8	8	**5**
Wambaya	0	0	4	7	**1**
Wanamara	0	0	0	0	**0**
Wangaaybuwan	3	3	1	4	**0**
Wangkajunga	-	-	-	-	**0**
Wangkangurru	-	-	-	-	**0**
Wangkatha	1	4	5	6	**1**
Wangkumara	5	5	5	2	**0**
Wanyjirra	-	-	-	-	**0**
Wardaman	0	1	-	3	**0**
Wargamay	1	4	4	6	**1**
Warlmanpa	4	4	6	8	**2**
Warlpiri	8	8	8	8	**5**
Warluwarra	2	3	4	7	**1**

Table F.2 Proficiency and use averages for each language (NILS responses 2004) (continued)

Language Name	Average proficiency and use per language (NILS results)				Endangerment Grade
	0-19 years	20-39 years	40-59 years	60+ years	
Warndarrang	-	2	-	-	0
Warnman	-	-	-	-	0
Warumungu	3	4	7	8	2
Warungu	0	0	0	0	0
Wathawurrung	0	0	0	0	0
Wemba Wemba	4	4	3	3	0
Wergaia	-	-	-	-	0
Wik Mungkan	8	8	8	8	5
Wiljali	-	-	-	-	0
Wiradjuri	5	3	3.5	5	0
Wirangu	-	-	-	-	0
Woiwurrung	-	-	-	-	0
Worimi	4	3	4	2	0
Worla	-	-	-	-	0
Worrorra	-	-	-	-	0
Wullu Wurrung	-	-	-	-	0
Wunambal	4	4	4	4	0
Yalata Kriol	-	-	-	-	0
Yandruwantha	-	-	-	-	0
Yangman	-	-	-	-	0
Yankunytjatjara	-	-	-	-	0
Yannhangu	0	1	7	7	2
Yanyuwa	6.5	8	8	8	5
Yapurarra	-	-	-	-	0
Yaraldi	-	-	-	-	0
Yardliyawara	-	-	-	-	0
Yarluyandi	-	-	-	-	0
Yaygir	0	0	2	2	0
Yidiny	4	4	4	8	1
Yindjibarndi	-	-	-	-	0
Yinhawangka	-	-	-	-	0
Yirawirung	-	-	-	-	0
Yorta Yorta	-	-	-	-	0
Yugambeh	3	2	3	4	0
Yuin	5	-	-	4	0
Yukulta	4	0	-	4	0
Yulparija	-	-	-	-	0
Yuwaalaraay	3	4	4	7	1
No language name given in NILS response	-	-	-	-	0

Table F.2 Proficiency and use averages for each language (NILS responses 2004) (continued)

Language Name	Average proficiency and use per language (NILS results)				Endangerment Grade
	0-19 years	20-39 years	40-59 years	60+ years	
No language name given in NILS response	6	6	7	8	**5**
No language name given in NILS response	0	1	1	1	**0**
No language name given in NILS response	-	-	-	-	**0**
No language name given in NILS response	-	-	-	-	**0**
Unknown	-	-	-	4	
Language given not in list	3	4	5	5	
Language given not in list	4	4	4	4	
Language given not in list	4	0	1	3	
Language given not in list	4	4	4	4	
Language given not in list	0	-	-	-	
Language given not in list	0	-	-	-	
Language given not in list	0	-	-	-	
Language given not in list	0	-	-	-	
Language given not in list	0	-	-	-	
Language given not in list	0	-	-	-	

Table F.3: Numbers of speakers of Australian Indigenous languages (various surveys)

Language name	AIATSIS code	Number of speakers	Yallop Poll 1981	Schmidt 1990	Senate 1984	ABS Census 1996	ABS Census 2001	NILS 2004	2005 estimate	Reliability of evidence	Number of Speakers— NILS Indicator Two grades
Abodja	Y.047	-									0
Adnyamathanha	L.010	127		20+		127	107	150+	100	4	3
Adyingid	Y.042	-									0
Adyinuri	Y.017	-									0
Aghu–Tharnggala	Y.065	0							0	4	0
Agwamin	Y.132	0							0		0
Alawa	N.092	20		30				22	22	5	2
Alngith	Y.032	3							3	4	1
Alura	N.005	0									0
Alyawarr	C.014	1500		included with Arrente	400 - 500	1446	1373	1000	1000	4	5
Amangu	W.012	0							0	5	0
Amurdak	N.047	10							5	4	1
Andajin	K.023	?							2	5	1
Angkamuthi	Y.007	0							0	5	0

The reliability of evidence and NILS Indicator Two grades legend (column headers):

Reliability of evidence
5—Reliable & recent
4—Reliable & recent (+/- 20%)
3—Somehat unreliable
2—Great disparity in estimates
1—No reliable revidence
0—No evidence

Number of Speakers—NILS Indicator Two grades
5—Large, over 500
4—Medium, 201–500
3—Small, 51–200
2—Severly endangered, 10–50
1—Critically endangered, ≤10
0—Not spoken, 0

Table F.3: Numbers of speakers of Australian Indigenous languages (various surveys) (continued)

Language name	AIATSIS code	Number of speakers	Yallop Poll 1981	Schmidt 1990	Senate 1984	ABS Census 1996	ABS Census 2001	NILS 2004	2005 estimate	Reliability of evidence	Number of Speakers—NILS Indicator Two grades
Anguthimri	Y.020	-									0
Anindilyakwa	N.151	1224	1000	1000+	1000	1224	1310	1500-2000	1500	4	5
Anmatyerre	C.008.1	1220		included with Arrente	800	1220	864	1000-1500	900	4	5
Antakirinya	C.005	10						200+	200	3	3
Antekerrepenh	C.012	10							5	3	1
Arabana	L.013	23				23	6	250	6	4	1
Arakwal	E.013	-									0
Arawari	K.028	-									0
Aritinngithig	Y.034	-									0
Arrernte	C.008	3798	1500	3000+	2000	3798	2444	1500	2000	4	5
Awabakal	S.066	0							0	5	0
Ayabadhu	Y.060	0							0	5	0
Ayerrerenge	G.012	0									0
Baanbay	E.008	10							5	3	1
Badimaya	A.014	0						3	3	5	1
Badjiri	D.031	-									0
Balardung	W.010	0									0
Balgalu	G.022	-									0
Balmawi	N.094	-									0
Banambila	Y.088	-									0
Bandjigali	D.017	0									0
Bandjin	Y.130	0							0	5	0
Bangerang / Kwat Kwat / Waveroo	S.040	-									0
Banjima	A.053	50		50				50	50	4	2

Table F.3: Numbers of speakers of Australian Indigenous languages (various surveys) (continued)

Language name	AIATSIS code	Number of speakers	Yallop Poll 1981	Schmidt 1990	Senate 1984	ABS Census 1996	ABS Census 2001	NILS 2004	2005 estimate	Reliability of evidence	Number of Speakers— NILS Indicator Two grades
Baraba Baraba	D.005	-						10	5	3	1
Baraban	Y.068	-									0
Barada	E.048	-									0
Bararrngu	N.129	-									0
Bardi	K.015	367	250	100 - 200		367	235	115	30	4	2
Barna	E.053	-									0
Barranbinya	D.026	-									0
Barrow Point	Y.063.1	0							0	5	0
Barunggam	D.040	-									0
Bayali	E.042	0									0
Bedaruwidj	S.015	-									0
Bemba	K.027	-									0
Ben Lomond	T.007	0							0	5	0
Biangil / Biyangil / Piangil	S.033	-									0
Bibbulman	W.001	157 (Nyunga)		20		157 (Nyunga)			0	3	0
Bidawal	S.049	-									0
Bidjara	E.037	0							0	5	0
Bigambul	D.034	-									0
Bilamandyi	N.144	-									0
Bilin	N.116.A	-									0
Bilinarra	N.036	10						134	10	3	0
Binbinga	N.138	10						2	2	4	1
Bindal	E.061	-									0
Binggu	Y.112	-									0
Birdingal	N.116.B	-									0

Table F.3: Numbers of speakers of Australian Indigenous languages (various surveys) (continued)

Language name	AIATSIS code	Number of speakers	Yallop Poll 1981	Schmidt 1990	Senate 1984	ABS Census 1996	ABS Census 2001	NILS 2004	2005 estimate	Reliability of evidence	Number of Speakers—NILS Indicator Two grades
Biri	E.056	10							0	3	0
Birladapa / Biladaba	L.011	0							0	5	0
Birniridjara	A.025	700									0
Birpai / Biripi	E.003	-									0
Birria	L.036	-									0
Birrkili	N.116.C	-									0
Biyalgeyi	Y.067	-						0	0	3	0
Bolali	D.011	-									0
Boonwurrung	S.035	-									0
Brabralung	S.045	-									0
Braiakaulung	S.041	-									0
Bratauolung	S.039	-									0
Broken	TI Kriol	23,400					1240	many			0
Buan	N.089	200							30	3	2
Bugurnidja	N.042.1	0							0	4	0
Buibadjali	S.070	-									0
Bularnu	G.012.1	-									0
Buluguda	W.017	0									0
Buluwandji	Y.110	-									0
Bundhamara	L.026	-									0
Bundjalung	E.012	10		20+				20	20	4	2
Bungandidj / Buandig	S.013	-									0
Bunggura	A.028	0									0
Bunuba	K.005	163		50 – 100		163	190		40	3	2
Bural Bural	N.114	-									0

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Table F:3: Numbers of speakers of Australian Indigenous languages (various surveys) (continued)

Language name	AIATSIS code	Number of speakers	Yallop Poll 1981	Schmidt 1990	Senate 1984	ABS Census 1996	ABS Census 2001	NILS 2004	2005 estimate	Reliability of evidence	Number of Speakers—NILS Indicator Two grades
Buranadjinid	N.123	-									0
Burarra	N.135	702	400	400 - 600	400 - 600	702	780		800	4	5
Butchulla	E.030	-									0
Buyibara	E.024	-									0
Dadi Dadi / Dardi Dardi	S.028	-						10	10	3	0
Dagoman	N.038	0									0
Daguda	W.015	0									0
Dajoror	N.096	-									0
Dalabon	N.060	40						312	30	3	2
Dalla	E.025	-									0
Damala	W.016	0							0	5	0
Danggali	D.014	-									0
Dargudi	A.056	0							0	4	0
Darkinung	S.065	-									0
Darmarmiri	N.124	-									0
Daruk	S.064	-						12?	0	3	0
Darumbal	E.046	0									0
Datiwuy	N.116.F	-							20	3	2
Daungwurrung / Taungurong	S.037	-						0	0	5	0
Dha?i	N.118	66				66	3		3	4	1
Dhalwangu	N.143.1	200		200					100	3	3
Dhanggatti	E.006	5						1000	0	2	0
Dhapuyngu	N.116.E	-									0
Dharamba	S.056	-									0
Dharawal	S.059	-							4	2	1

Table F.3: Numbers of speakers of Australian Indigenous languages (various surveys) (continued)

Language name	AIATSIS code	Number of speakers	Yallop Poll 1981	Schmidt 1990	Senate 1984	ABS Census 1996	ABS Census 2001	NILS 2004	2005 estimate	Reliability of evidence	Number of Speakers— NILS Indicator Two grades
Dhirari	L.014	0							0	5	0
Dhiyakuy	N.149	300	300								0
Dhuduroa / Dhudhuruwa	S.044	-						a few	0	2	0
Dhurga	S.053	-									0
Dhuwaya	N.116	3648		1700 – 2000	1600 - 1700	3648	1387		1500	3	5
Ding Ding	N.116.G	-									0
Diraila / Dhiraila	L.019	-									0
Diyari	L.017	0						40	0	2	0
Djabadja	Y.102	-									0
Djabugay	Y.106	0									0
Djabwurrung	S.026	-						<10	7	4	1
Djadja wurrung	S.031.1	-									0
Djadjala	S.022	-									0
Djagaraga	Y.006	-									0
Djagunda	E.027	-									0
Djalarguru / Dyalaguru / Jalarkuru	N.058	180									0
Djalgandi	A.026	0									0
Djambarrpuyngu	N.115	139									0
Djamundja	N.116.H	-									0
Djandjandji	Y.116	-									0
Djapu	N.145	-									0
Djarawala / Dyarawala	N.084	-									0
Djarn	N.143	-									0

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Table F.3: Numbers of speakers of Australian Indigenous languages (various surveys) (continued)

Language name	AIATSIS code	Number of speakers	Yallop Poll 1981	Schmidt 1990	Senate 1984	ABS Census 1996	ABS Census 2001	NILS 2004	2005 estimate	Reliability of evidence	Number of Speakers– NILS Indicator Two grades
Djarrwark	N.117	-									0
Djeradj	N.010	10							5	4	1
Djerag	K.047	-									0
Djial / Jiyil / Tjial	K.034	-									0
Djinang	N.094.1	271		200 - 300		124	102		100	4	3
Djinba	N.097	90									0
Djirin / Dyiring	N.116.J	-									0
Djirringany	S.051	-									0
Djiru / Dyiru	Y.124	-						0	0	5	0
Djowei	N.030	0									0
Djuban	A.031	-						10–20	10	2	0
Djungurdja	A.044	-									0
Doodj	Y.037	-									0
Doolboong	!K.050!	0									0
Dulbungu	N.116.D	-									0
Dulua / Duluwa	E.041	0									0
Dungidjau	E.020	-									0
Durilji	N.122	-									0
Dyirbal	Y.123	40		40				5	5	4	1
Emmi	N.015	20							0	4	0
Eora	S.061	-									0
Erre	N.055	0									0
Gaagudju	N.050	1									0
Gabalbara	E.045	-									0
Gadjalivia	N.086	-									0
Gajerrong	K.037.1	10							2	4	1
Galali	D.030	-									0

Table F.3: Numbers of speakers of Australian Indigenous languages (various surveys) (continued)

Language name	AIATSIS code	Number of speakers	Yallop Poll 1981	Schmidt 1990	Senate 1984	ABS Census 1996	ABS Census 2001	NILS 2004	2005 estimate	Reliability of evidence	Number of Speakers—NILS Indicator Two grades
Galawlwan	N.150	-									0
Galibal	E.015	-									0
Galibamu	G.027	-									0
Galpu	N.139	-									0
Galwa	N.091	-									0
Galwangug	N.113	-									0
Gamberre	K.039	10						5	5	4	1
Gambuwal	D.029	-									0
Gamilaraay	D.023	10						a few?	5	2	1
Ganalbingu	N.083	66									0
Ganganda	Y.138	-									0
Ganggalidda	G.030	5						0-6	2	4	1
Gangulu	E.040	0									0
Garama	N.034	0									0
Garandi	G.032	-									0
Garanggaba	L.015	-									0
Garanguru	L.028	-									0
Garanya	L.032	0									0
Garendala	L.029	-									0
Garingbal	E.038	-									0
Garmalanggad / Garmalanga	N.100	-									0
Garrwa	N.155	113	300	200+	300 - 400	113	86	40-200 (average 125)	40	3	2
Garuwali / Karuwali	L.035	-						0			0
Gawambaray	D.039	0									0
Gayiri / Kairi	E.044	-						0			0

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Table F.3: Numbers of speakers of Australian Indigenous languages (various surveys) (continued)

Language name	AIATSIS code	Number of speakers	Yallop Poll 1981	Schmidt 1990	Senate 1984	ABS Census 1996	ABS Census 2001	NILS 2004	2005 estimate	Reliability of evidence	Number of Speakers— NILS Indicator Two grades
Geawegal	E.001	-									0
Geinyan	D.036	-									0
Giabal	D.041	-									0
Gigi	N.125	-									0
Gingana	K.040	-									0
Giraiwurung / Girrea / Kirrae Whurrong	S.025	-						<10	5	2	1
Girramay	Y.127	-						10	10	4	0
Githabul	E.014	-									0
Giya	E.058	-									0
Gobadeindamirr	N.148	-									0
Goeng Goeng	E.036	0									0
Goinbal	E.019	-									0
Golpa	N.130	-									0
Gonaniin	Y.091	-									0
Gooloowarrang	K.033	10									0
Gooniyandi	K.006	100		100				60+	60	4	3
Gooreng Gooreng	E.032	0									0
Goreng	W.005	0									0
Gubbi Gubbi	E.029	-									0
Gudabal	Y.095	-									0
Gudjandju	Y.033	-									0
Gudyal	E.060	0						10?	10	4	0
Gugu Badhun	Y.128	0						0			0
Gugu Bididji	Y.086	-									0
Gugu Buyunji	Y.087	-									0

Table F.3: Numbers of speakers of Australian Indigenous languages (various surveys) (continued)

Language name	AIATSIS code	Number of speakers	Yallop Poll 1981	Schmidt 1990	Senate 1984	ABS Census 1996	ABS Census 2001	NILS 2004	2005 estimate	Reliability of evidence	Number of Speakers—NILS Indicator Two grades
Gugu Dhaw / Kok Thaw	Y.093	-									0
Gugu Djangun	Y.109	0									0
Gugu Gai Gai	Y.100	-									0
Gugu Gulunggur	Y.103	300									0
Gugu Jan	Y.096	-									0
Gugu Mini	Y.094	0									0
Gugu Muminh	Y.043	30							20	4	2
Gugu Nyungkul	Y.090	-									0
Gugu Rarmul	Y.071	0									0
Gugu Tungay / Kuku Djulngai	Y.089	-									0
Gugu Wakura	Y.104	-						1	1	4	1
Gugu Waldja	Y.098	-									0
Gugu Warra	Y.080	10									0
Gugu Yalunju	Y.099	-									0
Gugu Yanyu	Y.092	-									0
Gugu Yau	Y.022	100				8	9	10?	9	4	1
Gugu Yawa	Y.074	-									0
Gujangal	S.050	-									0
Gula	A.021	-									0
Gulumali	L.037	-									0
Gulunggor	N.105	-									0
Gumatj	N.141	300									0
Gumbaynggir	E.007	-						30-50?	40	3	2
Gunavidji	N.074	474									0
Gundara	G.029	-									0

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Table F.3: Numbers of speakers of Australian Indigenous languages (various surveys) (continued)

Language name	AIATSIS code	Number of speakers	Yallop Poll 1981	Schmidt 1990	Senate 1984	ABS Census 1996	ABS Census 2001	NILS 2004	2005 estimate	Reliability of evidence	Number of Speakers— NILS Indicator Two grades
Gunditjmara	S.020	-									0
Gundjeihmi	N.071	-									0
Gundungurra	S.060	-									0
Gungabula	E.035	0									0
Gungadidji	L.016	-									0
Gungaragany	N.014	3									0
Gungay	Y.114	12									0
Gunggalanya	G.003	0									0
Gunggarbara	Y.139	-									0
Gunindiri	C.023	-									0
Gun-nartpa	N.081	336									0
Gunwinggu	N.065	1400	500+	900	900	1400	961	47			0
Gunya	D.043	-									0
Gunybaray	D.015	-									0
Gupapuyngu	N.122.1	186						hundreds			0
Gurdanji	C.026	57						17	17		2
Gurindji	C.020	572	250-500	250	250	572	553	175			0
Gurrgoni	N.075	172		20							0
Gurung	S.031	-									0
Gurungada / Djerrungurah	S.057	-									0
Guugu Yimidhirr	Y.082	737		400	600	737	581	1000			0
Guwa	G.009.1	-									0
Guwamu	D.033	0									0
Guwar	E.026	-									0
Guwij	K.019	-									0
Guwinmal	E.049	-									0

Table F.3: Numbers of speakers of Australian Indigenous languages (various surveys) (continued)

Language name	AIATSIS code	Number of speakers	Yallop Poll 1981	Schmidt 1990	Senate 1984	ABS Census 1996	ABS Census 2001	NILS 2004	2005 estimate	Reliability of evidence	Number of Speakers—NILS Indicator Two grades
Guyula Djambarrpuyngu / Golamala	N.109	-									0
Gwandera	Y.076	-									0
Gwijamil / Guyamirrilili	N.103	-									0
Ibarga	A.059	-							20		2
Iningai / Yiningay	L.041	-									0
Iwaidja	N.039	200		180							0
Jabirrjabirr	K.008	5									0
Jaitmathang	S.043	-									0
Jaminjung	N.018	30		30				15	15		2
Janari	W.031	-									0
Jardwadjali	S.027	-						<50			0
Jaru	K.012	341		250	250	341	575	200-300 (average 250)			0
Jawi	K.016	5							3		1
Jawoyn	N.057	100		100+				45	?20		5
Jingulu	C.022	140		20				14	14		2
Jiwarli	W.028	0						0			0
Jugaiwadha	Y.063	-									0
Jukun	K.002	0									0
Jurruru	W.033	0						0			0
Kaanju	Y.044	50						1000	2		1
Kalaako	A.002	0									0
Kalaamaya	A.004	0									0
Kalaw Kawaw Ya	Y.002	-					816		800		5

Table F.3: Numbers of speakers of Australian Indigenous languages (various surveys) (continued)

Language name	AIATSIS code	Number of speakers	Yallop Poll 1981	Schmidt 1990	Senate 1984	ABS Census 1996	ABS Census 2001	NILS 2004	2005 estimate	Reliability of evidence	Number of Speakers—NILS Indicator Two grades
Kalaw Lagaw Ya	Y.001	929	2000	3000 - 4000	2800	929	see KKY	many	700		5
Kalkatungu	G.013	0									0
Kamu	N.033	1									0
Kaniyang	W.004	0									0
Karajarri	A.064	30		20				<20	?10		5
Kariyarra	W.039	0							2		1
Kartujarra	A.051	400						<400			0
Kaurna	L.003	-						??			0
Kayardild	G.035	10		70				8	8		1
Kaytetye	C.013	200		200				200			0
Kija	K.020	100	300	300	300	411	227	>60			0
Kiyajarra	A.052	-							50		2
Kogai	D.038	-									0
Kokatha	C.003	2					22	?			0
Koko Bera	Y.085	15		50				20	20		2
Kolakngat	S.030	-									0
Konin	A.035	-									0
Krauatungulung	S.048	-									0
Kriol	Kriol	20,000					2990	many			0
Kukatj	G.028	0									0
Kukatja	A.068	570		incl with Western Desert	300	570	609	>1000			0
Kuku Thaypan	Y.084	0							2		1
Kuku Walandja	Y.081	-									0
Kuku Yalanji	Y.078	256	500	300	300	256	203	23			0
Kulin	S.021.1	-									0

Table F.3: Numbers of speakers of Australian Indigenous languages (various surveys) (continued)

Language name	AIATSIS code	Number of speakers	Yallop Poll 1981	Schmidt 1990	Senate 1984	ABS Census 1996	ABS Census 2001	NILS 2004	2005 estimate	Reliability of evidence	Number of Speakers—NILS Indicator Two grades
Kunbarlang	N.069	140		100							0
Kune / Gunej	N.070	146									0
Kungkari	L.038	-									0
Kunjen	Y.083	25							2		1
Kureinji	D.006.1	-									0
Ku-ring-gai / Gameraigal	S.062	-									0
Kurnai	S.068	-									0
Kurnu	D.025	-									0
Kurrama	W.036	20		50-				10	10		0
Kurtjar	G.033	0									0
Kuthant	G.031	0									0
Kuuk Thaayorre	Y.069	150	250-300	500				many			0
Kuungkari	D.037	0						0			0
Kuwarra	A.016	-						10			0
Kuyani	L.009	-									0
Kwiambal / Gujambal	D.035	-									0
Kwini	K.036	50						1	1		1
Ladamngid	Y.030	-									0
Ladji Ladji	S.023	-						10	10		0
Lairmairrener	T.008	0									0
Lamalama	Y.136	-							3		1
Lamamirri	N.147	-									0
Lardil	G.038	50		50				10-1000	10		0
Larrakia	N.021	3									0
Lewurung	S.032	-									0

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Table F.3: Numbers of speakers of Australian Indigenous languages (various surveys) (continued)

Language name	AIATSIS code	Number of speakers	Yallop Poll 1981	Schmidt 1990	Senate 1984	ABS Census 1996	ABS Census 2001	NILS 2004	2005 estimate	Reliability of evidence	Number of Speakers— NILS Indicator Two grades
Limilngan	N.042	1									0
Linngithigh	Y.026	0									0
Liyagalawumirr / Layagalawumirr	N.108	-							50		2
Liyagawumirr	N.101	-							50		2
Luritja	C.007.1	-									0
Lurlmarangu	N.110	-									0
Luthigh	Y.012	-									0
Madarrpa	N.111	-							50		2
Madhalpuyngu	N.116.0	-							30		2
Madhi Madhi	D.008	-									0
Madngele	N.012	15		10?							0
Madoidja	A.041	-									0
Madyanydyi / Wanyurr	Y.119	10									0
Majuli / Maiawali	L.040	-						0			0
Makarrwanhalmirr	N.139.1	-									0
Malak Malak	N.022	10									0
Malanbarra / Gulngay	Y.126	-						0			0
Malara / Mulara	N.119	-									0
Malarbardjuradj	N.098	-									0
Malardordo	N.116.M	-									0
Malkana	W.018	0						0			0
Malngin	K.030	30		20				12	12		2
Malyangapa	L.008	-									0
Mamu	Y.122	-							5		1

Table F.3: Numbers of speakers of Australian Indigenous languages (various surveys) (continued)

Language name	AIATSIS code	Number of speakers	Yallop Poll 1981	Schmidt 1990	Senate 1984	ABS Census 1996	ABS Census 2001	NILS 2004	2005 estimate	Reliability of evidence	Number of Speakers—NILS Indicator Two grades
Mamwura / Mambangura	L.020	-									0
Manadya / Manaidja	N.116.N	-									0
Mandandanji	D.044	0									0
Mandjigai	N.116.P	-									0
Mandjindja	A.033	400	incl with Western Desert= 3000		500						0
Mangala	A.065	20		20-				>20			0
Mangarrayi	N.078	50		50-				6	6		1
Manggalili	N.137	-							50		2
Mangu	A.034	-									0
Mangula	A.023	-									0
Manjiljarra	A.051.1	-						<500			0
Manu	C.024	-									0
Manungu	K.046	-									0
Mara	N.112	-						23	23		2
Maranunggu	N.013	-							5		1
Marawa	A.022	-									0
Marawara	D.006	-									0
Mardidjali	S.016	-									0
Margany	D.042	0									0
Maringarr	N.102	40							20		2
Marradhanggimirr	N.146	-							20		2
Marrakulu	N.142	-									0
Marramaninyshi	N.016	15		10?					10		0

Table F.3: Numbers of speakers of Australian Indigenous languages (various surveys) (continued)

Language name	AIATSIS code	Number of speakers	Yallop Poll 1981	Schmidt 1990	Senate 1984	ABS Census 1996	ABS Census 2001	NILS 2004	2005 estimate	Reliability of evidence	Number of Speakers– NILS Indicator Two grades
Marrangu	N.116.Q	41							30		2
Marrgu	N.045	0									0
Marridan / Marrisyefin	N.009	20							10		0
Marrithiyel	N.007	25		50-							0
Martuthunira	W.035	3						5	5		1
Martuwangka	A.006	700	Incl with Western Desert= 3000	incl with Ngaatjatj- ara	200			720			0
Marulda / Marula	L.033	-									0
Marungun	N.116.R	-									0
Maung	N.064	234		200		234	315	300	300	4	4
Maya	W.020	0									0
Mayali	N.044	-									0
Maydyara / Maidjara	N.116.L	-									0
Mayi-Kulan	G.025	0									0
Mayi-Kutuna	G.024	0									0
Mayi-Thakurti	G.016	-									0
Mayi-Yapi	G.020	-									0
Mbabaram	Y.115	-									0
Mbambylmu / Coastal Lamalama	Y.062	-									0
Mbara	G.021	-									0
Mbeiwum	Y.041	-									0
Mbo?aru	Y.142	-									0
Meindangk	S.014	-									0

Table F.3: Numbers of speakers of Australian Indigenous languages (various surveys) (continued)

Language name	AIATSIS code	Number of speakers	Yallop Poll 1981	Schmidt 1990	Senate 1984	ABS Census 1996	ABS Census 2001	NILS 2004	2005 estimate	Reliability of evidence	Number of Speakers— NILS Indicator Two grades
Mengerrdji	N.053	0									0
Menthe	N.006	35		10?							0
Meriam Mir	Y.003	324		100+	700?	324	182	many	160	4	3
Midhaga / Mithaka	L.034	-									0
Midjamba	G.018	0									0
Milamada	A.036	-									0
Miliwuru	N.116.S	-									0
Minang	W.002	0									0
Mingin	G.026	-									0
Minjungbal / Minyangbal	E.018	-									0
Miriwoong	K.029	109	300	Oct-20		109	140	58	50	3	2
Mirning	A.009	0						4	4	4	1
Miwa	K.044	4									0
Miyan	E.050	-									0
Mpalitjanh	Y.025	-									0
Mudalga	A.027	-									0
Mudburra	C.025	253		50		122	57	48	48	4	2
Mularidji / Gugu Muluriji	Y.097	-						?	0	5	0
Mulyara	A.018	?									0
Mun-narngo	N.087	-									0
Munumburu	K.025	?									0
Murrinhpatha	N.003	1434	200-500	900+	800	1434	1157		1150	4	5
Murru	N.116.T	-									0
Murunidya	A.008	15									0
Muruwari	D.032	0									0

Table F.3: Numbers of speakers of Australian Indigenous languages (various surveys) (continued)

Language name	AIATSIS code	Number of speakers	Yallop Poll 1981	Schmidt 1990	Senate 1984	ABS Census 1996	ABS Census 2001	NILS 2004	2005 estimate	Reliability of evidence	Number of Speakers—NILS Indicator Two grades
Nakako	A.032	-									0
Nakkara	N.080	313		75 – 100					50	3	2
Nalawgi	N.156	-									0
Nambuguya	N.049	-									0
Nangiblerbi	N.024	-									0
Nangor	N.001	-									0
Narangga	L.001	0									0
Nargala	N.116.U	-									0
Nargalundju	Y.113	-									0
Nari Nari	D.009	-									0
Nawalgu	D.019	-									0
Nawo	L.002	-									0
Ndorndorin	Y.040	-									0
Ndraangidh	Y.039	-									0
Ngaanyatjarra	A.038	1300	incl with Western Desert= 3,000	incl in Western Desert	700	989		>200	700	3	5
Ngaatjatjara	A.043	989	incl with Western Desert= 3,000	1000+	700	989	12		12	3	2
Ngadawanga	A.030	-									0
Ngadhugudi	Y.016	-									0
Ngadjuri	L.005	-									0
Ngaduk	N.040	-									0
Ngadyan	Y.121	-							?0		5
Ngaku	E.004	-									0

Table F.3: Numbers of speakers of Australian Indigenous languages (various surveys) (continued)

Language name	AIATSIS code	Number of speakers	Yallop Poll 1981	Schmidt 1990	Senate 1984	ABS Census 1996	ABS Census 2001	NILS 2004	2005 estimate	Reliability of evidence	Number of Speakers— NILS Indicator Two grades
Ngaladu	N.113.1	-									0
Ngalakan	N.077	10		20				few	5	4	1
Ngalia	C.002	-						2	2	4	1
Ngaliwuru	N.019	300		100				12	12	4	2
Ngalkbun	N.076	200		100 - 200					30	4	2
Ngambaa	E.005	-									0
Ngamini	L.022	0									0
Ngan'giwumirri	N.017	100							50	4	2
Nganawongka	A.037	-									0
Ngandangara	L.030	-							?0	5	5
Ngandi	N.090	10						9	9	5	1
Ngangikurunggurr	N.008	222		100-		222	65		60	4	3
Ngangurugu	S.006	-									0
Nganyaywana	D.024	0							0	5	0
Ngaralda	S.004	-									0
Ngardi	A.069	-							10	2	0
Ngarigo	S.046	-						5			0
Ngarinman	C.027	170		170				few?	50	4	2
Ngarinyin	K.018	200		100-				100	90	4	3
Ngarkat	S.009	-									0
Ngarla	A.040	10		10					0	4	0
Ngarluma	W.038	19		100		19	9	<20	9	4	1
Ngarnji	N.121	3									0
Ngarrindjeri	S.069	-						few?			0
Ngaru	E.059	-									0
Ngatjumaya	A.003	0						10	5	3	1
Ngawait	S.010	-									0

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Table F.3: Numbers of speakers of Australian Indigenous languages (various surveys) (continued)

Language name	AIATSIS code	Number of speakers	Yallop Poll 1981	Schmidt 1990	Senate 1984	ABS Census 1996	ABS Census 2001	NILS 2004	2005 estimate	Reliability of evidence	Number of Speakers—NILS Indicator Two grades
Ngawun	G.017	0							0	5	0
Ngayawung	S.007	-									0
Ngaymil	N.116.X	-									0
Ngengenwurung	S.026.1	-									0
Nggerigudi / Yupngayth	Y.019	-						7	7	4	1
Ngintait	S.018	-									0
Ngiyampaa	D.022	-						1–2	2	4	1
Ngkoth	Y.036	-									0
Ngomburr	N.040.1	0									0
Ngu?rand	Y.011	-									0
Nguburindi / Nguburinji	G.019	-									0
Ngumbarl	K.004	0									0
Ngunawal	D.003	-									0
Ngurawala	L.024	-									0
Nguri	D.046	-									0
Ngurlu	A.010	-									0
Nguwera	E.022	-									0
Nhanta	W.014	0									0
Nhuwala	W.030	0									0
Nimanburu	K.009	0									0
Njegudi / Gugu Nyiguudyi	Y.079	-									0
Njirma	Y.120	-									0
Njuwathai	!	-									0
Norweilimil	N.037.1	0									0
Ntrangith	Y.027	-									0

Table F.3: Numbers of speakers of Australian Indigenous languages (various surveys) (continued)

Language name	AIATSIS code	Number of speakers	Yallop Poll 1981	Schmidt 1990	Senate 1984	ABS Census 1996	ABS Census 2001	NILS 2004	2005 estimate	Reliability of evidence	Number of Speakers—NILS Indicator Two grades
Nuenonne	T.005	0									0
Nugara	A.005	-									0
Nukunu	L.004	0									0
Nundjulbi / Nundyurrpi	N.126	-									0
Nungali	N.028	-						4	4	4	1
Nunggubuyu	N.128	363	300	300 - 400	300 - 400	363	39	44	44	5	2
Nungudulbuy / Nungulrulboi	N.116.Y	-									0
Nunukul / Noonuccal	E.021	-									0
Nyaki Nyaki	A.001	0									0
Nyamal	A.058	80		10				25?	20	3	2
Nyanganyatjara	A.017	-									0
Nyangbal	E.016	-									0
Nyangga	N.154	0									0
Nyangumarta	A.061	263	400-1000	700 - 800		263	245	1000?	250	4	4
Nyawaygi	Y.129	0						1-2?			0
Nyikina	K.003	68		20 - 50					20	3	2
Nyininy	K.007	70							40	3	2
Nyiyaparli	A.050	6						<20	3	4	1
Nyulnyul	K.013	10									0
Nyungar	W.041						212	65	0	2	0
Nyuwadhay	Y.021	-									0
Ogerliga	G.039	-									0
Oidbi	N.046	-									0
Olgol	Y.073	20							5	5	1
Oykangand	Y.101	50	50	50					5	4	1

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Table F.3: Numbers of speakers of Australian Indigenous languages (various surveys) (continued)

Language name	AIATSIS code	Number of speakers	Yallop Poll 1981	Schmidt 1990	Senate 1984	ABS Census 1996	ABS Census 2001	NILS 2004	2005 estimate	Reliability of evidence	Number of Speakers— NILS Indicator Two grades
Paakantyi	D.012	10							4	4	1
Pakanh	Y.064	0									0
Palyku	A.055	10						10?	3	4	1
Paredarerne	T.002	0									0
Parnkalla	L.006	0							0	5	0
Payungu	W.023	10						2	2	5	1
Peerapper	T.003	0									0
Peramangk	S.005	-							0	5	0
Pinikura	W.034	0									0
Pinjarup	W.006	0									0
Pinkangarna	C.021	-									0
Pintupi	C.010	380	incl with Western Desert= 3000	incl with Pitjantj- atjara	800 (with Luritja)	380	591		600	4	5
Pitjantjatjara	C.006	2000	incl with Western Desert= 3000	3000+	1000	2107	2963	1500	3000	4	5
Pitta Pitta	G.006	0									0
Portaulun	S.003	-									0
Pungupungu	N.011	0									0
Purduna	W.024	0						0			0
Putijarra	A.054	-						4	4	5	1
Raggaja	G.004	-									0
Raijang	N.116.V	-									0
Ralwia	N.116.W	-									0
Ramindjeri	S.002	-									0

Table F.3: Numbers of speakers of Australian Indigenous languages (various surveys) (continued)

Language name	AIATSIS code	Number of speakers	Yallop Poll 1981	Schmidt 1990	Senate 1984	ABS Census 1996	ABS Census 2001	NILS 2004	2005 estimate	Reliability of evidence	Number of Speakers—NILS Indicator Two grades
Rembarrnga	N.073	171		150		75	11	175	10	4	0
Ribh / Araba	Y.107	0									0
Ringu Ringu	G.007	-									0
Rirratjingu	N.140	-									0
Ritharrngu	N.104	92		300	300	92	61	66	66	5	3
Tagalaka	Y.125	-						1	1	4	1
Tainikuit	Y.024	-						10--15	10	3	0
Tanganekald	S.011	-						0			0
Taribelang	E.033	-						?			0
Tatungalung	S.042	-									0
Teppathiggi	Y.015	-									0
Thalanyji	W.026	10						6	6	5	1
Tharrkari	W.021	2						2	2	5	1
Thaua / Dhawa	S.052	0									0
Thiin	W.025	0						0	0	5	0
Tiwi	N.020	1822		1400	1400	1822	2050	2000	2100	4	5
Tjeraridjal	A.007	-									0
Tjungundji	Y.014	-						10	10	4	0
To be deleted	K.037	300									0
To be deleted	A.024	-									0
To be deleted	A.039.1	-									0
To be deleted	A.060	-									0
Tommeginne	T.001	0									0
Toogee	T.006	0									0
Tyerrernotepanner	T.004	0									0
Tyitiyamba	A.042	-									0
Ulaolinya / Lanima	G.002	0									0

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Table F.3: Numbers of speakers of Australian Indigenous languages (various surveys) (continued)

Language name	AIATSIS code	Number of speakers	Yallop Poll 1981	Schmidt 1990	Senate 1984	ABS Census 1996	ABS Census 2001	NILS 2004	2005 estimate	Reliability of evidence	Number of Speakers— NILS Indicator Two grades
Ulwawadjana	Y.018	-									0
Umbindhamu	Y.050	0						2	2	5	1
Umbugarla	N.043	0									0
Umbuygamu	Y.055	7							3	5	1
Umida	!K.049!	0									0
Umpila	Y.045	100		100-				<12	12	4	2
Ungawangadi	Y.028	-									0
Unggumi	K.014	0									0
Unjadi	Y.013	-									0
Urningangg	N.066	10									0
Waanyi	G.023	41						2--5	4	4	1
Wadda	N.051	-									0
Wadi Wadi	D.004	-									0
Wadi Wadi	S.058	-						<10			0
Wadigali	L.012	-									0
Wadja	E.039	-									0
Wadyabangay	L.039	-									0
Wadyalang	D.045	-									0
Wadyiginy	N.031	10							5	4	1
Wagaman	Y.108	-									0
Wagilak	N.106	-						57	57	5	3
Wagiman	N.027	100		50-				11	11	5	2
Waidjinga	L.021	-									0
Wailwan	D.020	-						a few	0	3	0
Wajarri	A.039	50		50				20	20	4	2
Wajuk	W.009	0									0
Waka Waka	E.028	0									0

Table F.3: Numbers of speakers of Australian Indigenous languages (various surveys) (continued)

Language name	AIATSIS code	Number of speakers	Yallop Poll 1981	Schmidt 1990	Senate 1984	ABS Census 1996	ABS Census 2001	NILS 2004	2005 estimate	Reliability of evidence	Number of Speakers—NILS Indicator Two grades
Wakabunga	G.015	-									0
Wakaya	C.016	10									0
Wakirti Warlpiri	C.015.1	680	2500 (just Warlpiri)								0
Walajangarri	K.024	?									0
Walamangu	N.079	-									0
Walangama	G.036	-									0
Walbanga	S.054	-									0
Walboram	Y.146	-									0
Walgalu	S.047	-									0
Walgi	K.011	?									0
Waljen	A.011	-									0
Walmajarri	A.066	853	1000	1000	1300	853	596	1000	500	4	4
Walmbarddha / Bakanambia	Y.147	0						?			0
Walmbaria / Gambilmugu	Y.061	0									0
Walu	N.152	-									0
Wambaya	C.019	129							20	3	2
Wanamara	G.016.1	-						?			0
Wandandian	S.055	-									0
Wandjiwalgu	D.021	-									0
Wangaaybuwan	D.018	10						50	2	3	1
Wangan	E.047	-									0
Wanggadyara	G.005	-									0
Wanggamala	C.009	0									0
Wanggamanha	G.001	-									0
Wangkajunga	!							100	100	3	3

Table F.3: Numbers of speakers of Australian Indigenous languages (various surveys) (continued)

Language name	AIATSIS code	Number of speakers	Yallop Poll 1981	Schmidt 1990	Senate 1984	ABS Census 1996	ABS Census 2001	NILS 2004	2005 estimate	Reliability of evidence	Number of Speakers— NILS Indicator Two grades
Wangkangurru	L.027	10							5	3	1
Wangkatha	A.012	200	incl with Western Desert= 3000		200 - 300			>200	200	4	3
Wangkumara	L.025	0						100	0	3	0
Wangurri	N.134	-									0
Wanyjirra	K.021	50		50				?			0
Wardal	A.019	-									0
Wardaman	N.035	50		50-				24	24	4	2
Wardandi	W.003	0									0
Wareidbug	N.048	-									0
Warga Warga	S.021	-									0
Wargamay	Y.134	0						3	3	4	1
Waribara	Y.118	-									0
Waringari	A.063	-									0
Warki	S.001	-									0
Warlmanpa	C.017	50						30	30	4	2
Warlpiri	C.015	3000		3000+	2800	2667	2937	3000	3000	4	5
Warluwarra	G.010	4						few?	3	4	1
Warndarrang	N.120	0						?	0	4	0
Warnman	A.062	100						30	30	4	2
Warramirri	N.131	-									0
Warray	N.025	3									0
Warriyangka	W.022	0									0
Warwa	K.010	5							2	4	1
Warumungu	C.018	200		200		524	396	50	50	4	2
Warungu	Y.133	0									0

Table F:3: Numbers of speakers of Australian Indigenous languages (various surveys) (continued)

Language name	AIATSIS code	Number of speakers	Yallop Poll 1981	Schmidt 1990	Senate 1984	ABS Census 1996	ABS Census 2001	NILS 2004	2005 estimate	Reliability of evidence	Number of Speakers—NILS Indicator Two grades
Wathawurrung	S.029	-									0
Watjanti	W.013	?									0
Wawula	A.029	-									0
Waygur / Waigur	Y.145	-									0
Wemba Wemba	D.001	-						?			0
Wembria	K.031	-									0
Wengej	N.059	-									0
Wergaia	S.017	-						<10	5	3	1
Widi	A.013	?									0
Widjandja	A.038.1	-									0
Widjilg / Widyilg	N.052	-									0
Wiilman	W.007	0									0
Wik Adinda	Y.046	-									0
Wik Elken	Y.049	-									0
Wik Epa	Y.052	0									0
Wik Me?nh	Y.053	0									0
Wik Mungkan	Y.057	1000	800-1000	900-1000			668	>1500	1500	3	5
Wik Nganychara / Wik Ngencherr	Y.059	10		100					30	3	2
Wik Ngathan	Y.056	126							100	4	3
Wik Ngathan	Y.054	200		100 - 200							0
Wik Ngatharr	Y.051	86									0
Wik Ompom	Y.048	-									0
Wilawila	K.035	?									0
Wilingura	N.099	-									0
Wiljali	D.013	-									0
Wilyagali	D.016	-									0

Table F.3: Numbers of speakers of Australian Indigenous languages (various surveys) (continued)

Language name	AIATSIS code	Number of speakers	Yallop Poll 1981	Schmidt 1990	Senate 1984	ABS Census 1996	ABS Census 2001	NILS 2004	2005 estimate	Reliability of evidence	Number of Speakers—NILS Indicator Two grades
Wilyara	A.020	-									0
Wimarangga	Y.023	-									0
Windawinda	Y.031	0									0
Wiradjuri	D.010	0						31	30	2	2
Wirangu	C.001	0							2	5	1
Wirdinya	A.049	-									0
Wiri	E.057	0									0
Wiriyaraay	D.028	-									0
Woiwurrung	S.036	-						0	0	5	0
Wolgara	N.093	-									0
Wolyamidi	K.026	?									0
Wonganya	G.011	-									0
Wonnarua	S.063	-									0
Woralul	N.132	-									0
Worimi	E.002	0									0
Worla	K.043	0						5	5	4	1
Worrorra	K.017	150		20				<5	4	4	1
Wubulkarra	N.088	-									0
Wudjari	W.008	0									0
Wulagi	N.095	181									0
Wulbudjibur	Y.148	-									0
Wulguru	Y.135	-									0
Wulna	N.032	0									0
Wuna	N.029	0									0
Wunambal	K.022	100		20				5	5	4	1
Wurangu	N.037	0									0
Wurangung	Y.066	-									0

Table F.3: Numbers of speakers of Australian Indigenous languages (various surveys) (continued)

Language name	AIATSIS code	Number of speakers	Yallop Poll 1981	Schmidt 1990	Senate 1984	ABS Census 1996	ABS Census 2001	NILS 2004	2005 estimate	Reliability of evidence	Number of Speakers—NILS Indicator Two grades
Wurungugu	N.133	-									0
Wuthathi	Y.010	-									0
Yadhaykenu	Y.008	-									0
Yagalingu	E.043	-									0
Yakara	E.023	-									0
Yalarnnga	G.008	0									0
Yalugal	N.107	-									0
Yambina	E.051	-									0
Yanda	G.009	-									0
Yandruwantha	L.018	0									0
Yanga	Y.131	-									0
Yangal / Gananggalinda	G.037	-									0
Yanganyu	Y.038	-									0
Yangga	E.052	0									0
Yangman	N.068	0						0	0	5	0
Yankunytjatjara	C.004	300	incl with Western Desert=3000	incl with Pitjantj-atjara		76	70	many	70	4	3
Yannhangu	N.072	64						5–10	7	4	1
Yanyuwa	N.153	246		70 - 100		52	78	>80	70	3	3
Yaraldi	S.008	-									0
Yardliyawara	L.007	-									0
Yari Yari	S.024	-									0
Yarluyandi	L.031	-									0
Yawarawarka	L.023	0									0
Yawijibaya	!K.048!	-									0

Table F.3: Numbers of speakers of Australian Indigenous languages (various surveys) (continued)

Language name	AIATSIS code	Number of speakers	Yallop Poll 1981	Schmidt 1990	Senate 1984	ABS Census 1996	ABS Census 2001	NILS 2004	2005 estimate	Reliability of evidence	Number of Speakers—NILS Indicator Two grades
Yawuru	K.001	40		30							0
Yaygir	E.010	-						2	2	3	1
Yidiny	Y.117	10						<20	10	3	0
Yiduwa	N.136	-									0
Yiji	K.032	100							?10		5
Yilba	E.055	-									0
Yilngali	N.002	0									0
Yiman	E.031	-									0
Yindjibarndi	W.037	324	500-1000	500 - 600	600	324	233	600-700	200	4	3
Yinggarda	W.019	5							2	4	1
Yinhawangka	A.048	10									0
Yinjilanji	G.014	0									0
Yinwum	Y.029	-									0
Yir Yoront	Y.072	15		50					0	4	0
Yirandali	L.042	-									0
Yirawirung	S.012	-									0
Yirgay	Y.111	-									0
Yitha Yitha	D.007	-									0
Yorta Yorta	D.002	-						<10	0	2	0
Yu Yu	S.019	-									0
Yuat	W.011	0									0
Yugambal	E.011	0									0
Yugambeh	E.017	-						1–2	1	4	1
Yugul	N.085	0									0
Yuin	S.067	-						100-200	0	2	0
Yukulta (=Ganggalida)	G.034	-						0	0	5	0

Table F.3: Numbers of speakers of Australian Indigenous languages (various surveys) (continued)

Language name	AIATSIS code	Number of speakers	Yallop Poll 1981	Schmidt 1990	Senate 1984	ABS Census 1996	ABS Census 2001	NILS 2004	2005 estimate	Reliability of evidence	Number of Speakers— NILS Indicator Two grades
Yulparija	A.067	100		incl with Ngaatjat jara	200	93	47	100	50	4	2
Yumu	C.011	-									0
Yunggor	N.026	-									0
Yuru	E.062	-									0
Yuungay	E.009	-									0
Yuwaalaraay	D.027	-									0
Yuwibara	E.054	-									0
Yuwula	Y.070	-									0
Australian Creoles, nfd 8700							6				0
Australian Indigenous Languages, nfd 8000							10697				0
Cape York Peninsula Aboriginal, nec 8399							236				0
Cape York Peninsula Aboriginal, nfd 8300							0				0
Central Aboriginal, nec 8299							4068				0
Central Aboriginal, nfd 8200							0				0
Dhaangu 8103							12				0

Table F.3: Numbers of speakers of Australian Indigenous languages (various surveys) (continued)

Language name	AIATSIS code	Number of speakers	Yallop Poll 1981	Schmidt 1990	Senate 1984	ABS Census 1996	ABS Census 2001	NILS 2004	2005 estimate	Reliability of evidence	Number of Speakers— NILS Indicator Two grades
Eastern Aboriginal, nec 8699							478				0
Eastern Aboriginal, nfd 8600							6				0
Northern Aboriginal, nec 8199							3992				0
Northern Aboriginal, nfd 8100							6				0
Torres Strait, nfd 8400							556				0
West Coast Aboriginal, nec 8599							67				0
West Coast Aboriginal, nfd 8500							0				0

NB: Kalaw Lagaw Ya and Kalaw Kawaw Ya are combined in the ABS 2001 list.

Rigsby distinguishes Lamalama from Rimangudhinma; Lamalama figures are his Rimangudhinma

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