**Aboriginal Language Maintenance
Some Issues and Strategies**

Nicholas Thieberger BA (Hons)

Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the
degree of Master of Arts.

Department of Linguistics
School of Humanities
La Trobe University

March 1988

Contents

List of Tables

Abbreviations

AIAS	Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies
ALA	Aboriginal Languages Association
ALS	Australian Linguistic Society
ANU	Australian National University
IAD	Institute for Aboriginal Development
KLRC	Kimberley Language Resource Centre
L1	Language one, first language.
NAEC	National Aboriginal Education Committee
SAIT	South Australian Institute of Technology
SAL	School of Australian Linguistics
SIL	Summer Institute of Linguistics
WAALA	Western Australian Aboriginal Languages Association
WAAECG	Western Australian Aboriginal Education Consultative Group

Summary

In this dissertation I will discuss some of the issues involved in maintenance of Aboriginal languages in Australia. Chapter 1 places the movement in a historical context, establishing why there is an interest in maintaining Aboriginal languages in the 1980s. In chapter 2 I ask what language maintenance actually is. Both 'language' and 'maintenance' need to be defined, and in doing so I suggest that we need something other than a structuralist notion of language. I distinguish two uses of the term 'language maintenance': (a) the activity of a group of speakers, usually described by linguists in terms of causes of maintenance, numbers of speakers over generations and so on; and (b) maintenance as an interventional practice, the approach that is favoured in this work. I also distinguish between maintenance of indigenous languages and maintenance of immigrant languages in the Australian context.

In chapter 3 I assess some arguments for language maintenance, and suggest that the strongest argument is based on social justice, with more commonly expressed arguments (e.g. that language is part of identity, that it is part of the national resources) often lacking firm ground, or else being potentially damaging. For example, if a language is equated with identity, then on what grounds do people still identify themselves with their heritage if they do not still speak that language?.

Chapter 4 discusses some models that have been used for language maintenance, using the term now to include language resurrection, revival, renewal and language continuation. Following these models I discuss some of the causes for language shift, suggesting that an understanding of the causes may allow us to devise more appropriate interventional strategies, some of which are discussed in chapter 4.3.

Practical examples of the models and strategies of chapter 4 are included in a broader study of Aboriginal language maintenance in Western Australia in chapter 5. A brief historical sketch shows that little has been done by the colonial and state authorities to encourage the use of indigenous languages. The best examples of programmes aimed at maintaining the use of Aboriginal languages are in the community schools, and in the homelands movement, both examples relying on local community direction and involvement.

Statement

Except where due reference is made this thesis contains no material published elswhere. No other person's work has been used without due acknowledgement.

It has not been submitted for the award of any other degree or diploma in any tertiary institution.

There has been no collaboration with any other person beyond normal supervision, and beyond that mentioned in the acknowledgements.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank my supervisors, Edith Bavin and Peter Austin for their suggestions and support throughout the long years of my candidature.

Work of this sort cannot be the product of one person's effort alone. The ideas included in this thesis are a product of discussions with a number of people in various parts of Australia, too numerous to name, but to all of them my grateful thanks.

In particular I acknowledge the support and advice of Paul Black, Margaret Florey, Susan Kaldor, Bill McGregor, Sherry Saggers, Peter and Edna Thompson, Ray and Diana Vallance, the staff of the Western Desert Puntukurnuparna (née Land Council), and Maureen Young.

In the final months of writing a candidate can become somewhat irascible, so special thanks to my family and to Bev and Nicki for their forbearance and support.

Chapter 1. Introduction

1.0 Introduction

In this thesis I will discuss some of the issues involved in maintenance of Aboriginal languages in Australia. I look at the idea of maintaining languages, whether it can be achieved, and if so what are the factors involved in their retention? I claim that languages can be maintained, but that linguists can play only a small role in the attempt. The key factors are social and economic. Decisions about whether to speak a particular language or not have little to do with the structure of the language, but have a lot to do with how speakers perceive their language, and beyond, to how they perceive themselves as speakers of the language. Thus, the positive effect of language engineering, for example, may be not in creating new terms that few people will use, but in focussing attention on a minority group's language.

I want to present some of the arguments used in support of language maintenance, and to show that they are potentially two-edged. The most important argument is, I suggest, based on social justice. The assertion of their rights by indigenous people has promoted an interest among the dominant population of Australia in the welfare of Aboriginal people, albeit among a minority of the dominant population, and has also given rise to a new concern about academic treatment of indigenous people. In this chapter I will suggest that the reason that language maintenance has become a topic in the 1980s is due, in part, to the change in academia, which itself must be seen in the context of Aboriginal revitalisation.

1.1. Importance of a political framework.

An overriding tenet of this work is that "there is nothing foreordained about the extinction of a local language in competition with a language of wider currency" (Dorian 1981:111), or as Maybury-Lewis (1977:58) suggests, "there is no natural or historical law that militates against small societies. There are only political choices". These political choices are, of course, intimately bound into the models and arguments for language maintenance. Paulston (1980) summarises arguments about bilingual programmes in the US and places them within two dominant political frameworks, the structural-functional or 'equilibrium' approach, and the conflict paradigm. The former is concerned to depict a harmonious society in which differences are mediated for the greater good, and in which change is gradual and cumulative (ibid:17). The latter sees that there are conflicts among

1. Introduction

groups in society; economic, cultural and political conflicts, that cannot be resolved. Her conclusion is that the issues in bilingual education are not only linguistic, sociological, and scholarly, but also moral and ethical issues (ibid:v). Similarly, Skutnabb-Kangas (1986) observes that 'research' supports both opponents and proponents of mother-tongue maintenance education for minority children, and hence that methodological controversies are part of philosophical and political ideologies. It is useful to bear these arguments in mind when discussing the maintenance of Aboriginal languages in Australia. The political nature of the basic choices means that there will be no 'correct' analysis of the information which will allow us to answer a question like "Should Aboriginal languages be maintained?". The answer depends on whether one agrees with concepts such as social justice, which is, as I suggest in 3.0., the strongest argument for maintaining Aboriginal languages.

Throughout this work I will use examples from indigenous language groups outside of Australia. Morphy (1980:82) points out that it is not the possession of traditional values that is uniquely shared by indigenous people in the Americas and in Australia, it is the loss of their "political and socio-economic autonomy through incorporation with post-colonial or neo-colonial nation states." There is a shared experience of colonialism among these groups and, as outlined in 3.0., it is a common feature of colonial societies that the indigenous culture and language is devalued by the dominant society.

1.2. Terminology

There are some problems of naming that recur throughout the present work. A major problem is in naming the indigenous people of Australia. The most commonly used term is 'Aborigine', or even the nominal use of the adjective 'Aboriginal'; both are descriptive terms. As in all colonial situations, the dominant group takes upon itself the task of defining the dominated. While the reverse is also true (Aboriginal people also stereotype and caricature white people), the difference in power, and European control over access to social and economic goods ensures that the white views will remain hegemonic (see 3.0. for a discussion of this idea). Recently Fesl (1987:22) has suggested using the term 'Koorie' for all Aboriginal people, a usage that has currency in the south-east, parts of NSW, and Tasmania but not elsewhere in Australia. She objects to the use of the term 'Aboriginal', an objection I understand, but many of the Aboriginal people I have worked with have never heard of the term 'Koorie', and there are a number of Western Australian terms that would serve equally well ('Nyungar' in the south-

1. Introduction

west, 'Yamaji' in the Murchison, 'Marlpa' and 'Ngayarta' further north, 'Martu' or 'Puntu' in the desert, and so on). In the following work I will alternate between 'Aborigine', 'the colonised', 'indigenous people' and 'the dominated population' depending on the particular relationship that is being discussed.

Another difficulty is the definition of 'traditional language'. Is the traditional language the one that was spoken before contact, or is it the one that was spoken by its most recent speakers, or is it both of these? Given the dynamics of language change and given the disruption associated with the introduction of English, we can be reasonably sure that the 200 or fewer years since contact have seen changes in pre-contact Aboriginal languages. Nevertheless, I will use the terms 'traditional language', and 'old language' to refer to the Australian Aboriginal language that is usually the object of calls for language maintenance in Australia. The term 'vernacular' will be used to refer to the everyday language of particular group of people, regardless of whether it is a traditional language or a syncretic or post-contact language (i.e. in the same sense that Illich (1983) uses 'vernacular'). The issue of definition of language is taken up in chapter 2.

1.3. Why language maintenance in the 1980s?

Butlin (1985:175) claims that the Aboriginal population of Australia immediately prior to the arrival of Cook and his troops at Sydney was perhaps as high as 1,500,000, well above the commonly quoted figure of 300,000 (a figure that was established by Radcliffe-Brown 1930) for the entire continent. If we compare this figure to that of 160,915 in the 1976 census (Broome 1982:174), then the extent of the damage done to the indigenous inhabitants of this continent becomes clear.

The changes in traditional society that Butlin documents, mainly as a result of disease spreading and preceding the physical arrival of European settlers, means that Europeans may never have seen Aboriginal people in 'normal' conditions. The implication is that all Aboriginal communities were affected by the first contacts on the east coast and that the degree of damage done is only partly a feature of actual contact with Europeans, having been caused by smallpox and other diseases introduced by the Europeans, but preceding them into the hinterland. The damage to social structures inherent in such a large population decline obviously had a concomitant effect on the use of languages, and on the number of speakers of languages.

1. Introduction

At the time of the first arrival of Europeans, Aboriginal people had a well-established economy based on communal ownership of the main means of production, the land. "To be alienated from their land meant loss of a sense of physical and spiritual continuity and psycho-social security and also lead to death, great material poverty and massive socio-cultural destruction" (Middleton 1980:180). This alienation commenced in 1788 and slowly spread across the continent. There had been other contact previously, notably with the Dutch on the west coast, the Portuguese on the north and north-west coasts, and the Macassans on the north coast of Arnhem Land. These early sporadic contacts, among other effects, led to some vocabulary items being introduced into local languages (von Brandenstein 1970, Walker & Zorc 1981, Urry & Walsh 1981) but by their transient nature were not as effective in inducing social dislocation as the later British colonialisation was to be. I do not intend to present a history of European/Aboriginal contact over the past 200 years (for which see Biskup 1973, Middleton 1977 or Broome 1982). I suggest that the interaction can generally be characterised as destructive of Aboriginal people and of their society (see Rowley 1970), and consequently of their languages. Discussions of the pre-contact language situation in Australia invariably begin by quoting a figure of between 200 (Dixon 1980) and 500 (Broome 1982) dialects or languages spoken throughout the continent. Recent work (e.g. Sutton 1978, Merlan 1981) suggests that identifying languages as discrete units may be the product of European fieldwork, and that there is a much more complex interrelationship of social groups with land and language than is allowed for in, for example, the maps accompanying Tindale's (1974) work. Whatever the original case was, Black (1979) suggests that only 115 languages still had speakers in 1979, and many of them had less than 500 speakers (obviously the figure of 115 is subject to the same caveats as those quoted above).

However, the results of invasion and subsequent colonisation also reflect the involvement of Aborigines as actors (Rowse 1986), resisting and accepting the European presence as was necessary (Reynolds 1982). I want to avoid what Schermerhorn (1970:8) terms 'victimology' in accounts of colonial societies "conceptualising the relations between subordinate and dominant groups in such a way that the former are invariably oppressed and exploited." Resistance, combined with exclusion from the mainstream society have allowed Aboriginal people to retain "to a greater or lesser degree many traits of their traditional way of life and thought, culture, languages, customs and institutions although often with new meanings and functions" (Middleton 1980:184). Thus, Middleton suggests, it is

1. Introduction

precisely because of their marginal status in the dominant economy that Aboriginal people have been able to maintain their languages until recently.

Rose (1987) claims that, inasmuch as a traditional mode of production can be said to have survived the initial effects of European contact,the last practitioners of this mode of production ceased its practice with the Second World War. While I do not suggest that there was a direct link between the mode of production and the language that Aboriginal people spoke, it is nevertheless likely that the ensuing change in social structures affected the use of traditional languages (see Milroy and Margrain 1980, and 4.2. on the positive correlation of maintaining social structures and language maintenance).

In addition, Middleton points to the increasing appreciation of Aboriginal people as a cheap or free labour source which militated against their immediate extermination. This was especially true after the end of the transportation of free convict labour in the latter part of the nineteenth century. The use of Aboriginal people in positions such as stockmen, stationhands, and domestics (McGrath 1987), lead to the development of lingua francas or pidgin/creole varieties (Sandefur 1979) to facilitate communication between the white bosses and the Aboriginal workers, who might have come from diverse linguistic backgrounds themselves. Multilingualism among Aboriginal people appears to have been the norm (Elwell 1977, Dixon 1980), so it is in the dialogue between the dominant and the dominated group (required after the relocation of indigenous people to stations, missions and reserves, as described for example in Donaldson 1980 for Ngiyampaa) that communication becomes problematical. What began as pidgin varieties became creolised with the first generation born into the speech community. Due to the complexity of the social and economic relationship between Aboriginal people and the dominating society, and the uneven nature of the colonisation of Australia, the pidgin/creole (henceforth 'post-contact') varieties that have arisen have done so at different times and in different ways around the continent. These varieties have filled an identity role to some extent, not in the sense of identification with country (Merlan 1981), but rather in the sense of maintaining in-group identity (see 3.3.).

The pressure on Aboriginal people to assimilate into the dominant society came comparatively recently. Earlier it was considered that the indigenous people of Australia would soon pass away (Bates 1940). Hence the language work that was done was almost exclusively of a 'salvage' type, with the researchers concerned to

1. Introduction

capture the last remnants of a dying culture, and dying language (e.g. Daisy Bates' (nd) work in Western Australia). Notable exceptions were some of the missions (see 5.3.) which used the local language in schools or (western) religious services, the main aim however always being conversion and assimilation into the faith.

With the granting of equal wages following the 1967 referendum, many Aboriginal pastoral workers became unemployed. Their subsequent shift into town fringe camps away from traditional territory would have contributed to the decline of use the traditional language. Liberman (1980) points out that the exploration for and extraction of minerals is another reason for the rapid changes in the lifestyle of remote groups of Aboriginal people in the 1960s and 1970s.

Aboriginal activism has carried on throughout the years of occupation of their country (see Reynolds 1982), but it was only in the late 1960s and early 1970s that the movement took on a national scope (Pittock 1975, Jones & Hill-Burnett 1982). The Gurindji pastoral strike became the focus for national publicity and protest in the three years from 1966, as did the court case against Nabalco by the people of Yirrkala in 1970-71, both emphasised the importance of land and contributed to the development of land rights legislation in the Northern Territory. For seven months in 1972 the Aboriginal tent embassy stood on the lawns of Parliament House in Canberra, and its removal attracted national media coverage (Middleton 1977). Two important external features further aided developing Aboriginal nationalism: the referendum of 1967 giving the federal government power over Aboriginal affairs; and the election of a Federal Labour government in 1972, with a policy of land rights and educational equality of opportunity for Aboriginal people. Perhaps even more important was the rise of 'ethnic consciousness', or the 'ethnic revival' (Allardt 1979) among immigrant and indigenous groups around the world. Jones and Hill-Burnett (1982:221) note the similarities between the rise of the civil rights movement in America, and the Aboriginal rights movement in Australia. Similarly, Rowley (1986:13) situates the movement in the international context of anti-colonialism, claiming that the return of land is "central to the political process of de-colonisation" (ibid:11).

There has been a development of a 'national' consciousness among Aboriginal people in Australia of the type which Wallace (1956) calls 'revitalisation'. The forced movement to reserves and missions encouraged both the development of common languages (not only post-contact languages, but also indigenous lingua francas, see Haviland 1985:185 on Guugu Yimidhirr as a lingua franca) and the

1. Introduction

awareness of common experiences. This awareness has continued and is, with other factors, today part of a national movement that seeks the recognition of the rights of all Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people. The popular movement to maintain Aboriginal languages has become prominent only in the past decade (that is, concurrent with the 'nativistic', 'traditionalistic', or 'revitalisation' movement more broadly). An example of this is the call from some participants at the 1985 Brisbane conference of the Aboriginal Languages Association (ALA, see below, this section) for the development of a national Aboriginal language. I suggest that this call is part of a development of a revitalised national Aboriginal identity. As Sanford (1974:507) notes, a revitalisation movement constitute a group's reversal from deploring and trying to erase their differences from the dominant group (a phenomenon discussed in 3.0.) to "celebrating and emphasizing their distinctiveness." She observes that revitalisation movements, rather than threatening acculturation, are in fact a sign that acculturation has been achieved. As I argue in 3.5., culture is related to a people in a dynamic fashion, they can choose how they want to interpret their culture and their past according to present needs, allowing them to function within a dominant culture while still maintaining identifiable features of their traditions.

Another reason for the development of interest in language maintenance in the 1980s is the change in the study and practice of linguistics in Australia. As with archaeology and anthropology (see Langford 1982) academics have become more aware of their responsibility to the communities they work with. Until the 1920s there was little work done by linguists in Australia. Capell (1971), in a history of Australian linguistics, calls this the 'pre-scientific' period, characterised by collections of wordlists, and a few grammars of varying depth and reliability. In the 'scientific' period from 1920 on, there were more scholars in the field, and quite detailed works were produced (e.g. Strehlow 1944, Douglas 1958). A large proportion of this work, until the 1970s, was concerned to describe the language of a group of Aboriginal people, but the products of its research were inaccessible to those people (there are of course exceptions, e.g. Douglas' advocacy of bilingual education and his production of an illustrated dictionary (Douglas 1959a)).

With the establishment of the Australian Institute for Aboriginal Studies (AIAS) in 1961 funding became available for linguists to tr`vel into the field, and the amount of information collected increased accordingly. The establishment in Australia of the missionary organisation the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL),

1. Introduction

also in 1961, ensured that literacy work in and grammatical descriptions of a number of languages would begin.

There was an escalation of interest in Aboriginal languages in the late 1960s and 70s (Walsh 1979), with the result that university courses became available (e.g. Dixon's course at the ANU was first taught in 1972). It also became possible to learn Aboriginal languages at some tertiary institutions, Pitjantjatjara at SAIT, and Wanggatha at Kalgoorlie College. Courses of self-instruction were developed by IAD (Warlpiri, Pitjantjatjara, Arrernte), Mt.Lawley College (Wanggatha) , and the Curriculum Development Centre (Yolngu matha) in Canberra. Pressure by linguists (e.g. O'Grady & Hale 1974) was largely responsible for the development of bilingual education courses in the Northern Territory, and for the establishment, in 1974, of the School of Australian Linguistics (SAL) (see 4.3.4.), an institution that aimed to train Aboriginal people in linguistic methods. Although the SAL was set up to support the NT bilingual programme, it also provided skills in interpreting/ translating and language work generally. The late Gloria Brennan, an Aboriginal graduate of UWA wrote a report (Brennan 1979) which deals at length with the place of language in contemporary Aboriginal society. It identifies language issues as "like the land issues, ..central to the future of Aboriginal people. The language we speak is a reflection of the way we live, what we regard as important." (ibid:14).

Although it specifically deals with the Northern Territory the issues raised are common to many Aboriginal communities. The report argues for the establishment of "Institutes of Aboriginal languages" which would, among other things (ibid:52);

> - "meet the needs of guardians, custodians and Aboriginal researchers who wish to gather oral history, record and do research on languages"
> - provide "advice on interpreting and translation issues and other language matters" for courts, police, land claims and other language-related activities.
> - "operate an interpreter/translator service."
> - "act as a clearing house or an advice and resource centre for the bilingual education program."

Aboriginal people have graduated from linguistics courses at the SAL and are now active in language programmes in their own communities. There are very few Aboriginal graduates of university linguistics courses, but some of these graduates,

together with those from the SAL, have established the Aboriginal Languages Association, a national body which supports Aboriginal language maintenance (see 4.0.). A similar organisation (WAALA) was begun in Western Australia in 1986, see 5.5.3. In 1983, together with a group of linguistics students from ANU, the ALA proposed the use of a code of ethics for linguists (ALA Newsletter April/May 1985), part of which advocates that linguists ensure the usefulness of their work to the Aboriginal community they have worked with. This has since been taken up by the Australian Linguistic Society (ALS), and a draft code of ethics is being considered by the membership of the ALS, see the ALS Newsletter 87/4. The ALA has published a newsletter, and produced a book (Bell 1982) both of which discuss a number of issues related to language maintenance.

Two recent events have shown the degree of support for Aboriginal language maintenance, the AIAS conference on the topic and subsequent appointment of a language maintenance fellow (Annette Schmidt, see Schmidt 1987), and the emphasis placed on Aboriginal languages by the National Policy on Languages (Lo Bianco 1987). The latter is very supportive of Aboriginal languages and has resulted in funding being made available over three years for Aboriginal language programmes (see 4.0.).

1.4. Conclusion

In this chapter I have suggested that the interest in Aboriginal language maintenance in the 1980s has developed for a number of reasons. Primary among them is the rise of Aboriginal nationalism which can be seen in the support for language maintenance by Aboriginal people who no longer speak a traditional language themselves. Also important has been the change in the way academics perceive their responsibilities to the Aboriginal people they work with.
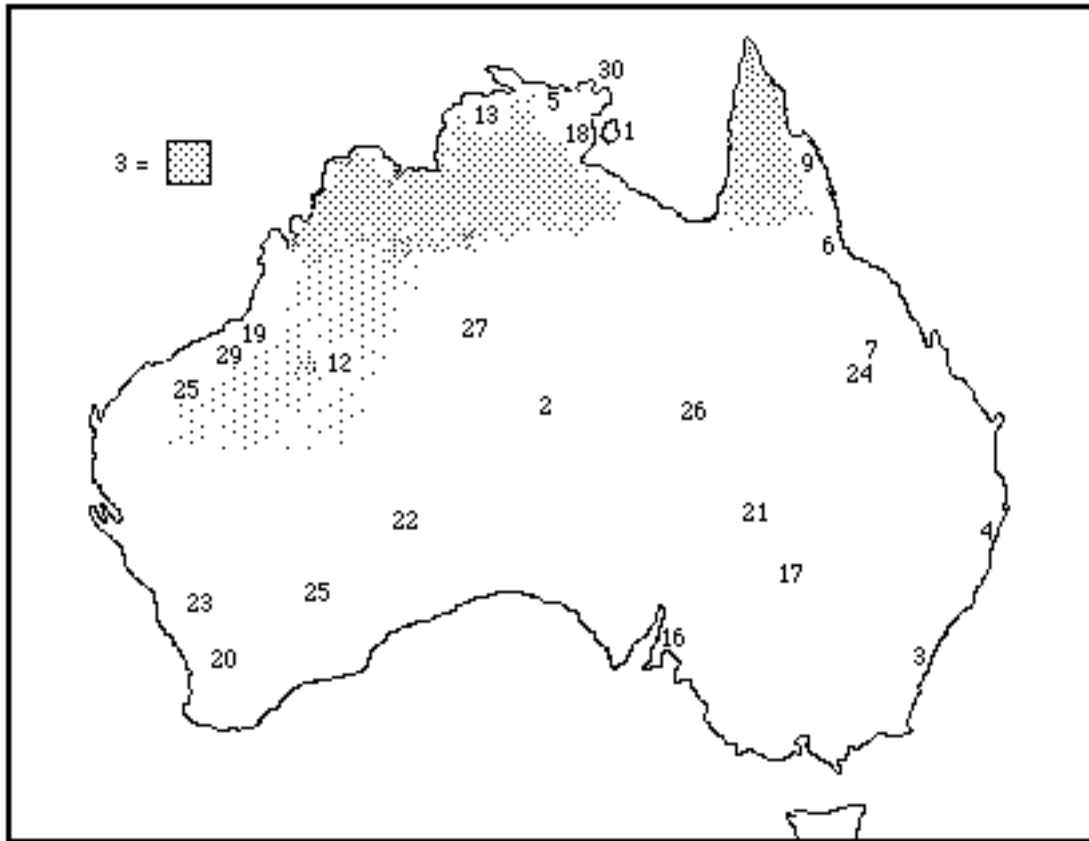
Chapter 2. What is Language Maintenance?

2.0. Introduction

The term language maintenance is used to cover a variety of activities and approaches to language work. For example, in the Northern Territory the term is used with reference to the bilingual programme, in opposition to 'transition to English', in Victoria it is applied to the introduction of Banjalang (a language from the north coast of NSW) into Victorian schools (Fesl 1982b). The 'Language Maintenance Newsletter', a publication of the School of Australian Linguistics, covers any topic related to the teaching of Aboriginal languages.

In this chapter I will look at some uses of the terms 'language' and 'maintenance', contrasting the use of 'language' by linguists with that of Aboriginal people; review some sources on language maintenance; discuss the difference between migrant languages and indigenous languages; and conclude by suggesting that there is a distinction between language maintenance as the description of a situation, and the interventional practice aimed at maintaining language.

2.1. Language

To clarify the term 'language maintenance' we have to begin with an understanding of what 'language' is. 'Language' can mean a number of different things depending on one's cultural or theoretical background and the potential for confusion surrounding language maintenance can be cleared up by an elaboration of some different uses of the term 'language'. For example Witherspoon (1977:16) claims that the Navajo consider that the world was spoken into existence by pre-existing spirits. He gives other examples that show the ongoing use of language and spoken ritual in maintaining harmony in the world; "Language is not a mirror of reality; reality is a mirror of language" (ibid:34). Obviously this is not the place for an exposition on the many definitions of 'language' for which there is a wide literature (e.g. Lyons 1981:1-8., Pateman 1987:43- 80). I am mainly concerned to show that language maintenance does not necessarily rely on what I characterise as a structuralist notion of language.

2.1.1. Linguistics and 'language'.

Linguistics, the western science of language study, has no unified notion of 'language'. Saussure, an early exponent of structuralist linguistics, saw language as a discrete object that could be isolated in time (the synchronic study of language). For Saussure (1916[1974]) language is primarily symbolic, and an arbitrary (i.e. non-natural) relationship exists between words and their referents (the signifier and

the signified). In addition Saussure distinguishes between the language system (langue), and the individual speech-act (parole). The object of study is the system of signs and their relationship to each other, the grammar that is found in langue."One might if really necessary apply the term ..linguistics of speaking. But that science must not be confused with linguistics proper, whose sole object is langue" (Saussure 1974:20).

The arbitrary relation between sign and referent and the isolation of 'langue' in time both serve to objectify language as a static abstraction. For Volosinov (1973:21), a contemporary critic of Saussure, language is essentially social; it cannot be divorced from the context of its use. He writes that "the forms of signs are conditioned above all by the social organization of the participants involved and also by the immediate conditions of their interaction." He suggests that linguists require abstraction from context, in his words;"The isolated, finished, monologic utterance, divorced from its verbal and actual context and standing open not to any possible sort of active response but to passive understanding on the part of the philologist" (Volosinov 1973:73). A study of language that ignores the past, or that ignores the dynamism of ongoing dialogue between participants is of little use to Volosinov. Hymes (1980:xii) later followed Volosinov in pointing out that linguists are "ill-equipped to make sense out of the adaptation of a subordinated language to a rise of national feeling" (which I argue is the case for Aboriginal languages in Australia): "We are best equipped to look at languages as evolving isolates, most poorly equipped to look at languages as instruments of evolving populations" (ibid).

Malinowski (1923) suggests that an understanding of language requires an awareness of the context of situation and the context of culture. Subsequently, Firth (1950:182) took Malinowski's notion of context of situation and elaborated upon it to include;

- participants
- action of the participants (both verbal and non-verbal)
- other objects and events that have a bearing on the discourse.
- effects of the verbal action, changes brought about after the verbal encounter.

Chomsky's approach differs from earlier American structuralists (i.e. Bloomfield) and Saussurean structuralism especially in its quest for universals. However it is firmly located in that tradition in its central requirement of a

"transcendental subject absolved from all limiting social determinants" (Eagleton 1983:121) or, in Chomsky's words: "an ideal speaker-listener, in a completely homogeneous speech- community, who knows its language perfectly and is unaffected by such grammatically irrelevant conditions as memory limitations, distractions, shifts of attention and interest, and errors in applying his knowledge of the language in actual performance" (Chomsky 1965:3). Chomsky echoes Saussure's disdain for studying anything other than an abstraction from actual use. Discussing sociolinguistics he remarks that "you can also collect butterflies.. but such work must not be confounded with research" (Chomsky 1979:57).

To maintain language then, in a structuralist model, would be to have an idealised version of what the language is at a point in time and to proceed to act to avoid change in the direction of the dominant language. However, another tenet of Chomsky's work is that it is not prescriptive. It is thus unclear if there is any role for language planning in a Saussurean or Chomskyan framework. Indeed there is no room for what might be called the 'emotional' aspects of language; nationalism, sentiment, attachment to a particular language, all of which, I suggest, are integral parts of language maintenance.

In response to the abstraction of structuralism there have been attempts to incorporate social phenomena in a theory of language. These approaches have led to a broader definition of 'language' as an object of study. Hymes (1974:196) outlines three types of sociolinguistics:

> 1) Socially oriented linguistics (use of the grammar- based linguistic paradigm in applied linguistic work, e.g. education, language policies).

> 2) Socially realistic linguistics (as in Labov's work , e.g. Labov 1972, data is found in the speech community, but it is language that is the object of study, not society. This work complements grammatical studies).

> 3) Socially constituted linguistics (identifies social functions and finds how linguistic features serve them, it is a theory of language, not of grammar, and is not divorced from the social context, e.g. Eastman 1981).

The third type is most similar to systemics, another school of linguistics for which context is crucial. The major exponent of this trend in linguistic theory is Halliday (1978), who points out that a sentence (usually taken as the largest unit for analysis in Chomskyan linguistics) may have more than one function which can only be determined by analysing it in a text and in context. In addition, language can serve a number of functions (whether these functions are prior to, and necessary for, the organisation of language, as suggested by some functionalists (e.g. Halliday 1978) need not concern us here).

The functional range of language is of concern to our discussion of language maintenance, since the object to be maintained may be precisely one of the functions of the language, not all of the functions of the language, nor all of the language. Some functions outlined by Halliday (1978) include cognitive, communicative, expressive, referential, social, social-interactional (see 2.2.2. for McConvell's discussion of three functions of language choice).

In an approach which also takes account of the functions served by language, Eastman & Reece (1981:110) and Eastman (1984) talk of the identity forming role of a language that we associate with a chosen heritage (see also 3.3). This 'associated' language is distinguished from (a) the structuralist definition of language, and (b) the 'emblematic' use of language; however it may be each or both of these forms. The former typically sees language as a system of shared meaning (*langue*) used for communication by individuals whose *parole* is a product of their own experiences, and of the moment of production. The latter involves the use of a language or parts of a language as an emblem of identity with a particular group (see also 3.3 on identity), not as a means of everyday communication.

The idea of 'associated' language is similar to Dorian's (1980:39) 'linguistic lag', a 'lag' between the usage of a particular group of Gaelic speakers and the changing usage of the population around them which has "taken a variety of forms over time: a Gaelic that was unusually pure; a monolingualism that was peculiar to them; an imperfect English at a time when mastery of English was the local norm; and finally, a persistent bilingualism in an otherwise monolingual population." The essence of the 'lag' then, is in its marking of difference; language can be a marker of identity "without taking the form of the presence or absence of some particular language or dialect" (Dorian 1980:36). Similarly Hill & Hill (1977) point out that, with the narrowing functional range of Nahuatl, it is becoming a 'language of solidarity'. Language, like other cultural forms, can lose its instrumental value while still retaining a symbolic or affective value (see also 3.5. below).

I argue that associated language is the key to understanding many of the calls for language maintenance today. 'Associated language' is one of a number of roles that language can have. If we understand that a language can serve various functional roles, then we will be closer to understanding what language maintenance is and what people want in language maintenance programmes.

Once we go beyond a structuralist definition of language we can better understand the requirements of language maintenance. It is no longer a matter of avoiding loss in a static paradigm, but rather of understanding the uses of language in a given context and what these uses are to speakers and to descendants of speakers of Aboriginal languages.

2.1.2.'Language' in the Australianist literature.

Linguists working with Australian Aboriginal languages, while usually trained in a structuralist/descriptivist framework, nevertheless often adopt a broader definition of language, albeit tacitly. Dixon (1980:512) distinguishes two uses of 'language'; language1, a non-technical, everyday use of the term; and language2 which is determined by mutual intelligibility and so is distinguished from 'dialect'. 'The Languages of Australia' (Dixon 1980) includes two chapters on speech style and the role of language in Aboriginal communities, but is mainly concerned with the description of structural features and with classification of languages.

Grammars of Australian languages set out to describe to a greater or lesser extent the use of language in its context, but are usually concerned to create a system of rules that describe a static, synchronic abstraction. Examples of the latter are Metcalfe (1975) and Eades (1976). An example of the former is Donaldson's (1980) work on Ngiyampaa. Examples of works which have not set out to be descriptive grammars and which discuss language use in context are Brandl and Walsh (1982), which distinguishes two functions of language, communication and boundary marking (identifying); Haviland (1982) which investigates uses of language in reproducing relationships both within and across group boundaries; Sutton (1978) which shows that choices among speech varieties can be determined by a number of variables, included under four headings (ibid:192);

> -Relations between speakers.
> -Personal state.
> -Situational context.
> -Topic.

Sutton also shows that language is used to mark 'states of intention' (1982:197) so that politeness or disrespect, for example, may be signalled by the conscious manipulation of 'normal' rules (this use of language is discussed further in 4.2.1.). Eades' (1983) work attempts to focus on the 'speech event', embedded in the 'linguistic, immediate, and extrasituational context' (ibid:39). 'Language', in her work, is "purposive, goal-oriented social action" (ibid:47). It is certainly a different definition of language that allows her to claim that the Queensland Aboriginal languages Goorang Goorang and Waka Waka are alive, but their use is restricted (Eades 1983:83), after telling us that South East Queensland Aboriginal (SEQAB) people over 50 years of age use "Lingo (a vernacular mainly derived from Goorang Goorang and Waka Waka, NT) in short fluent outbursts to talk about topics such as pregnancy, urinating, defecating, genital body parts, as well as to exclude Whites or to rebuke someone' (Eades 1983:83). The current extremely limited range of Lingo would not be considered to be large enough, for a structural linguist, to constitute a language.

2.1.3.Aboriginal uses of the term 'language'.

In Aboriginal languages typically there is one word that means 'word', 'language', 'way of talking', and 'discussion' (for example in some of the Pilbara languages it is 'wangka', in Warlpiri 'yimi'). Language is seen as the medium for transmission of songs, of ceremonies, in short it is mostly considered by Aboriginal people as embedded in its use. The widespread requests for language maintenance by Aboriginal people are often based on a very different view of language to the one that contemporary linguists use. However there is strong similarity to Whorfian ideas of language encoding thought, for example; "If we think in our language we can think in the Aboriginal way" (Lanley 1980:37). I find the same Whorfian approach in discussion of language with non-Aboriginal people who are not linguists, so it would appear that it is not distinctively 'Aboriginal' (see section 3.5. for a discussion of Whorf's ideas).

In my conversations with Aboriginal people in Western Australia they have often linked the importance of traditional values and language. When talking about language courses for their own language the first topics for consideration often include kin- terms, or hunting terms, or, (depending on the context) swearwords. Using these words is an important way of showing not only that there is a difference between the cultural history of these Aboriginal people and the non-Aboriginal people around them, but also between different groups of Aboriginal people. The group identity function of language has been well described in the literature and will be taken up below in section 3.3.

The claims made for traditional languages by the people I have worked with initially appear to be quite fantastic statements about an ideal situation; for example, if only language can be relearned, then the traditional order will be returned. The order of parental authority and rule by elders is lost by losing the language that conveyed instructions and discipline. The Aboriginal coordinator of an agency in Perth who is trying to run a language programme for Nyungars (local Aboriginal people) emphasised the need for 'respect' words to be included in the first lessons of the language course that was being planned. Further topics to be included were 'strict moral aspects of the language, discipline', and greetings and farewells.

> "I'd like to see more promotion (of language). At the
> moment the kids are in limbo because they don't really
> identify with it. ...if they get into crisis it causes real
> problems because they can't identify with one or the other. ..
> If we would establish something like this , they can see
> where they fit in, and therefore they're moving forward with
> the technology " (Nyungar woman, late 30s, Perth 1986).

In my discussions about language and language maintenance with Aboriginal people around Western Australia, living in a number of different social and economic conditions, it was very common for the following topics to be raised (examples from the literature are included);

A) **'Olden days' rituals** involving increase ceremonies, bush skills, healing, medicine, spirits, (often, but not necessarily, including the use of ritual language). "Just because we speak English we should not lose our languages and their special thinking. Our lives are changing but this does not mean we should forget the things it took us thousands of years to work out' (Lanley 1980:39). Language encapsulates a 'special thinking', it is seen as a key to timeless knowledge. Not only can language be the medium for expressing cultural information, it may itself be the focus of cultural activity (as in the Navajo example in 2.1., or Ngiyampaa, see 4.2.). For example, 'singing' a person (who has transgressed) involves use of language in cursing (Elkin 1977). When visiting certain important sites it may be necessary to address the local spirit beings in the language associated with the site to avoid disharmony. The old people "taught us the songs and dances we must learn to keep strong with - to stay part of us - and of our Dreaming and our land. Without that we cannot live; without our custom and our land we get broken up" (Lanley 1980:35).

'You have to know the language to go through the law, the words and the singers are with it you know, the other way you just can't do it.' (Elderly man, Onslow, April 1986). Similarly Ellis (1985:53) talks of the power of language, in the form of song, over personal and collective health, for example in aiding painful childbirth. And for Strehlow (1971:126), Aboriginal songs gave power over nature, a "power capable both of creation and destruction".

B) The importance of protecting local significant sites or preparing for land claims by reviving interest in the language associated with a part of the country. I know of two groups in WA that have been reasserting their tribal affiliation with their country while at the same time it is also being claimed by a rival group. As part of the reidentification with the land in question the groups have been engaged in collection of wordlists and stories in the traditional language.

C) General confidence, identity "I think it worries the government that if we do bring up the maintenance on Aboriginal languages, they may get worried that Aboriginals are becoming more independent... teaching their own languages, that's what they need, because then their incentive might come for an enterprise development" (Middle-aged Nyungar man, Perth 1986).

On a trip in the bush with some Aboriginal people from Roebourne, two middle-aged men, two 16 year-old boys and myself, the topic of conversation was the goanna that we were looking for, I was asked if I knew the language name for goanna. I used the Yindjibarndi word *kurrumanthu* which I had heard all four members of the party using earlier. I was told I was wrong by one of the men who asked the boys for the correct (Ngarluma) name. One of the boys called it *birkala* and was corrected by his questioner who said the "right language" was *birrikarlira*. (note the ambiguity in the use of 'language' here, referring both to the word, and to the language). The boy replied with "It's a word isn't it?". The boy's concern was that he had a language word, not whether it was the appropriate language in a town where there are two main languages and numerous other languages are represented; 'language' in opposition to English.

2.1.4. Conclusion
From all of the above examples it is clear that the 'language' referred to in discussions of Aboriginal language maintenance can refer to greater or smaller parts of what a structuralist linguist thinks of as language: words, sentences, stories, or meetings. In addition, we have seen that the Aboriginal understanding of the place of language in the world can include language as a source of power (in

rituals that influence nature) or language as a marker of identity with a part of the country (see also 3.3.). By being aware of the different definitions of language we will be better able to understand that language maintenance activities can apply to a variety of societies, not just those composed of ideal speaker-listeners, and that they need not be solely concerned with development of the communicative competence of speakers, but also with creation of the conditions in which the language is able to function.

2.2. What is language maintenance?

Given variety of views of what 'language' is, there is obviously going to be a diversity of definitions of what is to be maintained in 'language maintenance'. In this section we will look at some of the representative literature in an attempt to arrive at a working definition of language maintenance and of the various activities that can be included under that rubric.

'Maintenance' can be used to refer to the practice of minority language groups or it can be an activity requiring intervention by language professionals. The former is the object of study of linguists, the latter requires their planning and participation.

2.2.1.The International and Australian non-Aboriginal context

There is a large literature on language planning (see Christian 1988 for a summary) and bilingualism, part of which is referred to elsewhere in this thesis. In this section I will briefly review key references to maintenance of minority languages (both indigenous and immigrant) to ascertain what has constituted 'language maintenance'.

The literature on language maintenance treats the notion both as a description, and a method of diagnosis and therapy (Fishman's terms 1972:17). The former sense is found in language shift or language death studies, the latter has more in common with language planning work. Following Fishman I will distinguish between the use of the term 'language maintenance' as a description, and as an interventional strategy. Fasold (1984) includes a chapter on 'Language Maintenance and Shift' in which he defines maintenance as when a "community collectively decides to continue using the language or languages it has traditionally used" (Fasold 1984:213), it is the opposite to language shift. A typical definition of language maintenance is found in Read's study of Crow language maintenance; "Where an ethnic minority group has a bilingual repertoire composed of its own language and

the dominant language of the society, with a stable pattern of usage in which each language is associated with particular functions" (Read 1979:85).

Thus studies of shift and maintenance are inseparable (see 4.2. for a discussion of features implicated in causing language shift). Fuller (1982:99), in a study of Navajo language maintenance concludes that shift to English can only be prevented "if concern for the maintenance of their ancestral language is taken seriously by the Navajo people at large", a conclusion that I suspect holds for any situation, and one that seems to question whether intervention is of any value. However, Fuller also sees that there are other factors supporting Navajo maintenance; use of the language in the school is one, not just for pedagogical reasons, but to promote "dignity and solidarity" among the Navajo, a feature which will increase the chances of the language being spoken (Fuller 1982:103).

Fishman (1964,1966) points out that features that might have been thought to aid in language maintenance have also been shown to promote language shift (these factors are discussed in chapter 4), so that language maintenance is the result of "complex interactions between partially contributory factors.. and a typology of contact situations may be required" (Fishman 1966:441) before patterns between the factors can be established. Similarly, language maintenance may be part of a broader movement of cultural maintenance (see 3.5.). He advocates the use of three subdivisions in the study of language maintenance: an investigation of: the degree and location of bilingualism; psychological/social and cultural processes; and attitudes towards the language by speakers. These same points are taken up by later scholars (see 4.2.) in studies of language shift and language maintenance..

In Australia, Clyne (1981,1982,1985) has investigated the degree of language maintenance among immigrant groups, specifically among Dutch and German immigrants (see also reference to Clyne in 4.2. on causes of language shift). Pauwels (1986) studied the influence of dialect variation in the language maintenance of Australian immigrants. Both Clyne and Pauwels's work is in the diagnostic mould (following Fishman's dichotomy), that is, they analyse the degree to which languages are maintained, and do not aim at developing or implementing interventional strategies.

McAllister (1986) suggests that there are a number of interrelated factors that result in the maintenance of immigrant languages. His study of five language groups in three Australian cities suggests four main factors in the maintenance of languages (listed in 4.2.)(ibid:29). He concludes (ibid:33) that these factors are also the ones that affect the general lives of immigrants. "As immigrants go

through changes in their lives, so the role that language plays in their lives changes also".

Australian commentators who are critical of support for maintenance of minority immigrant languages include Kalantzis and Cope (1985b:18-23, see also Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs 1986) who argue that language maintenance cannot reverse intergenerational changes, and that attempts to reproduce cultures in a static mould can lead to the reproduction of relations of inequality (specifically between immigrant groups and the dominant society). Language, they suggest "must not be fetishised for its forms, as it often is at the moment. It is not merely an artefact, the face of 'ethnicity', the embodiment of tradition. It is a human tool with social functions" (Kalantzis and Cope 1985b:12). They would prefer language programmes to either deal with language as a means of communication with ongoing functions, or else not at all. As we shall see in chapter 4, there are other models which, while 'fetishising' language for its forms, also serve the function of providing cultural information (especially in the case of Aboriginal languages where there is little reference to specific linguistic or cultural groups available in libraries or school resource centres).

Maintenance must not be seen as maintenance of a static form (which we could characterise here as preservation, see Rigsby 1987:11), but should take account of syncretism, the blending of traditional and non-traditional forms in a fashion that is adapted to today's needs. As can be seen from McAllister's and Kalantzis and Cope's work above, or Dennison 1977, people stop using a language when it is no longer of use to them. This must be understood in our investigation of language maintenance in Aboriginal communities. We have to distinguish, then, between choices made voluntarily, and choices made because there is no alternative.

2.2.2. The Australian Aboriginal context

2.2.2.(a) Contrast between immigrant and indigenous languages.

We should distinguish here between the position of immigrant languages and Aboriginal languages in Australia. The notion of the 'equality' of languages is fine if by it we mean the ability of all languages to deal equally well with the world of their speakers. We should not attempt to extend 'equality' to imply that all languages are in any other sense equal. There is, for example, no equality of access to resources for the different languages in Australia. Of all of the immigrant languages, the least equal is English. It dominates all social interaction and is the medium of communication for parliament, the judiciary, and the bureaucracy.

Certainly the immigrant languages have limited facilities available to them, and their speakers may be severely disadvantaged, but there is usually a base outside of Australia where the languages continue to be spoken from where resources such as films, books, magazines and newspapers can be obtained. There is no place outside of Australia where Aboriginal languages are spoken. Aboriginal people are, as a block, the poorest section of Australian society (Hollingworth 1981), they have the lowest standard of living and the highest morbidity and mortality rates (Thomson 1984). These are factors that must be taken into account in decisions about where to allocate resources.

We would expect voluntary immigrants to seek to assimilate into the dominant society to a greater extent than Aboriginal people wish to (see 4.2. on reasons for language shift), and so they would support both the learning of English, and perhaps the loss of their traditional language (a sign of their difference) by their children. Paulston (1986:495) remarks that indigenous language shift takes a longer time than does immigrant language shift. As Kalantzis and Cope (1985b:24) point out, migrants often become socially mobile, hoping that their children will not have to live through what they perceive as the hardships of the old country (except perhaps in some token form, see 3.5.). It seems to me that Aboriginal communities (and here I am thinking of 'traditional' communities, type 1 in 4.0.1.) attempt to exert more of a restraining influence on younger members, expecting that they will conform to certain lifestyles that are considered appropriate by older people. Whether this is a difference of kind or of degree is unclear to me at present.

Goldflamm and Scott (1983:37), comparing the situation of Arrernte speakers and non-Aboriginal English speakers, reject the idea that there is a relationship of reciprocity between the languages (which could be portrayed diagrammatically as model 1 in diagram 2.1, below, where A=Arrernte Culture and B=Western Culture). They suggest that "from what might be an Aboriginal perception, however, things are not quite so simple, as the culture of Aboriginal people is devalued, threatened and oppressed by the invading society." They present in Model 2 a diagram of the 'Conflict Model' .

Diagram 2.1 Models of Aboriginal/Western interaction
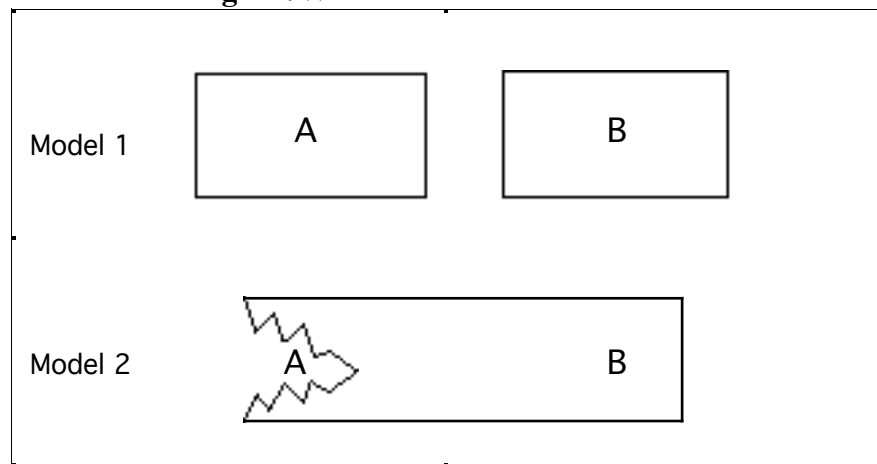
It is useful to keep Model 2 in mind while we discuss Aboriginal language maintenance in Australia. Social forces will militate against A (for any A that is an Aboriginal language) much more than they do against immigrant languages.

2.2.2.(b) Aboriginal language maintenance.

Perhaps the most prolific writer on the topic of language maintenance in the Australian context has been McConvell. His work has mainly dealt with schools and their influence in maintaining languages. His use of the term 'language maintenance' refers both to the overall project of maintenance of languages (also referred to as 'Keeping Languages Strong', the title of a report co-authored by McConvell (Hudson and McConvell 1984)) as well as one specific approach to the maintenance of languages. The first use of the term 'language maintenance' is illustrated in McConvell's 1981 article on the 'two-way' school, in which there is an exchange of skills and information between the Aborigines and Europeans working at the school. He suggests that there are situations, other than those requiring bilingual schools (see 4.1.2-4.) where a two-way approach is possible. For example, in communities where Kriol is the children's first language, the two-way school may include instruction in the old language, an idea that is not part of the normal bilingual school (see 4.1.1.a.) (McConvell 1981:66). In addition, he claims that emphasis on bilingual schools has ignored the need for language maintenance in communities where bilingual schools may not be appropriate. I suggest that it is in part due to the dominance of a particular notion of 'language' as discussed in the previous section that emphasis has been given to bilingual schools.

An example of the second use of 'language maintenance' is as one of three models for language work;

1) Bilingual education, used when children speak the language.

2) Language maintenance, when parents speak the language and children understand it.

3) Language revival, when parents may know some of the language
 (McConvell 1986a:109).

McConvell (1986a,1986b) says that language shift results from the loss of functions of bilingualism, so we should try to maintain functional choices between languages, and should talk of maintenance of bilingualism, rather than of a language. He suggests that language maintenance should allow speakers to develop functions for the old language themselves (McConvell 1986b:2). Some of the functions of multilingualism that he provides are listed below:

1) The communicative function;

2) The social function, which permits speakers to make comments on social factors using linguistic markers;

3) The cultural function, which makes available contrasting world views, different cultural systems of knowledge. (McConvell 1986a:113).

These are of specific relevance to bilingual situations since, he suggests, the choice of which language to use is largely determined by such features as solidarity with or exclusion from a particular group.

McConvell (1986b) outlines three approaches to the study of language maintenance:

A) Domain theory, holds that strict separation of domains is necessary for maintenance, and a lack of this separation is a sign of 'transitional bilingualism'. McConvell argues that this model does not explore the social meaning of code-switching (which in Domain theory would lead to language shift, see 4.3.1.).

B) Variationist theory, holds that the loss of style/register distinctions in the old language lead to loss of the language. is a symptom by which we can recognise shift in progress when mapped against age of speakers. However it is possible that other factors may explain the absence of use of the language by young people, (e.g.) they may learn the language in adolescence or later.

C) Adaptation theory claims that it is the inadequacy of the old language to deal with the new world that requires the development of new terms.

The domain and adaptation approaches militate against maintenance since, according to McConvell (1986b:15) if survival of the old language depends on the number and importance of functional choices available to speakers, changing the language to emulate the new language is likely to reduce the value of the cultural function in language choice, and similarly may result in the loss of the social function of code-switching (see 4.3.1. for more discussion).

Also prominent in public discussions of Aboriginal cultural and linguistic maintenance is Eve Fesl. She suggests (Fesl 1982a &b, 1983a:3, 1986, 1987) that maintenance of the language requires community support and involvement both in the use of the language, and in resistance to factors that threaten the use of the language (such as those discussed in 4.2.).

Johnson (1986) uses the term 'language maintenance' to refer to any action aimed at helping Aboriginal people to preserve or reintroduce any distinctive language usage. This definition takes in a variety of situations which will be discussed in chapter 4.

Language maintenance was the topic of the Aboriginal Languages Association's conference in 1985. An unrealised aim of that conference was the production of a 'working manual for language maintenance' (Papertalk-Green and Bell 1986:11).In the report on the conference and on the history of the ALA, the authors use 'language maintenance' to mean maintaining what there is of language regardless of its state of use or disuse, thus "All Aboriginal communities where languages or creoles are spoken need to implement language maintenance programmes that ensure their survival in the future" (Papertalk-Green and Bell 1986:11).

2.2.3. Conclusion

Language maintenance is a term which has been used to refer to both a description of the state of language shift, and any activity which aims at maintaining the use of the language, in the sense of encouraging the continued transmission of the language or aspects of the language that are still extant. It is not clear what factors are involved in the maintenance of languages, but the discussion of reasons for language shift in 4.2. outlines some of the variables in maintaining languages.

Chapter 3. Why should languages in general be maintained and why Aboriginal languages in particular?

3.0. Introduction

There is an acceptance in linguistic circles that languages should be maintained; arguments for the development of language courses usually begin from the position that languages should not be allowed to 'die' (witness the Language Maintenance Conference in Canberra in May 1986, or the establishment by the AIAS of a Language Maintenance Fellowship, or the Language Maintenance Newsletter (SAL)). As I suggested in 2.2. there are two uses of the term 'Language Maintenance', one concerned with description of the state of shift that a language has undergone, the other concerned with strategies for maintaining languages. It is the second use that will be the basis for discussion in this chapter. I also suggest that the effort spent in maintaining Aboriginal languages may have results other than fluency in a language (see Dorian 1987), but that these results may adequately suit the needs of the 'clients', the people with whom the course or material is designed (see chapter 4 for more discussion).

In this chapter I will review and draw out common threads of the arguments that are used to justify language maintenance, broadly categorised under the six headings listed below (there is no significance to their ranking):

        i) from the national heritage point of view, preservation of
        the linguistic resources of the nation.
        ii) social cohesion
        iii) identity
        iv) diversity
        v) language maintenance as part of cultural maintenance
        vi) individual well-being

While these six arguments are important and have wide currency, I think one of the central and most commonly used arguments concerning language maintenance is from social justice or sentimentality. For example, Calvet (1974:11-12) suggests that, after having served colonialism, "linguistics (that is to say linguists) should and could fight against neo-colonialism in opposing the deterioration of the dominated languages from which it derives its daily bread. This fight is not, as some could imagine, marginal: it is a fight for humanity, for its right to existence in the centre of its own culture, its right to a lifestyle that it chooses."

Unfortunately arguments based on sentiment are often difficult to prove, and are not popular with funding bodies who are generally concerned with with electoral popularity, or cost/benefit types of analyses (although one example of the socially useful nature of language maintenance efforts is the potential for employment of local people. Each programme requires speakers of the language to participate as teachers, teaching assistants, literacy workers and so on. The resulting jobs are newly created and do not take people away from their communities).

The Aboriginal Languages Association (ALA) talks of language maintenance as necessary because Aboriginal people request it and "to abrogate the defaults of the past which have led to the present situation of general ignorance in the matters relevant to Aboriginal languages" (Papertalk-Green and Bell 1986:11).

Brennan (1979:14-16), in a report on the need for an interpreter /translator service in the Northern Territory , suggests that language issues are, like land issues, central to the future of Aboriginal people. She also sees that formal recognition of the value of Aboriginal languages will lead to respect for them and for their speakers.

Similarly, Johnson (1987) considers that Australian society as a whole should feel it necessary to assist Aboriginal people to preserve and restore any aspect of their culture that has been damaged by what he terms foreign rule. I suggest that such appeal to 'rights' is necessary and important, however there is nothing 'natural' about rights, they are not recognised out of benevolence by the government or funding bodies (especially in the absence of a bill of rights in the constitution), but out of the need to appease potentially troublesome pressure groups (see 4.0 for more discussion).

Language maintenance efforts also respond to what we might consider to be calls for a voice by a colonised people. The assumption is not that Aboriginal people do not talk, but that the talk of a subordinated people is not recognised by the dominant group as being valuable. Dorian (1981:106) points out that "a group undergoes a long period during which its language is actively devalued, while speakers of that language are penalized socially and economically, before members of the group see fit to withhold that language from their own children" (see 4.2. on other reasons for language shift).

Not only is it the case that the dominant society places no value on the indigenous people's culture, but the success of colonialism lies in its ability to

engender these beliefs of the dominant culture in the dominated. Memmi (1965:106) in an essay on the effects of colonialism on the colonised points out that "the entire bureaucracy, the entire court system, all industry hears and uses the colonizer's language." All conspire to "make the colonized feel like a foreigner in his own country." An example in Australia is the renaming by colonisers of parts of the country, which Calvet (1974:57) notes is a common practice of colonisers, revealing a wider disdain for the indigenous people: "the country and the inhabitants didn't exist before the arrival of the coloniser." The seemingly incomprehensible claim that pre-colonial Australia was uninhabited, encapsulated in the term Terra Nullius (cf. Maddock 1983:15), reflects Calvet's point. Another example is the title of a recent report by Willmot (1984) "Out of the Silent Land", which reinforces the colonial myth of either an empty land, or a land inhabited by people too backward to survive without the intervention of European knowhow.

The acceptance by Aboriginal people of the values of the dominant group fits in with Gramsci's (1971) notion of ideological hegemony, a form of social control which he opposes to physical coercion. He reasons that societies cannot be held together purely by coercion, and that there is a degree of participation even by those who stand to lose by it. Merlan (1978) discusses the way that Aboriginal people were 'made quiet' or pacified in and around Elsey Station in the Northern Territory. She points out that Aboriginal stockmen ("compelled by circumstances", ibid:102) participated in shooting 'wild blacks', and in subduing their countrymen and foreign tribesmen. Memmi (1965:107) illustrates this co-operation with the coloniser with reference to language; the colonised person "himself sets about discarding this infirm language, hiding it from the sight of strangers." In a similar fashion Ferguson (1959) points out that the prestigious (or High) language variety in a community is considered by speakers to be "more beautiful, more logical, better able to express important thoughts and the like", even by speakers whose command of the High variety is quite limited. Day (1985:180) points out, for Chamorro and Hawaiian that, while outsiders play a major role in the destruction of native languages, it is only when the speakers themselves see the benefit of speaking the dominant language that their own language falls into disuse. Thus speakers participate in the devaluing of their own language.

Ideological hegemony permeates all parts of society and is considered by most members of the society to be 'common-sense'. Subgroups (in the present example, Aborigines) within the society do not see their models of the world reflected in the same way that the dominant model is reflected (as, for example, in mass media). Such groups are 'muted' according to the social anthropologist, Ardener (1975:xii).

Some feminist theories have treated women as a 'muted' group within a society in which males determine the norm (ibid). It could be argued that other subordinate groups (e.g. Aborigines) are similarly muted, their voice is not encouraged and they are forced to use the dominant system, especially in interactions where the dominant group has power (education, law, welfare..).

As Cameron points out (1985:105), the notion of muting does not imply that women are unable to encode their experience, but that they must use dominant forms to be socially productive and politically expedient. The members of a subordinated group use their own language with each other (Illich's (1983) vernacular), but are "institutionally constrained and negatively judged in the public arena" (Cameron 1985:108). Part of the project for language maintenance, then, is the revaluing of the vernacular. Where the vernacular differs from the traditional language and the dominant language (i.e. in syncretic or post-contact languages) then those conducting language maintenance programmes must be careful not to reinforce the notion that 'traditional' is better than 'untraditional', since the 'untraditional' of this generation may be the 'tradition' of the next (Morphy 1980:81).

Language is one of a number of areas in which Aboriginal people have been disenfranchised, their power to choose has been lessened, and language maintenance is one of the ways in which Aborigines, if they so choose, can assert the value of their own tradition in the face of an insistent and overbearing metropolitan language and culture.

3.1. Languages as national resources.
The argument that languages are part of the nation's resouces appeals to the notion of preservation of the national treasure, and to the idea that languages are resources like minerals, technical skills or numbers of workers (Rubin 1972, Thorburn 1972, Clyne 1980). The Australian National Policy on Languages, discusses the maintenance of languages and bilingualism as valuable and necessary for the benefit of all Australia, not just the individuals involved (Lo Bianco 1987:5). Typical of the views put in this argument is O'Brien (1979:84),for whom the death of a minority language represents a loss both to the world community, and to the state or federation of which that minority culture is a part. He quotes Steiner's assertion that "every language mirrors and generates a possible world, an alternative reality", a view that owes much to Whorf (see 3.5. for more on Whorf).

While it is possible to retain something of the linguistic richness of a nation by 'salvage' work, that is by preservation of languages as artifacts, reduced to academic grammars and collections of texts, this can never approximate the diversity of languages in use. That this work is useful is undeniable, but it is usually of more use to the expropriators, the dominant culture, than it is to the speech community it is abstracted from. Thus Johnson (1987:5) talks of "our Aboriginal languages as national treasures, part of our national heritage and so deserving of protection" He continues, eulogising 'our' ancestral languages and cultures as being 'magnificent as national parks'. While the work is part of the colonial treasure, it is also a source of information for 'revival' programmes (see 4.1.3.), which may provide descendants of the language's speakers with a valuable resource, however abstracted from its original context it may be.

On a more pragmatic level Fishman (1972:23) points out that a nation's political and cultural foundations are weakened when large parts of the population do not feel encouraged to express behavioural patterns that are traditionally meaningful to them. While respect for 'traditional behaviour patterns' is laudable, it runs into difficulty where those behaviour patterns conflict with the dominant society. In 3.5. I suggest that the nation requires only certain aspects of 'traditional behaviour patterns' to be retained to satisfy the image of poly-ethnicity. Nevertheless I agree with Fishman that a nation that incorporates linguistic diversity will be stronger than a nation that is largely monolingual (see 3.4. for a discussion of diversity). This is especially the case with respect to Aboriginal languages which convey a wealth of knowledge from a number of groups of people who have lived in Australia for at least 40,000 years. This knowledge is usually made accessible through language maintenance work both to descendants of members of the speech community and to the nation. As Rowley points out, "time is long overdue for the development of appreciation by all Australians of the cultural heritage of Aborigines. Only as this understanding and appreciation grows will the Aboriginal point of view add to the richness and variety of Australian life" (1966:96).

3.2. Social cohesion

Multilingualism can be seen both as contributing to (Galbally 1978, Horvath 1980) and detracting from the cohesion of a society. An example of the former is Gilhotra (1985:66) who argues that maintenance of community languages will result in a "more cohesive, integrated and just multicultural society". An example of the latter is Fichte (1968:190) for whom each separate language indicates a 'separate nation' which has the right to take "independent charge of its affairs and to govern itself". Certainly language has been the focus for separatist movements

attempting to establish autonomous rule (Basque, Welsh, French in Canada (Williams 1984)). To some, linguistic difference is seen as causing conflict (Quinn 1981), as a barrier to the harmonious workings of a single nation (Kelman 1972, Zubrzycki 1979), hence the arguments for the development of such 'non-national' languages as Esperanto. Similarly, linguistic or cultural diversity has been seen as dysfunctional for a 'developing' society. Criticising that notion, Liberson and Hansen (1974) consider the relation between mother tongue diversity and indicator(s) of national development indicated by studies such as Pool (1969) and Fishman (1966) to be 'spurious'. They show that while mother-tongue diversity shows a positive correlation with urbanisation, industrialisation, GNP, energy use and literacy, there is no causal link. (Liberson and Hansen 1974:533), The assumption that most speakers of languages other than English do not also speak English is implicit in the notion that multilingualism is divisive.

In fact, according to Clyne (1981) while 12.3% of Australians (in 1976) regularly used a language other than English, only 1.4% did not regularly use English. Of those, there are no figures to indicate how many did not actually speak English, but I suspect the figure would be very low. Multilingualism, at least in Australia, is thus not a threat to national unity. The argument that linguistic (or cultural-see 3.5.) diversity is divisive is essentially conservative. It obscures the numerous reasons for social conflict that have nothing to do with linguistic (and cultural) difference, and a lot to do with the distribution of the resources of the society. To suggest that people will live in harmony together if they speak the same language ignores the variation within any given language (see 2.1.1. on jargons and Labov (1978) on linguistic variables associated with socio- economic status). It also ignores the examples of Ireland, Lebanon, and Nicaragua to name a few countries where the same language is used by opposing groups in a civil war, or Switzerland where linguistic difference has not affected social harmony. I suggest that it would be more socially divisive to attempt to impose a common language on unwilling speakers of minority languages (e.g. on speakers of Welsh in Wales, or French in Quebec) than to support the co-existence of the metropolitan and minority languages.

3.3. Identity

Calls for language maintenance may include claims about the role of language in identity. Identity may be at the level of the group or the individual, hence language is seen as an integral part of a group's identity and of the identity of the individuals within the group. When a group's identity is threatened, they may make claims about the social importance of maintaining or resurrecting 'their' language (LePage

and Tabouret-Keller 1985:236). Enhancing 'identity' may be seen as the rationale for inclusion of a study of Aboriginal languages in schools (Sykes 1986:86), or for support of Aboriginal languages generally (Brennan 1979). Dixon states that "If a minority group is to maintain its ethnic identity and social cohesion it must retain its language..Once a group has lost its language it will generally lose its separate identity and will, within a few generations, be indistinguishably assimilated into another, more dominant group" (Dixon 1980:79).

It is not clear that language and social identity are necessarily linked in the way that Dixon claims (see Sutton's (1981) review for example). If they are, then it is not always language in the sense that Dixon uses it, but may be 'associated' language as discussed above in section 2.1.1. It is possible to envisage two separate social groups who share the same language but whose separate identity is maintained through dress, religious observance, political beliefs, shared history, or any number of other features (including minor linguistic differences or styles of gesture, see De Vos 1975:15). Sutton and Rigsby (1980-82) show that, for Cape York communities, "language is used emblematically for certain levels of grouping, but these are among the least salient of all forms of social identification in the region" (Sutton and Rigsby 1980-82: see also Sutton 1978:66). Other examples of groups for whom group identity does not rely on communicative use of a minority language are found in Arvanitika in Greece (Trudgill and Tzavaras 1977) and North American immigrant groups (Gumperz 1982:39). On the other hand the Sami (Lapp) language "possibly surpasses any other single cultural trait as a unifying force...the viability and continuity of the language is almost a necessary condition for the continuity of the ethnic group as such" (Keskitalo 1981:153). Similarly, Read (1979:85) considers the Crow language is an "indispensable element" of an adapted tribal culture (it is unclear whether Read is talking about 'associated' language or everyday communicative use of the language (see 4.1.3.)). Rigsby (1987:2) suggests that linking identity and language is useful in allowing the state and mainstream population to "deny the legitimacy of the claims to special status and land rights made by an active people who have shifted from their indigenous language to varieties of English." Similarly, he suggests, the same philosophy is used by indigenous people to justify language maintenance programmes.

Smolicz and Secombe (1985) suggest that each group has certain features that are 'core values', which are the "most fundamental components of a group's culture" (Smolicz and Secombe 1985:11), or the "heartland of the ideological system" (Smolicz 1984:26). If the 'core values' of a group of people include

language then the language may be retained as a means of communication longer than if they do not include language. "Languages constitute the core values of many, probably most cultures. If these are lost or destroyed, the cultures become residual and intellectually de-activated " (Smolicz 1984:39). However, the only way to ascertain what the core values of a group are, as far as I can tell, is by post-hoc observation. If this is so, then the circular definition of 'core values' (x is a core value because it is retained under difficult circumstances) renders their predictive power useless. Thus it will provide no evidence about the likelihood of retention of languages. In addition I disagree with the implication that 'core values' are a constant that marks a particular group of people transhistorically. I suggest that 'core values' do not exist for all members of a given culture, but rather they must be an interplay of members' ability to support them (economically) and the types of changing social environment the group's members encounter. I also suggest that it is common for groups of people to reinterpret their traditions and the aspects of their past that are important to them in the present, and that these 'core values' are likely to be reinterpreted in such a manner. This argument is discussed in section 3.5.

Self-identity is always associated with a language or jargon according to Eastman and Reece (1981), regardless of what language is actually used everyday, or even how much knowledge one has of the language. Thus, "Plumbers as a group have an argot. Americans as a nation have American English as an associated language. Italian-Americans have Italian as an ethnically associated language and so forth." (Eastman and Reece 1981:115). Their suggestion that identity is associated with a language or jargon lends support to the argument developed in section 2.1.1. that language has to be seen as more than structure. Giles et al (1977:326) claim, furthermore, that language, unlike other variables of identity, can be chosen to a large extent by the individual, and hence "is a truer reflection of one's ethnic allegiance.. than one's cultural heritage as determined by the fortunes of birthright". This view is supported by Huffines'(1980:55) finding that inability to speak Pennsylvania German indicates "a lack of identification with Pennsylvania German ethnicity". Hence we can conclude that language can be consciously used by people in their attempts to identify themselves and their affiliations both within a society and across societies, language is used partly as "a series of acts of identity in which people reveal both their personal identity and their search for social roles" (LePage and Tabouret-Keller 1985:14).

Groups use identity to keep boundaries between themselves and other groups, rather than forming a thoroughgoing inventory of features that identify members or

nonmembers of the group (Barth 1969). Definition of membership of a group is negative, that is, one is defined as being not an outsider, or more commonly outsiders are marked as being not insiders by their use or lack of use of a certain critical feature. Language may be used to mark the difference in group affiliation, but such a marker need not be a separate language, it could be a small number of words or morphemes with a high functional load, as in the Western Desert (Miller 1972) where languages continue to be used everyday, or the 'few linguistic shibboleths' (Dixon 1980:85) used by Aboriginal people who no longer speak their ancestral language (see also Haviland 1982:63), or distinctive 'ways of speaking' (Eades 1983). Identification with a language group may occur long after that language is no longer spoken according to Brandl and Walsh (1982:78). Giles et al (1977:327) also argue that a distinctive language need not be a necessary or sufficient symbol of one's ethnicity, but some distinctive speech style might be. Thus the identity function of language can be carried out by a relatively small part of a language, or even by a language that one associates with, regardless of one's proficiency in it (Eastman and Reece 1981, Dorian 1980a). This appears to be the case in the description by Barber (1987) of meetings at Port Keats, in the north-west of the Northern Territory, where language affiliation is one of a number of variables used in associating oneself with a part of the country, or with a particular socio-political grouping. Participants in the meetings can choose from a number of potential affiliations (including linguistic affiliation) depending on their current needs.

Identity is relative to context and time, it is not a given that accompanies groups of people throughout their history. Language may be a central feature in a group's projection of its identity to other groups. It may also serve a 'boundary' function in maintaining group identity, the amount of language required for this function need not be great. Language may also be associated with a group who never actually use the language and who may wish, from time to time, to reassert their link with the language in courses of instruction of some type (see chapter 4). The implications for language maintenance are that, if a group feels that language is an important feature of their identity at a particular time, then they may maintain the language or the parts of the language that are of importance to them. I suggest that the above discussion leads to the following three identity functions of language. The first two are self- explanatory, the last relates to the 'associated' language discussed in 2.1.1;

> 1) Language as marker of self-identity.
>
> 2) Language as a marker of group identity.
>
> 3) Language as a link with the group's tradition, with its
> past.

3.4. Diversity

In this section I want to consider the argument for language maintenance from the point of view of linguistic diversity. If linguistic diversity exists is it of benefit to encourage it through language maintenance programmes? And if so, of benefit to whom? The most familiar argument for the strength of diversity comes from biology; "although the global 'need' for diversity is not entirely clear, the survival values of ecosystems that contain this diversity are real" (Ehrenfeld 1986:39). Biological diversity provides a greater pool of resources to draw upon in times of crisis. Ehrenfeld points out that it is economists who pose the greatest challenge to the legitimacy of diversity. "Rightly or wrongly, the other reasons for preserving diversity - religious, ethical, cultural, sentimental-historical, intellectual and aesthetic - (are) deemed to lack the punch of the interrelated themes of economics and survival" (Ehrenfeld 1986:39). The same arguments that Ehrenfeld discusses as lacking economic punch apply to maintaining languages. They are discussed throughout this chapter. In addition there are potentially sound economic reasons for maintaining Aboriginal languages. There is a wealth of botanical and zoological knowledge incorporated in language which can be recorded and passed on in the activities associated with a language maintenance programme (if there is a receptive audience). This is recognised by non-Aboriginal researchers who have produced ethnobotanical information (Peile fc, Goddard & Kalotas 1985), and by Aboriginal people who realise that the everyday knowledge of the past generation is not being transmitted to their children, or that Europeans have a lot to learn about living in the Australian bush; "There are many things the Europeans don't understand about the way the bush can help us   We can teach Europeans all about these things, they are things we have known always." (Lanley 1980:38). Knowledge about uses of plants and animals is not bound in any one language, but in my experience it is the older people in a situation of language shift who retain knowledge of language, and also of the uses of their natural environment. While logically there is no necessary connection between any Aboriginal language and knowledge of the bush, it is nevertheless common for such knowledge to be the focus for language maintenance work.

Mühlhäusler (1987:19) argues that it is because of the diversity of metaphors encapsulated in each language that languages should be maintained; "Just as the diversity of plants in a tropical rainforest may contain the solutions for future medical and genetic problems, the diversity of languages may contain a source of alternative philosophies, scientific metaphors and ways of living in harmony with one's natural and cultural environment". In what would appear to be a

contradictory argument, Volosinov (1973) suggests that language is stratified into dialects as well as into languages that are socio-ideological: languages belonging to professions, to genres, languages peculiar to particular generations etc. This stratification and diversity of speech will spread wider and penetrate to even deeper levels so long as a language is alive and still in the process of becoming. Hence diversity will always exist if there is a community of speakers according to Volosinov. However, the diversity that is described here is a diversity of styles or jargons within a language. Such varieties of a standard language (while they might serve an identity function, see 3.3.) show no interesting or valuable variation from the dominant style if we accept Mühlhäusler's argument. If the diversity of a monolingual society were the same as the diversity that would be found in a multilingual society, then there is no argument here for language maintenance.

If we agree that diversity is of value, we first have to establish that linguistic diversity can exist. One might, for example, agree with Chomsky (1965) that all languages share certain universals, and that superficial differences between languages are not of interest. On the other hand we could, with Whorf (1956), see each language as encapsulating (and perhaps determining) an entire world view. Followers of Whorf have supported linguistic diversity as a 'good' in itself (e.g. Fishman 1982). Thus we must support "ethnolinguistic diversity for the benefit of pan-human creativity, problem solving and mutual cross- cultural acceptance" (Fishman 1982:1). If languages encode varying world- views, then with those languages would die the world-views incorporated in them. For example, Wurm (1986:537), discussing the Ayiwo language from Santa Cruz, claims that the complex noun class concordance system of the language is based on concepts underlying the traditional culture, and 'significantly, much of the concordance system is decaying, and becoming simplified, in the language as used by the younger generation." Hale (198?) posits two senses in which 'world view' and language are connected. The first can be learned separately from the language, but is incorporated in words, 'manners of speaking' and some syntactic operations (which will be used in different ways by members of the speech-community, depending on their understanding of the implications of the particular aspect of world-view incorporated in the syntactic operation). The second sense of world-view is shared, necessarily, by all speakers of the language. It is the 'analysis of phenomena' in lexico-semantic themes which function as integral parts of the grammar and hence which is acquired by all members of the speech- community (Hale (198?:3). But if there is an interaction between language and world- view, and hence culture, and not the causal link of linguistic determinism, then changes in the culture will surely be reflected in the language. Hale's first type of world-

view would, one suspects, be more susceptible to change since it is more superficial (Hale claims it is learned later than the second type). However it is also the most accessible to speakers' intuitions and may therefore become the object of their attention as their awareness of the decline of use of the traditional language increases. In fact, it is precisely 'ways of speaking' (Philips (1970), and Eades (1983)) and certain lexical items (Austin 1986) that are retained as languages change function and are replaced by other languages. Hence we find a contradiction in that the diversity that we seek to maintain is incorporated in the more inaccessible parts of language, those acquired first according to Hale, and the aspects that are maintained for the longest are the differences of lexical items and 'ways of speaking'. As more accessible markers of difference, these parts of language may be more or less consciously chosen for purposes of identity by speakers who fear the loss of the entire system (see 3.3.). Thus a diversity of various kinds might be encouraged.

The diversity of world-views and metaphors, while providing a compelling argument for language maintenance, may be the most difficult items to maintain. Their symbiotic link to the ongoing reproduction of a group's culture suggests that changes in the cultural environment will have effects on the language. So, to maintain the type of diversity of world-views incorporated in language suggested by Hale's world view two, the best approach would appear to be cultural maintenance, which is discussed in the next section (3.5).

3.5. Cultural maintenance

Arguments for language maintenance may be couched in terms of preserving traditional cultures (i.e. Friends of Bilingual Education 1986). In this section I will suggest that language maintenance implies cultural maintenance, that societal multilingualism does not exist except as a result of cultural pluralism of some sort. In doing so I will present some arguments for cultural maintenance and point out their similarity to arguments used for language maintenance. The same arguments that are used with reference to the former can be or are being used in discussions of the latter. Shnukal (1984:32) notes that, for Torres Strait languages, there is a high degree of correlation between cultural maintenance and maintenance of language. Smolicz and Secombe (1985:12) claim that for some language-centred minority groups, the preservation of their language is indispensible for the transmission of their cultures to the next generation. Navajo people interviewed by Fuller (1982:99) indicated that language maintenance was necessary to facilitate communication with older people who are a link to a cultural heritage. Just as I argued for a dynamic definition of language in section 2.1, we should also adopt a

dynamic definition of culture. Bullivant (1984) suggests that culture is "a programme or blueprint to enable a society to survive in its environment in such a way as to maximize what its members take to be their best advantage" (Bullivant 1984:2). In this definition, culture is a product of interaction between people, and between people and their environment. In addition to culture, ideology justifies the activities of the cultural group in maximising their best advantage. The role of language in the reproduction of culture (see 3.4) is self-evident. However, while it may be necessary for the vernacular to be used in the transmission of ideology, it is not clear to me that it is necessary for the language to be the traditional language associated with the particular culture. For, while there will be key concepts in a minority culture that are best understood using the minority language (and which are central to the group's construction of its social reality (Berger and Luckman 1967)), the broader ideologising that is necessary for cultural maintenance could be conducted in any language. And as was discussed in 3.3., all cultural groups associate with particular language varieties. What does cultural maintenance mean and what possibilities are open to members of a culture that is faced with domination by another group? Berger et al (1973) discuss the positions available to societies that are facing what he terms 'modernisation'. They define modernisation as "the institutional concomitants of technologically induced economic growth"(ibid:9). As such, their association of modernisation with what is essentially 'westernisation' is verging on the ethnocentric. However since I am unaware of a better term (see Tipps 1973) I will use the concept while asking the reader to be aware of these difficulties. The three ideological positions available, then, are:

> **1. Endorsement of modernisation.** This process is exemplified by the Cargo Cult in Melanesia in which modernisation is a type of salvation. The local people hope that the products of the affluent world will be distributed and bring great happiness. The key is 'the uncritical legitimation of modernity in opposition to all traditional ways of life' (Berger et al 1973:162).

> **2. Opposition to modernisation.** Also called 'nativism', or 'traditionalism', 'a defensive reaffirmation of traditional symbols' (ibid:162). An example is the Ghost Dance of the Prairie Indians in which the ancestors would return to conquer the whites and restore the happy days of the past. Another example is the 'Molonga', a ceremony from the turn

of the century in central Australia, in which Ka'nini the 'Great Mother from the Water', consumed the Europeans (Eliade 1968).

3. Seek control over modernisation in the name of traditional values, to synthesize the impulses of modernisation and counter-modernisation' (ibid:164). Thus Gandhi sought 'to revitalise Indian society by ideas and values derived from the tradition of Hinduism' (ibid:165).

In the context of maintenance of traditional languages, I suggest, modernisation can be seen as the encouragement of the use of the metropolitan language as a more economical and 'rational' choice. The three idealised positions outlined above would correspond to:

1) adoption of the dominant language;

2) monolingual use of the Aboriginal language; and

3) the use of the traditional language or creole in new contexts.

The choice of opposition to or control over modernisation ultimately requires the sanction of the dominant society. Unless this society is built on a structural pluralist model, in which each group is virtually a mini-state (Bullivant (1984:103) gives the examples of South Africa, Switzerland and francophone/anglophone Canada), there will be conflict between the cultural and economic demands of the dominant and the minority groups. Furthermore, Aaby (1978:71) points out that a defence of 'cultural autonomy' implies "that a policy of isolation is realistic, or that these groups in their traditional culture and structure have the best defence against the kind of encroachments and pressures they are liable to be exposed to"(see the example of the homelands movement in 4.3.5.). Nowhere is the conflict between a dominant and a subordinate group more apparent than in the Aboriginal cultural emphasis on land and the importance of the relationship of groups of Aboriginal people to a particular part of the land. Bullivant (1984:86) gives six case studies of Aboriginal groups and their adaptation of aspects of their traditional culture to present needs. He suggests that "the resultant cultural and structural synthesis, going by the term Aboriginality in recent literature, may be the key to further Aboriginal advancement". It is not that people are either 'traditional' or 'modern' (i.e. representatives of the dominant society), but, I suggest, they are defining what they consider to be of value in the limited choices available to them (see also Maddock 1974, Ackerman 1980, Dagmar 1984). The linguistic concomitant of this is the development of lingua francas based both in indigenous languages and in

English (i.e. Aboriginal English and Creoles) since there is a syncretism of pre- and post- colonial forms (see Herskovits 1964 for discussion of syncretic culture). Fabian (1986), discussing the colonial history of Swahili, argues that "the colonial system needed a type of individual who, separated from a traditional context, derived strength and continuity from symbolic vehicles of identity such as the langue maternelle and had the personality traits expected of wage-earners, consumers and supporters of nuclear families" (ibid:80). So Fabian suggests that certain symbols of identity are retained in the syncretic post-colonial culture, but only those that are not threatening to the dominant group.

Similarly, traditions may be revived out of their traditional context to provide a tangible token of ethnicity. For example, arranged marriage among Australian Greeks is ostensibly a continuation of a Greek custom. However, in Greece, it was part of a social system and a particular economy. Now it has become "divorced from its original structural conditions. It is now simply a matter of morality" (Kalantzis and Cope 1984:36). When people talk of maintaining or preserving their culture or their language, I suggest they may be talking about a recreated form that is suited to present needs. This phenomenon is related to what Hobsbawm and Ranger (1983) call 'Invented Tradition'; a set of practices which automatically implies continuity with the past, in fact, where possible, "they normally attempt to establish continuity with a suitable historic past" (ibid:1). Spitzer (1974:120) describing the creoles of Sierra Leone, talks of a similar phenomenon which he calls 'defensive Africanization', in which the people search back in history and, "through a filter dictated by their current needs and expectations, seek evidence of great deeds and glories" (for an Australian example see Morphy and Morphy 1984). This phenomenon is known to oral- historians (Price 1980) who realise that a person's own account of their past or of their group's past "can be interpreted to yield etic conclusions in ways doubtless quite alien to the original 'intentions' of the authors" whose 'intentions' may have been "purposes of propaganda and of factional or individual glorification" (ibid:159). Thus she concludes that the Aztec account of Aztec history that she analyses is, etically, not so much an historical account of their origins as it is the "justification of an existing social and political order." (ibid:177).

It is through adaptation to change that a group takes an active role in redefining its 'culture' to suit its perception of present needs. Language has a role in that it is both a medium for transmission of cultural information, and a part of a group's culture itself. As is pointed out in 3.4. the link between language and culture is symbiotic, so changes to either will affect the other. Cultural maintenance is best seen as a dynamic process, not necessarily the creation of separate groups who exclude the potential for change.

3.6. Social well-being of individuals.

In addition to all of the other factors discussed above which are of relevance to the well- being of the individual, there are two linked arguments more specifically related to the effects of bilingualism. One argument is that bilingualism is preferable to monolingualism, and, the other, perhaps more serious, is that children whose linguistic development is interrupted by being withdrawn from one language environment and placed in another are likely to be 'semilingual'. They are linked in that the first sees bilingualism as enriching or additive, the second sees the potential of failure to achieve bilingualism to be detrimental. An example of the second is 'Kee', a Navajo boy who was punished for speaking Navajo and subsequently withdrew from both White and Navajo worlds. He became "a man without a language. By the time he was 16, Kee was an alcoholic, uneducated and despondent" (Platero 1975:58). Kee is presented as a 'non- lingual', someone whose first language was not allowed to develop before he was placed in a second-language environment.

Peal and Lambert (1962) show that a group of Montreal bilingual school children performed significantly better in both intelligence and language tests than did a monolingual control group. Similarly, Ben-Zeev's (1972) study of Hebrew-English bilinguals in New York found that bilinguals have 'greater cognitive flexibility'. Both of these studies are limited, as Lambert (1985:119) himself observes, in that they deal with 'additive' bilingualism, that is a situation in which the two languages involved are both prestigious within the dominant society, for example French and English for English-speaking children in Canada. 'Subtractive' bilingualism arises where a dominant language is learnt by the member of a minority whose own language has no value in the dominant society, with the accompanying possibility of replacement of the original language entirely.

Cummins (1976) has shown that there may be a threshold of bilingual competence which a person must attain which will affect both the benefits associated with 'cognitive flexibility', and the deficits discussed below. A later

study has shown that age of bilinguality is a factor (Vaid 1977) in the right hemisphere of the brain interpreting meaning, with older onset of bilinguality not affecting lateralisation. After summarising the literature on the cognitive effects of bilingualism, Skutnabb- Kangas (1981:223) concludes that 'balanced bilinguals', those who have high levels of competence in both languages from an early age show "positive effects when various aspects of cognitive development are measured."

'Semilingualism' (Skutnabb-Kangas 1981:248ff) is a controversial topic in that it carries with it implications of deficit theory, the possibility that it is the product of a middle-class white investigator not finding the same usage that s/he is used to. It is used in discussing the situation of children whose linguistic development in L1 is interrupted by the shift to L2, also known as 'subtractive' language learning (see above). Note that this is different to Dorian's (1977) 'semispeaker' who is fluent in at least one language but not in the ancestral language that may be undergoing language shift. An example is found in Harris (1987:150) who suggests that "Too early an emphasis on learning English causes some *yolngu* children not to learn any language well and can damage the development of normal intelligence in *yolngu* children." Brent-Palmer (1979:141) claims that the alleged effects of semilingualism should be explained by reference to socio-economic power and status relations between groups, before looking at the linguistic aspects.

In summary, bilingualism appears to be of value if it is developed in early childhood. It is unclear if later language learning has the same benefits. This argument supports efforts to maintain bilingualism, but it suggests that the degree to which bilingualism is useful depends on social and economic factors.

3.7. Conclusion
In this chapter I have outlined some of the arguments that are used to support intervention in maintaining languages. To conclude I suggest that Aboriginal languages which are part of the national resource should be recorded, and their speakers given the opportunity to pass them on to their children, regardless of current state of the language (i.e. there must be provision for revival or reintroduction of languages as part of language maintenance, see 4.1.2., 4.1.3.). There is nothing socially divisive about maintaining Aboriginal languages in Australia, unless it is to the detriment of Aboriginal people by not allowing access to positions of power. This assumes that maintaining an Aboriginal language implies lack of competence in English, an assumption for which there is no evidence. While a language may be associated with a people's identity, there is no

necessary link between them, as both are functions of an ongoing dialogue between individuals and between groups. The diversity of world-views and metaphors incorporated in languages are valuable, but the associated notion of cultural maintenance is more difficult to support. Cultural maintenance is best seen as redefinition of traditions to suit the group's present needs. Similarly there will be groups who are no longer using their traditional language who will want to redefine it to suit their present needs (this is discussed below in 4.1.3.).

This chapter has shown that language maintenance is part of a set of broader issues. The arguments for and against maintaining a particular language depend on how much the language is used. There is a difference, for example, in whether a language's link to identity is based on everyday use or on relatively few markers, or whether diversity of world-view and metaphor is more useful than diversity of ways of speaking or words, or whether an individual's well-being is benefited by use of parts of a language or not.

The strongest argument in support of language maintenance is from the point of view of social justice. Through identification with their ancestral language this generation of speakers is identifying with their past, part of a process of giving themselves a 'voice' in neo-colonial Australia.

Chapter 4. Strategies for maintaining languages

4.0. Introduction

In chapter 2 I observed that there were two main approaches to language maintenance, the diagnostic and the interventional. In this chapter I will discuss: (1) some interventional models of language maintenance and the situations in which they can be used; (2) reasons that languages undergo shift as a basis for understanding; (3) what strategies can be used either together with those models or independently. I want to show that there are programmes available for intervening in language change, but at the same time I do not want to suggest that the results of such intervention will be the ongoing spoken use of a particular language. Language change is a product of too many variables, some of which are discussed in 4.2., and intervention is just one of these variables.

4.0.1. The context of language programmes.

A number of commentators have noted the importance of a social analysis in understanding policies and practices of the state and its associated bodies, especially schools (see Edwards 1981, Paulston 1980). The need (as opposed to the desire) for bilingual education usually arises when there is a minority group whose first language (L1) is not the dominant language. Since such groups are typically made up of immigrants, or indigenous people who are not usually wealthy or powerful members of the society, the administration of bilingual education policies in particular is a politically loaded issue. As was briefly discussed in 3.5. under the heading of cultural maintenance, such models may tend towards cultural pluralism, or may be more assimilationist in nature. The latter case would appear to me to be more usual for a centralised state since one would expect the bureaucracies associated with the state to encourage, albeit tacitly, conformity to the dominant norms, regardless of the professed political views of the government. It is simply easier for a bureaucracy to deal with one language rather than a variety of languages.

The types of language policy that are provided for by government funding agencies depend on the types of societal models that are adhered to by the government of the day. Skutnabb-Kangas (1981:237) points out that bilingual education, one of the models discussed below, can be used both to pacify certain sections of a society, to allow them to feel that their 'rights' are being respected while their disadvantaged position is maintained, or it can be used to help create equality among groups in a society by providing better educational opportunity for all members of the society.

There is a contradiction in the practice of bilingual education for Aboriginal people in Australia. Masemann (1983:544), discussing bilingual education generally, suggests that it offers both a hegemonic and a counter-hegemonic view of the world (see 3.0. on hegemony). To the extent that it is 'bicultural', bilingual education presents the views of both the dominant and the dominated societies. Education is provided in minority languages which are not recognised by other services of the state: witness the number of interpreter/ translator service established for Aboriginal languages anywhere in Australia (one in Alice Springs), despite accredited courses with graduates from the the School of Australian Linguistics and the Institute for Aboriginal Development. Contrast this with the provision for immigrant language interpreter/translator services; there are 5440 translators and/or interpreters in Australia (Lo Bianco 1987:38) compared with the handful of interpreter/translator graduates of IAD or SAL (see 4.3.4.). This indicates that the aim of government activities in the area of Aboriginal languages has been to encourage transfer to English. As Harris (1978:40) points out, if an education programme aims to provide skills for living in non-Aboriginal society, then there will always be the danger that a 'transfer' to English will be encouraged.

The programmes described below can only be effective (from the point of view of assured funding over the lifetime of the programme), indeed can only be introduced, if there has been a considerable amount of political lobbying and organising by interested parties. For example, Benton (1986) claims the Gaelic League in Ireland and the Te Reo Maori Society in New Zealand were responsible for the language revival movements that began in each of those countries. In Australia there have been two lobby groups established specifically to promote the use of Aboriginal languages, the Aboriginal Languages Association (ALA) and the Western Australian Aboriginal Languages Association (WAALA). Both service a membership, produce newsletters, prepare submissions to government, and run conferences. Neither has a full-time executive officer, and so they have to rely on a volunteer secretariat.

In addition to the two Aboriginal language associations, linguists have their own association, the Australian Linguistic Society, which has acted to support language programmes in Aboriginal education, through lobbying, through participation of its members in the programmes, and through evidence to government inquiries (e.g. Lo Bianco 1987). Another pressure group of teachers, linguists, and anthropologists is the Friends of Bilingual, initially aimed at supporting the bilingual programme in the Northern Territory. Later it also lobbied

the Federal government about broader Aboriginal language issues (Friends of Bilingual Education Newsletter (1986)).

Other organisations have taken an interest in maintenance of Aboriginal languages, (e.g.the National Aboriginal Educational Committee) but none of them has actively promoted the funding of language projects in the way that the ALA has done.

In 1986 the Federal government initiated an inquiry to establish a National Language Policy for Australia (Lo Bianco 1987). As part of the outcome of this inquiry, support has been pledged to Aboriginal language programmes, in the form of $2.5 million funding over three years from 1988 to 1990. How the first $500,000 is to be disbursed will be decided in early 1988, and we will have to wait and see whether the rest of the funds eventuate.

4.0.1.(a) Aboriginal societies in Australia.

Before looking at the various models of language work possible in Aboriginal communities, it is necessary to understand something about the different Aboriginal communities in Australia. A language programme must conform to the needs of the particular group of people it is designed for. In some communities a bilingual programme might be appropriate, in others there may no longer be any traditional language spoken but a creole may be well established, in yet others some variety of English is the medium of communication.

Willmot (1981) discusses the the National Aboriginal Educational Committee (NAEC) socio-geographic description of Aborigines in contemporary Australia as being of four basic types:

> 1) Traditional- geographic and social isolation from the rest
> of Australia. (eg Arukun, Papunya, Murray Island, Yirrkala)
> 2) Old reserves- considerable geographic and social
> isolation, but not as traditionally oriented as (1) (eg
> Pt.Pearce, Lake Tyers, Cherbourg)
> 3) Urban communities (e.g. Redfern, Inala)
> 4) Urban dispersed.

Prior to Willmot's classification, John (1977) identified four degrees of language use in Aboriginal Australia that parallel the four NAEC categories.

1) Speakers who have an indigenous language as their first language (e.g. Yuendumu, Eastern Arnhemland).
2) Speakers who have a creole as their first language (e.g. Ngukurr, Bamyili).
3) Speakers whose first language is a non-standard variety of English which is not a creole (e.g. many urban and rural town dwelling people).
4) Speakers whose English is indistinguishable from that of standard Australian English.

While these four categories do not capture all possibilities, they are useful as a guide to typical situations. We should be aware that the people in John's category 1 may be monolingual in an Aboriginal language, or may be bi- or multi- lingual with their other languages including a variety of English or creole. Similarly, John's four categories of speaker may all be present in one Aboriginal community so that there is no direct correlation between Willmot's types of communities and John's types of speakers.

It is important to bear both Willmot's and John's four categories in mind as we discuss language programmes. There are still Aboriginal communities (type 1) where English is not used except for dealing with government agencies (e.g. in the Western Desert and Arnhem Land) and even then its use may be restricted to the few members of the community of whom such interaction is required (council members, spokespeople and so on). While we would expect these communities to have the greatest probability of maintaining their languages, it cannot be taken for granted that this is the case. For example, Bavin & Shopen (1985), and Bavin (1988) in a study of children's acquisition of Warlpiri at Yuendumu, show that there are changes occurring in the word order, morphology and lexicon of what is generally considered to be a strong language.

There may be people who remember some of the traditional language, but who are today 'semispeakers' (Dorian 1977 uses this term to mean people with only a partial command of the language) or 'rememberers' of the language. The only way that a language would die out overnight is if all of its speakers did so; languages usually cease to be spoken for a range of reasons, some of which are discussed in 4.2. As the language loses speakers, the new generation is exposed to less linguistic input, and the remaining members of the community have varying degrees of skill in the old language.

4.1. Models for maintenance.

Unfortunately there are a number of different terms currently being used for language programmes. As I outlined in chapter 2, 'language maintenance' can be used to refer to both part and whole of the project of maintaining languages. McConvell (1986a:9-10) uses three terms to discuss 'Mother tongue programme types' which are specifically for use in schools: (1) Bilingual Education; (2) Language Maintenance - in which the language is still spoken, but not so much by younger people; and (3) Language Renewal, used where the language may be spoken occasionally, but younger people do not know more than a few words.

McConvell (1982) also points out that a successful bilingual programme must be both bilingual and bicultural, that is it should incorporate not only language but also the context in which the language is used. He calls a successful programme of this type 'two-way' after common usage in Kimberley Aboriginal communities, and opposed to the usual 'one-way' school of the W.A. education department. While he refers specifically to bilingual education, I suggest that the other types of programmes discussed below must also aim for a 'two-way' exchange of knowledge, and must be directed by Aboriginal people.

Johnson (1987) describes four programme types but does not elaborate on the different strategies that would be employed in each of them: language continuation, when the language is still in use; language renewal, when older speakers still remember the language; language revival, when there is little still spoken, but there are records available, and; language resurrection, when all speakers have died and only written or taped material survives. Clyne (1986:487), on the other hand, uses 'revival' for languages that are no longer spoken; 'revitalisation' for languages that have undergone shift; and 'reactivation' for languages that have 'hearers' (people who understand but who do not speak the language).

The models I will consider below are a combination of the above. I will use Johnson's terms and avoid the use of 'language maintenance' as an approach within the general topic of the same name.

> i) language continuation programmes for languages that are
> still spoken (including bilingual schooling).
> ii) language renewal/reintroduction.
> iii) language revival.
> iv) language resurrection

4.1.a. Levels of maintenance.

Tied into each of these programmes is an implicit belief about the level of language maintenance that can be achieved. In areas where the language is not used everyday (see also 4.0.1.) there is still a need for language maintenance, in the sense of maintaining what still exists of the language. For example, language death studies (Dorian 1981) have shown that languages usually do not just disappear, but that they undergo a series of structural and functional changes ending up in shift to the dominant language (see Dressler 1988 for a summary of the literature on language death). Dorian (1980b) shows that choices among alternative sentence structures with similar meanings are collapsed as use of the language declines, or that one structure is favoured by semispeakers of the language. Dressler and Wodak-Leodolter (1982) show the stylistic shrinking of the language that is involved in language shift. McConvell (1986b:8) also notes that loss of style/register distinctions in the old language is a feature of language shift. Bavin (1988) notes the reduction in morphological complexity in Warlpiri. Austin (1986) discusses phonological, morphological, lexical and syntactic changes that have occurred in languages of New South Wales; McConvell (1986a) discusses the change in function that languages go through; and Eades (1983) points out the 'Aboriginal' nature of discourse that is, structurally, English. These and other studies show that at every point in the shift from an Aboriginal language speaking community to an English speaking community there is the possibility of intervention to ensure that something is retained of the old language. This is what I understand to be the larger project of language maintenance. In cases where the vernacular is a syncretic or post-contact language, a language programme can either recognise and use the vernacular (e.g. Yiyili, see 5.4.2.1.), or it can attempt to reintroduce or revive the old language (hopefully avoiding devaluing the vernacular, and perhaps using the exercise to situate aspects of the vernacular as descended from the old language, see 5.5.2.).

In table 4.1. I list the features that should be targeted by a language programme, correlated with typical community situations. The table is presented as a guide to the potential for language work. I do not claim that a community will be as easy to categorise as is suggested by the heuristic labels in the left-hand column. Similarly it is likely that language programmes will draw from a few of the models listed. The reason for defining types is to allow a clearer understanding of the terminology, and to emphasise that language programmes are possible in many more situations than just those requiring bilingual schools. In addition, language sensitisation or awareness courses (McConvell 1986a, Richards 1982) can be run

in all of the situations listed. Such courses are common where there is limited time available in the school curriculum for language work, or where the education department wants to be seen to be recognising Aboriginal languages in schools without committing resources to them (see the example of La Grange in chapter 5). It should also be noted that there may be results achieved by a language programme beyond language learning, such as increased knowledge about heritage (a point raised by Dorian 1987 for programmes in Irish Gaelic), or involvement of adults in the running of the school (as literacy workers or language teachers) (Harris 1987:149).

Table 4.1, Aims and types of programmes.

Typical situation	Ostensible aim	Type of programme
	Continued use of;	
language in everyday use, continuation	- stylistic	i) language
'strong' language	variation (genres, 'avoidance' ritual . languages)	programmes for languages that are still spoken (including bilingual
Older speakers, shift beginning in younger speakers	- communicative competence	schooling).
Only 'Rememberers' of the language left	- stories - limited functions, short utterances etc. - discourse style	ii) language renewal/ reintroduction iii) language revival
Only recorded sources available resurrection	- words	iv) language

Language awareness activities can make people aware of their usage, and can make clear the extent to which the traditional language is or is not used. During one such course that I was involved in at Numbulwar, in eastern Arnhem Land, the participants (Aboriginal teaching assistants) were devastated to find just how little the children could understand of their ancestral language, Nunggubuyu. At the same time, the teaching assistants (mostly women) used Kriol in most of their interaction with the children (including their own offspring, see 4.2 on women's role in language shift). The course focussed on language use and provided the impetus for conscious change in language choice among the participants.(There is, however, no evidence that this change actually eventuated; as is pointed out below, intervention is just one of a number of variables in language change).

Another aspect of language maintenance that is included in the models discussed below is language preservation, or 'salvage' work aimed at recording as much as possible of languages (on audio- and video- tape) that have only a few speakers left. Such recording is of enormous value to descendants of speakers, and can provide the input for future language programmes.

4.1.1. Language continuation, models for languages that are still spoken.

Under this heading come programmes designed to support the diversity of styles and registers used in a language that is spoken everyday. In Australia such variation would include special speech- styles (Dixon 1980:58, Haviland 1979:233). There is little in the literature about models of language maintenance for languages that are still spoken, except for the use of bilingual education programmes which are discussed below. Paradoxically, while maintenance of languages as everyday media of communication appears to be the most commonly discussed form of language maintenance, its implementation is the least understood. Strategies aimed at whole communities of speakers are rarely discussed, especially in comparison with the extensive literature on language programmes in schools.

4.1.1.(a) Bilingual Education,

In this section I will deal briefly with bilingual education (a) as a model that is known and used internationally, and (b) as it is implemented in the Northern Territory Education system. In both cases I will look at its use as a method of maintaining languages. Since there is a wide literature available on bilingual

education (see Mackey 1970, Fishman 1976, or Alatis 1978, for a summary of sources), I will deal with it here only briefly.

Paulston (1980:7) proposes three broad types of bilingual education programme:

> 1) Immersion, all classroom instruction is in L2, except a small component in L1 skills;
> 2) Programmes taught in L1 with L2 content;
> 3) Two languages used.

The types of bilingual programmes are influenced, according to Paulston (1980:8), by the following features:

> a) sequencing of initial literacy, L1 or L2 first, or simultaneous?
> b) time allotted within the curriculum to L2, both hours per week, and years in the overall school life of the child.
> c) relative emphasis placed on the child's mother tongue (both inside and outside the classroom).
> d) medium of instruction of all subjects.
> e) teacher ethnicity.
> f) good or bad programmes, specifically determined by the amount of material and backup available.
> g) language of the surrounding community.

These seven categories are especially useful in placing the programme in its community context. If we were to apply them to a typical Northern Territory type 1 programme (see below), we would find that: (a) initial literacy is attempted in L1; that (b) and (c) are variable depending on the school and community; (d) the initial medium of instruction for all subjects is L1; (e) teachers are generally not Aborigines, but teaching assistants are Aborigines; (f) the amount of material available varies depending on the skills of local literacy workers; (g) ideally the language of the community is the same as the language used in the school but this is not always the case (see 4.3.1. on standardisation)- any maintenance programme will be of only token value if it is not supported by use of the language outside of formal classwork.

Most bilingual schools catering for Aboriginal children in Australia provide a type 1 model of bilingual education; that is they immerse the children in English, regardless of their everyday vernacular.

Paulston's type two is typical of second language instruction (with English as L1), more suited in the present typology to language renewal or language reintroduction (see below). If the vernacular is L1, then such programmes typically introduce a young child to English, leading after a few years to the third type, in which both languages are used in the programme. Type three is most similar to the later school years of the bilingual programme operating in the Northern Territory.

The Northern Territory Education Department initially stressed that the aim of the bilingual education programme was maintaining Aboriginal languages (see e.g. Watts et al 1973), but recently it has been more interested in a transition to English. It began a bilingual programme for some Aboriginal communities in 1973 which aimed to provide initial education in the child's home language. McGrath (1975) outlines the two models: Type A involves initial literacy in the Aboriginal language, followed by literacy in English. Little English is used in the first year, mainly in the form of structured English lessons for 30-45 minutes per day. In the second year this is increased to an hour per day. Type B has oral instruction in the Aboriginal language but initial literacy in English. The original rationale for bilingual education in the Northern Territory (Watts et al 1973) included the following;

> "1.2.1 The school should be the agent of cultural continuity rather than of cultural discontinuity..."
> "1.2.5 The above goals can be achieved only when the language of the community is an integral part of the school program." (Watts et al 1973:1)
> "1.5 Once initial literacy has been secured in the child's first language there is need for him to continue the study of that language, so that-
> (a) he may master the full richness of that language;"
> <div align="center">(Watts et al 1973:2)</div>

These, together with other aims emphasise the transfer of literacy skills to English after development in the first language. There is no emphasis on the transfer of language away from the mother tongue to English.

However, the revised aims, approved in 1982 (NT Bilingual Education Newsletter 1/83), no longer list proficiency in the mother- tongue. Principal among the revised aims is the development of competence in reading and writing in English. There is no emphasis, in the revised aims, on cultural continuity or on maintenance of the traditional language.

The aims of the Education Department and the aims and practices of the schools operating under its authority are not necessarily the same. It is at the same time a strength and a weakness of the bilingual programme that it relies almost entirely on the abilities and the will of the school staff for its implementation. During a visit to Numbulwar, on the south-coast of Arnhem- land in the Northern Territory, I was told that the bilingual programme had been started enthusiastically, but when the non-Aboriginal teacher responsible for the course left, the whole programme had ended. Not only had the programme ended, but the large number of literacy materials that had been developed were put in the rubbish. Ideally, and I hope, ultimately, these courses will not depend on the enthusiasm of an outsider to the community who may leave, but rather will rely on indigenous teachers. Training for Aboriginal teachers is available at a number of institutions, and in Aboriginal communities through the Remote Area Teacher Education (RATE) programme in the Northern Territory and a similar programme in South Australia (ANTEP), and, commencing in 1988 in Western Australia. Such training of Aboriginal people should ensure that vernacular values (i.e. the values of the group of people being taught, see Illich 1983) and language are available for use in the school.

In the 1984 report of the NT Bilingual Education Unit, the use of Aboriginal languages is said to have more than linguistic benefits. It is also seen as a means of fostering proficiency in school work, developing a more healthy self-concept, promoting professional development of Aboriginal staff, and mutual understanding between staff and students.

Indeed there are indications that bilingual schooling produces better results in literacy in English (see Roche, Watt & Cataldi 1986 with reference to Lajamanu school in the Northern Territory), but whether this is a positive cognitive result of using the child's mother tongue, or of other variables (e.g. more sympathetic teachers, more resources, positive regard for the child's home culture) is unclear. As Edwards (1982:95) points out, the causes of improvements in a child's language ability are not always easy to determine, given the number of factors for which it is impossible to control. Paulston (1980:41) suggests another form of evaluation of

bilingual programmes, based not on school achievement, but on indicators such as school drop-out rate, employment figures after leaving school, and degree of drug problems. She concludes that the bilingual education programme in the U.S.A. is seen by many of its supporters as "an attempt to cope with social injustices" more than an attempt at efficient language teaching. An example from South Australia highlights the dangers of ignoring the social environment of the programme; Folds (1987) argues that bilingual education, per se, is causing disruption in Pitjantjatjara communities because it deals with language outside of the context of the local community. "For their intrusion into Pitjantjatjara culture through insensitive and incompetent efforts to teach the Pitjantjatjara language and through the wholehearted way they expose the children to Western culture, the schools are clearly rejected" (Folds 1987:33).

The uses of a bilingual programme in maintaining a language are not as easy to assess as are the effects on cognitive development or literacy skills. A major difference of course, is that the use of a language relies on more than participation in school activities. The influence of a bilingual programme could be to encourage use of the target language outside of school hours, but only, according to Folds (1987), if the community participates and has influence over the direction taken by the course. They may feel that the school is simply not the place for the language to be taught. "Most *anangu* [local Aboriginal people] do not want the Pitjantjatjara language taught in the present schools at all and point out that their permission was not sought when the bilingual programme was introduced" (Folds 1987:92).

Bilingual education has the potential, then, to maintain languages, with the proviso that it is controlled by the people it is meant to serve. The school has to employ local Aboriginal teachers who speak the language (as in McConvell's 'two-way' schools, the South Australian 'Nganampa' schools, or the Western Australian community schools (discussed in 5.4.2.)).

4.1.2. Language Renewal/ Reintroduction.
Language reintroduction is appropriate when there is still abundant knowledge of the language in the community in which the programme is to run. Since there are still speakers of the language, they will be involved in teaching and planning language work. The main aim of such a programme is to encourage younger people to use the language, and to enhance the status of the language (the Maori language nests are an example, see 4.3.6.).

Schools can be a base for language renewal. Benton (1986) describes the use of second-language teaching in schools as the major source of language reintroduction for Irish Gaelic and Maori. The New Zealand Education Department syllabus (1983) includes as one of its aims; "to maintain and extend, through your pupils, the Maori language and culture". Most New Zealand schools now offer tuition in Maori language. Irish primary schools have to devote one fifth of each day's teaching to Irish, and on 1978 estimates, 10% of the English-speaking population of Ireland had been made 'truly bilingual' through the schools (Benton 1986:63).

A language insertion course, where the Aboriginal language is used for part of the time in the classroom, could be part of a school's language renewal programme.

4.1.3. Language Revival.
Language revival programmes typically rely on recorded sources, and on the knowledge of remaining speakers who have been unable to pass their knowledge on to the present generation. Both sources will provide only partial information about the language; in the absence of a speech community it can be assumed that there will be some attrition in the discourse styles and syntactic structures of remaining 'semispeakers' (see 4.0.1.). Even if historical written records of Aboriginal languages are reliable, which in my experience is rarely the case, there is not always going to be the type of information recorded that is required in revival programmes (see Barlow & Triffett 1987:92). Thus the forms that will be used in this type of programme will have to be reconstructed or drawn from similar languages. The question then will be, what language is actually being revived? In this section I will provide an answer, based on the work of Powell (1973).

If a revival programme is requested, we can assume that there is an interest in the community in learning the language, and that there is a group of people who will undertake the course and will engage in finding out about the language. 'Revival' programmes deal with a language that is still used or still remembered. Typical among the revival programmes discussed in the literature are Gaelic in Ireland (Benton 1986), Hobbema in Alberta, Canada (Kent-Gooderham 1975) Same, in Scandinavia (Paulston 1976) and, in Australia, Awabakal (Heath 1982), Ngarrindjeri (Kirke 1987), and Wangkamara (ALA Newsletter April/ May 1985). Wurm (1986:535) observes that it is "not uncommon" for a language to be successfully revived "if economic and status advantages result to the speech community". He goes on to suggest that "such instances have occurred in

Australian Aboriginal groups", unfortunately without references, I assume he is referring to the linguistic (and cultural) revival typical of the homelands movement (see 4.3.5.). The methods used in these courses vary, depending on resources available, but usually language revival relies on recorded sources and on a linguist who can interpret the recorded information. An example of this type of revival is Cornish, whose last monolingual speaker died in the late eighteenth century (although it may have been spoken for up to a century after that (Shield 1984)). A movement to resurrect the language began in the seventeenth century, but the revival of the 1950s resulted in approximately 1000 people attending classes, of whom only 50 were subsequently capable of holding a conversation in Cornish (although undoubtedly a different type of Cornish to that originally spoken in Cornwall, see the comments above about what is actually revived). Similarly, Mithun & Chafe (1979) describe a Mohawk revival course planned and developed with Mohawk teachers over several years. The language is taught from kindergarten through to sixth grade and only Mohawk is spoken in the classes. It is a programmed approach roughly following the order of a child's acquisition of Mohawk, aiming at communicative competence in the language. The authors consider a key factor in the success of the programme to be community attitudes and assistance in devising the course. At the same time there were objections to the programme from Mohawk people who had been punished for using the language in their youth and who now considered the language to be 'backward' (Mithun & Chafe 1979:29) (see the discussion of the coloniser's attitudes being taken up by the colonised in 3.0.). This type of programme benefits from having a large population of potential users, and this is one reason that such a course is rarely practical in the Australian context. In the cases where it is possible, the materials devised for Ngarrindjeri (Kirke et al nd) or Wangkamara are a good example.

Where there is not the time or dedication on the part of potential users to learn all the complexities of the traditional language, another approach, described by Powell (1973), may be more useful.

Powell (1973) discusses a revival programme for Quileute (a Chimakuan language from Washington State, USA), a language with 'rememberers', but not spoken everyday. He describes the type of language (which he characterises as a pidgin) that was used in the course as he redesigned it. He reasons that it is best to start with the known language, English in the case he describes, and to use Quileute vocabulary that is known to the students as the starting point for the exercise. He gives the following example;

Give me half that candy, to
Give me half that \O\AC(l,-)ape' to
hes me half sa' \O\AC(l,-)ape', to
hes me ta\O\AC(l,-)a'a sa' \O\AC(l,-)ape'
(Powell 1973:6)

The final version retains the English word order with Quileute words. This approach could be criticised for encouraging the development of pidginised forms, but in my experience it is used by only a small group of people, and the exercise of finding out about the language is of value in itself. There is little likelihood of the 'pidgin' gaining wide coverage, and if it does then it must be filling a need for the people who are using it.

Sandefur (1983) uses the term 'relexification' rather than 'pidginisation' for the process Powell advocates. He gives examples of the process in Ngandi (Northern Territory), where the known language, Kriol, is used as a base and relexified with Ngandi words. At the risk of aiding in a proliferation of terms, I suggest that Aboriginal people in their efforts at reviving a language are actually recreating the language (see 3.5. for a discussion of the reinvention of tradition, and see 5.5.2. for another example of language recreation/revival).

By starting from contemporary knowledge of the language there is not as great an implication that current usage is a degenerate form of the 'old language' as there would be in a language revival programme that relied only on recorded sources of the language. By involvement as researchers into their own language the Aboriginal participants may become more aware of their own usage and its difference from or similarity to the usage of the dominant society. In addition, the Aboriginal people may use a pidgin or creole variety, or may speak Aboriginal English, and it is a thin line to tread between attempting to revalue 'traditional' languages and devaluing contemporary usage. The process of revival described here is a way of valuing minority languages and dialects and has implications for education and for confidence in dealing with speakers of other language varieties.

My experience in writing introductory lessons for Paakantji (Western NSW) is similar to that described by Powell. The lessons follow a second- language teaching approach, and assume (implicitly) that the goal of the user is proficiency in the second language. The course material has not been used to my knowledge, and there have been no requests for further lessons to be written. Either the materials fail to address the needs initially expressed by the users, or I

misinterpreted the wishes of potential users. In retrospect I think the latter is the case, and that the high regard in which the ancestral language is held is part of a more general nostalgia, a point that I discuss further in 3.5. An obvious solution is to involve users in the design of course material (see 5.5.2. for an example). Kirke (1987) is involved with a similar programme for Ngarrindjeri, and notes that there is tension in the relationship of 'young fellers' (who had gone to the SAL to work out how to approach the language) with the older people who are the authorities on the language and consider that they should be consulted before any work is done with the language. The Nyungar course described in 5.5.2. avoided this problem to some extent by employing the older people as tutors in their language course.

Some typical examples of the way that the Aboriginal students I have worked with have re-created the traditional language (Eastman & Reece 1981), are given below. This re-creation is based on the products of attrition, that is, the students' knowledge may have been gained from 'rememberers' of the language so that their input has been subject to the process described in the studies of language shift or language death discussed in 4.1.a.

Phonological; A collapse of distinctions in the revived language that are not made in the dominant language (e.g. palatal, interdental, retroflex), the use of the stop d/t in place of the trilled rr (Wajarri (Gascoyne, WA) *yirra -> ita, *marnkurr -> mangkut).

Morphological; Regular citation form involving some suffix which is now regarded as part of the stem. Paakantji (NSW) use of the present participle ending -ana, or Nyungar (South-West) use of -iny, present continuous, on all remembered verb forms regardless of actual tense required.

Semantic; Narrowing, widening or shifting of meaning of words of the traditional language, use of one word in a semantic field as a hyponym for the field, e.g. the word for 'silver bream' becoming the contemporary word for 'fish' (Ngarluma).

Word order; General use of English word order except for some fixed expressions, which students referred to as 'back to front' (e.g. Nyungar: 'kart wara' = 'head-sick', or 'twangka-purt' = 'ear-bad').

Donaldson (1985:137) discusses similar changes undergone in Ngiyampaa, and points out that older speakers do not chide or correct younger people for using a form that "may not seem to be speaking properly when judged by outside standards (those of the older Ngiyampaa speakers) [but] is in a sense proper (and intimate) for those people within their age-group." However, the Ngiyampaa story-books

produced by Donaldson still had to be written, at the request of older speakers, in the oldest speakers' language. The fact that there was no objection to this on the part of younger people Donaldson ascribes to respect for the elders.

While I suggested above that the current understanding of the language should be the input for a language course, the principle of community involvement must also be paramount in any course design. Donaldson does not provide further information about the story-books, but one suspects that they may become tangible tokens of the 'old language', and while useful, may not have the same appeal to younger speakers as would an approach which related more closely to their own understanding of Ngiyampaa (compare the use of 'classics' of literature in European society as a guide to 'proper' usage, both written and spoken).

4.1.4. Language Resurrection.

The typical situation for language resurrection is one where a language no longer has speakers. Examples of such courses are rare in Australia, but the use of Banjalang (from northern NSW) in Victorian schools, is a form of resurrection. The aim of such courses cannot be expected to be more than an awareness of what some parts of the language were like.

4.2. Why are languages maintained and why is there language shift?

It will be instructive to ascertain why languages shift, or why there is a decline in bilingualism or multilingualism involving the language in question before discussing strategies for maintaining languages. I am not concerned to show the types of changes that occur in language shift. For examples of the linguistic characteristics of shift see Dorian (1981), Dressler and Wodak-Leodolter (1977) or Hill (1978), and for Australian examples see Schmidt (1985), Austin (1986), or Smith (1986, who discusses shift between Aboriginal languages of Cape York).

I will not discuss linguistic prerequisites for language change (i.e. whether certain languages or types of languages are more disposed to change than others, see Thomason (nd)), because, as Calvet (1974:81) suggests: "Latin did not supplant Gaullish because it was linguistically superior, it supplanted Gaullish because the Roman armies were militarily superior to the Gaullish armies.. in the end Gaullish did not fall victim to Latin, it fell victim to Roman imperialism." Similarly, I do not accept that Aboriginal languages cease to be spoken because they are structurally inferior to English. Language shift is a process that occurs over time, the actual length of time taken depending on a number of factors which will be discussed below. Language shift can refer to the behaviour of a whole

community, of a sub-group within it, or of an individual (Dorian 1980a, Clyne 1986:486). At the broadest level, we can agree with Denison (1977), that a language's speakers must feel that the language has prestige, and that there must be a sufficient number of speakers to maintain the speech community. Language shift is not exceptional according to Edwards (1984:14), who suggests that "communicative language retention is not a feature of most settled minorities".

The details of causes of language shift will obviously vary from place to place, and a cause of shift in one place may, for a variety of reasons, be the cause of a language's retention in another place (see Fishman 1964;51ff). To take one variable as an example, consider political power: the Aboriginal homelands movement (see 4.3.5.) has enabled groups to assert their political independence, often with a simultaneous emphasis on use of the traditional language. On the other hand, Elwell's (1977) study of multilingualism at Maningrida shows that the politically powerful Burarra do not need to speak as many languages as do less powerful groups. Elwell's work also shows the extent to which a language can be maintained regardless of the presence of a number of other languages. In contrast, McConvell (1986b:4) points to Kalumburu as a place where language shift is in progress despite the extreme isolation, and despite there being only one major language used in the community. Perhaps the crucial variable is not isolation from other languages, but isolation from English.

What then are some of the features that have been shown to encourage language shift? McConvell (1986b:3-4) points out the lack of understanding shown by most studies of language shift of how external causes are translated into changed functions of language. He recognises the necessity of taking these factors into account, but hopes that a future theory will be able to predict the type of functional changes that a language in a particular speech community will undergo on the basis of an understanding of external causes. The work summarised below can be seen as background to the development of a set of variables in causes of language shift. As Paulston (1986:494) points out, language shift occurs more rapidly among voluntary migrants than it does among a group that has been invaded and that has kept its social system relatively intact (as is the case with many contemporary Aboriginal groups). She suggests it is 'thoroughly documented' that language shift begins with women; her own work shows that women are more conscious of the choice of code than men (as does Dorian 1981). This conforms with Labov's (1971:207) findings that women are conscious of prevailing prestige forms more than men are. Williamson et al (1983:70) also observe that males are more attached to the minority languages of Breton or Welsh, due in part to their preference for

residence in their native areas, and to the smaller role they play in child rearing. The appeal of the metropolitan language to children and teenagers means that the mother is usually forced to use it instead of the minority language.

On the other hand, Gal (1979:170) shows that marriage patterns result in women in a patrilocal society teaching their own language to their children, not the language of the child's father. Migrant women in Australia often stay at home and are not exposed to English to the same extent as their children or husbands are, and thus would tend towards linguistic conservatism rather than change. Aboriginal women at Milingimbi speak less English than men do (Elwell 1979:109), suggesting that, if the above work is correct, the *Yolngu* languages of Milingimbi are the prestige forms, a factor that may account for their continued use today, and their apparent vitality.

Gal (1979) observes that young women reject the language of their in-laws as part of a more general antipathy to the hardships of peasant life. In this case, rejection of a traditional language is associated with perceived economic advancement. This is also the case for Chamorro according to Day (1985), and Hill & Hill (1977:59) find that "for young people Nahuatl has become defined as a 'village thing', which a forward-looking, ambitious person would do well to abandon". In my experience it is similarly the case for Aboriginal people in certain situations (especially in urban communities or rural reserves, that is types 2 or 3 in 4.0.1.) that economic advancement is seen as linked to English.

The continued use of minority languages in Canada is affected by the following five processes according to Anderson (1979:73):

> 1- intermarriage of members of the minority with 'outsiders'.
> 2- several decades of discriminatory provincial legislation against 'foreign' languages in schools.
> 3- breakdown of institutional completeness and segregation of ethnic communities through centralisation of formerly local community activities, and increasing heterogeneity of schools.
> 4- secularisation, de-emphasis on the one-time close link between ethnicity, religion and language.
> 5- urbanisation, moving into cities away from traditional ties.

All of these have relevance to Aboriginal communities, but as is noted in 4.3.5., the homelands movement is an example of a counter trend to the third, fourth and fifth of the above processes. The move away from urban centres often includes a strengthening of local homogeneous organisation, and a revival of traditional religious ritual. The high level of unemployment in many Aboriginal communities (unemployment in European terms of receiving unemployment benefits) means that there is limited exposure to non-Aboriginal working situations. This point is also noted for Lakota (North America) by Grobsmith (1980:120), who compares two communities, Spring Creek and Antelope. The former is entirely made up of people who claim to speak Lakota; a claim made by only half the population of the latter. Antelope has a housing project that has brought people from outside the community, and it is located on a main highway. In addition, education is more accepted in Antelope and is less of a deviation from expected behaviour (ibid:122). At Spring Creek there is little interest in language maintenance, since the language is so widely spoken, whereas at Antelope there is strong pressure to create native language instruction programmes.

Dressler and Wodak-Leodolter (1977) consider that obligatory elementary schooling, universal conscription and modernisation of the economy and communications have been the main causes for the decline in the use of Breton.

A study of Navajo language shift (Fuller 1982) found that language attitudes and language usage do not correlate. Speakers with a positive attitude to the retention of Navajo do not necessarily use it in their own homes. A factor in Navajo language shift is increased educational attainment; the higher the educational level of the parents, the less likely they are to speak Navajo with their children (it is unlikely that this generation's education was bilingual).

Another factor noted in promoting language shift is change to the local environment (see Nelde 1986:477, whose examples include the destruction by earthquake and subsequent rebuilding of Udine, with a deleterious effect on Friulian). This is an important factor for those Aboriginal communities whose social organisation is related to features of the local environment (through stories, rituals, places of birth and so on) and who are faced with disruption, for example by mineral exploration (see the example of Punmu in 5.3.2.). The homelands movement, discussed in 4.3.5., is an example of changed environment helping to maintain a language.

McLendon (1980) identifies 7 factors contributing to language replacement in Eastern Pomo (North America), a language whose political situation bears resemblance to that of Australian indigenous languages in that it is spoken by an indigenous minority in a first-world nation.

> 1) A rapid and large reduction in the number of individuals capable of speaking the language.
>
> 2) The degree of social cohesion among those individuals capable of speaking the language.
>
> 3) The extent to which individuals who are related affinally or consanguineally all speak the same language under consideration.
>
> 4) The degree of physical proximity among speakers.
>
> 5) The extent of interaction with individuals who speak only the contacting language, and probably more importantly, the extent to which basic needs can only be met through successful interaction with speakers of the contacting language.
>
> 6) The extent to which speakers of the contacting language are willing and able to learn the language being contacted.
>
> 7) The relative prestige and status accorded to each language.

Related to McLendon's points 4 and 5 is the degree of mobility available to speakers of the language, a critical feature in the survival of Friulian, Romansch and Gaelic according to Williamson and van Eerde (1980). This is a feature which the isolation of homelands camps (see 4.3.5.) avoids, with the movement of speakers that does occur most often being between communities of speakers of the same language.

Donaldson (1985:134) places the shift of Ngiyampaa (Central Western New South Wales) to English in the context of two types of language choice: communicative economics and emotional comfort. The use of English by successive generations of Ngiyampaa people is motivated by communicative needs, the retention of the traditional language serves as a link with tradition. Similarly McConvell (1986b:13) distinguishes three functions served by language choice in bilingualism (see above 2.2.2.): the communicative, the social, and the cultural. He claims that the social function of language, the "expression of solidarity with, or distance from, certain social groups" is probably the strongest factor in determining language choice in bilingual situations.

Languages are no longer spoken when their speakers no longer need to speak them. As Kalantzis and Cope (1985b:18) point out, language is a social tool, "open to change or even abandonment if its inheritors so desire". In the Australian context it has been common to talk of Aborigines as suffering from the disastrous effects of the European invasion. Included among these effects has been the loss of languages. If the language is not spoken anymore, it may well be that speakers recognised that there was no place for their language to be spoken or that the functional range of their language was narrowing. In addition, the differences in experience between more traditional Aboriginal adults and their children result in the younger people lacking interest in their parent's language. As one of Donaldson's (1985:134) friends comments about learning Ngiyampaa: "We just weren't interested. We'd sooner be playing football or something". We should note also the importance of peer-group interaction in language shift, especially in the case where, for example, teenagers use a different variety to their parents (English or creole, Shnukal 1984:31, McConvell 1986b; or a different form of the traditional language, Schmidt 1985).

In the situation where a group of people have chosen to use a language (in this case a dialect of English), their nostalgia for the old language is understandable (see 3.5.). At the same time their choice of language has been made on the basis of a number of factors, not least among which is the (often economic) attraction of the world associated with the dominant population (Williamson and van Eerde 1980:61). Another example of the prestige of the dominant language is provided by Tsitsipis (1983:27) who reports that speakers of Arvanitika, in Greece, discourage children's exposure to the language because they fear that such exposure would interfere with proper learning of the dominant language (Greek). Similarly, Dorian (1986:561) discusses the deliberate non-transmission of an ancestral language which has occurred in Pennsylvania Dutch (Huffines 1980:52), Friulian (Denison 1971:166), and Scots Gaelic (Dorian 1981:104).

Donaldson (1985:135) observes that the Ngiyampaa language itself became like ceremonial knowledge, withheld from children who were "likely to show themselves 'not interested'". In addition, speakers may be chastised for not using 'proper' forms (see 4.3.1. on lexical borrowing and code-switching) of the old language (e.g. Dyirbal in Schmidt 1985:131, Marathiel in Sansom 1980:28-29). Sansom (1980:28) points out that sanctions are imposed to hold each speaker to a particular style of the old language, and that, if they can't perform at an appropriate level of that language, they must talk a neutral language, such as English. With

these sanctions in force, the use of the old language will be severely restricted, and the opportunities for younger people to hear the language will dwindle.

Clyne (1980, 1985.Wolfson) suggests that maintenance of migrant languages is strongest among groups whose 'cultural value systems' differ most from the dominant society, but he does not provide us with a definition of 'cultural value systems'. If this were the case, we could extend the notion of 'cultural similarity' to Aboriginal languages, and on that criterion they should be in no danger of shifting to English. His study is based on the 1976 census, which provides no other information about the speakers than the language spoken, length of residence in Australia, and demography, so we don't know if an Italian (for example) is a factory worker or a doctor, if she is from the south or the north of Italy, but we do know that 'Italians' are not as good at maintaining their language as are 'Greeks'. On the evidence provided it is difficult to see how the conclusions can be reached. Clyne (1980) also suggests that 'cultural core values' are the most important factor in determining language maintenance or shift. If, he claims, language is part of a group's 'cultural core values' then it is likely that the language will be retained (see 3.3. for a discussion on this topic).

We could, on the other hand, locate the position of linguistic minorities relative to the dominant society on the basis of observable features (following de Vries 1984:210), such as socio-economic status, labour relations (which group is typically the employer/employed), access to social and political resources, as well as demography (numbers of speakers of each language). McAllister (1986) suggests that there are four main factors in the maintenance of languages (ibid:29):

> - the language policy of the society;
> - numerical strength of the birthplace group; length of
> residence (which he -claims is twice as important as any
> other factor;
> - age (Older people maintain their language more than
> younger people do);
> - education (more education helps to break down the use of
> a traditional language since it brings the individual into
> contact with the dominant community).

Similarly, Giles, Bourhis and Taylor (1977:310) posit three major variables in the survival of an ethnolinguistic minority, briefly summarised here as:

> **1. Status:** economic status refers to the degree of economic
> autonomy the group has gained; social status is the 'degree

of esteem a linguistic group affords itself'. <u>sociohistorical status</u> reflects the presence of the group's 'mobilising symbols' in the past (see 3.5.); <u>language</u> status both within and outside the linguistic community.

2. Demography: <u>group distribution</u>, whether the group lives on their own traditional territory, how concentrated or diffused they are, and the relative size of the minority and the dominant group; <u>group numbers</u>, absolute (higher numbers may indicate greater chance of continuation, but also suggest more likelihood of contact with outsiders), birthrate, number of 'mixed' marriages (less marriage outside of the group correlates with more language retention) .

3. Institutional Support: the degree of support provided by the institutions of the nation both formal and informal.

From these three points, and from what has been said above it is clear that we must look to social and economic factors for some understanding of language shift. Milroy and Margrain (1980:66) suggest that changes in the social structure that result in the break-up of close-knit networks have deleterious effects on what they call 'vernacular norms'. Similarly, Schmidt (1985:129) finds that young Dyirbal speakers use the language in a more limited social network than do older speakers. Paulston (1986:496) maintains that by examining the 'process of integration' of a group into the 'environing society' we can make predictions about the degree of language shift that will occur. Her criteria for determining these factors are taken from Schermerhorn (1970). The factors are:

> 1- origin of contact (e.g.colonisation, annexation or immigration)
> 2- degree of enclosure (i.e. separation from the broader society)
> 3- degree of control exercised by the dominant group over access to scarce resources.

Thus we would expect: (1) immigrants to be more willing to adopt the language of the dominant society than Aborigines would be; (2) urban Aborigines to be subjected to more pressure to use English than Aboriginal people in homeland communities (although separation (e.g. Redfern, Fitzroy) need not entail geographical isolation); (3) economically dependent groups to be less likely to maintain their languages (but see the example of Punmu 5.4.2.2., a community that

is economically dependent on the dominant society, but where all dealings are conducted through a European intermediary).

These features give us some understanding of reasons for shift, but Saint-Blancat (1984:514) claims that the group members' cognitive representation of their social conditions (which is different from the 'real' conditions) is an important factor in explaining why a linguistic minority is able to maintain its distinctiveness (a point raised earlier by Fishman 1964:59ff). Thus Aboriginal appeals, for example, to the past (see 3.5.), and the repression of languages in the past, or their acceptance of the colonial perspective (see 3.0.) that their language and culture are of little value (see the example of Miller in 5.2.) are important features in their approach to language maintenance today.

On the basis of the above examples it is clear that a number of factors have an influence on the maintenance or shift of languages. Social and economic factors are crucial, but social-psychological factors, that is, the way that speakers interpret social and economic factors must also be considered.

4.3. Strategies for maintaining languages.

In this section I will discuss activities that are used in maintaining languages, both those that are explicitly designed to maintain languages, and those that could have that effect regardless of their primary motivation. These are the strategies that will be discussed below (there is no significance in their order):

> 1. Language engineering,
> 2. Literacy in the threatened language.
> 3. Mass Media.
> 4. Language centres.
> 5. Outstation/ Homeland movement.
> 6. Language nests.

All of these strategies require the involvement of local community members and obviously they should go beyond what is listed here to include any activity that will discourage language shift as discussed in 4.2. Thus if it is true that women's role in language shift is decisive, then perhaps there should be language awareness programmes aimed specifically at women (see the example of one such course at Numbulwar in 4.1.). In my experience language work in Aboriginal societies is often considered to be women's business, perhaps it is related to education and

child-rearing. Literacy workshops that I have run have had many more women present than men.

If traditional languages are not of high status among children it may be possible to use the language in conjunction with contemporary topics or issues (e.g.comics produced in Warlpiri about AIDS or the Phantom, for example, assuming that literacy has a role in maintaining languages, see 4.3.2.).

The crucial factor in language maintenance is for the language to be used wherever possible. It is difficult to alter people's home behaviour, but the use of language, for example in street signs, place names, meetings, posters, all aims to 'give voice' to the local language (see 3.0), to increase its prestige, and show that there are more than just the immigrant languages in Australia. For lists of suggested activities for language use, see the Aboriginal Languages Association Newsletters (especially the 1986 report).

The strategies discussed below can be used together with the models outlined in 4.1. so that (for example) bilingual schools are run at homelands camps, or language centres can help in language revival programmes. An outline of different points of view on these strategies is presented below, together with references to representative literature.

4.3.1. Language engineering.

At its broadest level, language engineering is a term that could apply to any activity designed to change the way a language is used, including all that I have talked of in the current work as language maintenance. Planning a language in the way that is implied in language engineering requires that there be a standard form of the language. Arriving at a standard is a major problem in the establishment of a language programme, especially for the 'small' languages of Australia. We must realise that the standardization of the languages of Europe (i.e. in a written form or in an education system) took place only in the last few hundred years (Mackey 1978), and that variation still exists, for example in English, despite the large population of literates, the huge volume of literature, and the global mass media, all conforming to metropolitan standards.

The great dialectal variation that was apparently common in Australia before the European invasion, (Dixon 1980:33) and the ubiquitous exogamous marriage patterns (Berndt & Berndt 1977:41) would certainly have resulted in a high degree of multilingualism among pre-contact Aboriginal people. With the invasion and

subsequent disruption to Aboriginal societies, and the common resettlement of speakers of a number of languages to a single reserve, the linguistic situation has become very complex. The additional presence of syncretic or post-contact languages (pidgin, Aboriginal English and creole), and the rapid changes undergone by traditional languages all militate against the establishment of a standard form today.

For languages with few speakers, language engineering may result in the introduction of new words dealing with objects or concepts that were previously unnamed in the language. The need for this development of new names arises typically when language groups come into contact, as is the case with Aboriginal languages and English. Such language engineering may be conducted by linguists working in the community or in the school.

Of course, extensions of meaning generally occur without the intervention of linguists. O'Grady and Hale (1974:13) suggest that language engineering represents a speeding up of the processes of borrowing, neologising and broadening old words. They do not regard borrowing to be outside appropriate language engineering practices. Leeding (1980) describes for example the use of Anindilyakwa (Groote Eylandt) terms for western items such as motorboats, trucks and bicycles. Leeding includes what might be called the 'natural' development (i.e. independent of linguists or specific language planning bodies) of terms in Anindilyakwa under the rubric of 'language engineering', a usage that I do not follow. She sees the value of language engineering in the classroom, extending the number of topics that can be discussed using the traditional language.

Similarly, the Warlpiri Media Association (1986) see that the survival of Aboriginal languages will rely on them being adapted to talking about new things. They advocate changes for Warlpiri (Central Australia), that will be popularised using local media. They claim that there are many new domains in Warlpiri life for which ways of talking have not been developed. This means that an English lexical item is often employed by speakers for expressions that have no word in Warlpiri. This usage, they suggest, is the first step towards the loss of Warlpiri. It has also been observed for Nahuatl (Hill and Hill 1977) and Welsh (Thomas 1982) that speakers find mixing with the dominant language to be a sign of 'spoiled' language or of the disadvantaged status of speakers of the language. As a result, it is claimed, they prefer to use either the 'pure' traditional language, or Spanish, or English, a strategy that will obviously lead to the decline in use of the old language. This theory of language shift is also subscribed to, in Australia, by

Brown (1983) who believes that ongoing bilingualism relies on linguistic domains being kept distinct. He rejects development of words in Aboriginal languages for 'non- Aboriginal' subjects, such as parts of cars or mathematics. McConvell (1983, 1986) suggests on the contrary that separation of languages according to domains is not necessary for the survival of bilingualism, and may decrease the already narrowing functional range of the language.

We should distinguish clearly between borrowing and code-switching. Borrowing (Haugen 1972:81), also called transfer (Clyne 1967:18), describes the use of a word of (for our purposes) the dominant language in the local language, usually conforming to the phonotactics of the local language. Borrowed words may become part of everyday usage and become accepted into the language, as has 'automobile' in English. The word borrowed may or may not have an equivalent term in the local language. For example, Baarda (nd:2) describes the classroom situation prior to the introduction of the bilingual programme at Yuendumu. Because they were using English primers, the children there "could not recall the Warlpiri words for emu, goanna, moon". She goes on to discuss the difficulty involved in teaching the vernacular to children whose everyday usage is a relexified version of their parent's language. A basic principle of a bilingual programme (as discussed above in 4.1.1.(a)) is the use of the child's language to facilitate literacy learning. When the children's language is not the same as their parent's, Baarda suggests encouraging the parent's form, but not discouraging the children's form. She hopes that the children "may later become familiar with the Warlpiri words, through hearing them in other children's sentences" (Baarda nd:6).

Code-switching is part of a conversational strategy using available discourse resources (including various languages). McConvell (1985:96), questions whether code-switching necessarily leads to language shift, or whether it may rather be a factor in strengthening the language, conveying social meanings, and allowing flexibility in the old language without resorting to complicated neologisms. He provides evidence of the pervasiveness of code- switching in Australia, both between Aboriginal languages and English and Kriol, and between Aboriginal languages themselves (Haviland 1982, Elwell 1982, Lee 1983), and of its use as an inclusive/exclusive conversational strategy. Gumperz (1982:48) shows how code-switching between Slovenian, German, and Austrian German takes on "discourse functions of distinguishing new from old information, marking the degrees of emphasis or contrastiveness, separating topic from subject, or signalling the speaker's position vis-a-vis his message."

In Lakota, a Siouan language of South Dakota, Grobsmith (1980:127) claims that "rather than indicating an increasing trend to use English and a simultaneous decreasing use of the native language, code-switching illustrates the complementarity of Lakota and English in a bicultural environment". She claims that the pattern of switching provides evidence "of a persistent parallel use of two languages which remain of equal importance in a single speech community." Similarly, Scotton (1982:441) suggests that access to different languages is a resource that is exploited by members of any language community (her data is from Swahili and Luyia, a language of Kenya. Hence maintenance of multilingualism is actually motivated by the possibility to codeswitch. Voegelin (1959, cited in Spolsky and Irvine 1982:77) has argued that, for the Hopi, word borrowing is a way of maintaining the purity of the traditional language. Instead of using an indigenous word to name new objects, an English loanword allows the native word to be "used in its purity for the native object". He goes on to suggest that code switching, word borrowing, and allowing literacy in the standard language, rather than the vernacular, might all be seen as ways in which the speakers of a language maintain the integrity of their own culture.

4.3.2. Literacy in the threatened language.

When discussing the impact of literacy on language maintenance, we must distinguish the general arguments about whether Aboriginal people need to be literate from the more specific argument about the value of literacy in maintaining languages. Literacy is seen by some as a disruptive western influence on traditional societies (Goody 1977, Coulmas 1984), even as the major determinant of societal complexity (Goody and Watt 1968:67). On the other hand Pattison (1982:126) points out that the aggressive literacy programme pursued by the Shah in Iran which resulted in 70% of the population being literate, was followed by a puritanical Islamic system in which increased individuality (which Goody 1968:3 suggests is a result of literacy,) were actively discouraged.

Fesl (1983b:38) observes that there are a large number of abandoned literacy programmes for Aboriginal languages. She suggests that the failure of the programmes results from the lack of evidence that they were ever required in the first place. Such programmes were designed, she maintains, to endow the Aboriginal students with enough literacy to become "useful tools of the white economy" (42). While this may be the case, I disagree with her subsequent suggestion that, because there are successful individuals who have no literacy or numeracy, Aboriginal people can equally succeed without literacy. This type of dependence by illiterates on literates is problematic, but Fesl would reply that

Aboriginal society relies on collectivity, and that dependency within the collective is the norm. Whatever the answer is, I agree that the general impact of literacy in Aboriginal societies has to be thought out carefully.

The effect that literacy has on maintenance of languages is unclear. Sutton (1986) points out that the Diyari people (South Australia) who fluently spoke and wrote their language in the early twentieth century (see Austin 1986) today are unable to do either. Austin notes (pc) that none of the speakers of Diyari who taught him the language were actually Diyari. They had learned the language through coming into the mission. It is possible that literacy was one feature in establishing Diyari as the prestigious language of the area.

Another example of early literacy is in Maori. By 1900 there were more items written in Maori in New Zealand than in English (Spolsky and Irvine 1982:74), and Maori continues to be spoken today. Neither of these examples tells us much about the impact of literacy since there are so many other variables involved in language shift or maintenance (see 4.2.).

In the Northern Territory bilingual education programme (see 4.1.1) a major emphasis is placed on the acquisition of literacy in the vernacular. In Aboriginal community run schools (see 5.4.2.) there is a similar emphasis on vernacular literacy. Perhaps some of these communities equate literacy with progress, or perhaps the written form is perceived as having higher status. McKay (1985:26) points out that "literacy may be seen as a useful tool for providing status for the language and for developing records and teaching materials. In some cases it becomes a major means of preservation of knowledge of the language." Note that McKay does not mention the uses of Aboriginal language literacy in communities. Benton (1984:253) points out the "functional separation" of Maori and English, with literacy mainly in English, and the continued spoken use of Maori. Spolsky and Boomer (1983:238) similarly discusses what they call a form of diglossia in Navajo, with English used mainly for writing. McConvell (1986a:118) observes the limited function of literacy in Turkey Creek and gives three reasons for its value to Kija people: writing Kija increases its status; books and articles record information for posterity; some people believe that literacy is the main instrument for language maintenance (a point that McConvell disputes). It is unclear if vernacular literacy is used in Aboriginal communities outside of schools. As Miller (1969:340) reports hearing from an elder in the Western Desert "We don't want to learn to be able to read and write in our own language: I can talk my own language. I want to be able to read A.B.C." (see Miller quoted in 5.2).

One early reason for the emphasis on literacy is the influence of (especially Protestant) missionaries and their belief in the written word. For example, Townsend (1963), of the Wycliffe Bible Translators (see 5.3.2.), talks of how "Witchcraft, killings, superstition, ignorance, fear and sickness are giving way before the Light of the Word, literacy, medicine, and contact with the best in the outside world." Morgan (1983:48) claims that Welsh survived and was prevented from "dissolution into dialects by the Anglican liturgy, and the Welsh Bible and apologetic literature." Literacy is associated with bible teaching and so has been supported by many different missionaries around Australia. This use of literacy is tied in with a broader movement for social change, as is the later emphasis on literacy by the education system.

Inasmuch as literacy in English is associated with modernisation (see 3.5.) it can be seen to threaten the continued transmission of the vernacular. Literacy itself is not such a threat since, as Fesl (above) points out, literacy programmes have had little success in Aboriginal Australia.

4.3.3. Mass Media.

It is unclear to what extent the use of an outside language on radio, television, or video influences a community. Passive reception of the dominant language, and the language's association with the excitement and novelty of the programmes broadcast would combine to give the message that the local vernacular is not as prestigious as is the dominant language. Murdoch (1982-83:14) observes that Canadian Indian and Inuit radio networks which operate largely in the local languages have "had a more noticeable ameliorating effect on Native languages than literacy has had in half a century." It has been argued that the acceptance of video cassette recorders in Aboriginal communities indicates that members of these communities "have already made a choice" Willmot (1984:119) about the appropriateness or otherwise of the television medium. Michaels (1986:131) in a study of the impact of English language television at Yuendumu in the Northern Territory, concludes that "negative influences may be predicted, but it is difficult to separate the influences of television from the many other influences, notably education, which also affect language."

The local transmitter at Yuendumu provided vernacular broadcasting with over 100 hours of video material produced reflecting all aspects of Yuendumu life (Willmot 1984:133), but the current licence to broadcast throughout North-Central Australia, held by the Aboriginal organisation, Imparja television, does not

guarantee that there will be broadcasts in local languages. Michaels (1986:8) suggests that only half an hour per day can be broadcast in a local language, and such efforts "must be regarded as having symbolic value only". Goddard (1987:3) points out that there will be prime time programmes in local languages, including the news, and that there will be room for locally produced videos to be broadcast from Alice Springs. The symbolic value of including language on mass media should not be disregarded, and may well have a positive effect on maintenance of the language. Bavin (pc) describes the intense interest at Yuendumu in the brief Warlpiri language television programme.

The Central Australian Aboriginal Media Association (CAAMA) radio station broadcast 81 hours per week in 1986 in five Aboriginal languages (Lo Bianco 1987:39). There are local Aboriginal newspapers (e.g. Junga Yimi in Warlpiri, Mikurrunya in Nyangumarta) which provide information written for and by members of local communities in their own languages. Such ventures provide a focus for language work, and need not be restricted to the written medium (see the regularly produced video-tapes of 'Kriol Kantri' for example).

4.3.4. Language centres.

Language centres ideally provide a regional focus for language activities. Rather than being a place where languages are taught (although this is one of the functions of the Institute for Aboriginal Development (IAD)). The functions of a language centre can include the following (taken from Hudson and McConvell 1984):

- store appropriate information about the local languages, and make it available to anyone who wants it.
- produce information about local languages.
- help Aboriginal people to produce information in their own languages.
- train Aboriginal people in reading and writing.
- help start language programmes in schools.
- facilitate research that is appropriate to the needs of local communities.
- train interpreters/translators.

There are four language centres in Australia: The School of Australian Linguistics (SAL)(Batchelor); the Institute for Aboriginal Development (IAD)(Alice Springs); the Kimberley Language Resource Centre (KLRC) (Halls Creek) (see 5.5.1. for a more detailed description); and Papulu Aparr-kari (the

Barkly Language Centre)(Tennant Creek). Another centre is planned for Port
Hedland and will open in 1988 if funding is made available. The SAL is different
to the other language centres in that it is run as part of Darwin Institute of
Technology, and has no Aboriginal management committee.

All of these centres encourage production of information in and about local
Aboriginal languages, and have as a primary aim the recognition and promotion of
use of Aboriginal languages. SAL is a training institution which provides language
workers in the Northern Territory's bilingual programme with the skills they need
for teaching Aboriginal children in their traditional languages (McKay 1985:3).
The courses offered at SAL are mainly literacy-based, in line with its original
mandate of supporting Aboriginal literacy workers in the Bilingual Programme. In
addition there is an interpreter/translator training course, and training in general
linguistics. Speakers of Aboriginal languages from all over Australia, but mainly
from the Northern Territory, have either attended SAL or have participated in
SAL's on-site courses in their own communities. Unfortunately the Northern
Territory government is cutting back on funding for SAL, which means that in
1988 there may be only half as many staff as there were in 1986. The effect will be
that what little training has been available for Aboriginal people will become even
less accessible.

IAD trains language workers and runs courses with speakers of local languages
teaching a programmed approach to their language. Its functions are similar to
those of SAL, but it is involved with the local Aboriginal community to a greater
extent.

The impact of these centres on language maintenance is difficult to assess, due
to their regional constituencies. Language centres contribute to language
maintenance both directly (as described above), and indirectly through their
recognition of the status of the local language. Simpson (1987:5) points out that
neither the Tennant Creek library nor the Education Centre had copies of published
grammars of local languages, so "it is no wonder that, after six months on a
community, one teacher still didn't know the name of the language the children
were speaking."

Community run language centres are a very cost-efficient method of training
language workers, collecting information in and about local languages, and
producing and disseminating that information. Brennan's (1979) report to DAA
recommends the establishment of bodies similar to the School of Australian

Linguistics and the Institute for Aboriginal Development in other parts of
Australia. McConvell (1987) and Simpson (1987) both advocate regional language
centres and detail the national network that could be established to share resources
and information about language maintenance.

4.3.5. Outstation/ Homeland movement.

An unusual aspect of patterns of Aboriginal settlement over the past twenty years
has been the movement to 'settle down country' (Japanangka & Nathan 1983) or
for groups of Aboriginal people to re-establish themselves on or near their
traditional homelands. I say 'unusual' because it is a movement that runs counter to
urbanisation, in a nation that is among the most urbanised in the world (Whitelaw
et al 1984). The homeland movement "is an attempt to resume an age-old way of
life". It is about a return to "the sources of Aboriginal culture and wisdom..an
assertion of independence from the control of white, centralized agencies, and
generally from aspects of the European culture" (Japanangka & Nathan 1983:4).

Spicer (1971:798) suggests that there are two major symbols that promote what
he calls 'enclavement':traditional land and language. An enclave is an area in which
a minority group is surrounded by members of the dominant society, (Aboriginal
missions or reserves for example). Enclavement can be voluntary or enforced
(Castile 1981); the homelands movement is an example of voluntary enclavement.
As discussed above in 2.1.3., there is a strong link in Australia between Aboriginal
people, their languages and the country with they are associated. The homelands
movement is partly motivated by a desire to maintain traditions, and will in part
aid in the maintenance of those traditions.

In 1987 there were 650 homeland centres in the Northern Territory alone
(House of Representatives Standing Committee on Aboriginal Affairs 1987:215).
A homeland centre or outstation is typically established by a group of people who
want to reassert their link with a particular part of the country, and to have their
children grow up in a more culturally appropriate milieu. This cultural
conservatism extends to language, and may require that the language appropriate to
the newly resettled country be used in preference to English (as is the case, in my
experience, at Punmu, see 5.4.2.2). Brennan (1979:8) points out that at Papunya
and Maningrida, the movement to homelands has "been a factor in the revival of
interest in or use of language and other cultural forms."

4.3.6. Language Nests.

Five language nests were established in New Zealand in 1982 (Ryan 1987) with the aim of producing bilingual children by the age of five. In 1984 there were 287, and by 1987 there were 400 (LM Newsletter 1:8). The languages nest (kohanga reo) is a place where children must speak Maori, staffed by Maori speaking members of the local community. Dorian (1981:76) points out the importance of conversation with grandparents as a means of practising the use of one's ancestral language. Language nests have a role that would have been played originally by interaction with grandparents. I am unaware of the existence of language nests for Aboriginal languages in Australia.

4.4. Conclusion

In this chapter I have discussed some of the reasons that languages are maintained, and some models and strategies for reversing speakers' shift from Aboriginal languages to English. There is not yet a predictive capability resulting from studies of language shift. That is, given an outline of the social and economic situation of a group of minority language speakers, it is not yet possible to predict what type of changes there will be to their language.

The models that were discussed covered quite common approaches, such as bilingual schools, and not so common approaches, such as revival programmes aimed at developing an understanding of traditions without aiming for total fluency. I do not suggest that these models or the strategies discussed in 4.3. will be able to maintain languages by themselves, but that they are part of a number of intervening variables in language shift or maintenance.

Chapter 5. Aboriginal language maintenance in Western Australia

5.0. Introduction

In this chapter I will discuss Aboriginal language maintenance work that has been conducted in Western Australia, as practical examples of the programmes and strategies discussed in chapter four. I will concentrate on the way in which programmes have been established and look at the various avenues of funding that they have used to become established. I will also look at the attitudes of the Western Australian Government to the maintenance of Aboriginal languages.

From late 1985 to 1987 I was employed by the Institute of Applied Aboriginal Studies, at the WACAE, to collect information about Aboriginal languages of Western Australia (a bibliography of which appears in Thieberger 1987). The work involved travelling in parts of Western Australia, visiting communities with existing language programmes, and participating in the establishment of new programmes. I concentrated on the Pilbara and in addition visited Geraldton, Carnarvon, La Grange and Kalgoorlie and had discussions with people interested in establishing Nyungar (a language of the Aboriginal people of the South-west) language courses. In October 1986 I organised a conference in Perth at which Aboriginal people from around the state discussed language issues. Unless otherwise indicated, the information presented below is a result of this experience.

5.0.1. The Aboriginal languages of Western Australia today.

The use of Aboriginal languages in Western Australia conforms with the pattern discussed in 4.0.1. There are parts of the state where an Aboriginal language is still used as the everyday medium of communication, for example in the Desert communities. At the other extreme there are (typically urban) Aboriginal people who don't speak any traditional language, but whose vernacular is a distinctively Aboriginal English (see Eagleson, Kaldor & Malcolm (1982) on Aboriginal English, and Kaldor and Malcolm (1980:412) for a sketch of six different types of language situation that are found in Western Australia). For information about numbers of speakers of Aboriginal languages of Western Australia, see McGregor (1988) and Thieberger (1987).

**Diagram 5.1. Map of Western Australia
Locations mentioned in the text.**
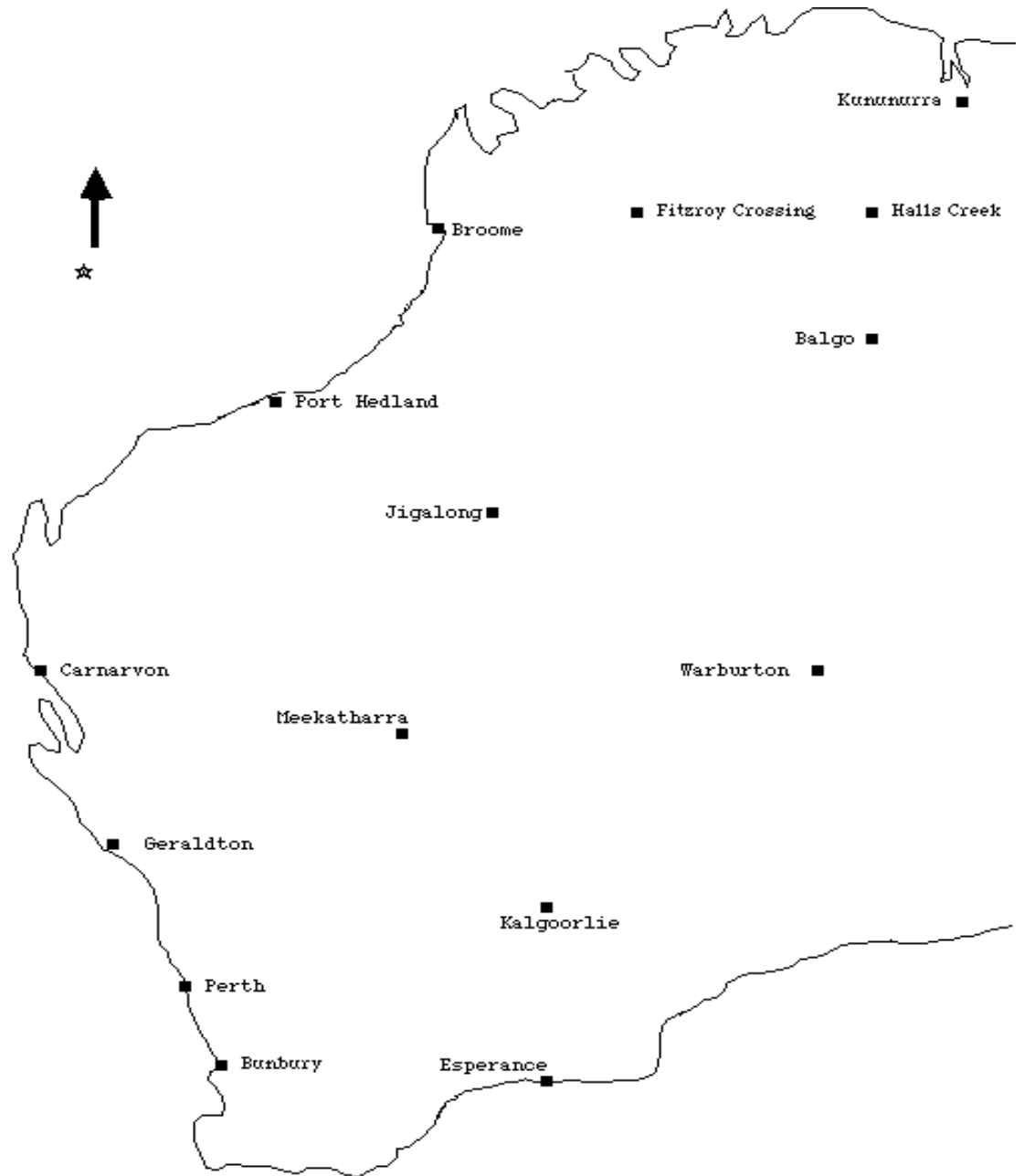
5.1. State/Aboriginal relations in Western Australia

It is necessary to have some background information about the relationship between the government and Aboriginal people in Western Australia. Since most language programmes seek funding through some branch of the WA Government (be it the

Education Department, the Department of Employment and Training or some other department), an understanding of this relationship will be instructive.

Aboriginal people in Western Australia were initially 'protected' by legislation of the British government. The Constitution of 1889 included a provision (section 70), which provided that Aboriginal people were to receive one per cent of the state's income. This section was repealed in 1898 (see McLeod 1984 for a discussion of the importance of this section). It appears to me that the repeal of section 70 sets the tone for relations between Aboriginal people and the government of Western Australia that continues into the present.

The Aborigines Act (1905) empowered the Chief Protector to act as guardian for all Aboriginal children, and a 1911 amendment denied the rights of mothers of 'half-caste' children (Liberman 1980:123). This history of 'protection' continues through the twentieth century, for an account see Biskup (1973), Liberman (1980) or McLeod (1984). Aboriginal language maintenance has been critically affected by two factors: the state's removal of Aboriginal children from their families, and the continued relocation of Aboriginal people away from their traditional country. Both of these features continue today. Children are removed from their families by the Department of Community Services (under court orders) or to attend school in other parts of the state (children from the Kimberley travel to Port Hedland or Perth for secondary schooling). With the development of the homelands movement (see 4.3.5. and below) a number of Aboriginal groups are reversing this resettlement and moving back to the country from which they or their parents were taken. The relationship of land and language has been discussed by Merlan (1981), and by Rigsby & Sutton (1981) and has been touched on briefly in 2.1.3., it should be stressed here that a move 'back to country' includes moving back to traditions, of which language is an integral part. Clearly this identification with parts of the country conflicts with the interests of miners and pastoralists who see the land as bearing economic resources.

Mining is a recurrent theme in Western Australia's history (see Howitt 1981 for three case studies), and there is a resulting conflict of interest between Aboriginal

people (who are determined to remain on land that may be leased to mining companies), and the government of Western Australia (a large portion of whose revenue is derived from mining)."The governments of Western Australia and Queensland have been reluctant to fund any development that would increase the economic or cultural vitality of the Aboriginal people in fear that a revitalized Aboriginal population may press land claims, particularly in regions where mineral resources are, or may be, located". "An Aboriginal civilization that modernizes while retaining its traditional culture poses a permanent political and economic threat to the conservative regimes of Western Australia and Queensland, whose economic prosperity depends on multinational mining developments located on traditional Aboriginal homelands" (Liberman 1981:144).

Since Liberman visited WA there would appear to have been some changes. The Seaman "Aboriginal Land Inquiry" (1984) conducted an extensive consultative process over a year, but its recommendations were not acted upon (see Berndt 1985). The Burke Labour government has not instituted Land Rights legislation, but is proceeding with excisions from pastoral leases in some parts of Western Australia. Some Aboriginal communities have bought stations (e.g. Strelley), others have moved out to land that has been or may soon be excised to provide their living area (e.g. Mt.James, Punmu).

The Homelands movement (see 4.3.5.) in Western Australia has resulted in the establishment of 71 centres. The government policy of excising living areas has meant that Aboriginal people have applied for or expressed interest in excisions in 39 areas in the state (House of Representatives Standing Committee on Aboriginal Affairs 1987:321). Of these only five had been granted as of January 1987. Conditions of tenure on these excisions vary, as does the degree to which outsiders (especially those interested in mineral exploration) can be excluded. As discussed in 4.3.5., the move to homelands is a significant factor in maintaining Aboriginal languages and traditions.

The Western Australian Education Department will not provide a community with a school unless certain criteria are met (i.e. housing, township standard water, power and sewerage). Since the communities may take some time to build up the infrastructure required to meet the Education Department's criteria, there are currently no state schools in homeland communities in Western Australia. It is unlikely that homelands communities would support the presence of Education Department schools, as one of the reasons for moving away is to instil traditional

values in children. Nine of the homelands have independent schools funded through the Department of Aboriginal Affairs Grants for Aboriginal Advancement Program (House of Representatives Standing Commitee on Aboriginal Affairs 1987:218). Of the community schools Strelley, Punmu and Yiyili are discussed below. It appears that the community schools that are established in Western Australia are almost all associated with homeland centres.

The current government policy on Aboriginal languages explicitly mentions Aboriginal languages, and, like many policies it promises a great deal. The actual workings of government have not conformed with the policy as closely as one would have wished. State ALP policy (State Platform 1984) (unfortunately not identical with current government policy) includes the following paragraphs:

> "A Labour Government will -
> 23. Protect the richness and diversity of Aboriginal
> language, both traditional and modern, by the appointment
> of linguists as a matter of course in each region; by the
> provision of in-service courses in "Teaching English as a
> Second Language" (TESL) techniques for teachers of
> Aboriginal students; and by the establishment of bilingual
> education programmes for Aboriginal students.
> 24. Establish Aboriginal language resource activities in
> appropriate centres."

One language centre has been established in WA (see 5.5.), but submissions to the government for another, to be located in Hedland, have not succeeded. Similarly there are no linguists appointed to each region, and there is no bilingual programme established for Aboriginal students.

5.2. Aboriginal language policy in Western Australia.

When we talk of language policy we can distinguish between policies that explicitly deal with language and policies that will have an effect on languages. I discussed land rights and pastoral excisions above because of their importance in maintaining traditional power structures in Aboriginal society, and hence in maintaining languages. In this section I will briefly discuss policy that deals explicitly with Aboriginal languages of Western Australia.

5. Western Australia

Western Australia was first settled by Europeans in 1829, with the beginnings of Perth known as the 'Swan River settlement'. Wesleyans established the Perth Native School in 1840. The teachers were a husband and wife, Francis Armstrong and Mary Armstrong. In 1834 Francis Armstrong had been appointed 'Native Interpreter to the Courts of Justice' having spent some time among Nyungars (Aborigines of the South-West). He recorded vocabularies for a number of regions of the South-West (Armstrong 1837, 1871). This experience stood him in good stead and he was able to translate words and hymns into the local language for use in the school. In 1841 there were 30 children who attended class for two hours per day and spent the rest of the time "in the employ of settlers in the vicinity" (Perth Gazette, 20/11/1841). The school was residential and despite the potential of having a skilled linguist as its teacher, seemed destined instead to produce 'model' citizens, as witness the comment of a visitor to the school, the Protector of Natives, Charles Symmons;

> "The clear voices of the girls and younger boys, were much
> admired, giving a contradiction to the prevailing opinion,
> that their native nasal or guttural sounds could not be
> subdued" (Haynes et al 1976:11).

The literature indicates that little was done by the government to encourage the use of Aboriginal languages over the next century. This is more noticeable by the omission of any mention of language policy and by the general attitude of the authorities (largely integrationist and assimilationist, see Biskup 1973:260-270) than by any explicit reference to programmes.

Not all advocates of assimilation had the same approach. Some commentators ignored that a different language was spoken by Aboriginal children. For example, Brandreth (1965), in a thesis about children at the Forrest River Mission presented for a 'Higher Education Certificate' informs us that "The purpose of educating the native is part of the general plan for their assimilation into the white community" (ibid:2). Under the heading of 'Linguistic Ability', he goes on; "A most determined effort must be made by the teacher and indeed by any person who is handling native children to be consistent in making the children answer questions properly and in using good manners" (ibid:116), suggesting, it seems, that good manners will lead to articulate use of English. In a study which at least understood the distinctive nature of Aboriginal children's language Makin and Ibbotson (1973:5) discuss the need for students to learn English, and for ESL programmes for

children whose first language is Aboriginal English (which they define as a "dialect with an English vocabulary but a structure, grammar and intonation which is influenced by and accompanied with a superceded vernacular language"). Their survey found that Aboriginal children spoke Aboriginal English all over the state except in remote areas, to which their study does not refer any further. The use of the traditional language in school is not discussed, but 50% of the teachers surveyed considered knowledge of 'local Aboriginal dialects' to be of 'some value', while 25% thought it was of 'great value' (ibid:10) (see Kaldor and Malcolm (1980) for more discussion of Aboriginal English).

The 1984 Beazley Inquiry into education in Western Australia, recommended bilingual education for Aboriginal children where it was required, and ESL teaching for students whose fist language is Creole. This proposal has been supported by the (now defunct) Western Australian Multicultural Education Advisory Committee whose report (Jenkins [1986]:40) recommends Aboriginal bilingual education within the state education system. A state language policy is currently being drafted, part of its aim will be to ensure that the recommendations of the National Policy on Languages (Lo Bianco 1987) are implemented in Western Australia (Kaldor pc).

An example of changes in attitudes to Aboriginal languages is found in the public statements of Jack Davis (playwrite) and May Miller. Morton (1969:4) quotes them both as advocating the teaching of English for Aboriginal children who, they claim, are handicapped by their lack of skills in English, and should not be taught in the vernacular. Similarly, May Miller (1969) disagrees with teaching Aboriginal children in the vernacular, because, she claims, migrant children are in the same situation of not speaking English (see 2.2.2.a. for a discussion of the differences between the situation of immigrant and Aboriginal languages). She also suggests that "in the Western Desert the Aborigines feel that if the children are being taught in the vernacular, it is a backward step" (Miller 969:341). In 1986 May Miller (now May O'Brien of the WA Education Department) and Jack Davis attended the WAALA conference in Perth (see below) where both spoke of the need to maintain Aboriginal languages, including the use of bilingual education programmes. Such changes reflect the broader movement of Aboriginal revitalisation, discussed in 1.3.

5.3. Missions and Aboriginal languages

Christian missions in Western Australia have both supported and helped to eradicate Aboriginal languages in the areas in which they work. The Aborigines Act of 1905, mentioned above, gave missions the duty to 'provide for the custody, maintenance and education' of Aboriginal children. Thus missions largely owed their existence this century to the practice of taking half-caste children away from their families. It was in the missions that these orphaned children were taught to be productive as domestics, blacksmiths, carpenters, tailors or stockmen (Biskup 1973:126). In many of the missions during this century children were punished for using their first language (Tonkinson 1974:126, Blaskett 1983 *passim*). I have heard from people who attended the Mt.Margaret mission that use of their mother-tongue was forbidden to the point of corporal punishment. One of them, May O'Brien, is nevertheless grateful to the mission, "I would not be in my position today: if the missions had not educated the Aborigines, no one else would have" (Miller 1969:340). As an aside it is interesting to note that the report from the Eastern Goldfields (Mt.Margaret mission's main sphere of influence) Aboriginal Committee on Education, (Aboriginal Committee on Education 1980) mentions under 'Language' only that "Straight forward English to be taught to our children". In 1981 a concern of how the education system could be improved was that children should be "taught to speak better English" (Aboriginal Committee on Education 1981). This report does not mention the use of local languages.

On the other hand, many of the Catholic missionaries could not speak English, so their main means of communication was often through the local language (Blaskett 1983:200). In addition it was not so much a sign of respect for local tradition that Aboriginal languages were used by missionaries, but of their distrust of the outside world. The use of the local vernacular was often to prevent Aboriginal people from learning English which could lessen the influence of the missionary authorities and increase their communication with 'evil' whites (Blaskett 1983:200).

For more detail on the missions in Western Australia, see Biskup (1973:117-139, or Blaskett 1983).

5.3.1. Catholic Missions

A study of Mogumber Mission, north of Perth, (Ingram 1966) illustrates the attitudes of those at one of WA's Catholic missions (by no means the most strictly religious, see Blaskett 1983:147ff on Kalumburu mission).

> "The Church believes that its prime task is to replace the spiritual life of the tribe by the spiritual content of the Christian Gospel. These people have lost contact with the Tribes from which they descended, the Tribes that gave them their language and customs" (Ingram 1966:47)

> "Through education and training it is hoped that the native will be changed from a nomadic, idle discontented person into settled industrious and happy citizen" (Ingram 1966:54).

This philosophy reflected a broader societal concern with the assimilation of Aboriginal people into mainstream society, and, as attitudes changed, so did the policies of the Catholic missions. As will be discussed further below, the Catholic schools in WA have recently been more open to the use of indigenous languages and the incorporation of Aboriginal cultural knowledge in the curriculum.

However, it should be pointed out that some Catholic missionaries took a great interest in Aboriginal culture, reasoning that the beliefs that they were trying to inculcate in Aboriginal people would be more successful if they were blended with the local creation stories (Biskup 1973:48). In addition the missionaries did not always speak English, so they had to learn the local language to be able to communicate with their pashioners. Late last century and in the early twentieth century, for example, Bishop Salvado (1851) collected vocabularies from the South-west, and Frs.Worms and Nekes (see McGregor 1988:Chapter 4) from Balgo and Beagle Bay. More recently Frs.Rooney (Moora), McKelson (La Grange), and Peile (Balgo) have collected information about languages of their parishioners. In addition, the Catholic Education Commission has initiated programmes using Aboriginal languages (see 5.4.3.).

5.3.2. Protestant organisations.
In terms of publications, length of time in the field and number of members, the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL) is the biggest single organisation working with Aboriginal languages in Western Australia.

The creation of the Summer Institute of Linguistics from the Wycliffe Bible Translators (WBT) provided a new organisation with ostensibly academic aims (Stoll 1982:3-4). The charter of SIL shows that among other goals are:

> 1) Language learning, linguistic analysis and publication of linguistic papers.
>
> 2) Literature production including translation of books of high moral value.
>
> 3) Preparation and introduction of literacy materials.
>
> (SIL/WBT Handbook 1984:2)

The attempts to establish a bilingual school at Jigalong and in the South Kimberley have only been possible due to the efforts of the SIL linguists there. The overriding aim of this non-denominational Protestant organisation is the translation of the New Testamant, at least, into "all those languages of the world where it is needed"(Article IIA.1, WBT Articles of Incorporation 1980). While there is a need for members to engage in other tasks, such as preparation of literacy materials, teaching and so on, "the translation and the publication of the Word of God is our primary goal as an organization and this essential task must not be crowded out by other worthwhile activities" (SIL/WBT Handbook 1984:1).

In Western Australia, SIL has worked in a number of locations. As its aim is providing access to the bible through translations into the local language, its members are often involved in literacy training workshops. The type of literature produced by SIL members varies, but a large part of SIL material produced in Western Australia has been Christian readers (see the lists for the Kimberley in McGregor 1988).

Other Protestant missionaries who have studied local languages have included Douglas (1964), Glass & Hackett (1970), and the Hadfields, responsible for the field work for Vaszolyi (1979).

5.4. Aboriginal language maintenance in schools.

As in the rest of Australia, there are both state and independent schools in Western Australia. On 1983 figures, there were about 10,500 Aboriginal students in state schools, and about 2,000 in non- government schools (Bartlett 1985:207).

In this section I would like to show that community initiated programmes have more hope of success than have programmes that are established by outside bodies (including the state schools). I suggest that their success may be due in part to the communities' reaction to the state system's inactivity in providing what is considered an appropriate curriculum. Without doubt the non-government schools have provided far more support for Aboriginal languages than has the state system. An explanation for this is that community schools are often established specifically to teach 'old ways' including languages (see below), and are part of communities that place an emphasis on involvement in their children's education.

Obviously efforts to maintain languages have to have an effect throughout the speech community, not just in the school. A point that is noted by Heaven (1986) is that the school, by including study of the local language, is recognising the value of local Aboriginal traditions, and so is enhancing the status of the language. Thus there is a useful purpose in including language studies in school, even if they will not produce fluent speakers (see 4.1.a.).

In table 5.1. I present a list of Aboriginal schools and language programmes that have been running in Western Australia in the 1980s. If one considers that there are still over fifty Aboriginal languages spoken in Western Australia, the number of programmes is very small by comparison.

5.4.1. The state education system.

The responsibility for educating Aboriginal children in Western Australia lay with the Department of Aborigines from 1897 (Mounsey 1980:397). In addition, as the 1905 Act (mentioned in 5.3.) gave missions control of Aboriginal education, separate schools were provided for black and white children. In the 1930s and 1940s the Education Department became more involved in Aboriginal education. Aboriginal children were admitted to state schools "provided they met White standards of hygiene" (Mounsey 1980:399). While the content of the curriculum is not mentioned in the sources, the general attitude suggests that the use of local languages was not only not a priority, but was actively denigrated. It was only in

1952 that the state assumed responsibility for the education of Aboriginal children (Furnell 1974:134). In 1959 there were 23 'native' government or private schools with 1,156 children.

In an attempt to provide appropriate education for Aboriginal students, the position of teacher-aide or Aboriginal education worker was established. This involved the use of local Aboriginal people in the school, and part of the aim was to allow communication between the non-Aboriginal teacher and the children."In traditional areas, and in some non-traditional communities where the Aboriginal language has been retained, the aide must be conversant in the local vernacular" (Western Australian Aboriginal Committee on Education 1981:11). In 1981, there were fifty Primary school aides/Aboriginal Education Workers in Western Australia who have "an ability to readily communicate with Aboriginal students" (ibid:3). Whether this means that the aides could speak the local language or not is unclear. The WA Education Department has no Aboriginal language adviser, and no specialist in Aboriginal languages on its staff.

Table 5.1., Aboriginal language programmes in Western Australian schools

(adapted from Jenkins [1986])

School	Language(s)	Programme type (see 4.1.)
1. Gnangara Aboriginal Community College, Perth.	Nyungar	Language awareness/revival
2. St.Joseph's School, Moora	Nyungar	Language awareness/revival
3. Tardun School,Tardun	Wajarri	?
4. Punmu Community School	Manjiljarra Warnman	Bilingual
5. Strelley Community School	Manjiljarra Nyangumarta Warnman	Bilingual
6. La Grange Primary School	Walmajarri Nyangumarta Karajarri Mangala Yulparija	Language awareness
7. Yiyili Community School	Walmajarri Kriol	Bilingual
8. Kulkarriya Community School Noonkanbah	Walmajarri	Language awareness/ Bilingual
9. John Pujajangka-Piyirn School, Lake Gregory	Walmajarri	Bilingual
10. Bililuna Catholic School	Walmajarri	?
11. Warmun Ngala Nganpum School Turkey Creek	Kija	Language awareness
12. St.Joseph's, Kununurra	Miriwung	Language awareness
13. Balgo Hills Catholic School	Kukatja	Bilingual
14. Nulungu College, Broome	Walmajarri	Language awareness

5. Western Australia

The only bilingual programme the WA Education Department has started in an Aboriginal community in Western Australia was at Warburton in 1974. The 'pilot' programme there closed down after three years, despite having both a linguist employed and input from other linguists who were highly conversant with the local languages. In late 1983 an informal 'Bilingual Education Committee' was established in Perth at the instigation of members of the government of the day. It aimed to "formulate proposals concerning the place of Aboriginal languages in school and community programs, and to present these to the Minister for Education" (IAAS 1984:1). A member of the committee, Colin Mounsey, then WA's Superintendent of Aboriginal Education, began collecting information about the state's indigenous languages in 1983, to be used "as a reference by groups who are seeking to develop vernacular language programmes" (Mounsey 1983:1). I was unable to find this material when undertaking a similar project for the Institute of Applied Aboriginal Studies, funded by the Commonwealth Schools Commission.

In a series of discussion papers prepared by this committee, plans for types of language programmes were outlined, as well as specific guidelines for the establishment of a survey of language research materials. The first part of this proposal was funded by the Commonwealth Schools Commission in 1985 (Thieberger 1987) and as a result there is now a data base of information relating to Aboriginal languages of Western Australia. The other proposals outlined the types of programmes suitable for use in WA schools (these types are similar to those discussed in chapter 4.). In particular they recognised three types of vernacular-language programmes for schools (see 4.1.):

> 1- informal, oral, general interest programme
> 2- elective or option programme
> 3- initial literacy in the vernacular with ESL
> (Bilingual Education Committee [1983])

The committee detailed the costs involved in establishing a Northern Territory Model 1 (see 4.1.1.) type of programmes and recommended the following communities as potential sites:

5. Western Australia

Jigalong	Cosmo Newbery
Warburton	Fitzroy Crossing
Cundelee	Cherrabun
Yandeyarra	Christmas Creek
La Grange	Mt.Margaret/Wiluna
Roebourne	Broome

Unfortunately none of these programmes has yet been funded, although local languages have been used in some schools (Roebourne, Carnarvon East, Hedland), depending on the availability of staff, or on the enthusiasm of the principal. An example of the successful combination of community support and school willingness to recognise local languages is La Grange (Bidyadanga).

La Grange is an Aboriginal community south of Broome at which five traditional languages and Kriol are represented. Each of the languages has been recorded by non-Aboriginal linguists, and Fr.McKelson, resident at La Grange, has prepared written material and teaching courses in some of the languages.

After a meeting between members of the local community council and the school board, a school programme began in April 1985 (Heaven 1986). It consisted of a half-hour per day segment involving all children at the school and taught by speakers of the five languages (i.e. not Kriol). Initial funding for members of the community acting as teachers was made by the community council, later funding came from the WA Education Department ($2,500), and funds for employment of a linguist came through a grant from the Participation and Equity Program. Heaven (1987) outlines the reasons for the programme's success. He suggests that the strategy of using both the language speakers and non-Aboriginal teachers together in the classroom overcame a problem that previous courses had experienced. In the past, courses had been run exclusively by elders, who had had problems with child discipline in the non-Aboriginal domain of the school, and with resource preparation. With both teachers in the classroom, the elder and the language were "accorded rightful respect" (Heaven 1987:2).

The programme emphasised oracy, partly because of the lack of literature in some of the languages, but also because of the need to ensure that the languages kept being spoken at La Grange (see 4.3.2., on literacy). Physical resources required for the success of the project were difficult to acquire, eventually being

collected together under patchwork funding from various sources. These included included a tape recorder, a photocopier and a bus for excursions.

The main strengths of the programme according to Heaven (1987:8) were:

1) Very strong community support for the school.

2) Very positive student, elder and staff esteem.

3) Resultant higher achievement levels by students

4) Strong, positive school tone.

5) The various languages were increasingly spoken and used by the children.

6) A growing awareness in the children of the precious and rich cultural heritage that was theirs.

The WA Minister for Education, Bob Pearce, after pledging support for Aboriginal language programmes at the first WAALA conference in October 1986 (see below), visited La Grange in late 1986, and promised that a linguist would be employed by the Education Department for 1987. The funding was made available without planning and with no duty statement prepared for the job. The process by which La Grange was singled out to receive funding is instructive, especially as there are a number of communities in Western Australia that have been trying for some time to have a language programme begun in their schools (notably Jigalong and Cundelee). The Minister responded, it seems, to the high profile which La Grange had achieved (it was the subject of press reports: a later but typical example of which is Jenkins 1987) and of a video made by the Education Department. The funding was for a linguist for one year, with no duty statement or plan for a language programme, and there is no further money available for 1988. After a little over a year working at La Grange, the linguist who was employed there feels that she has only begun her work (Diana MacCallum pc).

Other state schools, while not launching as large a programme as at La Grange, have included local languages in social studies classes, or in homework classes. Aboriginal people at Mungullah village in Carnarvon ran an after school course teaching words of Thalanyji, and of other languages from the area (Victor Hughes, pc), and at Carnarvon Senior High School Payungu vocabulary is included in an Aboriginal studies option. A course in Wanggatha was proposed for funding in Carnarvon in 1983 (Submission to Minister for Education WA. 12/12/83). Wanggatha was initially chosen, despite not being a local language, because there is an audio-taped teaching course available for Wanggatha. The local language

5. Western Australia

Inggada was chosen in preference due to the presence of a community teacher who spoke Inggada. The objectives of the course were to increase understanding of and communication between community groups, and to improve self-esteem by emphasising positive aspects of both cultures (Seinor 1983). The project might have originally aimed at reviving a dying language, but ended up being a language awareness programme (as discussed in 4.1.).

This type of work is often associated with the presence of a linguist in the area who can provide material: for example Alan Dench provided material about Inggada for Carnarvon, and about Panyjima for Onslow school. In addition, Carnarvon High School has funding for Bernie Ryder, an Aboriginal teacher, to develop an Aboriginal curriculum, incorporating Payungu material prepared by Peter Austin. The Fitzroy Crossing schools and others of the West Kimberley have used material prepared by Joyce Hudson and Eirlys Richards as has Yiyili, which also had help with Gooniyandi from Bill McGregor. Wilf Douglas, Amee Glass and Dorothy Hackett have supported schools in Warburton and the Eastern Goldfields. This reliance on the fortuitous presence of linguists is not very satisfactory, since there is no ongoing training of local people, and there are not many linguists doing research (those that there are do not necessarily have the time to spend developing material for schools). Ideally there would be resident linguists in an area who could conduct literacy workshops with Aboriginal people, and support the use of local languages in schools (perhaps through the use of regional language centres, see 4.3.4.).

However, even if there are resident linguists, it is still necessary for teachers at the school, and for funding bodies, to take an active interest in, and to actively support, the programme. An example is the Martu Wangka literacy programme, started in mid-1979 by Bill Langlands of SIL, collaborating with Jim Marsh, who had been the SIL bible-translator at Jigalong since 1967. The programme has produced an extensive amount of literature in Martu- Wangka, and participated in literacy sessions in the school, with the cooperation of the principal of the day. The two SIL literacy workers ran inservice sessions for teachers, prepared instructional material (e.g.,'You can Read Martu Wangka') and have sought funding for the establishment of a bilingual school at Jigalong. The submission for funding recommended that a successful programme required:
> - appropriate choice of teaching staff, favouring those with experience or interest in teaching Aboriginal people.
> - a full-time teacher-linguist to be appointed to the school.

- regular inservices for teachers in the school.
- cooperation between the school and the community's
efforts at cultural maintenance.

<div align="right">Langlands (1983)</div>

Jigalong still has no bilingual programme, but there are members of the local community who are moving out to Parnngurr (Cotten Creek) to establish a community on their traditional territory (see 4.3.5.) away from what they perceive as the problems of Jigalong (see Tonkinson 1974 for a description of Jigalong's establishment). One of the reasons for returning to their country, given by the central figures in this move (Gibbs pc), is to allow the children to grow up knowing their culture and language.

I talked with the headmaster of the government school at a cattle station in the Pilbara. The students at the school were almost exclusively Aboriginal and the school had tried to introduce the local languages in some way. He recognises the importance of a language course and the need for support for speakers of the language:

> The local community "want the language covered, they
> want their culture kept, but they believe that stations like Y
> are going to survive if their kids have got skills so they can
> cope outside of Y, or that they can go and receive an
> education..to be able to hack it in the white system... I keep
> saying 'Give me people to teach your language', they say
> 'Yeah yeah we want the language taught', but there's no-one
> who's good enough on language that can come into the
> school and help us do it... I think the best thing we did was
> to do those little (language) sessions, even though they did
> fall down, because it's an attitudinal thing that the kids saw
> that we as teachers, thought that their language was
> important". If Y had a resource person, "we could go to step
> two of starting to formalise our language programme.. we
> need someone to come in on a regular basis to present us,
> the teachers, with information."

From these comments, and in the absence of funding for a full-time linguist attached to the school, it seems that the sort of advice required could be supplied

by a linguist attached to a local language centre. It seems that there is considerable interest on the part of Aboriginal people in some parts of Western Australia to have the local traditional language included in schoolwork. The state system could provide the advisors suggested by the headmaster at Y, it could also introduce fully bilingual programmes. In the Northern Territory, the bilingual programme has been supported, until recently, by the training facility at the School of Australian Linguistics (see 4.3.4.). Such a programme has not yet been attempted in Western Australia, and only a small group of students from the west have gone to Batchelor or attended on-site courses in literacy in their own communities. The recently begun Traditional Aboriginal Teacher Education programme (on-site teacher training similar to the Northern Territory's RATE programme, or the South Australian Anangu programme), operating as a pilot study by the Institute of Applied Aboriginal Studies at Noonkanbah during 1988, offers more hope of teachers from a local community being able to speak the same language as the children.

5.4.1.1. Western Australian Aboriginal Education Consultative Group (WAAECG).

The WAAECG has recently taken an interest in the role of traditional languages in Aboriginal education. A research project run by them during 1986, seeking Aboriginal views on the education of their children, produced a series of recommendations, summarised below.

> 1) Support for language resource centres modelled on the Kimberley Language Resource Centre.
> 2) Support for the WA Aboriginal Languages Association.
> 3) The Ministry of Education should adopt strong policies for promoting Aboriginal languages, including:
> -encouraging bilingual education.
> -identifying the level of need for teaching languages and responding to it.
> 4) Training Aboriginal language workers.
> 5) Encourage oral history projects.
> (Western Australian Aboriginal Education Consultative Group [1987:10])

5.4.2. Community Schools

Community Schools in WA are typically established in homelands camps (see 4.3.5. and 5.1.) by a group of people that has moved away from the influences of

towns, one of which is the monolingual, monocultural school. There are a number of community schools in Western Australia, perhaps reflecting the widely felt dissatisfaction with the service that is provided by the State Education Department. I will discuss examples of some of the community schools here because they are important agents for language maintenance, not only in their role of teaching the young, but also as a means of maintaining power structures.

The existence of a local school means that children do not have to be sent out of their communities for long periods of time, ensuring that they will not be exposed to English, but will continue to use their parents' language every day (if not in a school programme, then after school). The lack of electricity at many homeland camps means that videos and television are not available to present young people with European metropolitan images (see 4.3.3.). Since older members of the community participate in the running of the school, they are the ones making decisions about how their grandchildren will be educated.

5.4.2.1.Yiyili

Yiyili school, in the Kimberley region, was begun in early 1982 (Dickinson 1987). It was established so that students would not have to travel 130 kilometers to the nearest school and live in a hostel "If a school was not established the new community would have disintegrated" (Dickinson 1987:20). The traditional language of the area, Gooniyandi, was not spoken by many of the children, so the community agreed with the advice of a linguist to start teaching in Kriol. Three bough-sheds were built, and the appropriate language had to be spoken in each of the bough-sheds (English, Kriol and Gooniyandi). Thus a feature of the course of study at Yiyili was distinguishing between Kriol and English, as well as reviving or reintroducing (see 4.1.2.) the traditional language. McGregor (forthcoming) notes that the Gooniyandi programme only operated for a brief period in 1983-84, ending with the resignation of the teacher-linguist.

5.4.2.2.Punmu

Punmu is a community that broke with the Strelley group in 1983. The population fluctuates around 150, most of whom are Manjiljarra speakers, with a minority of Warnman and Kartujarra people. While the main source of income for such a community is the government, and while food is brought by truck from Perth, the arrangements for this outside business are in the hands of the (non- Aboriginal) community advisor.

It seems to me that one reason for the success of language maintenance at Punmu, besides the general conservatism of the group living there, has been social isolation. Contact with the outside world is made by radio and is usually conducted by only a few members of the community, the white community advisor and the school teachers. In addition the local network of communities share radio frequencies and communicate via the radio in local languages. The bilingual school started in 1983 and was registered as an independent community school soon after (Hobson 1986). Major aims of the school are to keep the Manjiljarra language and culture strong. Community participation is ensured by the community ownership of the school. In addition the physical isolation of Punmu (two days drive east of Port Hedland) ensures very little contact with 'kartiya' (non-Aboriginal people). Aboriginal people from other communities in the area have complained to me that, when visiting Punmu, they have to speak Manjiljarra.

The language programme, originally in Manjiljarra, and recently started also in Warnman, involves teaching in the children's first language, and teaching literacy in that language. As children become proficient at writing, they then begin literacy and language work in English as a second language. Typical of such programmes is the lack of literature available for use in classroom activities, so access to literature production equipment is vital. At Punmu, this equipment has been acquired slowly through a number of different grants. It includes a quality photocopier, laminating machine, computer and stapler.

As outlined in 4.2, one reason for language shift is interference with the speech community's environment. At Punmu there is a threat to the community's daily activities in the form of incursions by a mining company. The potential damage to the community and hence to the language programme are inestimable. As has been pointed out in 4.3.5., the homelands movement is an expression of strongly felt links to particular parts of the country, links which are completely at odds with the aims of mining companies. Supporters of the language programme at Punmu must perforce become partisan in the community's assertion of its ownership of country.

5.4.2.3. Strelley

Strelley has always seen itself as separate from outside society, even separate from other Aboriginal communities (Bucknall 1982). Their insistence on using Nyangumarta and other languages is both a result of this isolation and a contributing factor towards maintaining separateness. Indeed from what has been seen in the present work, it appears that an effective way to maintain Aboriginal

languages is by the type of isolation that Strelley encourages, a form of separate development (see 4.3.5.). The other main reason for the success of the programme at Strelley is that it is members of the Strelley community who have made all decisions about how the bilingual school programme should run (McConvell 1982:63-64).

Strelley school started in 1978, and since then more schools have been established at Lalla Rookh, Noonkanbah, Warralong and other places (including Punmu, see above). The system includes a literacy cell that produces literature for the schools, and includes an artiscope camera, offset printer and associated equipment.

Bucknall (1982) points out that it is through the use of Aboriginal languages that the schools at Strelley are achieving their success. However, the introduction of a bilingual programme was never seen as a means to achieve better English literacy (Liberman 1981:142). Liberman points out that "bilingualism at the school is advocated as a way of reinforcing traditional identity, and the success of bilingual education at Strelley may be attributed to its acceptance as such by the community". When the school was established, it was felt that younger people might develop skills that would allow them to challenge the authority of the community elders. To avoid this, literacy classes in the local language were begun for adults. The staff were European teachers and linguists chosen by the community, as a long time advisor to the community, Don McLeod (1984:138), reiterates: "The linguists hired by the Nomads are the servants of the traditional language authorities, not their masters." Accordingly, the school is directed by the community, with decisions about the appropriateness of curriculum being decided by the parents and grandparents of the children, not just by European teachers.

5.4.3. Catholic Education Commission.
The Catholic Education Commission has supported the use of Aboriginal languages in some of the schools of the Kimberley, and elswhere in the state. As is pointed out in 5.3.1., there is a history among some of the Catholic missionaries of learning and recording local languages. Some of the current language programmes have built on this work, but Catholic Education has also employed linguists in three centres in the Kimberley (Broome, Balgo and Halls Creek) to service a number of schools in the region (Hudson 1986). The types of programme run are identical to those listed by McConvell (see 4.1), with the addition of 'Language

Awareness' programmes (see 4.1.a.), used in schools where the children come from a number of linguistic backgrounds but speak little of the traditional language.

5.5. Language maintenance outside of schools.
5.5.1.The Kimberley Language Resource Centre
The Kimberley Language Resource Centre (KLRC) was established as a result of a pilot project (Kimberley Language Support Programme) which operated in the Kimberley in 1984 (Hudson & McConvell 1984) (see 4.3.4. for a discussion of language centres). The pilot project was funded as a Community Employment Project (a CEP Grant of $202,000) and employed 15 people to conduct a survey of speakers of languages of the Kimberley. The rationale for establishing the language centre was to support the continued use of the languages of the region. Hudson & McConvell (1984:9) outline the aims of the language centre (see 4.3.4.) which include, among others, storing information about languages, producing more information and literature in and about languages, training Aboriginal people to collect and write information, and helping schools to start language programmes. The centre has produced language material, with the help of such resources as a word-processor, photocopier and laminator. Since it began, the KLRC has provided information for local schools, has participated in literacy courses with the Catholic Education Commission, has produced a 'Handbook of Kimberley Languages' (McGregor 1988), a guide to spelling systems (Hudson and McGregor 1986) and a guide to starting a language programme (Richards [1987]).

5.5.2. Nyungar language revival
A class in Bunbury (run by Sandra Wooltorton) set about learning Nyungar. They had a sketch grammar and numerous vocabularies, and the class included two older people who remember some Nyungar. When faced with the morphological complexity of the language as presented in historical sources, the group reconsidered their aims. They drew a timeline, with 'Old Nyungar' on one end based mainly on written sources, and English at the other end. They chose a form of language that they considered would be located somewhere along the timeline closer to the English end than to the Old Nyungar end. The use of the timeline illustrates their identification of their own vernacular as related to the traditional language, however distantly.

The form of the language that they chose included use of largely English word-order and semantics, fixed morphological forms (constant use of particular suffixes regardless of the grammatical appropriateness), a collapse of (semantic and

phonological) distinctions found in the old language, but not found in English (as illustrated in 4.1.3.) While they produced some literature in their neo- Nyungar, deciding what form of language to use, and conducting fieldwork was a valuable experience in itself (the experience closely parallels that outlined in 4.1.3.) A great deal of information has been recorded about Nyungar languages (Thieberger 1987:20-24), but this has not been used in language maintenance work until recently. A project at the University of Western Australia, run by Alan Dench, will collate this information into a dictionary which may make the information more accessible for language reintroduction programmes hoped for by Aboriginal people of the south-west.

5.5.3. Western Australian Aboriginal Languages Association (WAALA).

As was discussed in 4.0, there is a need for lobby groups to act in support of Aboriginal languages at the level of the state and federal government. WAALA is an organisation established in 1986 which represents people who are interested or involved in working with Aboriginal languages in Western Australia (a list of recommendations from the first WAALA conference is reproduced in appendix A). A logistical problem for an organisation such as WAALA is the size of its constituency, which means that meetings of the membership are very expensive. With no funding, such an organisation relies on the good offices (literally) of Mt.Lawley College for secretarial support, and for implementation of a number of practical recommendations made by the conference in October 1986. While WAALA is not directly involved in language maintenance work, it is a forum for people in the area to share ideas.

5.6. Conclusions

In this chapter we have seen some practical examples of the language programmes outlined in chapter 4. I have shown that community involvement in language programmes is vital to their success, as is access to adequate resources for training and for literature and audio-visual production. While I have spent most of this chapter talking about language programmes, it is not clear that such programmes necessarily support the ongoing communicative use of a language (see Folds criticism of the Pitjantjatjara course in 4.1.1.(a)). I suggest that, as Fuller found with Navajo (4.2), although people may support maintenance of languages, their practice does not necessarily conform with their attitudes. As I pointed out in 3.5., and in 2.1.1., language may be associated with an idealised past, and fluency in the spoken use of the language is not always what is asked for in language maintenance programmes. This is clearly not the case at Strelley and Punmu where

the continued communicative use of the traditional local language is the aim of the community directed schools. Nevertheless, we should be aware that language programmes might not need to fulfil European notions of linguistic excellence to still be considered a success by members of the community.

As discussed in 4.2., it is clear that social and economic factors play a large part in language maintenance. Aboriginal people in Western Australia, while they were encouraged to become economically dependent on either missions or government reserves have, at the same time, managed to choose how they will adapt to their changing circumstances. That many who are products of even the strictest missions still can speak their language (as in May O'Brien's case) suggests that a policy of passive resistance was adhered to, tacitly if not openly. The 'enclavement' (see 4.3.4.) of Aboriginal people on reserves, as discussed in 1.3., supported the use of traditional languages, although the opposite has been the result at places like Jigalong where a lingua franca (*Martu wangka*), based on a number of traditional languages, has developed, to a mixed reception by both outsiders and by its own speakers.

Chapter 6. Conclusion

In this thesis I have discussed the issue of Aboriginal language maintenance, placed it in a historical context, evaluated some arguments used in its favour, and presented some models for use in language maintenance programmes.

Aboriginal people of this generation are witnessing a dramatic shift away from traditional languages, and have responded to what many perceive as a loss of traditional knowledge.The movement supporting the use and recording of Aboriginal languages in Australia has also arisen following the change in rural postwar Aboriginal lifestyles and the subsequent assertion of Aboriginal rights in the period from the 1960s. This and similar movements overseas have contributed to a concern in academia about ethics and about the potential usefulness of academic work conducted with indigenous people for these people themselves.The type and amount of linguistic research has changed markedly in the past decade, sometimes in response to requests from Aboriginal communities for pedagogic material. The involvement of linguists in the collection of oral narrative texts has, in general, ensured that the information is presented in a way that is suited to interpretation by future researchers, and through them to members of Aboriginal communities.

To understand why language maintenance is an issue we have to realise that language in use represents more than the structuralist abstraction embodied in the 'langue/parole' or the 'competence/ performance' dichotomies. In chapter 2 I discussed the failure of structuralist linguistics to address questions of linguistic affiliation or sentiment. Some functionalist analyses of language offer an insight into the relationship between a language and its speakers that is lacking in structuralist models. While these models are not necessarily strictly adhered to by practitioners, they have had a great influence in defining the goals of linguistics and hence of linguists in the field. There is an obvious contrast between the structuralist isolation of language away from context (linguistic, temporal and physical) and Aboriginal notions of 'language' incorporating an interrelationship between language, country and tradition.

Both the linguist's intervention to support a speech community's use of a language and the community's activity of retaining use of the language go by the name of 'language maintenance'. Included in the former are the models and

6.Conclusion

strategies, discussed in chapter 4, that can apply in a number of situations. These activities are not limited to communities of bi- or multi-linguals, but can apply to semispeakers and rememberers of the language as well. The existence of a language programme (on its own) does not guarantee that a language will continue to be spoken, it is just one of a number of variables in determining the retention or shift of a language.

Language programmes need not result in fluency in a language. They can have a number of benefits besides such fluency, including respect for the minority group, and increased awareness by them of the distinctive nature of their own cultural history. These benefits cannot be achieved if a language programme asserts the value of 'tradition' to the possible exclusion of the contemporary usage or vernacular. Where the target language of a programme is not the vernacular (in cases where a language is undergoing drastic changes, Tiwi (Lee 1983), for example, or where syncretic or post-contact languages are in everyday use) there will be difficulties in establishing appropriate forms for it.

It is essential that the speakers of the language be involved in designing the course, and in its implementation, and that local customs be adhered to in its preparation. For example consider the reaction of older people to the spelling system devised for Ngarrindjeri. While it may not be the most logical system, "these people have little experience of logical spelling - English words must be spelt "correctly", regardless of the way they sound and this is consistent with traditional ways, where things had to be done in the correct way as dictated by the old people, and it was not for young people to ask why" (Kirke 1987:1). Similarly, the control over knowledge by older people in Aboriginal communities has been observed by Michaels (1985) . This control does not mean that there are other people who do not share that knowledge, but that they do not have the right to pass it on.There are appropriate people to consult about language matters even though they may not <u>know</u> a particular fact that we are seeking. With their permission we may be able to find a more knowledgeable person, for example someone who grew up with speakers of the language but who has no rights over the language. Ideally there should be Aboriginal members of the local community trained in language work, who can construct the programme themselves. It is for this reason that training centres, like SAL or other language centres, are so important.

Language maintenance is not necessarily a backward looking exercise, attempting to reinstate a 'pure' form in opposition to the contemporary 'corrupted'

version of a language. In this thesis I have advocated the use of language maintenance projects in the context of a group's reidentification with their past, and with the past as they recreate it. There are a number of arguments for maintaining languages, the strongest is from the point of view of social justice, an attempt to give voice to muted minority groups and to redress the damage that has been and continues to be done to Aboriginal people. Michaels (1985:509) characterises Aboriginal society in Australia as an 'information economy' in which communication provides the "information which extracted meaning and utility from the landscape".Thus oral history projects, collection of information about place names, or Aboriginal knowledge of plant and animal uses are all part of maintaining information that is (generally) the domain of older people who still remember or use the traditional language.

The degree to which a language is maintained depends on a number of factors. Not using a minority language that has a limited and diminishing functional range appears to be an inevitability as constant pressure to conform to metropolitan standards proves difficult to resist. However, the causes of language shift do allow some room for intervention. Some of these factors are impossible to change, those to do with the origin of contact between the languages for example, or the type of relationship that has existed in the past between the minority group and the dominant society. While these cannot be changed, they must be understood by anyone attempting to construct a language programme with the linguistic minority. Other factors are difficult to change by intervention (e.g. marriage patterns, degree of urbanisation, changes to local environment). Intervention can help in altering the status of a language and in providing records (in a variety of media) of local knowledge that is encapsulated in the language.The crucial factor is the determination by members of the minority to keep speaking their language, and then not only their determination but their practice is required. The examples from Western Australia of homeland communities and community schools show that some Aboriginal people are 'voting with their feet', moving away from English-speaking environments (although language is not the primary motivation for the move, it is a contributing factor). They are not waiting for the development of a state bilingual programme, but are directing their own schools, thus ensuring curricula that they consider to be appropriate. While state schools are not necessarily the best place for bilingual education projects, it is possible for them to allow greater participation than they do at present, as shown in the case of La Grange school.

6.Conclusion

Interventional language maintenance programmes are necessary because they are able to support Aboriginal people who want their children to either continue speaking their ancestral language, or to learn about their cultural heritage through study of the language. It is in the amelioration of their social and economic conditions, together with the ongoing efforts of promoting their languages, that Aboriginal people can look forward to the possibility of the maintenance of their languages into the future.

Appendix A. WAALA Recommendations.

Recommendations of the Western Australian Aboriginal Languages Association, Perth, October 1986.

<u>MAJOR RECOMMENDATIONS TO MINISTERS FOR EDUCATION AND ABORIGINAL AFFAIRS.</u>

1. That the Education Department be requested to recognise Aboriginal languages and introduce Aboriginal languages programs in all schools where Aboriginal communities want them.

2. That a training school similar to the School of Australian Linguistics be started in WA to provide central and regional and on-site training for Aboriginal people to participate in Aboriginal language programs in schools.

3. That the IAAS be requested to develop guidelines for initiating interpreter/translator services in Aboriginal languages. (This to include a survey of needs in country areas.) That the WA government be requested to make funding available for this purpose.

4. That the recording of dying languages be considered a priority for linguistic research.

5. That the WA government provide funding for the IAAS to prepare an emergency kit outlining basic steps for recording Aboriginal languages.

6. That regional language centres be established in accordance with ALP State policy with the aim of maintaining all Aboriginal languages in WA and that priority be given to languages with few remaining speakers.

7. Traditional language programs in schools:
> - that the Education Department recognise Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal linguists as an part of these programs.
> - that Aboriginal linguists be paid salaries in accordance with their qualifications and experience.
> - that linguists be accepted as members of the Education Department teaching staff.
> - that the conference write to the Education Department expressing concern at the Department's failure to to implement these measures at any State Schools and specifically at La Grange School.
> - that the Education Department carefully screen all new teaching staff and <u>especially principals</u> to ensure that only suitable persons supportive of language programs are appointed to these schools.

Appendix A: WAALA

FURTHER RECOMMENDATIONS.

A. REGIONAL LANGUAGE RESOURCE CENTRES.

1. That Language Resource Centres be established in all regions of WA.

2. That the Federal and WA governments and the WA Education Department, in particular, be lobbied to provide funds to establish these centres.

3. That the Government's attention be drawn to the urgent need to collect language materials in the south.

4. That the State and Federal governments be requested to provide funding to language centres on an ongoing basis (not an annual basis).

5. That the Education Department's attention be drawn to the cost-effectiveness of Resource Centres, for example, in publishing language materials for schools.

B. WRITING ABORIGINAL LANGUAGES.

1. That the Conference set up a working party to research possible ways of spelling Aboriginal languages.

2. That the Interim Committee of the WAALA select members of the working party (to include one linguist).

3. That the working party prepare a statement about spelling systems to circulate to the WAALA membership as soon as possible.

C. TRAINING ABORIGINAL LANGUAGE WORKERS.

1. That Aboriginal people learn "linguistic skills" so that they can introduce their languages and culture into the schools.

2. That the conference write to the Minister for Education aksing for the establishment of a training school in Aboriginal languages /linguistics in WA (similar to Batchelor/SAL).

3. That the skills and experience of Aboriginal language workers be professionally recognised.

4. That external courses be provided for people who do not want to leave their homes.

5. That Aboriginal Education Workers/ Teaching Assistants be paid properly for their work at schools.

6. That older Aboriginal people fluent in their languages advise teachers.

D. INTERPRETER/TRANSLATOR SERVICES.

1. That a directory of qualified Aboriginal interpreters/translators be compiled for use by relevant government services, for example, Legal Aid, children's institutions, Police Departments, Prisons and hospitals. (In the case of the latter, the directory should be added to the hospitals' computer systems.)

2. That the State/Federal governments provide funds to establish and develop an accredited course for Aboriginal interpreters and translators in WA.

3. That the Conference recommends to the Police Department and the Aboriginal Police and Community Relations Special Cabinet Committee that the system where the police decide whether or not the accused needs an interpreter should be changed.

4. That the WA Aboriginal Medical Services and WA Hospitals/Medical Centres work in liaison with local Aboriginal organisations/Resource Centres to provide escorts/interpreters for Aboriginal patients so that they can be comforted and have things explained properly.

5. That Aboriginal Interpreters/Liaison Officers be appointed in centrally located regions to cater for the welfare of local Aboriginal people as well as those from other areas in prisons, hospitals etc.

6. That the IAAS conduct a survey in country areas into interpreter /translator needs.

7. That the Bureau of Statistics use the availible interpreter services or language speakers for future census counts.

8. That cassette tapes in languages be made for patients to comfort them when they come to Perth for medical reasons.

9. That relevant agencies develop effective ways of sending messages to remote areas about the discharge of patients, prisoners etc.

10. That delegates from this conference approach their councils /leaders/community with regard to the development of materials in language to sexually transmitted diseases.

E. ORAL HISTORY.

1. That the conference supports the establishment of projects to record Aboriginal culture, languages and history where these projects are:
      *controlled by Aboriginal communities/organisations <u>and</u>
      *of benefit to Aboriginal people.

2. The conference recognises that these projects will promote respect for Aboriginal elders and traditions and help young people,in particular, to lead better lives.

3. That the role of older people in contributing to and explaining traditional matters, language and history must be recognised in these projects.

4. That the projects will be important in providing picture books,tapes , videos etc. particularly in schools, libraries etc.

F. COMMUNITY ATTITUDES TO TRADITIONAL LANGUAGES AND CREOLE.

1. The conference recommends that Aboriginal people should teach Aboriginal languages wherever possible.

2. That the Conference request the Golden West Network (GWN) to take into consideration Aboriginal speakers and languages when preparing programs.

3. That more steps should be taken to get young Aboriginal people proud and interested in their languages.

4. That a working party explore issues relating to creole and write papers about creole. The working party to be set up by the interim committee of WAALA. We ask the KLRC to coordinate the Kimberley side of the working party.

5. Teachers should be given refresher courses when they are posted to Aboriginal communities.

G. OTHER RECOMMENDATIONS.

1. Have homework classes about Aboriginal language.

2. Produce kits with tapes and booklets aimed at teachers and students.

3. Record languages which only a few people remember.

4. More importance to be placed on the introduction of Aboriginal languages and culture in the school curriculum.

5. Combination of oral traditional and written education of the Aboriginal language.

6. Use existing resources for education and funding (e.g. Aboriginal Education Consultative Group, AIAS.)

Bibliography

Aaby, P. (1978) 'What are we fighting for?"Progress" or "Cultural autonomy"?', pp.61-76 in Finnish Anthropological Society (eds) (1978) *Cultural Imperialism and Cultural Identity*, Helsinki:Finnish Anthropological Society.

Aboriginal Committee on Education (1980) *Report from the Conference for the Eastern Goldfields*, Kalgoorlie:Aboriginal Committee on Education.

Aboriginal Committee on Education (1981) *Report from the Conference for the Eastern Goldfields*, Kalgoorlie:Aboriginal Committee on Education.

Ackerman, K. (1980) 'The Renascence of Aboriginal Law in the Kimberleys', in Berndt, R.M. and C.Berndt (eds) (1980) *Aborigines of the West: Their past and present,* Nedlands:UWA.

Alatis, J.E. (ed) (1970) *Bilingualism and Language Contact,* Georgetown University Round Table on Language and Linguistics 1970, Washington.

Alatis, J.E. (ed) (1978) *Georgetown University Round Table on Language and Linguistics*, Washington:Georgetown University Press.

Allardt, E. (1979) *Implications of the Ethnic Revival in Modern Industrialized Society: A Comparative Study of the Linguistic Minorities in Western Europe*, Helsinki:Societas Scientiarum Fennica.

Anderson, A.B. (1979) 'The Survival of Ethnolinguistic Minorities: Canadian and Comparative Research', pp.67-85 in Giles, H. & B.Saint-Jaques (eds)(1979).

Anderson R.W. (1982) 'Determining the Linguistic Attributes of Language Attrition' pp.83-118 in Lambert R.D. and B.F.Freed (eds) (1982) *The Loss of Language Skills*, USA:Newbury House.

Ardener, S.G. (1975) *Perceiving Women*, New York:Wiley.

Armstrong, F.F. (1837) Native vocabularies (ms).

Armstrong, F.F. (1871) Language, Perth:WA Colonial Secretary's office.

Austin, P. (1986) 'Diyari Language Postcards and Diyari Literacy', pp.175-192 in *Aboriginal History* 10:2.

Austin, P. (1986) 'Structural Change in Language Obsolescence: Some Eastern Australian Examples', pp.201- 230 in *AJL* Vol6:2.

Baarda, W. (nd) 'It's a slow consumption killing you by degrees' (ms).

Bibliography

Bain, B. (ed) (1983) *The Sociogenesis of Language and Human Conduct,* New York:Plenum.

Barber, K. (1987) 'The Murinpatha on linguistics', Paper presented at a UWA Anthropology Department Seminar, October 1987.

Barlow, A. & G.Triffett (1987) 'Aboriginal Languages in Education', pp.90-92 in *Australian Aboriginal Studies* 1987/2.

Barth, F. (ed) (1969) *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries:The social organisation of cultural difference,* Norway:Scandinavian University Books.

Bartlett, W.M. (1985) *Western Australian Year Book*, Australian Bureau of Statistics:Perth.

Bates, D. (1940) *The Passing of the Aborigines*, London:John Murray.

Bates, D. (nd) Native vocabularies, [Section 12 of the Australian National Library's Bates collection].

Bavin, E.L. (1988) 'Some Lexical and Morphological Changes in Warlpiri', in Dorian, N. (ed) (1988) *Investigating Obsolescence:Studies in Language Contraction and Language Death*, Cambridge:CUP.

Bavin, E.L. & T.Shopen (1985) 'Warlpiri and English: languages in contact', pp.81-94 in M.Clyne, (ed) (1985) *Australia, meeting place of languages*, Canberra:Pacific Linguistics, C-92.

Bell J. (ed)(1982) *Language Planning for Australian Aboriginal Languages*, Alice Springs:Institute for Aboriginal Development.

Benton, R.A. (1984) 'Bilingual Education and the Survival of the Maori Language', pp.247-266 in *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, Vol.93:3.

Benton, R.A. (1986) 'Schools as agents for language revival in Ireland and New Zealand', pp.53-76 in Spolsky, B. (ed) (1986).

Ben-Zeev, S. (1972) The influence of bilingualism on cognitive development and cognitive strategy, PhD Dissertation, University of Chicago, (quoted in Lambert 1985).

Berger, P. & Luckman (1967) *The Social Construction of Reality: A Treatise on the Sociology of Knowledge*, New York:Doubleday.

Berger, P., B.Berger & H.Kellner (1973) *The Homeless Mind: Modernisation and Consciousness*, New York:Random House.

Bibliography

Berndt, R.M. (1985) 'A Little History and a Point of View: Introductory Remarks', pp.273-291 in *Anthropological Forum*, Vol.V:3.

Berndt, R.M. & C.H.Berndt (1977) *The World of the First Australians*, Sydney:Ure Smith

Bilingual Education Committee ([1983]) Discussion Paper 3 (ms), Perth.

Biskup, P.(1973) *Not Slaves Not Citizens, The Aboriginal Problem in Western Australia* 1898-1954, St.Lucia:University of Queensland Press.

Black, P. (1979) Status of Aboriginal languages (ms), Canberra:AIAS.

Blaskett, B.A. (1983) *The Development of Mission Policy for Aborigines with Particular Reference to the Education Policy of the Roman Catholic Missions*, MA Thesis, La Trobe University.

Brandenstein, C.G. von (1968) 'Some new aspects of Australian Aboriginal language', (ms) Paper read at the AIAS General Meeting.

Brandenstein, C.G. von (1970) 'Portuguese loan words in Aboriginal languages of north-western Australia',pp.617-650 in Wurm, S.A. & D.C.Laycock (eds) (1970) *Pacific Linguistics Studies in Honour of Arthur Capell*, Canberra:Pacific Linguistics.

Brandl, M. & M.Walsh (1982) 'Speakers of many Tongues:Towards understanding Multilingualism among Aboriginal Australians', pp.71-81 in *IJSL* 36.

Brandreth, M.D. (1965) Oral Expression in small schools with special reference to the native children at Forrest River Mission, Higher Education Certificate Thesis, Westonia.

Brennan G.(1979) *The need for Interpreting and Translation Services for Australian Aboriginals, with special reference to the Northern Territory- A Research Report*. Research Section Department of Aboriginal Affairs, Report no.7.

Brown, M. (1983) 'Nyangumarta Literacy Programme', *ALA* Newsletter 4.

Brumby E. and E.Vaszolyi (eds) (1977) *Language Problems and Aboriginal Education*, Western Australia:Mt.Lawley College of Advanced Education.

Bucknall, J. (1982) 'Listening to Aboriginal voices: The School at Strelley', pp. 81-94 in Sherwood, J. (ed) (1982) *Aboriginal Education: Issues and Innovations*, Perth:Creative Research.

Bullivant, B.M. (1982) 'Pluralist Debate and Educational Policy-Australian Style', pp.129-147 in *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, Vol.3:2.

Bibliography

Bullivant, B.M. (1984) *Pluralism: Cultural Maintenance and Evolution,* UK:Multilingual Matters.

Butlin, N. (1983) *Our Original Aggression*, Sydney:George Allen and Unwin.

Capell, A. (1971) 'History of Research in Australian and Tasmanian Languages', pp.661-720 in Sebeok, T. (ed) (1971) *Current Trends in Linguistics,* Vol.8, The Hague:Mouton.

Carr, T. (1987) *A Question of Identity? Maintaining Aboriginal Languages,* BA Honours thesis, UWA, Perth.

Calvet, L. (1974) *Linguistique et Colonialisme*, Paris:Payot [my translations].

Cameron, D. (1985) *Feminism and Linguistic Theory*, London:Macmillan.

Castile, G.P. (1981) 'Issues in the analysis of Enduring Cultural Systems', pp.xv-xxii in Castile, G.P. & G.Kushner (eds) (1981) *Persistent Peoples,* Tucson:University of Arizona Press.

Chafe W. (ed) (1976) *American Indian Languages and American Linguistics*, Lisse, Belgium:Peter de Ridder.

Chomsky, N. (1965) *Aspects of the theory of Syntax,* Boston:MIT Press.

Chomsky, N. (1979) *Language and Responsibility*, New York: Pantheon.

Christian, D. (1988) 'Language planning: the view from linguistics', pp. 193- 209 in Newmayer, F.J. (ed) (1988) *Language:The Socio-cultural Context*, Cambridge:CUP.

Clyne, M. (1967) *Transference and Triggering*, The Hague:Martinus Nijhoff

Clyne, M. (1980) 'Language Ecology in Australia', Paper presented at the 50th ANZAAS Conference, Adelaide.

Clyne, M. (1981) 'Community Languages and Language Policy: a Demographic Perspective', pp.13- 36 in Garner, M. (ed) (1981) *Community Languages*., Melbourne:ALAA/River Seine.

Clyne, M. (1982) *Multilingual Australia*, Melbourne:River Seine.

Clyne, M. (1985) 'Language Maintenance and Language Shift:Some Data from Australia' pp.195-206 in Wolfson, N. & J.Manes (eds) (1985) *Languages of Inequality*, Germany:Mouton.

Bibliography

Clyne, M. (1986) 'Towards a systematization of Language Contact Dynamics', pp.483- 492 in Fishman, J.A., A.Tabouret-Keller, M.Clyne, Bh.Krishnamurti & M.Abdulaziz, (eds) (1986).

Cobarrubias J. and Fishman J.A. (eds)(1983) *Progress in Language Planning*, West Germany:Mouton.

Cohen, A.P. (1985) 'Symbolism and Social Change: Matters of Life and Death in Whalsay, Shetland', pp.307- 24 in *Man,* Vol.20.

Coulmas, F. (1984) 'Linguistic minorities and literacy', pp.5-20 in Coulmas, F. (ed)(1984) *Linguistic minorities and literacy:Language policy issues in developing countries*, New York:Mouton.

Cummins, J. (1976) 'The influence of bilingualism on cognitive growth: A synthesis of research findings and explanatory hypotheses', (ms), (quoted in Lambert 1985).

Dagmar, H. (1984) 'Planning for Aboriginal social change:the role of cultural identity', pp.208-220 in *Anthropological Forum* 2.

Day, R.R. (1985) 'The Ultimate Inequality: Linguistic Genocide', pp.163-181 in Wolfson, N. & J.Manes (eds) (1985) *Languages of Inequality,* Germany:Mouton.

Dench, A. (1982) 'Some proposals for the Teaching of Australian Languages at the Onslow School' (ms).

Denison, N. (1977) 'Language Death or Language Suicide', pp.13-22 in *IJSL* 12.

De Vos, G. (1975) 'Ethnic Pluralism: Conflict and Accommodation',pp.5- 41 in De Vos, G & L.Romanucci-Ross (eds) (1975) *Ethnic Identity:Cultural Continuities and Change*, USA:Mayfield.

Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs (1986) *The maintenance of languages other than English,* (by Kalantzis, M., B.Cope & D.Slade) AGPS:Canberra.

Dickinson, R. et al (1987) "Yiyili' An Aboriginal Community School', pp.19- 36 in *Wikaru* 14.

Dixon, R.M.W. (1980) *The Languages of Australia,* Cambridge:CUP.

Donaldson, T. (1980) *Ngiyambaa*, Cambridge:CUP.

Donaldson, T. (1985) 'From speaking Ngiyampaa to speaking English', pp. 126-147 in *Aboriginal History* Vol.9:2.

Bibliography

Dorian, N. (1977) 'The Problem of the Semi-Speaker in Language Death', pp.23- 32 in *IJSL* 12.

Dorian N. (1980a) 'Linguistic lag as an ethnic marker', pp.33-41 in *Language in Society* 9.

Dorian N. (1980b) 'Maintenance and loss of same-meaning structures in language death', pp.39-45 in *Word*, Vol.31:1.

Dorian N. (1981) *Language Death***, Philadelphia:University of Pennsylvania Press.

Dorian N. (1982) 'Language loss and Maintenance in Language Contact Situations', pp.44-59 in Lambert R.D. and B.F.Freed (eds) (1982) *The Loss of Language Skills*, USA:Newbury House.

Dorian, N.C. (1986) 'Gathering Language Data in Terminal Speech Communities', pp.555-575 in Fishman, J.A., A.Tabouret-Keller, M.Clyne, Bh.Krishnamurti & M.Abdulaziz, (eds) (1986).

Dorian, N.C. (1987) 'The value of language maintenance efforts which are unlikely to succeed', pp.57-67 in *IJSL* 68.

Douglas, W.H. (1958) *An Introduction to the Western Desert Language*, Sydney:Oceania Linguistic Monographs.

Douglas, W.H. (1959a) *An illustrated topical dictionary of the Western Desert language,* Perth:UAM.

Douglas, W.H. (1959b) 'The Vernacular Approach to the Australian Aborigines', paper presented at the Perth ANZAAS Conference.

Douglas, W.H. (1964) *An Introduction to the Western Desert Language*, Oceanic Linguistic Monographs, No.4, Sydney:Sydney University.

Dressler, W. (1988) 'Language death', pp.184-192 in Newmayer, F.J. (ed) (1988) *Language:The Socio-cultural Context*, Cambridge:CUP.

Dressler, W. and R.Wodak-Leodolter (1977) 'Language preservation and language death in Brittany', pp.33-44 in *IJSL* 12.

Dressler, W. and R.Wodak-Leodolter (1982) 'Acceleration, retardation, and reversal in language decay?', pp.321-36 in Cooper, R.L. (ed) (1982) *Language Spread,* Bloomington:Indiana University Press.

Eades, D. (1976) *The Dharawal and Dhurga languages of the South New South Wales Coast,* Canberra:AIAS.

Bibliography

Eades, D. (1983) English as an Aboriginal language in Southeast Queensland, PhD thesis, University of Queensland.

Eagleson,R.D., S.Kaldor & I.Malcolm (1982) *English and the Aboriginal Child*, Canberra:Curriculum Development Centre.

Eagleton, T. (1983) *Literary Theory*, Oxford:Blackwell.

Eastman, C.M. (1979) 'Language Reintroduction:Activity and Outcome Language Planning', pp.99-111 in *General Linguistics*, Vol.19:3.

Eastman, C.M. (1980) 'Language resurrection: A language plan for ethnic interaction', pp.215-222 in Giles, H. & B.StJaques (eds) (1980) *Language and Ethnic Interaction*, Oxford:Pergamon Press.

Eastman, C.M. (1981) 'Language Planning, Identity Planning and Worldview', pp. 45-53 *IJSL* 32.

Eastman,C.M. & T.C.Reese (1981) 'Associated language: How language and ethnic identity are related', pp 109-116 in *General linguistics* 21:2

Eastman, C. (1984) 'Language, ethnic identity and change', pp.259-275 in Edwards, J. (ed) (1984).

Edwards, J.R. (1977) 'Ethnic Identity and Bilingual Education', p.253-282 in Giles, H. (ed) (1977) *Language, Ethnicity and Intergroup relations*, London:Academic Press.

Edwards, J.R. (1981) 'The context of bilingualism', pp.25- 44 in the *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, Vol.2:1.

Edwards, J.R. (1982) 'Bilingual Education Revisited: A Reply to Donahue', pp.89-101 in *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, Vol.3:2

Edwards, J.R. (1984a) 'Introduction', pp.1-16 in Edwards, J.R. (ed) (1984).

Edwards, J.R. (1984b) 'Language, diversity and identity', pp.269-310 in Edwards, J.R. (ed) (1984).

Edwards, J.R. (ed) (1984) *Linguistic Minorities and Pluralism*, UK:Academic Press.

Ehrenfeld, (1986) 'Thirty million cheers for diversity', pp.38-43 in *New Scientist*, Vol.110:1512.

Eliade, M. (1973) *Australian Religions: An Introduction,* Ithaca:Cornell University Press

Bibliography

Elkin, A.P. (1964) 'Aboriginal Languages and Assimilation', pp.147- 154 in *Oceania* 35.

Elkin, A.P. (1977) *Aboriginal Men of High Degree*, St.Lucia: University of Queensland Press.

Ellis, C.J. (1985) *Aboriginal Music, education for living:cross-cultural experiences from South Australia*, St.Lucia:University of Queensland Press.

Elwell, V.M.R. (1977) Multilingualism and lingua francas among Australian Aborigines: a case study of Maningrida, BA Honours thesis, ANU.

Elwell, V.M.R. (1979) *English-as-a-second-language in Aboriginal Australia:A case study of Milingimbi*, MA:ANU.

Elwell, V.M.R. (1982) 'Some social factors affecting multilingualism among Aboriginal Australians:a case study of Maningrida', pp.83-103 in *IJSL* 36.

Fabian, J. (1986) *Language and Colonial Power*, Cambridge:CUP.

Fasold, R. (1984) *The Sociolinguistics of Society*, UK:Blackwell.

Ferguson, C.A. (1959) 'Diglossia', pp.325-40 in *Word* 15.

Fesl, E. (1982a) 'Aboriginal leadership- language planning', pp.47 - 53 in Bell (ed) (1982).

Fesl E. (1982b) *Bala Bala*, Canberra:Australian Government Publishing Service.

Fesl, E. (1983a) 'Language Death and Language Maintenance: Action Needed to Save Aboriginal Languages' (ms).

Fesl E. (1983b) The Irrelevance of Literacy, pp.38-42 in *The Aboriginal Child at School*, 11:4**.**

Fesl, E. (1986) 'Saving Aboriginal Languages', pp.1-6 in *Language in Aboriginal Australia*, 1.

Fesl, E. (1987) 'Language Death among Australian Languages', pp.12-22 in *ARAL* Vol.10:2.

Fichte, J. (1968) 'Addresses to the German Nation', in Kelly, G. (ed) (1968) *Addresses to the German Nation*, New York.

Firth, J.R. (1950) 'Personality and Language in Society', in *The Sociological Review* , Vol.42:2.

Bibliography

Fishman, J.A. (1964) 'Language Maintenance and Language Shift as fields of inquiry', pp.32-70 in *Linguistics* 9.

Fishman, J.A. (1966) 'Some contrasts between linguistically homogeneous and linguistically heterogeneous polities', pp.146-158 in *Sociological Inequity* 36.

Fishman, J.A. (1972) 'Planned Reinforcement of Language Maintenance in the United States', pp.16- 47 in A.S.Dil (ed) (1972*) Language in Sociocultural Change*, California:Stanford University Press.

Fishman, J.A. (ed) (1972) *Contributions to the Sociology of Language*, Netherlands:Mouton.

Fishman, J.A. (1976) *Bilingual Education: An International Sociological Perspective*, Massachusetts:Newbury.

Fishman, J.A. (1982) 'Whorfianism of the third kind:Ethnolinguistic diversity as a worldwide societal asset', pp.1-14 in Language in Society 11.

Fishman, J.A., A.Tabouret-Keller, M.Clyne, Bh.Krishnamurti & M.Abdulaziz, (eds) (1986) *The Fergusonian Impact*, Vol.2, Berlin:Mouton de Gruyter.

Folds, R. (1987) *Whitefella School*, Sydney:Allen & Unwin.

Friends of Bilingual Education (1986) 'Ensuring the Survival of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Languages into the 21st Century', [submission to the Federal government for a national languaage policy].

Fuller, E.E. (1982) *A Study of Navajo Language Maintenance and Shift*, PhD Dissertation, University of Pittsburgh.

Furnell, L.C. (1974) *Report of the Royal Commission into Aboriginal Affairs*, Perth.

Gal, S. (1979) *Language Shift*, New York:Academic Press.

Galbally, F. (1978) *Migrant Services and Programs: Report of Review of Post-arrival programs and services for migrants*, Canberra:A.G.P.S.

Giles, H., R.Y.Bourhis, & D.M.Taylor (1977) 'Towards a Theory of Language in Ethnic Group Relations', pp. 307-348 in Giles, H. (ed) (1977) *Language, Ethnicity and Intergroup Relations*, UK:Academic Press.

Giles, H. & B.Saint-Jaques (eds) (1979) *Language and Ethnic Relations*, UK:Pergamon.

Bibliography

Gilhotra, M.S. (1985) 'Maintenance of Community Languages in Multicultural Australia', pp.59-66 in *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, Vol.6;1.

Glass, A. & D.Hackett (1970) *Pitjantjatjara Grammar*, Canberra:AIAS.

Goddard, C. & A.Kalotas (eds)(1985) *Pu__nu__:Yankunytjatjara plant use*, Alice Springs:IAD.

Goddard, C. (1987) 'Imparja satellite TV, Keeping Language Strong', pp.1-5 in *Language Maintenance Newsletter* 4.

Goldflamm, R. and C.Scott (1983) 'Language Teaching in the Centre: Distance or Immersion', in *S.G.A.V. Review* No.4, July 1983.

Goody, J. (1977) *The Domestication of the Savage Mind*, Cambridge:CUP.

Goody, J. & I.Watt (1968) 'The Consequences of Literacy', pp.27-68 in Goody.J. (ed) (1968) *Literacy in Traditional Societies*, Cambridge:CUP.

Gramsci, A. (1971) *Selections from the Prison Notebooks of Antonio Gramsci*, edited by Q.Hoare & G.N.Smith, London: Lawrence & Wishart.

Grobsmith, E.S. (1980) 'Aspects of Lakota Bilingualism', pp.119-128 in Schach, P. (ed) (1980) *Languages in Conflict*, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press.

Gumperz, J.J. (1982) *Discourse Strategies*, USA:CUP.

Haebich, A. & N.Thieberger (1986) WA Aboriginal Languages Conference Report (ms), Perth:IAAS.

Hale, K. (198?) Notes on world-view and semantic categories (ms).

Halliday, M.A.K. (1978) *Language as social semiotic*, London:Edward Arnold.

Harris, S.G. (1978) "Traditional Aboriginal Education Strategies and their possible place in a modern bicultural school", pp.21-42 in Lipscombe, R. (ed) (1978).

Harris, S.G. (1987) 'Bicultural education:the third way', pp.148-153 in Christie, M. S.Harris & D.McClay(eds) (1987) *Teaching Aboriginal Children: Milingimbi and Beyond*, Perth:IAAS.

Haugen, E. (1972) 'The Analysis of Linguistic Borrowing', pp.79-109 in Dil, A.S. (ed) (1972) *The Ecology of Language*, California:Stanford University Press

Bibliography

Haugen, E. (1978) 'Bilingualism in Retrospect - A Personal View', 35- 41 in Alatis, D. (1978) *Georgetown University Round Table on Languages and Linguistics*, Washington DC:Georgetown University Press.

Haugen, E., J.D.McLure, & D.S.Thomson (eds) (1981) *Minority Languages Today*, Edinburgh:Edinburgh University Press.

Haviland, J.B. (1979) 'How to talk to your brother-in-law in Guugu-Yimidhirr', pp.161-239 in Shopen, T. (ed) (1979) *Languages and their Speakers*, Cambridge,Mass:Winthrop.

Haviland, J.B. (1982) 'Kin and country at Wakooka Outstation:an exercise in rich interpretation', pp.53-70 in *IJSL* 36.

Haviland, J.B. (1985) 'Life history of a speech community: Guugu Yimidhirr at Hopevale', pp. 170-203 in *Aboriginal History* Vol 9:2.

Haynes, B.T., G.E.B.Barrett, A.Brennan, & C.Brennan (eds)(1976) *Documents on Western Australian Education 1830-1973*, Perth:Claremont Teachers College.

Heath, J. (1982) 'The Awabakal Aboriginal Co-operative', pp.124-126 in Bell, J. (ed) (1982).

Heath, J., F. Merlan & A. Rumsey (eds) (1983) *Languages of Kinship in Aboriginal Australia*, Oceania Linguistic Monographs, 24, Sydney:University of Sydney.

Heaven, M. (1986) 'Traditional Aboriginal Language Program', pp.24- 31 in *The Aboriginal Child at School*, Vol.14;1.

Heaven, M. (1987) [Letter to Kimberley Language Resource Centre]

Hebdige, D. (1979) *Subculture: the meaning of style*, UK:Methuen.

Herskovits, M.J. (1964) *Cultural Dynamics*, New York:Knopf.

Hill, J.H. (1978) 'Language Death, Language Contact and Language Evolution', pp.45-78 in Mc.Cormack, W.C. & S.A.Wurm (eds) (1978) *Approaches to language*, The Hague:Mouton.

Hill, J.H. & K.Hill (1977) 'Language Death and Relexification in Tlaxcalan Nahuatl', pp.55-70 in *IJSL* 12.

Hill, J.H. and K.C.Hill (1980) 'Mixed Grammar, Purist Grammar and Language Attitudes in Modern Nahuatl', pp.321-348 in *Language and Society* Vol.9:321

Hobsbawm, E. & T.Ranger (eds) (1983) *The Invention of Tradition*, Cambridge:CUP.

Bibliography

Hobson, J.R. (1986) *Coming Up Together: A Report on Punmu Community School*, Punmu.

Hollingworth, P. (1981) *Australians in Poverty*, West Melbourne:Nelson.

Horvath B.M. (1980) *The Education of Migrant Children: A Language Planning Perspective*, Educational Research and Development Commission Report no.24, Canberra.

House of Representatives Standing Committee on Aboriginal Affairs (1987) *Return to Country: The Aboriginal Homelands Movement in Australia*, Canberra:Australian Government Publishing Service.

Howitt, R.(1981) *The Impact of Transnational Capital on the political economy of North Australia,* Project Report No.1, Sydney:University of NSW.

Hudson, J. (1986) 'Language Maintenance Programmes in Catholic Education School in the Kimberley' (ms), Paper presented at the AIAS Language Maintenance workshop, Canberra, May 1986.

Hudson J. and P. McConvell (1984) *Keeping Language Strong*, Report of the Pilot Study for the Kimberley Language Resource Centre.

Huffines, M.L. (1980) 'Pennsylvania German: Maintenance and Shift', pp.43- 57 in *IJSL* Vol.25.

Hymes, D. (1970) 'Bilingual education: Linguistic vs. Sociolinguistic bases', pp 69- 76 in Alatis,J.E. (ed) (1970).

Hymes, D. (1974) *Foundations in Sociolinguistics: An ethnographic approach*, Philadelphia:University of Pennsylvania Press.

Hymes, D. (1980) 'Foreword' , pp. ix-xv in Sankoff, G. (1980) *The Social Life of Language*, USA:University of Pennsylvania Press. .

IAAS (1984) Submission for Aboriginal Vernacular Language Programs , Perth:IAAS

Illich, I. (1983) 'Vernacular Values and Education', pp.461-495 in Bain (ed) (1983).

Ingram, J.R. (1966) *Native Education at Mogumber Mission*, Education Department Higher Certificate Thesis, Perth.

Japanangka, D.L. & P.Nathan (1983) *Settle Down Country=Pmere Arlaltyewele*, Malmsbury:Central Australian Congress/Kibble Books.

Bibliography

Jenkins, H. ([1986]) *Learning Languages in Western Australian Primary Schools,* Perth:WAMEAC.

Jenkins, T. (1987) 'Listening to a teacher who has no name', *West Australian*, June 9.

Jernudd, B.H. (1977) 'Prerequisites for a Model of Language Treatment', pp.41- 54 in Rubin et al (1977).

John, G.(1977) English needs for Aborigines and Islanders', p.94 in Organising Committee (eds)(1977) *Languages and Cultures in the Australian Community Proceedings of the first Queensland Multi-Cultural Conference*, Queensland, Mt.Gravatt.

Johnson, S. (1987) 'The philosophy and politics of Aboriginal language maintenance', pp.54-58 in *Australian Aboriginal Studies* 1987/2.

Jones, D.J. & J. Hill-Burnett (1982) 'The Political Context of Ethnogenesis:An Australian Example', pp.214-246 in Howard, M.C. (ed) (1982) *Aboriginal Power in Australian Society*, St.Lucia:University of Queensland Press.

Kalantzis, M. & B.Cope (1984) *Multicultural education and the meaning of "culture"*, Sydney:Social Literacy Monograph.

Kalantzis, M. & B.Cope (1985a) 'Community Languages: Politics or Pedagogy', pp. in *ARAL*, Vol 8:3.

Kalantzis, M. & B.Cope (1985b) *Pluralism and Equitability: Multicultural curriculum strategies for schools*, Social Literacy Monograph no.16.

Kaldor, S.(1977) 'Language Problems, Language Planning and Aboriginal Education' in R.M.Berndt (ed) (1977) *Aborigines and Change:Australia in the 1970s*, Canberra:AIAS.

Kaldor, S. & I.Malcolm (1980) 'The Language of the School and the Language of the Western Australian Aboriginal Schoolchild - Implications for Education', pp.406- 437 in Berndt, R.M. and C.Berndt (eds) (1980) *Aborigines of the West: Their past and present*, Nedlands:UWA.

Kelman, H.C. (1972) 'Language as Aid and Barrier to Involvement in the National System', pp.185-212 in Fishman, J.A. (ed) (1972) *Advances in the Sociology of Language*, The Hague:Mouton.

Kent-Gooderham, G. (1975) 'Bilingual Education for Indians and Inuit: The Canadian Experience', p.43 in Troike R.C. and N.Modiano (eds) (1975)

Keskitalo, A.I. (1981) 'The Status of the Sami Language', pp.152- 162 in Haugen, E., J.D.McLure, & D.S.Thomson (eds) (1981).

Bibliography

Kirke, B. (1987) [letter to Toby Metcalfe]

Kirke, B. et al (nd) Ngarrindjeri comic book

Kroeber, A.L.(1948) *Anthropology: race, language, culture psychology, prehistory*, New York: Harcourt, Brace and World.

Labov, W. (1971) 'Variation in language', pp.187-221 in Reed, C.E. (ed) (1971) *The learning of language*, New York:National Council of Teachers of English.

Labov, W. (1972) *Language in the Inner City: Studies in the Black English Vernacular*, Philadelphia:University of Pennsylvania Press.

Labov, W. (1978) *Sociolinguistic Patterns*, Oxford:Basil Blackwell.

Lambert, W.E. (1985) 'Some cognitive and sociocultural consequences of being bilingual', pp.116- 131, in Alatis, J.E. & J.J.Staczek (eds) (1985) *Perspectives on Bilingualism and Bilingual Education*, Washington:Georgetown University Press.

Langdon, M. (1976) 'Theoretical linguistics in relation to Indian communities', pp.51- 58 in Chafe, W. (ed) (1976) *American Indian Languages and American Linguistics*, Lisse, Belgium:Peter de Ridder.

Langford, R.F. (1982) 'Our Heritage - Your Playground' , (ms) Paper presented to 1982 AGM and Conference, Australian Archaeological Association.

Langlands, W (1983) [Submission to Beazley Inquiry by Jigalong school] .

Lanley, L. (1980) 'It's got to be inside that we feel Aboriginal: The problem of preserving traditional values in a changing cultural context', pp 35- 39 in Australian Government Publishing Service (1980) *Preserving Indigenous Cultures:A new role for museums*, Canberra:Australian Government Publishing Service.

Lee, J. (1983) *Tiwi today:a study of language change in a contact situation*, PhD Dissertation, Canberra, ANU.

Leeding V.J. (1980) Language Engineering:An Old Skill Put To A New Use, (ms).

LePage, R.B. & A.Tabouret-Keller (1985) *Acts of Identity*, Cambridge:CUP.

Liberman, K. (1980) 'The decline of the Kuwarra people of Australia's Western Desert: A case study of legally secured domination', pp.119-133 in *Ethnohistory*, Vol.27:2.

Bibliography

Liberman, K. (1981) 'Aboriginal Education: The School at Strelley, Western Australia', pp. 139- 143 in *Harvard Educational Review* Vol.51;1.

Lieberson, S. & L.K.Hansen (1974) 'National Development, Mother Tongue Diversity, and the Comparative Study of Nations', pp.523-541 in *American Sociological Review* Vol.39.

Liebe-Harkort, M.(1980)' Recent Developments in Apachean Language Maintenance', pp.85-91 in *IJAL* 46

Liebe-Harkort, M. (1980) 'Factors Influencing the Survival of Minority Languages (Apachean)', pp.67-125 in *SAIS Arbeitsberichte*.

Lipscombe, R. (ed) (1981) *Living and Learning in an Aboriginal Community*, Darwin:Northern Territory Department of Education.

Lo Bianco, J. (1987) *National Policy on Languages,* Canberra:Commonwealth Department of Education.

Lyons, J. (1981) *Language and Linguistics*, USA:CUP.

Mackey W.F. (1970) 'A typology of bilingual education', pp.596-608 in *Foreign Language Annals* 3.

Mackey W.F. (1978) 'The Importation of Bilingual Education Models' pp 1-18, in Alatis J.E. (ed) (1978) *Georgetown University Round Table on Languages and Linguistics,* Washington DC:Georgetown University Press.

Maddock, K. (1974) *The Australian Aborigines:A Portrait of their Society*, Harmondsworth:Penguin.

Maddock, K. (1982) *The Australian Aborigines:A Portrait of their Society,* Melbourne:Penguin.

Maddock, K. (1983) *Your Land is Our Land:Aboriginal Land Rights,* Melbourne:Penguin.

Makin, C. & D.Ibbotson (1973) *Survey of Education of Aboriginal Children in selected Western Australian Schools*, Perth:Graylands Teachers College.

Malinowski, B. (1923) 'The problem of meaning in primitive languages', Supplement I to Ogden, C.K. & Richards, I.A. (1959)*The Meaning of Meaning,* New York: Harcourt, Brace & World.

Maseman, V.L. (1983) 'Cultural Reproduction in the Bilingual Classroom', pp.541-551 in Bain (ed) (1983).

Bibliography

Maybury-Lewis, D. (1977) 'Societies on the brink', pp. 56- 61 in *Harvard Magazine* 1977.

McAllister, I. (1986) 'Speaking the language: language maintenance and English proficiency among immigrant youth in Australia', pp.24-42 in *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, Vol.9:1.

McConvell, P. (1982) 'Supporting the two-way school', pp.60- 76 in Bell (ed) (1982).

McConvell, P.(1983) 'Domains and Domination', p.8 in *ALA Newsletter* no.5.

McConvell, P.(1985) 'Domains and Codeswitching among Bilingual Aborigines', pp.95- 125 in M.Clyne, (ed) (1985) *Australia, meeting place of languages*, Canberra:Pacific Linguistics, C-92.

McConvell, P.(1986a) 'Aboriginal language programmes and language maintenance in the Kimberley', pp.108-122 in *ARAL* Series S No.3.

McConvell, P.(1986b) 'Understanding language shift:a step towards language maintenance,' (ms), Paper presented at the AIAS Language Maintenance workshop, Canberra, May 1986.

McConvell, P. ([1987]) 'Aboriginal language needs - How to deliver', (ms) Darwin.

McGrath, A. (1987) *Born in the cattle*, Sydney:Allen & Unwin.

McGrath, W.J. (1975) 'The Northern Territory Bilingual Program', in *Education News* 15.

McGregor, W. (1988) *Handbook of Kimberley Languages*, Volume 1.

McGregor, W. (forthcoming) *A Functional Grammar of Gooniyandi*, Amsterdam:Benjamins.

McKay, G.R. (1985) 'The developing focus of courses involving Aboriginal languages at the School of Australian Linguistics 1974- 1985', (ms).

McLendon S. (1980) 'How Languages Die: A Social History of Unstable Bilingualism among the Eastern Pomo', pp.137-150 in Klark K. , M.Langdon and S.Silver (eds)(1980) *American Indian and Indo-European Studies*, New York.

McLeod, D.W. (1984) *How the West was Lost,* Port Hedland.

Memmi, A. (1965) *The colonizer and the colonized*, Boston:Beacon Press.

Menary B. (1981) *Aborigines and Schooling*, Adelaide:Adelaide College of the Arts and Education.

Bibliography

Merlan, F. (1978) `Making people quiet` in the pastoral north: Reminiscences of Elsey Station',pp.70-106 in *Aboriginal History* Vol.2:1-2.

Merlan, F. (1981) 'Land, Language and Social Identity in Aboriginal Australia', pp.133-148 in *Mankind* Vol.3:2.

Metcalfe, C.D. (1975) *Bardi verb morphology (North-Western Australia)*, Pacific Linguistics, Series B, Monograph No.30, Canberra:ANU.

Michaels, E. (1985) 'Constraints on Knowledge in an Economy of Oral Information', pp.505-510 in *Current Anthropology*, Vol.26:4.

Michaels, E. (1986) *The Aboriginal Invention of Television*, Canberra:AIAS.

Middleton, H. (1977) *But now we want the land back:A history of the Aboriginal people*, Sydney:New Age Publishers.

Middleton, H. (1980) 'The Aboriginal national minority: Class and national formation', pp.180-197 in Boreham, P. & G.Dow (eds) (1980)*Work and Inequality:Ideology and Control in the Capitalist Labour Process*, South Melbourne:Macmillan.

Miller, M. (1969) [Commentary], pp. 340-341 in Dunn, S.S. & C.M.Tatz (eds)1969) *Aborigines and Education*, Melbourne:Sun Books.

Miller, W. (1972) 'Dialect differentiation in the Western Desert Language', pp.61-78 in *Anthropological Forum,* Vol.3:1.

Milroy, L. & S.Margrain (1980) 'Vernacular language loyalty and social network', pp.43- 70 in *Language in Society* 9.

Mithun, M. & W.L.Chafe (1979) 'Recapturing the Mohawk language', pp.3-33 in Shopen, T. (ed) (1979) *Languages and their Status*, Cambridge,Mass:Winthrop.

Moore, J. (1981) 'Persistence with Change', pp.228-242 in Castile, G.P. & G.Kushner (eds) (1981) *Persistent Peoples*, Tucson:University of Arizona Press.

Morphy, H. (1980) 'The impact of the commercial development of art on traditional culture', pp.81-94 in Australian Government Publishing Service. (1980) *Preserving Indigenous Cultures:A new role for museums*, Canberra:Australian Government Publishing Service.

Morphy, H. & F.Morphy (1984) 'The 'Myths' of Ngalakan History: Ideology and Images of the Past in Northern Australia', pp.459-78 in *Man (N.S.)* 19.

Bibliography

Morton, J (1969) 'Teaching English as a Foreign Language', *Department of Native Welfare Newsletter (WA)*, Vol.1;7.

Mounsey, C. (1980) 'Aboriginal Education - A New Dawning', pp.395- 405 in Berndt, R.M. and C.Berndt (eds) (1980) *Aborigines of the West: Their past and present*, Nedlands:UWA.

Mounsey, C. (1983) [Letter to Allan Dench, September 20, 1983].

Mühlhäusler, P. (1987) 'The Politics of Small Languages in Australia and the Pacific', pp.1-24 in *Language and Communication*, Vol.7:1.

Murdoch, J.S. (1983) 'Adaptive Strategies and Indigenous Language Development: The Case of Canadian Hunter-Gatherers', Paper read at 53rd ANZAAS Congress, Perth 1983.

Murdoch, J.S. (1982-83) 'The legacy of Dress-up creek: A proposal for doctoral research' (ms).

Nelde, P.H. (1984) 'Ecological Implications of Language Contact', pp.113-125 in *Papers in Linguistics* Vol.17:2

Nelde, P. (1986) 'Language Contact versus Language Conflict', pp.469-482 in Fishman, J.A., A.Tabouret-Keller, M.Clyne, Bh.Krishnamurti & M.Abdulaziz, (eds)(1986).

O'Brien, T. (1979) 'Economic Support for Minority Languages', pp.82-101 in Alcock, A.E., B.K.Taylor & J.M.Welton (eds) (1979) *The Future of Cultural Minorities*, UK:Macmillan.

O'Grady, G.N. & K.Hale (1974) Recommendations concerning Bilingual Education in the Northern Territory, (mimeo).

Papertalk-Green, C. & J.Bell (eds) (1986) *Report of the Aboriginal Languages Association,* Brisbane:ALA.

Pateman, T. (1987) *Language in Mind and Language in Society*, Oxford:Clarendon.

Pattison R. (1982) *On Literacy*, Oxford University Press:USA

Paulston, C.B. (1980) *Bilingual Education:Theories and Issues*, USA:Newbury House.

Paulston, C.B. (1986) 'Social Factors in Language Maintenance and Language Shift', pp.493- 511 in Fishman, J.A., A.Tabouret-Keller, M.Clyne, Bh.Krishnamurti & M.Abdulaziz, (eds) (1986).

Bibliography

Paulston, K.G. (1976) 'Ethnic Revival and Educational Conflict in Swedish Lappland', pp.179-192 in *Comparative Education Review*, June.

Pauwels, A. (1986) *Immigrant Dialects and Language Maintenance in Australia*, Dordecht:Foris.

Peal, E. & M.Lambert (1962) 'The relation of bilingualism to intelligence', pp.1-23 in *Psychological Monographs*, Vol 76(546).

Peile, A.(fc) 'The Botanical Terms and Concepts of an Australian Desert Tribe' (ms).

Philips, S.U. (1970) 'Aquisition of rules for appropriate speech usage', pp.77- 96 in Alatis,J.E.(ed) (1970).

Pittock, A.B. (1975) *Beyond White Australia: A short history of race relations in Australia*, Sydney:Quaker Race Relations Committee.

Platero D. (1975) 'Bilingual Education in the Navajo Nation', p.54 in Troike R.C. and N.Modiano (eds) (1975)

Pool, J. (1969) 'National development and language diversity', pp.140-156 in *La Monda Lingvo-Problemo*, Vol.1:3.

Pool, J. (1979) 'Language Planning and Identity Planning', pp.5-21 in *IJSL* 20.

Powell, J.V.(1973) 'Raising Pidgins for fun and profit: a new departure in language teaching'(ms), Paper presented at the Canadian Sociology and Anthropology Association Conference, Kingston, Ontario.

Price, B.J. (1980) 'The Truth Is Not in Accounts but in Account Books; On the Epistemological Status of History', pp.155-180 in (ed) (1980) *Beyond the myths of culture: Essays in cultural materialism*, San Francisco:Academic Press.

Quinn, T.J. (1981) 'Establishing a threshold-level concept for community language teaching in Australia', pp.79-95 in Garner, M. (ed) (1981) *Community Languages*., Melbourne:ALAA/River Seine.

Radcliffe-Brown, A.R. (1930) 'Former Numbers and Distribution of the Australian Aborigines', pp. 687-96 in *Official Year Book of the Commonwealth of Australia*, 23, Melbourne:Government Printer.

Read, J.A.S. (1979) 'A Sociolinguistic Study of Crow Language Maintenance', Abstract of thesis pp 85- 96 in *National Clearinghouse for Bilingual Education* (1979) Outstanding Dissertations in Bilingual Education, USA.

Reynolds, H. (1982) *The Other Side of the Frontier*, Melbourne:Penguin

Bibliography

Richards, E. (1982) 'Walmajarri language and the Noonkanbah Community', pp.43-46 in Bell, J. (ed) (1982) *A collection of papers presented at the second meeting of the Aboriginal Languages Association*, Alice Springs:IAD/ALA.

Richards, E. ([1987]) *Pinarri:Introducing Aboriginal Languages in Kimberley Schools,* Berrimah:KLRC/SIL

Rigsby, B. & P.Sutton (1980-82) 'Speech communities in Aboriginal Australia', pp.8-23 in *Anthropological Forum*, Vol.V:1.

Rigsby, B. (1987) 'Indigenous Language Shift and Maintenance in Fourth World Settings' (ms).

Roche, S., R.Watt & L.Cataldi (1986) 'Transferring to English: Grade 3-4-5 at Lajamanu School', pp.69-78 in *Lajamanu School Policy*, Lajamanu.

Rose, F. (1987) *The traditional mode of production of the Australian Aborigines*, Sydney:Angus and Robertson.

Rowley, C.D. (1970) *The Destruction of Aboriginal Society,* Canberra:ANU Press.

Rowley, C.D. (1986) *Recovery:The politics of Aboriginal reform*, Melbourne:Penguin.

Rowse, T. (1986) 'Aborigines as Historical Actors: Evidence and Inference', pp.176-198 in *Historical Studies*, Vol.22:87.

Rubin, J. (1972) 'Evaluation and Language Planning', pp.476- 510 in Fishman, J.A. (ed) (1972) *Contributions to the Sociology of Language*, Netherlands:Mouton.

Rubin, J., B.H.Jernudd, J. Das Gupta, J.A.Fishman, & C.A.Ferguson (eds) (1977) *Language Planning Processes*, The Hague:Mouton.

Russo, C.and Baldauf, R.B.(1986) 'Language Development without planning: A case study of tribal Aborigines in the Northern Territory, Australia', pp. 301- 317 in *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, Vol.7, No.4.

Ryan, J. (1987) 'Te Kohunga Reo-"The Language Learning Nests"', pp.6-9 in *Language Maintenance Newsletter* 4.

Saint-Blancat, C. (1984) 'The effect of minority group vitality upon its sociopsychological behaviour and strategies', pp.511-516 in in *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, Vol.5:6.

Salvado (1851) *Two Native Dialects of the New Norcia District*, Rome: De Propaganda Fides.

Bibliography

Sandefur, J. (1979) *An Australian Creole in the Northern Territory: A description of the Ngukurr-Bamyili dialects*, Darwin:SIL.

Sandefur, J. (1983) 'The Quileute approach to language revival programs', pp.3-16 in *The Aboriginal Child at School*, Vol.11:5.

Sanford, M. (1974) 'Revitalization Movements as Indicators of Completed Acculturation', pp.504-518 in *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Vol.16.

Sansom, B. (1980) *The Camp at Wallaby Cross*, Canberra:AIAS

Saussure, F.de, (1974) *Course in general linguistics*, UK:Fontana.

Schach P. (ed) (1980) *Languages in Conflict*, USA:University of Nebraska Press.

Schmidt, A. (1985) 'Speech variation and Social Networks in dying Dyirbal', pp.127-150 in Clyne, M. (ed) (1985).

Schmidt, A. (1985) *Young People's Dyirbal,* Cambridge:CUP

Schmidt, A. (1987) 'Aboriginal Language Maintenance Project', pp.84-85 in *Australian Aboriginal Studies* 1987/2.

Scotton, C.M. (1982) 'The possibility of code-switching: Motivation for maintaining multilingualism', pp.432- 444 in *Anthropological Linguistics*, Vol.24.4.

Seinor, P.T. (1983) [Letter to Western Australian Multicultural Education Advisory Committee].

Shield, L.E. (1984) 'Unified Cornish-Fiction or Fact? An examination of the death and resurrection of the Cornish2 language', pp. 329- 337 in *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, Vol.5:3/4.

Shnukal, A. (1984) 'Torres Strait Islander students in Queensland schools: Part 1: Language Background', pp.27-33 in *The Aboriginal Child at School*, Vol 12:3.

Shopen, T. (1985) [Letter to Graham McKay, Acting Head, SAL, 7 June 1985].

Simpson, J. (1987) 'In Support of Regional Language Centres' (ms), Canberra:AIAS.

Skutnabb-Kangas, T. (1981) *Bilingualism or Not:The Education of Minorities*, England:Multilingual Matters.

Skutnabb-Kangas, T. (1986) 'Who wants to change what and why - conflicting paradigms in minority education research', pp.153-181 in Spolsky, B. (ed) (1986).

Bibliography

Smith, I. (1986) 'Language Contact and the Life or Death of Kugu Muminh', pp.513-532 in Fishman, J.A., A.Tabouret-Keller, M.Clyne, Bh.Krishnamurti & M.Abdulaziz, (eds) (1986)

Smolicz, J.J. (1984) 'Minority languages and the core values of culture: Changing policies and Ethnic responses in Australia' pp. 23- 41 in *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, Vol.5:1.

Smolicz, J.J. & M.J.Secombe (1985) 'Community languages, core values and cultural maintenance: The Australian experience with special reference to Greek, Latvian and Polish groups', pp.11- 38 in M. Clyne (ed) (1985) *Australia, meeting place of languages*, Canberra:Pacific Linguistics, C-92.

Bibliography

Spicer, E.H. (1971) 'Persistent Cultural Systems', pp.795-800 in *Science* 174.

Spitzer, L. (1974) *The Creoles of Sierra Leone*, USA:University of Wisconsin Press.

Spolsky, B. (1975) 'Prospects for the Survival of the Navajo Language', pp.597-606 in Kinkade, M.D., K.Hale & O.Werner (eds) (1975) *Linguistics and Anthropology in honour of C.F.Voegelin*, Belgium:Peter de Ridder Press.

Spolsky, B. (1977) 'American Indian Bilingual Education', pp.57-72 in *IJSL* 14.

Spolsky, B. (1979) *Linguistics and the Language Barrier*, pp.2027-2038, Current Trends in Linguistics 12.

Spolsky, B. (ed) (1986) *Language and Education in Multilingual Settings*, England:Multilingual Matters.

Spolsky, B. and L.Boomer (1983) 'The Modernization of Navajo', pp. 235-252 in Cobarrubias J. and J.A.Fishman (eds) (1983).

Spolsky, B. & P.Irvine (1982) 'Sociolinguistic Aspects of the Acceptance of Literacy in the Vernacular', pp.73-79 in Barkin, F., E.A.Brandt & J.Ornstein-Galicia (eds) (1982) *Bilingualism and Language Contact*, New York:Teachers College Press.

Stoll, D. (1982) *Fishers of Men or Founders of Empire? The Wycliffe Bible Translators in Latin America*, UK:Zed Books.

Strehlow, T.G.H. (1944) *Aranda Phonetics and Grammar*, Sydney:Oceania Monograph.

Strehlow, T.G.H. (1968) *Aranda Traditions* ,Carlton:Melbourne University Press.

Strehlow, T.G.H. (1971) *Songs of Central Australia*, Sydney:Angus and Robertson.

Sutton, P. (1981) [Review of Dixon (1980) The Languages of Australia] pp.169-171 in *Aboriginal History* Vol.5:2.

Sutton, P. (1978) *Wik: Aboriginal society, territory and language at Cape Keerweer, Cape York Peninsula, Australia*, PhD Thesis, University of Queensland.

Sutton, P. (1982) 'Personal power, kin classification and speech etiquette in Aboriginal Australia', pp 182-200 in Heath, J., F.Merlan and A.Rumsey (eds) (1982) *Languages of kinship in Aboriginal Australia*, Sydney:Oceania Linguistic Monographs No.24.

Sutton, P. (1986) 'Literacy and Language Death in South Australia' (ms).

Bibliography

Sykes, R. (1986) *Incentive, Achievement and Community:An analysis of black viewpoints on issues relating to Black Australian education*, Sydney:Sydney University Press.

Teasdale J.I, (1974) *Bilingualism in the Early Education of Aborigines in South Australia*, South Australia:Flinders University.

Thieberger, N. (1987) *Handbook of Western Australian Aboriginal Languages,* First Draft, Perth:IAAS.

Thomas, C.H. (1982) 'Registers in Welsh', pp.87-115 in *IJSL* 20.

Thomason S.G.(nd) 'Are There Linguistic Prerequisites for Contact- Induced Language Change?' (ms).

Thomson, N. (1984) 'Aboriginal health: current status', pp.705-718 in *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Medicine*, Vol.14.

Thorburn, T. (1972) 'Cost-benefit analysis in Language Planning', pp.511- 519 in Fishman, J.A. (ed) (1972) *Contributions to the Sociology of Language,* Netherlands:Mouton.

Tindale, N. (1974) *Aboriginal Tribes of Australia*, Canberra:ANU Press.

Tipps, D.C. (1973) 'Modernization and the Comparative Study of Societies: A Critical Perspective', pp.199-226 in *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Vol.15.

Tonkinson, R. (1974) *The Jigalong Mob:Aboriginal Victors of the Desert Crusade*, California:Cummings.

Townsend, W. (1963) 'Tribes, Tongues and Translators', in Slocum, M. and S. Holmes (eds)(1963) *Who Brought the Word*, Santa Ana:Wycliffe Bible Tanslators.

Troike R.C. and N.Modiano (eds) (1975) *Proceedings of the First Inter- American Conference on Bilingual Education*, Arlington:Center for Applied Linguistics.

Trudgill, P. & G.Tsavaras (1977) 'Why Albanian Greeks are not Albanians: Language shift in Attica and Biotia', pp.171-84 in Giles, H. (ed) (1977) *Language, Ethnicity and Intergroup Relations*, London:Academic Press.

Tsitsipis, L.D. (1983) 'Narrative performance in a dying language:Evidence from Albanian in Greece', pp.25-36 in *Word*, Vol.34:1.

Urry, J. & M.Walsh (1981) 'The lost 'Macassar language' of Northern Australia', pp.91-108 in *Aboriginal History* Vol.5:1-2.

Bibliography

Vaid, J. (1977) *Hemispheric involvement in the language processing of bilinguals*, MA Thesis, McGill University, (quoted in Lambert 1985).

Vaszolyi, E. (1979) *Teach Yourself Wangkatja*, ATEP:Mt.Lawley

Volosinov, V.N. (1973) *Marxism and the Philosophy of Language*, USA:Seminar Press.

Vries, J. de (1984) 'Factors Affecting the Survival of Linguistic Minorities:A Preliminary Comparative Analysis of Data for Western Europe', pp.207-216 in *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, Vol.5:3 & 4.

Walker, A. & R.D.Zorc (1981) 'Austronesian loanwords in Yolngu-Matha of Northeast Arnhemland', pp.109-134 in *Aboriginal History* **Vol.5**:1-2.

Wallace, A.F. (1956) 'Revitalization Movements', pp.264-281 in *American Anthropologist* , Vol.58:2.

Walsh, M.J. (1979) 'Recent Research in Australian Linguistics', pp.1-72 in Wurm, S.A. (ed) *Australian Linguistic Studies*, Canberra:Pacific Linguistics.

Western Australian Aboriginal Committee on Education (1981) Report (ms).

Western Australian Aboriginal Education Consultative Group ([1987]) *Teaching Aboriginal Languages: A Priority Discussion Paper Prepared by the WAAECG Research Team*, Perth.

Warlpiri Media Association (1986) 'Warlpiri Language and Culture - Adaptation to Contemporary Needs', pp.7-12 in *Language in Aboriginal Australia*, 1.

Watts, B.H., W.J.McGrath, & J.L.Tandy (1973) *Bilingual Education in Schools in Aboriginal Communities in the Northern Territory*, Darwin:Department of Education.

Watts B.H. and J.D.Gallacher (1964) *Report on an Investigation into the Curriculum and Teaching Methods used in Aboriginal Schools in the Northern Territory*, Darwin.

Western Australian Aboriginal Committee on Education (1980) Report from the conference for the Eastern Goldfields (ms).

Western Australian Aboriginal Committee on Education (1981a) Report from the conference for the Eastern Goldfields (ms).

Western Australian Aboriginal Committee on Education (1981b) Report on Aboriginal Education within the Education Department of Western Australia (ms).

Bibliography

Western Australian Education Department (nd) *Aboriginal teacher- aide programme:Guidelines and training*, Perth:Aboriginal Education Branch.

Whitelaw, J.S., M.I.Logan, & J.McKay (1984) 'The Australian Urban System', pp.71- 91 in Bourke, L.S., R.Sinclair, & K.Dziewonski (eds) (1984) *Urbanization and Settlement Systems*, Oxford:Oxford University Press.

Whorf, B.L. (1956) *Language, thought and reality,* New York:Wiley.

Williams, C.H. (1984) 'More than tongues can tell: Linguistic factors in Ethnic separation", pp.179-219 in Edwards, J.R. (ed) (1984)

Willmot E. (1981) 'The Culture of Literacy', pp. 9-19 in Menary, B. (ed) (1981) *Aborigines and Schooling,* Adelaide:Adelaide College of the Arts and Education.

Willmot E. (1984) *Out of the Silent Land: Report of the Task Force on Aboriginal and Islander Broadcasting and Communications,* Canberra:AGPS.

Williamson, R.C., J.A. van Eerde & V.L.Williamson (1980) 'Subcultural factors in the survival of secondary languages', pp.59-83 in *IJSL* 25.

Williamson, R.C., J.A. van Eerde & V.L.Williamson (1983) 'Language maintenance and shift in a Breton and Welsh sample', pp.67-88 in *Word,* Vol.34:2.

Witherspoon, G. (1977) *Language and Art in the Navajo Universe*, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Wurm, S.A. (1986) 'Remarks on a Case of Language Decay and Revival', pp.533- 541 in Fishman, J.A., A.Tabouret-Keller, M.Clyne, Bh.Krishnamurti & M.Abdulaziz (eds) (1986).

Zubrzycki, J. (1977) 'Limits to multiculturalism', Paper presented at a Centre for Migrant Studies Seminar, Monash University September 17, (Quoted in Bullivant 1982:143).