"KEEP THAT LANGUAGE GOING!"
A Needs-Based Review of the Status of Indigenous Languages in South Australia

A consultancy carried out by
the Australian Institute of Aboriginal and
Torres Strait Islander Studies
for the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander
Commission, South Australia

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May 2002

Declaration

The authors of this report wish to acknowledge that South Australia's Indigenous communities remain the custodians for all of the Indigenous languages spoken across the length and breadth of this state.

Despite enormous pressures and institutionalised opposition, Indigenous communities have refused to abandon their culture and languages. As a result, South Australia is not a storehouse for linguistic relics but remains the home of vital, living languages. The wisdom of South Australia's Indigenous communities has been and continues to be foundational for all language programs and projects.

In carrying out this project, the Research Team has been strengthened and encouraged by the commitment, insight and linguistic pride of South Australia's Indigenous communities.

All of the recommendations contained in this report are premised on the fundamental right of Indigenous Australians to speak, protect, strengthen and reclaim their traditional languages and to pass them on to future generations.

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Within this report, the voices of Indigenous respondents appear in italics. In some places, these voices stand apart from the main body of the report, in other places, they are embedded within sentences.

The decision to incorporate direct quotations or close paraphrases of Indigenous respondent's view is recognition of the importance of foregrounding the perspectives and aspirations of Indigenous communities across the state.

Indigenous people in South Australia do not only want to be empowered to speak their traditional languages, they also want to be listened seriously to and to influence policies that will impact on the future place and role of their languages.

Abbreviations and Acronyms used within this report.

AIATSIS:	Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies
AILF:	Australian Indigenous Languages Framework
ALIP	Aboriginal Languages Initiative Program
AnTEP:	Anangu Tertiary Education Program
ATSIC:	Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission
ATSIC-SA	Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission, South Australia
ATSILIP	Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Languages Initiative Program
CDEP	Community Development Employment Program
DETE	Department of Education, Training & Employment (South Australia)
DOSAA	Department of State Aboriginal Affairs
FATSIL	Federation of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Languages
LAIP	Language Access Initiative Program
NLLIA	National Languages and Literacy Institute of Australia
SA	South Australia
SAAETAC	South Australian Aboriginal Education and Training Advisory Committee
SAILPC	South Australian Indigenous Languages Policy Committee
SSABSA	Senior Secondary Assessment Board of South Australia
YWW	Yaitya Warra Wodli Language Centre

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1 Executive Summary

1.1 Introduction

This report is based on research carried out by the Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies (AIATSIS) for the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission, South Australia (ATSIC-SA). It addresses the status of South Australia's Indigenous languages in terms of needs and priorities and formulates strategies to ensure languages are protected and sustained. In particular, it proposes a set of recommendations that have been formulated with the aim of ensuring that the suggested strategies are implemented and phased in over several years.

From December 2001 until April 2002, AIATSIS conducted a state-wide survey, including focus group meetings and semi-structured interviews, in metropolitan and regional areas across the State where Aboriginal language maintenance activities are occurring. The purpose of the survey was to acquire a range of perspectives on Aboriginal community language needs. Information and insights were gathered from Indigenous community organisations, individuals, language specialists and linguists.

The Terms of Reference for the survey, as formulated by ATSIC-SA, were:

1. to conduct a State-wide needs survey;
2. to identify priorities for Language Program funding and projects;
3. to develop strategies to address the findings of the State-wide needs survey.

This report details the findings of the survey, as well as the results of a close examination of relevant documentation. It demonstrates the determination of Indigenous communities to improve current language programs and raise the level of project outcomes. The recommendations, contained in this report, are therefore designed to alter structures and practices in such a way that community projects can be assured of receiving more practical support and therefore improved outcomes.

It is now ten years since the 1992 Workshop on South Australian Languages formulated a strategy to support Indigenous languages across the State, and passed a series of important recommendations. Many of those recommendations – in particular, the call to establish three language centres in South Australia – have never been implemented, although they remain valid and achievable objectives. A decade later, many of the priorities articulated during the Workshop are still being voiced by Indigenous communities and individuals. The current research project has revealed the urgency of those priorities and the need for them to be implemented without further delay.

1.2 Needs

1.2.1 Stronger language outcomes

Indigenous people throughout South Australia want to see:

- more children and young people learning and speaking Indigenous languages, and

- as much as possible, the progressive loss of Indigenous languages stopped and reversed.

These are considered to be matters of highest priority and great urgency.

While there have been some good results from some projects since 1992, overall Indigenous people overall do not see as many positive outcomes from programs as they would like. In large part this is a result of:

- lack of sufficient funding;
- lack of continuity of funding for programs and projects;
- unrealistic project aims;
- projects not being well supported with technical and linguistic expertise; and
- lack of integration of school-based programs with community language programs.

1.2.2 Better documentation

As far as possible, language programs and projects need to collect and produce high quality recordings and documentation of the languages concerned. Such materials can then be used to generate appropriate resources for teaching, media, cultural tourism, performance, and a range of other activities designed to meet community aspirations. Successful projects are typically able to produce such materials when they have access to both Indigenous language specialists and to linguistic expertise. Over the last nine years, this has not generally been the case for South Australian projects funded by Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Languages Initiative Program (ATSILIP). Quite a number of these projects have not had trained and qualified staff and the Yaitya Warra Wodli Language Centre (YWW) has not generally been in a position to provide such assistance. Consequently many projects have not achieved the best results in terms of documentation, and have been unable to move on to support high quality programs. This has led to much frustration and disappointment for language groups. There is an urgent need to provide, either through the staffing of individual projects, or through assistance from language centres or other bodies, support for high quality documentation of languages and implementation of programs based on this (Recommendations 7 & 26). Furthermore, language centres and projects should be monitored to ensure that they are producing high-quality documentation (Recommendation 18).

For the purpose of this report, ‘high quality documentation’ means the recording of primary and secondary linguistic data using international standards of linguistics, whereby the data is recorded accurately and consistently with accepted linguistic conventions.

1.2.3 More practical support for projects

Some people perceive that ATSIC and YWW are far more concerned with financial accounting than with language project outcomes. While financial matters are important there needs to be a change of emphasis towards providing the support necessary to achieve language goals – even if this means changing YWW staffing and its administrative procedures.

1.2.4 Assessment for Funding Applications

Applications for project funding needs to be assessed in accordance with clear guidelines (Recommendation 16). Amongst other things, due emphasis must be given to the setting of realistic goals and outcomes and to demonstrating an organisation's willingness to access the necessary linguistic and technical expertise.

1.2.5 More open administration

In the name of 'privacy' and 'confidentiality' YWW has developed an abnormal culture of secrecy about the programs and projects that it administers. This has made it difficult for this research team to carry out its work. Moreover, it creates an unnecessary and unhelpful situation for SA language programs in terms of development of best practice. It also hinders the wider promotion of Indigenous languages and language programs, be this with the general public or through other funding agencies. It would be much better if everyone could be aware of the projects that have received funds and the outcomes of those projects and share access to language materials and resources produced. Such transparency and cooperation regarding outcomes would enable other groups to learn what is effective and ineffective in attaining language goals. (Recommendation 17)

1.2.6 Training and careers for language workers

It is essential to assure professional training in language work for South Australian Indigenous people. Such people, once qualified, should be given appropriate higher award rates and opportunities for career advancement. Appropriate payment and recognition should also be given to expert Elders, who are the custodians of language knowledge, for any work that they do. (Recommendation 32)

In the short-term, it will be necessary to employ or contract trained linguists and other experts to carry out urgent documentation and project development tasks. Such experts must work under the direction of the Indigenous language owners who control the projects and language centre. They must also work alongside an Indigenous Language Project Officer, providing that person with on-the-job training. (Recommendations 7 & 26)

1.2.7 Recognition of languages and language rights

Recognition of Native Title also implies recognition of linguistic identity and the right to use Indigenous languages. Linguistic rights are closely related to land rights. The South Australian government has gone some way towards recognition of Indigenous languages through passing Dual Naming legislation (1991) and identifying Indigenous languages for teaching in schools, but a more clear and forthright statement of language rights is called for. Although Australia has ratified the United Nations 1976 International Convention on Civil and Political rights (Article 27), legal recognition of Indigenous languages in Australia is not evident. This lack of recognition interferes with the ability of Indigenous communities to have an entitlement to appropriate funding for languages programs and projects that will redress cultural and linguistic loss. Additional State legislation recognising Indigenous language rights is needed. (Recommendations 20, 21 & 37)

1.2.8 Indigenous language protocols

Indigenous protocols covering the use of languages and language materials should be developed, promoted and officially recognised. Such protocols would benefit the Indigenous community as well as enable the general public and non-Indigenous organisations to know where they stand vis-à-vis the use of Indigenous languages and language materials. These protocols should be adhered to, for example, with respect to the use of Indigenous place names.

1.3 Priorities

Although there is a particular urgency with respect to the need to work with severely endangered languages, the following priorities are not listed in order of importance.

1.3.1 Language maintenance of endangered languages

One of the highest priorities for language work in South Australia is to document endangered languages. If this urgent work is not undertaken immediately, and in an efficient and expert way, a great deal of irreplaceable language knowledge will be permanently lost. Consequently, this report recommends that weighting be given to this criterion in funds distribution. (Recommendations 10 & 11)

In order to implement this priority it is necessary to define criteria for degrees of endangerment. This report contains proposals about this, based on the idea that endangered languages are to be understood as those no longer spoken by children but spoken by some Elders. 'Speaking' for this purpose is defined as 'the ability to tell stories or recount events using coherent full sentences'.

1.3.2 Language revival

Work must continue on languages which are being retrieved from old sources and revived with ATSILIP support. These are languages which have no speakers in the sense defined above and which are sometimes referred to as 'sleeping' or 'no longer spoken'. Programs like this have had enormous impact on the culture and pride of Indigenous language groups. Languages in this situation, where revival is supported by the custodians, should have expert support made available to analyse and explain historical materials, to speed up the programs and to forge enduring links with the education system.

1.3.3 Literacy for strong languages

Across the State, there is a strong demand for literacy training and for the production of appropriate resources, such as books in Pitjantjatjara and Yankunytjatjara. Since the closing down of bilingual education in the Anangu Pitjantjatjara Lands, a whole generation has missed out on becoming literate in their own language, something which older people took pride in. This development has also caused a severe deterioration in the availability of resources for school-based Pitjantjatjara and Yankunytjatjara second language programs and for teacher training programs.

While literacy for strong languages whose communication function is apparent is vital, it is also important that Indigenous languages that have symbolic functions also develop literacy aids to continue to connect identity to culture and past roots.

There is a need for ATSIC-SA to support vernacular literacy programs through the development of policy initiatives designed to influence the Department of Education, Training and Employment (DETE) and tertiary institutions so that capacity in this area can be rebuilt. (Recommendation 20)

1.3.4 Interpreting for strong languages

ATSIC-SA needs to ensure that the interpreting and translation needs of Pitjantjatjara, Yankunytjatjara and Antikirinya people are well-provided for, both now and in the long-term. To achieve this, it will be necessary for ATSIC-SA to lobby state and federal governments so that Indigenous interpreters receive appropriate payment and acceptable working conditions. Appropriate courses also need to be established through DETE and the tertiary sector so that Indigenous people can obtain suitable training and recognisable qualifications. (Recommendations 33 and 34)

1.4 Strategies

1.4.1 The establishment of a Languages Policy Committee

A South Australian Indigenous Languages Policy Committee (SAILPC) should be established with a mandate to draw up an Indigenous languages policy for the State, and lobby for its official adoption in legislation by the state government (as is currently happening in New South Wales). This committee should have representation from all sectors of the Indigenous community and all institutions with an interest in Indigenous languages, including: YWW, DOSAA, ATSIC, DETE, SAAETAC and the tertiary sector. An official state Indigenous Languages Policy will ensure government recognition of Indigenous languages and influence the way government funds and supports Indigenous languages.

1.4.2 Increased Recognition for Indigenous Languages by ATSIC

Until recently, ATSIC-SA maintained a portfolio that dealt with the State's Indigenous languages. This has now been subsumed by the 'Culture and Heritage' portfolio. The Indigenous Languages portfolio needs to be strengthened and its separate identity maintained so that the immediate and increasing needs of the State's Indigenous languages can be given priority. (Recommendation 3)

1.4.3 Decentralisation

Although South Australia is a large state with very different language needs in different regions, for the last 9 years Indigenous languages have been supported by one Adelaide-based language centre. The current research project has identified strong support across the State's Indigenous communities for some form of decentralisation. Ideally, as envisaged in 1992, South Australia should have at least three independent language centres; one located in each ATSIC region (Adelaide, Port Augusta and Ceduna). However, financial and other practicalities are such that in the short term it will be

necessary to decentralise service-delivery through the establishment of an Endangered and Strong Languages Team.

This team, which will be based in Port Augusta will: (a) develop effective programs for a range of identified endangered languages all of which are located within the Port Augusta and Ceduna regions, and (b) maintain a watching brief over the 'strong' languages spoken predominantly in the north and north-west of the state (Recommendations 4, 5, 6, 7, 8 & 9). The Endangered and Strong Languages Team will lay the foundations for the establishment of regional language centres at a future date. It is important that this situation be reviewed in 2003 to determine the demand for and viability of independent language centres in Port Augusta and Ceduna. (Recommendations 23, 24 & 25)

1.4.4 A new role for Yaitya Warra Wodli

The role of Yaitya Warra Wodli needs to be expanded. The establishment of an Endangered and Strong Languages Team based at Port Augusta, a Reviving Languages Team based in Adelaide and the hiring of specialist linguistic expertise will necessarily alter the role of Yaitya Warra Wodli. In future it will provide linguistic and technical support to language projects in addition to financial support.

The following sections address the proposed expanded functions of YWW.

1.4.4.1 The Endangered and Strong Languages Team

The first function of YWW in 2002-03 should be to establish immediately an Endangered and Strong Languages Team. This is of the highest priority and should be implemented as soon as possible. The two-member team would be comprised of a suitably qualified linguist and an Indigenous Project Officer. (Recommendations 6, 7, 8, 9, 10 & 11)

The role of the Endangered and Strong Languages Team would be to:

- provide the YWW Board with advice in relation to the allocation of funds to projects involving endangered and strong languages;
- work with endangered and strong languages projects to produce a plan with achievable goals and timelines;
- regularly visit all ATSILIP-funded projects to assist in achieving or modifying project goals;
- provide linguistic expertise for individual projects;
- provide support in the area of vernacular literacy for individual projects;
- establish a process whereby the linguist provides the Indigenous Project Officer with on-the-job training in linguistic and technical matters;
- monitor project outcomes and make project reports freely available;
- publish project products, either through YWW or other bodies, subject only to genuine restrictions imposed by language owners;
- organise meetings and run workshops for projects, language groups or larger groups (eg workshops on field methods and tape transcription);
- maintain a language library and archive but copy the catalogue regularly to YWW for maintenance of an integrated database in Adelaide;
- promote Indigenous languages regionally and through YWW; and

- work with education programs in the region.

The Endangered and Strong Languages Team would in large part work under the direction of an Endangered and Strong Languages Reference Committee, which would be comprised of an advisory linguist, YWW board and ATSIC representatives and representation from Indigenous communities in the Port Augusta and Ceduna ATSIC regions.

1.4.4.2 The Reviving Languages Team

From 2003, YWW should move to address its second function: the establishment of a Reviving Languages Team. It should recruit a suitably qualified linguist to work alongside an Indigenous Project Officer to form a Reviving Languages Team based in Adelaide. This team should provide linguistic and technical support to language revival projects which are located primarily in the ATSIC Adelaide region. It should also support language revival projects located elsewhere in the State. The team should provide specialist expertise on the documentation, reclamation and renewal of Indigenous languages that are 'sleeping' or no longer spoken in their full form.

The role of the Reviving Languages Team should be to:

- provide the YWW Board with advice in relation to the allocation of funds to projects involving 'sleeping' languages and languages no longer spoken fluently;
- provide linguistic expertise for individual projects;
- work with language revival projects to produce a plan with achievable goals and timelines;
- regularly visit all ATSILIP-funded projects to assist in achieving or modifying project goals;
- establish a process whereby the linguist provides the Indigenous Project Officer with on-the-job training in linguistic and technical matters;
- monitor outcomes and make project reports freely available;
- publish project products, either through YWW or other bodies, subject only to genuine restrictions imposed by language owners;
- organise meetings and run workshops for projects, language groups or larger groups (eg orthography workshops);
- assist in building up YWW's archive of language materials;
- promote Indigenous languages regionally and in metropolitan Adelaide; and
- work with education programs in schools.

The Reviving Languages Team should work in large part at the direction of a Reviving Languages Reference Committee, which should be comprised of an advisory linguist, YWW board and ATSIC representatives and representation from Indigenous communities. (Recommendations 26 & 27)

1.4.4.3 Language Policy

A third and major function of YWW should be to prepare policy advice and documents that promote Indigenous languages and language rights in the State. It should liaise with

and lobby the state and federal governments, the school and tertiary sectors and other bodies with respect to Indigenous language matters (Recommendation 21). In particular, it should actively advise and participate in the proposed South Australian Indigenous Languages Policy Committee (Recommendations 19 & 20).

1.4.4.4 Workshops and State-wide meetings

The fourth function of YWW should be to organise state-wide meetings, seminars and workshops where appropriate. It should also assist individual language projects in the running of their own language workshops.

1.4.4.5 Active Collaboration with schools and other language projects

Its fifth function would be to work collaboratively with other language projects and programs operating in the State, particularly in schools. One of the problems reported over much of the state is the lack of formal collaboration between the ATSILIP (Federal) programs and the school education programs involving Indigenous languages funded by the State government. In many cases, the school programs are well run by excellent teams but are limited by funding and available expertise. Currently, ATSILIP programs are officially restricted from operating directly in schools. It should be possible for the language centres and project officers to provide Indigenous language services to schools, particularly in the form of published materials and linguistic expertise (Recommendation 30).

1.4.4.6 Database and archive

Its sixth function would be to maintain a comprehensive state-wide database, library and archive on Indigenous languages, and to make these materials readily available to language projects. This would include providing communities with information on successful projects that have been established in other SA regions, in other states of Australia and overseas. This information would also feed into the proposed handbooks of South Australian languages and of language projects (Recommendations 28 & 29).

1.4.4.7 Publication

Its seventh function, in partnership with appropriate bodies, would be the publication of language resources. (Recommendation 16 & 17)

1.4.5 Improvement of Administrative Arrangements

There is a need to improve the administrative arrangements of Yaitya Warra Wodli, as well as accountability indicators for funded language projects.

1.4.5.1 Guidelines for funding allocation

A set of guidelines needs to be prepared by an ATSIC-SA/YWW Team (Recommendation 16). These would be used to rank funding applications for work on individual language projects. Funding should only be provided to projects that can verify the following:

- Community support
- Realistic goals
- Realistic budget

- Availability of Indigenous community members to work on the project
- Willingness to access the necessary linguistic advice and technical expertise.

Other considerations and/or criteria include:

- Past performance with language projects
- Degree of language endangerment
- Degree of language documentation

1.4.5.2 Funding formula for language projects

For the next two years, the Board of YWW should aim to distribute project funding according to language status. The Research Team suggests:

- 40% of all project funding be directed to projects working with endangered languages (ie Mirning, Wirangu, Kukatha, Adnyamathanha, Arabana, Dieri, Wankanguru, Yandruwantha)
- 30% of all project funding be directed to projects working with languages being revived; and
- 30% of all project funding be directed to projects working with strong languages.

This funding formula reflects the urgent need of commencing projects for endangered languages, as well as the importance of supporting all Indigenous languages regardless of their current status. It is essential that *all* proposed language projects satisfy the guidelines as outlined in 1.4.5.1. Should the Board not receive enough applications for feasible projects in any of these three groups, available monies should be offered to feasible projects within the other two groups.

1.4.5.3 Performance indicators for language centres

The performance indicators for language centres (including YWW) should be revised to include more reference to:

- real language outcomes (in terms of language use and documentation);
- language needs (in terms of sustaining critically endangered languages);
- tangible support and coverage (in terms of expert assistance rendered, especially linguistic and technical expertise); and
- community evaluations of projected outcomes. (Recommendation 18).

1.4.6 Handbooks

In order to assist Indigenous people and projects in writing their applications for funding, and more particularly to assist them in their own language research and projects, there is a need to provide two language handbooks. Each handbook would provide different information regarding South Australia's Indigenous languages.

1.4.6.1 Handbook of South Australian languages

It is essential that language projects draw on and build upon what has already been done, particularly if past work is of reasonable quality. Many people who wish to see work carried out on languages are not aware of past achievements, especially if this material is buried in archives or only available in rare or out-of-print books. A Handbook detailing all of the known linguistic and ethnographic sources for each South Australian language

should be produced. Sample draft entries for 6 South Australian Indigenous languages are appended to this report. (Recommendation 28).

1.4.6.2 Handbook for language programs and projects

Many people are unsure as to:

- how language projects can be carried out,
- what types of project are suitable for different situations,
- the different stages that you need to go though, and
- the type of technical help you may need and where to obtain such help.

A user-friendly handbook would help communities avoid many of the pitfalls that have been evident in the past and have caused a lack of progress in language projects across the state. Topics to be covered in such a handbook would include orthographic options and discussion of the application of copyright to Indigenous languages and language materials. (Recommendation 29)

1.4.7 New technologies and other media

Multimedia CD-Rom's, web-sites, film, etc. are valuable for Indigenous language projects but can be expensive to produce and require high-level expertise. The language centre(s) and the proposed National Indigenous Language Centre (Recommendation 40) should encourage the sharing of ideas, software and templates for such resources (Recommendations 29 & 39).

2 Recommendations

To ensure best practice and better outcomes for language projects and programs in South Australia, change is essential. The following 40 recommendations reflect the urgent need to transform the way projects and programs have been administered and supported in the past. In the short term, this will require changes both to the staffing of YWW and to its manner of funds distribution.

While current funding levels for Indigenous language programs in South Australia are inadequate and while the enactment of some of these recommendations will require additional funding, many of the recommendations can be fulfilled within current levels of funding *provided* that the priorities and practices of YWW are overhauled. That noted, the majority of the recommendations are divided into three groups to enable them to be introduced in stages over the next few years.

In particular, these recommendations recognise the importance of commencing *at once* the long-overdue task of documenting and supporting critically endangered languages.

It is not appropriate for YWW to have full control of the implementation of this crucial early stage of transition to new practices. We therefore include a recommendation which would commit ATSIC-SA, from 2002 to 2004, to overseeing this process via one of its staff members. (Recommendations 3, 4 & 5)

Within the recommendations, the term 'language centre' is used to refer to YWW but would also encompass other regional language centres if and when these are established.

2.1 Procuring additional funding for Indigenous language programs

Increase Federal funding for Indigenous language programs

Recommendation 1:
That ATSIC-SA and its three regional councils increase the proportion of their budgets allocated to language projects and together lobby State and Federal governments for additional funding for Indigenous language programs.

Identify sources of additional funding for Indigenous language programs

Recommendation 2: That Yaitya Warra Wodli identify and pursue possible sources of additional funding that could support language recording, maintenance and revival activities (eg AIATSIS, Government departments, corporations and benevolent societies).

2.2 For implementation before the end of 2002

Establish a Languages Portfolio within ATSIC-SA

Recommendation 3: That ATSIC-SA strengthen its Indigenous languages portfolio. and ensure that each regional council has a councillor responsible for the Indigenous languages portfolio.

Recommendation 4: That an ATSIC employee should be assigned responsibility for overseeing Indigenous language issues in the state in consultation with the Indigenous languages portfolio holders on regional councils; and that this person act as the ATSIC representative on the proposed SAILPC and also lobby and advise different bodies on matters pertaining to Indigenous languages.

Recommendation 5: That in the period 2002 to 2004, the ATSIC staff member responsible for the Indigenous languages portfolio also be responsible for ensuring that the recommendations of this report are enacted.

Establish an Endangered and Strong Languages Team

Recommendation 6: That ATSIC-SA and YWW immediately take the necessary steps to establish an Endangered and Strong Languages Team that can work with a range of identified endangered and strong languages, and support ATSILIP projects in the Port Augusta and Ceduna ATSIC regions.

Recommendation 7: That the Endangered and Strong Languages Team be comprised of a suitably qualified and experienced linguist and an Indigenous Project Officer, with the former providing on-the-job training for the latter.

Recommendation 8: That the Endangered and Strong Languages Team establish a base in Port Augusta, preferably within another closely related Aboriginal organisation;

Recommendation 9: That basic infrastructure and equipment, including a vehicle, be allocated to the Endangered and Strong Languages Team.

Establish an Endangered Languages Reference Committee

Recommendation 10: That the Endangered and Strong Languages Team work at the direction of a reference committee comprised of representatives from the identified endangered languages (Mirning, Wirangu, Kukatha, Adnyamathanha, Arabana, Dieri, Wangkanguru and Yandruwantha), the strong languages (Pitjantjatjara, Yankunytjatjara and Antikirinya), YWW and ATSIC; and that this committee meet with the Endangered and Strong Languages Team at least three times a year.

Recommendation 11: That projects working with endangered languages be allocated 40% of the total project funding in the period 2002-2004; and that projects working with strong languages be allocated 30% of the total project funding in the period 2002-2004.

The Yaitya Warra Wodli Board be restructured

Recommendation 12: That the composition of the Yaitya Warra Wodli Board be altered to ensure sufficient representation of regional language groups and to include representation from key stakeholders and access to experts in the languages field.

Recommendation 13: That a restructured Board be comprised of:

- Indigenous representatives (two from each South Australian ATSIC region, with the proviso that one of these currently reside in that region);
- 3 ATSIC councillors (one from each SA ATSIC region, preferably the languages portfolio holder from each council);
- 3 stakeholder representatives (one from each of the following stakeholders: DOSAA/SAETAAC, DETE, the Tertiary Sector).

Recommendation 14: That employees of Yaitya Warra Wodli be entitled to attend Board meetings, and that the Board be encouraged to seek expert advice and assistance at Board meetings, but that neither its employees nor those providing expert advice be granted voting rights on the Board.

Recommendation 15: That these outlined changes to the Board be addressed and implemented at YWW's 2002 Annual General Meeting.

Establish guidelines and indicators for language projects

Recommendation 16: That a group be established by ATSIC-SA, with the advice of YWW and other invited experts, with the aim of formulating clear guidelines on outcomes for Indigenous language projects; and that these guidelines will be developed further and incorporated into the proposed Handbook for language projects. (Recommendation 29)

Enhance openness and establish performance indicators for language centres

Recommendation 17: That language centres make generally available details of projects and their progress, including publication of products dealing with Indigenous languages, only withholding materials where there are serious community concerns over their appropriateness; and that if there are concerns about their accuracy, the language centre's board should seek expertise of those most knowledgeable of the language to resolve these issues.

Recommendation 18: That the group established under Recommendation 16 review and revise performance indicators for language centres (including YWW) so that these include more reference to:

- real language outcomes (in terms of language use, documentation and publication);
- language needs (in terms of sustaining endangered languages);
- tangible support and coverage (in terms of expert assistance rendered, especially linguistic and technical);
- community evaluations of projected language outcomes.

Develop Indigenous Languages Policy

Recommendation 19: That the language centre and ATSIC-SA approach the State Minister for Aboriginal Affairs, requesting that a South Australian Indigenous Languages Policy Committee (SAILPC) be established, on behalf of Indigenous people in this state, to advise and write policy on Indigenous languages; that apart from representatives from the Indigenous community, the membership of the committee should comprise representatives from the language centre, SAETAAC, ATSIC, DOSAA, DETE and the tertiary sector; that this committee should facilitate cooperation between all of these bodies to help meet the needs of Indigenous languages in the state; and that this committee should also lobby the State government on issues relating to Indigenous languages and push for legislation on an Aboriginal Languages Policy for the State.

Recommendation 20: That once established the SAILPC develop and promote a South Australian Indigenous Language Policy with the view to it being legislated by the State government; and that this policy include language issues relating to:

- language rights
- language protocols
- languages in schools and the tertiary sector
- needs with respect to strengthening & maintaining Indigenous languages
- literacy for strong languages
- interpreter and translation needs

Recommendation 21: That, as one of its core functions, YWW should:

- develop position papers and strategies for influencing opinion on key urgent issues (eg bilingual education; Indigenous language protocols; training needs with respect to the strengthening of Indigenous languages within the State);
- promote Indigenous languages and language rights;
- liaise with and lobby the State and Federal governments, the school and tertiary sectors and other bodies with respect to Indigenous language matters; and
- advise and participate in the proposed South Australian Indigenous Languages Policy Committee.

Advocate the establishment of training in linguistics and language work in the higher education and tertiary sectors

Recommendation 22: That ATSIC-SA negotiate with the higher education and tertiary sectors for the immediate establishment of appropriate courses in field linguistics,

archival research, linguistic analysis, languages database management, preparation of language materials, teaching approaches and methods, as well as courses in translating and interpreting Indigenous languages; and further that ATSIC-SA seek out funding sources to support the introduction of such courses, in the knowledge that those courses are unlikely to be viable on the basis of student numbers alone.

2.3 For implementation in 2002-4

Review the work of the Endangered and Strong Languages Team

Recommendation 23: That a review should be established by ATSIC-SA before the end of 2002 to report by April 2003 on the work accomplished by the Endangered and Strong Languages Team and on likely future outcomes; and that, having regard to finance available from ATSIC and other sources, this review should recommend whether the Endangered and Strong Languages Team continue to be attached to YWW; or continue as part of another organisation, or become an independent language centre.

Convene a regional language meeting at Port Augusta

Recommendation 24: That a regional language meeting be convened in the Port Augusta region to determine if an independent regional language centre is viable, has popular support and would improve service delivery; and that if the above conditions are met, ATSIC-SA proceed with the establishment of an independent regional language centre in Port Augusta in 2003.

Convene a regional language meeting at Ceduna

Recommendation 25: That a regional language meeting be convened in the Ceduna region to determine (a) the viability of a regional language committee and (b) the extent to which a proposal for a Ceduna regional language centre (along the same lines as that proposed for Port Augusta) has local support; and that if these two conditions are met, ATSIC-SA proceed with the establishment of an independent language centre in Ceduna in 2004.

Establish a Reviving Languages Team

Recommendation 26: That ATSIC-SA establish a Reviving Languages Team in 2003; based in Adelaide, to work with language revival projects in the Adelaide ATSIC region and, as required, in other areas of the state; and that this Team be comprised of a trained linguist and an Indigenous Project Officer, with the former providing on-the-job training for the latter.

Recommendation 27: That projects working with Reviving languages be allocated 30% of the total project funding in the period 2002-2004.

Produce a South Australian Indigenous Languages Handbook

Recommendation 28: That work begin on a SA Indigenous Languages Handbook and that appropriate partnerships and funding be secured to ensure its publication by 2004.

Produce a South Australian Indigenous Languages Projects Handbook

Recommendation 29: That work begin on an Indigenous Languages Projects Handbook and that appropriate partnerships and funding be secured to ensure its publication by 2004; and that this handbook should include reference to language maintenance strategies successfully adopted nationally and internationally, and the applicability of new technologies.

2.4 Longer term goals

Develop a partnership between DETE and YWW

Recommendation 30: That the language centre negotiate with DETE (SA Education Department) to ensure mutual support for Indigenous language education programs and to discuss, among other topics:

- the provision of Indigenous language experts for language and/or Aboriginal Studies teaching in schools by the language centre and/or local projects; and
- the provision of materials on Indigenous languages and/or Aboriginal Studies by the language centre and/or local projects.

Establish training programs and career paths for Indigenous language workers

Recommendation 31: That the language centre and ATSIC-SA negotiate with TAFE to establish training courses for Indigenous language workers similar to those offered by Pundulmarra College in WA.

Recommendation 32: That the language centre and ATSIC-SA negotiate with appropriate agencies to establish recognised positions and career pathways for Indigenous language workers and Project Officers.

Establish an Interpreting and Translation Task Force

Recommendation 33: That ATSIC-SA negotiate with the State and Federal governments to establish an Interpreting and Translation Task Force with a brief to set up appropriate training courses and service delivery for Indigenous Australians; and that this Task Force should collaborate with relevant government departments, including Justice, Correctional Services, Social Security, Human Services and Multicultural Affairs.

Recommendation 34: That the language centre and ATSIC-SA negotiate with the AnTEP program at the University of South Australia, the Wiltja program at Woodville

High School, and other educational facilities with a view to incorporating interpreting and translation training into their existing course structures.

Explore cross-state support for languages

Recommendation 35: That ATSIC-SA and the language centre negotiate with their counterparts in the Northern Territory and Western Australia, and with language communities in the Anangu Pitjantjatjara Lands, Maralinga-Oak Valley, Yalata, Marla, Oodnadatta and Coober Pedy, with a view to ensuring a coordinated approach in providing support and services to strong languages of these regions.

Recommendation 36: That ATSIC-SA and the language centre contact appropriate counterparts in Queensland and New South Wales to progress the possibility of a Wangkanguru program based at Birdsville servicing people in SA also.

Work towards the recognition of languages and language rights in the Treaty

Recommendation 37: That ATSIC include reference to the recognition of Indigenous languages and language rights in the proposed Treaty and, together with the language centre, call on the state government also to include this recognition and rights in legislation; and that such State recognition include:

- the rights of people to be informed about and negotiate about government policy and other proposals in their language where this is a 'strong' language;
- the right to reparations for the loss of their language as a result of government suppression, reparations to be provided in the form of adequately funded language centres and programs;
- recognition of the rights of language owners to be recognised in their own country and to exercise certain protocols about their language (eg that they be empowered to grant or withhold permission for the use of language names, and the teaching of their language).

Promote the use of Indigenous place names

Recommendation 38: That the State and Federal governments actively promote and publicise dual naming policy and legislated rights for Indigenous people to use Indigenous names; and that in order to ensure accuracy of names and that the correct protocols are observed, this State link up with a register of approved names. (This register could be maintained by the language centre and/or could be similar to or linked with the proposed partnering arrangement between the Geographical Names Board and the Australian National Placenames Survey based at Macquarie University, for the establishment of an Aboriginal Placename Dictionary).

Production of film and other multimedia products

Recommendation 39: That in addition to supporting the promotion and production of literacy materials, YWW support the production of multimedia products and films in

Indigenous languages; and that YWW and Yaitya Makkitura seek funding to produce a series of films as a strategy for Indigenous language promotion, maintenance and revival.

Establish a national language body

Recommendation 40: That FATSIL hold talks with AIATSIS, the Network of Language Centres (recently established at Broome) and other state language bodies to determine how a well resourced and funded national body – one that is culturally sensitive and knows how to operate in Indigenous communities – might be established to promote and lobby for Indigenous languages and to carry out appropriate applied research, and act as a clearing house for ideas for language and learning materials.

3 Introduction

3.1 Background

3.1.1 ATSILIP program

The Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Language Initiatives Program (ATSILIP) is the main program for delivery of Commonwealth government funds to Indigenous language projects in Australia. It is administered by ATSIC. Although there are a number of centres of language activity in South Australia, most ATSILIP funds are administered through a single Indigenous language centre, Yaitya Warra Wodli (YWW), in Adelaide. This arrangement differs from Western Australia and the Northern Territory, where funds go separately to a number of different regional language centres, and from Queensland and New South Wales, where there are neither regional language centres nor a state-wide body.

3.1.2 Language centres in South Australia

When YWW was first established it was not envisaged that it should be the only language centre in South Australia. The 1992 Aboriginal Languages Workshop resolved to set up a language centre in Adelaide as a temporary measure, but envisaged that "three Regional Aboriginal language centres are established in as short time as possible". Plans for adding more language centres were apparently shelved during the 1990s and there is no mention of such plans in the most recent Strategic Plan of YWW.

3.1.3 Review of Yaitya Warra Wodli

YWW has had a troubled history in recent years culminating in a review undertaken by ATSIC-SA (ATSIC 2000) which drew negative conclusions about its administrative and financial practices. Following on this ATSIC called for tenders to conduct a consultancy looking into ways of better meeting the language needs of Indigenous people in South Australia.

The Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies (AIATSIS) won the contract for the consultancy in early 2001, but legal difficulties delayed the signing of the contract until late June 2001.

3.1.4 Terms of reference of SA language needs survey

The Terms of Reference, as spelled out in the brief given to the consultants by ATSIC-SA, were as follows:

1. to conduct a State-wide needs survey;
2. to identify priorities for Language Program funding and projects; and
3. to develop strategies to address the findings of the State-wide needs survey.

3.2 The consultant: AIATSIS

AIATSIS has a high profile in research and archiving of Indigenous languages in Australia, and also has engaged in applied research on language needs and language

maintenance issues. In 2000, for example, an AIATSIS team carried out a survey of language needs in NSW for ATSIC, (see Hosking *et al* 2000). In 2000-2001, Patrick McConvell (AIATSIS Research Fellow: Language and Society) produced a report "State of Indigenous Languages," with Nick Thieberger, for Environment Australia (McConvell & Thieberger 2001).

3.3 The research team

The research team assembled by AIATSIS comprises the following:

Prof. Luke Taylor	Project Manager
Dr. Patrick McConvell	Project Co-ordinator

Plus the sub-consultants (who differ slightly from the original list tendered because of changed circumstances):

Mr. Lester Irabinna Rigney	SA Project Coordinator
Dr. Rob Amery	
Dr. Mary-Anne Gale	
Dr. Christine Nicholls	
Mr. Jonathan Nicholls	
Ms. Simone Ulalka Tur	

All of the sub-consultants live in South Australia (Adelaide) and have long-term academic backgrounds dealing with Indigenous languages and education. They also have many personal contacts within the state's Indigenous community. Two of the sub-consultants are Indigenous scholars (Rigney and Tur) with affiliation to southern and northern language groups, respectively.

3.4 Conduct of the project

This report draws upon data derived from existing literature and an extensive state-wide survey. The survey questionnaire (*see* Appendices) was devised and trialled in a pilot phase of the survey. It was also translated for use with A<u>n</u>angu (Pitjantjatjara, Yankunytjatjara and Antikirinya people).

Smaller teams of 2 to 3 people travelled throughout the State holding focus group meetings and conducting interviews with individuals. The vast majority of informants were Indigenous. The survey and planned meetings were well publicised and an interpreter was available for those areas in which Pitjantjatjara, Yankunytjatjara and Antikirinya are widely spoken. Meetings and interviews were open-ended, not confined to the survey questions and people could talk as they wished on the subject of Indigenous language needs in SA. A list of the organisations contacted, as well as the survey questionnaire (and translation) and an explanation of the consent form used have all been appended to this report.

People were given the option of completing the questionnaire independently or with assistance from a researcher. The questionnaire, including details of the survey, was available on a web site: http://www.aiatsis.gov.au.

The survey was not designed to yield numerical or statistical results but to access the range of views in the Indigenous population of SA.

3.4.1 Timetable

Work on the project began in August 2001. The original target date for completion was February 2002. However, delays outside the control of the consultant necessitated extending the project to May 2002. Permission to extend the timetable for the project was granted by ATSIC in January 2002. A copy of the revised project timetable has been appended to this report.

3.4.2 Limitations of the project

Funding and time constraints prevented the Research Team from visiting all Indigenous communities and/or their language projects. In many instances, the Research Team attempted to overcome this limitation by contacting persons and organisations by phone and/or letter, particularly in the metropolitan area.

It should be acknowledged that a number of potential respondents chose not to participate in the survey because of its association with ATSIC. They were concerned that their comments, particularly any negative comments, could be used by ATSIC for purposes over which they had no control. They claimed they did not want to have their responses used by ATSIC to denigrate or jeopardise Indigenous initiatives.

3.4.3 Ethical considerations

The aim of the survey was to reach as many Indigenous South Australians as time allowed and canvass their perceived. The approach adopted was to offer both focus group meetings in regional areas, as well as the opportunity for individuals to fill out the questionnaire, either independently or in an interview with one of the research team.

AIATSIS' Research Protocols guided the development and conduct of the entire research project. Prior to conducting any meetings or interviews, participants were provided with information about the survey and its purpose. They were assured that any comments appearing in the report would be presented anonymously. For quite a number of individuals who were interviewed at length, a summary of their interview was provided to them in writing to ensure their views were represented accurately. A few of these individuals asked for their names to appear alongside their comments in the report. However, for the sake of consistency all comments have remained anonymous.

Every participant signed a consent form, which clarified the above ethical issues. This form was a modified version of the standard consent form used for research conducted by the University of South Australia. No sessions were audio-recorded unless verbal permission was granted by the participant.

3.5 Process and outcomes

Participants in the focus meetings were adamant that there was a desperate need for the relevant bodies to act on the recommendations outlined in this report, and not to treat this report as yet another enquiry yielding nothing of practical value. For instance at Port Augusta the meeting demanded a follow-up meeting, with leading people in ATSIC present, to provide direct feedback about how ATSIC can implement the report.

4 The importance of Indigenous languages

4.1 Centrality of language for Indigenous people

For many Indigenous people throughout Australia language is the mainstay of their spiritual and social identity. People identify themselves by their language group, the language of their land and their ancestors, whether that language is widely spoken or not. In South Australia there are languages which are still strongly spoken and languages which have not been spoken for many years as well as some which are critically endangered with, at best, a handful of fluent speakers remaining. Whatever the situation, people identify with their language: if it is still spoken they treasure it and want to maintain it; if it has been taken away by the suppression practised by the White society the loss is keenly felt and many groups wish to get back whatever they can.

Above all, people relate to their own ancestral language, the language of their heritage. For Aboriginal people this language literally lives in the land of their ancestors. When people call languages that are no longer spoken 'sleeping' this is to be taken literally. It was put there by the creating Dreaming Ancestors and it remains there with the spirits of the Ancestors who can be spoken to in that language. People do not want to hang on to just any Aboriginal language, but primarily their own. Suggestions that everyone should learn a 'strong' language are not accepted if that will mean giving up one's own language:

> *It's good to know about many language groups. It's also important that children learn their own language so they are strong. They should learn their own language, Aboriginal English and English.*

> *That was a sign of the time. Kaurna and Narungga were referred to as 'extinct'. We were adopted by and protected by the Pitjantjatjara. We were adopting Pitjantjatjara language to some extent. People thought that Pitjantjatjara would become universal, but people knew they weren't Pitjantjatjara.*

4.2 Fear of losing language

All Indigenous language speakers and language owners in Australia are aware of the catastrophe that has befallen their languages over the last century. Heightened activism is essential if languages are to survive. Many communities are struggling to keep the last remnants and links with their languages while even those with reputedly 'strong' languages, like those in the north of SA, can see signs of danger and want to maintain them and increase the level of knowledge passed on to children:

> *We want to keep our language and culture strong, we can't lose it. Teach more. More ninti pulka [greater knowledge].*

Members of the Stolen Generations, who were taken away from their families and communities, also suffer from the loss of their languages. Many feel that they are 'lost' and look to their language as a way to restore their identity and culture:

Learning things in English, that's one thing. But you can't get the depth of feeling and understanding.

4.3 Lack of understanding in the mainstream society

While there are signs of a growing acceptance of the value and importance of Indigenous languages – such as their prominent use at the opening of the 2002 Adelaide Festival of Arts – a deep undercurrent of opinion continues to devalue and dismiss them. This undercurrent, which considers Indigenous languages to be a barrier to progress, advocates letting Indigenous languages 'die out' as quickly as possible.

As one respondent noted, it is important to *keep chipping away* at such views and prejudices. Younger generations of non-Indigenous people, less wedded to older assimilationist views, are beginning to recognise the value of Indigenous languages. Language centres and language projects can play a vital role in encouraging this essential shift in mainstream attitudes.

Unfortunately some non-Indigenous leaders still only pay lip-service to the importance of Indigenous languages, whilst continuing to take actions and implement policies that downgrade and destroy them. Indigenous people identify contradictions in the way 'multiculturalism' translates into practice:

There is ignorance on the part of non-Aboriginal people. Some don't accept the use of Aboriginal languages, even though they accept the use of Greek or Italian.

4.4 Low profile of languages in government programs

Institutionalised ignorance within government bodies and agencies remains a major barrier to progress with language programs. As respondents noted:

For the Government, there is no monetary value in Indigenous language, because they are not 'trade' languages, in contrast with the value they place on overseas languages like German and Japanese.

Unless the Government sees the languages as of benefit to them they won't support them. … Aboriginal languages are the first things that get axed when money is tight.

If these views are accurate, different perspectives need to be nurtured and encouraged. Indigenous languages could be promoted, for example, as both a valuable part of our cultural heritage and a storehouse of knowledge about the natural environment (*see* Henderson & Nash 1997; McConvell & Thieberger 2001). In addition, the recognition of Indigenous languages could be pursued as part of the broader rights of Indigenous people:

As far as we're concerned there is not even initial recognition given to Indigenous languages.

4.4.1 ATSIC

ATSIC, as part of its more general rights-based approach, is in a prime position to develop policy on language recognition and language rights which could influence governments in the direction outlined above,. However little has been done in this area to complement what has been done on land rights and legal rights. Some respondents felt that this apparent lack of interest in language reflected governments' attitudes to this area; that it is not 'economic' and therefore of low priority.

Many respondents, including ATSIC Councillors, commented that ATSIC programs are skewed strongly towards areas like housing, and that language and cultural programs get little attention or funding. Yet for many Indigenous people preserving their cultural heritage, including their language, was of the highest priority and was the key to developing and regaining the strength of spirit to survive and prosper in the future.

There are a number of reasons for this neglect of languages by government. Non-Indigenous people, who largely run the government and government programs, may have difficulty in understanding the value of Indigenous languages and culture and in some cases may see them as threatening national unity. The legacy of many years of assimilationist thinking and practice remains, and many people, including some Indigenous people, see traditional languages and cultures as 'holding back' people from joining the mainstream. Recent reactions against multiculturalism and Indigenous cultural independence have not helped.

A number of examples from around the world demonstrate the possibility of combining one's own language and culture with full and successful participation in the wider world to the overall benefit of the ethnic groups concerned. Unfortunately this idea is not understood or endorsed by key people in positions of power in Australia.

While the outcomes of government housing programs may be more readily identifiable than developments in language and culture, it is, nevertheless, possible to measure progress in terms of language and culture. Such measurements, however, are less widely practised and acknowledged.

Funding allocations reflect this order of priority. Indigenous languages receive only a portion of ATSIC's 'small programs' budget and are dwarfed by programs such as Housing. The ATSILIP program has received only $4-5 million per year since its inception. For the past 3 years this has been 'topped up' by the Language Access Initiative Program (LAIP) funding of about $3 million per year. LAIP has financed some valuable projects, but this year that funding comes to an end. Base funding has not risen for ATSILIP for many years, yet many cost factors have risen dramatically and language programs and projects are now facing a crisis. Even before the crisis, funding has been uncertain and lacking in continuity.

Respondents to the survey were generally dismayed at this state of affairs and unimpressed by the reasons given for it. One respondent said:

> *As ATSIC is the funding body for Aboriginal & Torres Strait Islanders, it should supply long term funding specifically for language studies.*

4.5 Funding options

4.5.1 Increase in allocation to language in the national ATSIC budget

In general, respondents felt that the share of ATSIC funds going to language nationally was too small and should be increased. In particular, because of the desperate situation of endangerment of languages in Australia, including a number in South Australia, there should be urgent increase in funding for language maintenance.

4.5.2 Continuation of LAIP funding or similar

The 'Stolen Generations' have been particularly disadvantaged by being taken away from situations where they could learn their languages. The languages have been subject to greater pressure because of the removal of key people to institutions where use of Indigenous languages was banned. This has had a severe and lasting impact which deserves more than a one-off injection of a small amount for 3 years. However the option of extending this program into the next financial year has been rejected by the Federal Government.

4.5.3 Increase in proportion of budget for SA

The NSW Language Needs Survey (2001) argued strongly that NSW has been disadvantaged in comparison to other states and territories in the historical allocation of ATSILIP funds, and promoted the idea that overall Aboriginal population in a state should be used as a criterion for funding.

South Australia could use similar arguments to try to get a larger slice of the same pie. In 1996-97, for instance, SA received $204,000 in language funding, the least of any state including Tasmania, and less than half the allocation to NSW ($509,000). This is in spite of the fact that SA has at least 7 endangered languages with fluent speakers still alive, which urgently require work, at least 3 strong languages, and the most successful language revival movement in the country. This compares with NSW with all languages with the possibly exception of two in a revival situation, and Tasmania with all languages lost completely many years ago and only a few poor wordlists to work with. In the following two years the allocation for SA did go up to $409,000 putting it third lowest and higher than Tasmania and Victoria, and taking its percentage from 6% to 9% of the national ATSILI P total. South Australia is still clearly disadvantaged.

While there is a strong case for a larger share for SA, many informants in the survey mentioned the divisive effects of different groups and states squabbling over an amount of money to be shared which is too small to meet existing needs. They prefer the option of a larger pie:

Everyone is fighting over the same bucket of money, and the bucket (for Aboriginal people) gets smaller, not bigger.

4.5.4 A different funding formula

We are not recommending a funding formula based on Indigenous population, either for allocation of funding to states, or to projects. However there is a need to develop a formula which can serve as a guideline for allocation at state and program level.

4.5.5 Diversification of funding sources

Various language centres in other states have been successful in accessing funds from other sources apart from ATSILIP. Occasional projects in SA have benefited from other funding, but YWW has not been active in either seeking such sources itself or assisting projects within SA to access them. This is, in part, a bootstrapping exercise as funds are likely to be granted to those bodies which are able to produce good applications and demonstrate a record of good outcomes from previous work.

There may be some reluctance in South Australia to try for alternative funds because of the fear that this will lead to cuts in ATSILIP funding. However, in general, the ability to find other funds and produce and publicise good outcomes will lead to a higher profile for language programs both within government sources and outside, thus increasing the likelihood of rises in both budget share and one-off funding. This could be a component of a funding formula. The following bodies are potential alternative sources of funding:

4.5.5.1 Philanthropic societies

Respondents have emphasised the need to target philanthropic societies for money. Part of YWW's role, they say, should be to seek outside funds to lessen the dependence on government funding.

4.5.5.2 International foundations

There are several small foundations established overseas which give small grants specifically for work with endangered languages; for example, The Foundation for Endangered Languages based in England. There are larger foundations which are committed to research in the field of endangered languages, but these tend to focus on universities and large language archives rather than small Indigenous and community bodies. They also tend to be under-informed concerning Indigenous protocols and cultural sensitivities, but they have the potential to become useful allies and donors. Language centres could enter into partnerships with universities and large language archives to access this assistance without compromising principles.

4.5.5.3 Commercial companies

Mining and other companies, especially those who wish to establish a good profile with Indigenous people in a region, will occasionally assist with cultural maintenance and retrieval projects including language.

Tourist operations often include a focus upon the Indigenous heritage of holiday destinations. Language centres and projects can produce information for this market and

at the same time ensure that the information is positive, accurate and used in accordance with Aboriginal protocols. This can be a source of income for language programs. Tourist operations can involve Indigenous guides to promote and explain language and cultural traditions.

4.5.5.4 Other federal funding sources

4.5.5.4.1 AIATSIS

AIATSIS is the premier national research body in Aboriginal Studies. Its Grants program has assisted language centres and projects over a number of years with the research side of their work and gives priority to Indigenous controlled and sponsored research. It also provides other services such as the facility for language centres and projects to deposit copies of material such as audio-tapes in a secure environment, and advises on conservation and access issues. Further information on AIATSIS and the services it offers can be found on their web site: www.aiatsis.gov.au.

4.5.5.4.2 Heritage funding

Indigenous languages are recognised as part of the national heritage but opportunities to access funds in this area have not been taken up much so far. It was reported that one language project in SA was carried out with funding from a National Estates grant and then carried on through the Community Development Employment Program (CDEP).

4.5.5.4.3 CDEP

It is unclear to what extent CDEP funds have been used to support language work in SA, although it has been used when YWW funds fail to come through. In other states this has also occurred but there is generally a negative reaction to using CDEP. Indigenous people feel that the Government should recognise such work as valuable and not expect it to be funded through 'dole' money.

4.5.5.5 State departments

4.5.5.5.1 Education

Many DETE schools provide Indigenous language programs and Aboriginal Studies components. These have their own infrastructure within the state department, but Language centres and programs could also provide teachers and teaching materials to schools. Payment for such services could be returned to the language program.

4.5.5.5.2 DOSAA

DOSAA frequently requires interpreters/translators and information on languages and cultures. Payment for these services could support language programs. Such cooperation and payment would help DOSAA demonstrate its commitment to Indigenous people and their languages.

4.5.5.6 Local government

Local councils are increasingly interested in aspects of the Indigenous heritage of their areas, for tourist promotion as well as for the benefit of local Aboriginal populations.

Erecting signs that feature local Indigenous language, and the naming of places and buildings could be done in partnership with language programs and might yield financial as well as cultural benefits.

4.6 Language and well-being

Many respondents are convinced that Indigenous Languages are important for their physical, social and emotional well-being:

> *Language is important to build up that self esteem again.*

> *Language is a health issue too – not just a heritage thing.*

Alcohol and drug problems are attributable, in part, to loss of identity – some Alcohol and Drug Rehabilitation program money could go into language programs. A respondent argues: *Language is identity and if the Government would put money into languages then they would be saving money on alcohol programs by restoring identity*. When people get involved in language work or a project there is much to be gained besides learning the language: *you develop pride, self esteem, diversity of thought, inventiveness, and you get a sense of group collectiveness*.

Language programs can forge links between cultural identity and health. In Murray Bridge, language project staff assisted the local hospital program to produce a diabetes pamphlet featuring the Ngarrindjeri language.

If Indigenous languages were to enjoy improved status, they would play a greater role in the Reconciliation process – they could assist healing between Indigenous and non-Indigenous groups. Language creates an understanding of one's own world. Understanding other languages provides windows onto other worlds.

4.7 Language, land and identity

Most informants emphasised the relationship between language, land and identity:

> *The language connects you to the land, you see. Take people away from their land and break that connection, and you break up family. Stop them speaking to each other in language… and get rid of language, and you can break down family.*

> *If you have no language, it breaks your connection to your Creator beings. If you're speaking in English to an Aboriginal Creator, they're not going to understand because they don't know. You know, they were never prayed to or sung to in English. It's not going to have the strength of spiritual energy that's needed. If you're going to speak to your Creator Ancestors, then you have to speak in the language they know. So it's central to everything.*

These Creator beings reside in the land where the language is spoken. This means that Aboriginal people have a special connection to the land and language of their Ancestors,

but it also means that other Indigenous and non-Indigenous people living on others' land must respect the language of that place:

> *Kaurna is a significant language for all people living in Adelaide because we are on Kaurna land. By learning Kaurna you learn about them and their land.*

While a language may be used and taught away from its ancestral land, the home country is where it should have its prime centre of activity:

> *Ngarrindjeri language comes from here. This is the hub of its language. If it's going to be taught anywhere it should be taught here. If it is to be taught elsewhere – okay, provided that they have the right language.*

It was often remarked to us that state boundaries are irrelevant to Indigenous groups, for instance Mirning country extends across the border of SA and WA. Even ATSIC regional boundaries are regarded as 'white man's boundaries'. The language group Barngala, for instance, is split between two ATSIC regions (Port Augusta and Ceduna).

Little government recognition has been given to Indigenous languages or language identity in this state, even though it is the main way that people identify themselves. The 2002 Adelaide Festival which featured Aboriginal languages, song and dance, and the teaching of Kaurna at the university, are recent developments. Generally Indigenous language identity is not being seen as something of importance.

To counter this some groups advocate being assertive about their language identity and that of their land:

> *We need signs on the Yorke Peninsula to show that this region belongs to Narungga people.*

In the case of Kaurna and other languages undergoing revival, some Indigenous people who initially expressed reservations are now enthusiastically embracing these developments:

> *We were slow in grabbing hold of it. In the first instance it's a shame job, but once they know it's their language they grab hold of it.*

4.7.1 Language and Native Title

Many people have mixed feelings about Native Title and its relationship to language. On the one hand they regard Native Title as a tremendous stride forward by Australian law in the recognition of language groups as true holders of rights in the land and the culture. On the other hand, as a consequence of Native Title legislation, much conflict has been generated between different groups and even amongst close family members.

Despite the great emphasis on language identity in Native Title discussions, and the support given to Native Title meetings and investigations by ATSIC, Indigenous languages receive relatively little support.

In the minds of many Aboriginal people, the recognition of Native Title needs to be linked to the recognition of the traditional owners and custodians of distinct areas and their language. Both non-Indigenous and Indigenous people should recognise and be respectful of the people of the area. There is a need to find out who are the rightful owners and empower them: *Without recognition you are adding to cultural demise.*

Some Aboriginal respondents believe that non-Indigenous people who do not want English to replace all Indigenous languages may inadvertently be promoting Pitjantjatjara as the single Indigenous language for South Australia. This attitude (which may not be as widespread as is believed by some informants) devalues all the other language groups and does not accord them due recognition in Aboriginal law and custom. It is important to stress that this position was not expressed to the Research Team by any Pitjantjatjara speakers.

In some places Native Title disputes extend into arguments about language. Such disputes arise from historical movements of people. One current case involves disagreement over the correct name for a language, currently spoken, which contains elements of more than one traditional language.

Some respondents expressed the view that recognition should be given to ownership of the languages and to associated intellectual rights. Such recognition would help guard against misuse and abuse of language materials. Links between traditional land ownership and custodianship of the language need to be recognised.

4.8 Language and knowledge

Many people feel that the revival and maintenance of their language, and the knowledge it embodies, are part of a sacred trust passed on to them by their parents and grandparents:

> *My mother said, "Keep that language going," before she died. It's up to us now to see it is carried on forever.*

Language can be the vehicle for a whole culture. People urge children to learn so that they can keep their distinct cultural legacy going and so that *the old people didn't die in vain*.

People stress particularly that children need to know the distinctive language names of birds, animals, etc. so that they are fully aware of the environment of their country as seen through their culture and language. Even 'strong language' speakers see a decline in such knowledge in their younger generation and want to see efforts made to remedy this:

It is important to keep the environmental names from the old language of an area because some of the species, places and ways of talking will be different from other areas.

Language is about *what's around you, what you can see, visualising and understanding*. As respondents indicate, the aim for a language like Barngala, on the Eyre Peninsula, is not necessarily language fluency but *being part of the country*. One Elder writes:

Languages are like species, because they can die out. It's imperative this doesn't happen because language diversity is important – it creates diversity of thought. Unfortunately we've already lost some of the intellectualisation you get from language.

4.9 Language rights

There is a strong feeling that rights in language and rights to use language should be recognised in Australia (and SA in particular) and that such rights should be based on traditional Aboriginal understandings (as is supposed to be the case with Native Title). How exactly these rights are to be recognised will require some working through by Indigenous people concerned with language issues (*see* Recommendations 20, 37 & 38).

Most Aboriginal people regard the descendants of those who spoke a language in its traditional country as 'owning' that language, even if they are no longer able to speak it. At the same time, however, respondents did not support attempts by some individuals or families to assert 'private' ownership or copyright over words or language; this was not considered to be compatible with traditional custom, but instead fostered division and trouble. In general, respondents called for the establishment of protocols ensuring, for example, that permission is sought from the appropriate Elders before a language is taught in a school.

4.9.1 Call for legislation

The 1992 SA Languages Workshop resolved that "work commence immediately on providing a legislative base for Aboriginal languages development in SA." As far as we know, apart from the Dual Naming Policy, there has been no effective follow-up to this call since then, while the need remains as urgent:

The government doesn't give our languages enough recognition – it should be a part of law.

How exactly this could be accomplished is the subject of various opinions expressed. In relation to language rights, one interviewee suggested that this be part of a Bill of Rights.

4.9.2 Language in the Treaty

The current movement in favour of a Treaty in Australia, also being supported by ATSIC, is attracting attention among Indigenous people as a possible forum for promoting language rights. People are calling for recognition of the Indigenous languages as the first languages of Australia; acknowledgment of the loss of the languages; and the

responsibility of governments to help reclaim and maintain the languages. They want all of these points to be included in the Treaty.

Currently, there is little discussion, within ATSIC, of language in relation to a Treaty. Many Indigenous people fear it will be left out. It may be that the Treaty does not end up as a single document passed through Federal parliament but a series of agreements involving different levels of government. The people we spoke to were keen for the SA Government to make principled commitments to Indigenous languages in a legal framework. People expressed admiration for the kind of status accorded to the Maori language in New Zealand and wish that similar things could happen here.

4.9.3 Indigenous languages in schools

Among the rights that Aboriginal people throughout the state are calling for is the right for children to receive some education in their own heritage language:

> *People should be able to access a school that teaches their own language – it's a matter of pride. The right of choice is the issue.*

Stories abound of Indigenous students being forced to learn foreign languages, like Greek or Indonesian, and not an Indigenous language, despite the presence of large numbers of Aboriginal children in particular primary schools. This often causes resistance among the Aboriginal students. Parents stress that they are not opposed to their children learning such languages, but it is the fact that their own language is not offered. Some informants expressed concerns that ATSIC was failing to meet its responsibilities in this area:

> *ATSIC passes the buck. It says 'This is an Education Dept issue'… communities are left stranded.*

In order to guarantee the right of Indigenous children to learn their own language it will be necessary to encourage working relationships between local community-based language programs and schools.

Indigenous people also want some control over the curriculum and over who teaches the languages. As urged elsewhere, it is important to develop clear and workable protocols. There are often certain community members who individual schools contact for decisions and advice, but those people are sometimes unavailable or unable to assist. This network needs to be expanded. It is also a requirement of the protocols for language teaching endorsed by DETE that permission be sought to teach a language, but it may not be clear who the school should ask. A local language hub or regional centre could assist this process.

4.9.4 Naming

One area in which the SA Government has moved to accommodate the wishes of Indigenous people has been in the Dual Naming policy for places, and some subsequent renaming of places. This has brought a great sense of pride where it has occurred. People seeing the Aboriginal name and appreciating its meaning feel that *the stories come alive*.

Names such as *karra wirra pari*, 'Red gum forest river', for the Torrens River in Adelaide relate directly to the environment.

One informant, referring to this change as a cultural revolution, sees this as a sign that the status of languages is improving. Progressive local councils have taken the lead, supporting the renaming or co-naming of places. Similarly, organisations concerned with heritage, (for example, 'Encounter 2000') have utilised traditional names for landmarks. More could occur with the support of language centres and programs. This is something that Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people can share about the places where they live together:

> *Naming is part of Reconciliation. It's about understanding what is around you, what you can see.*

Despite Dual Naming, people feel that official recognition of Indigenous names needs a higher profile, stronger legislation in terms of rights, and more implementation in renaming and education. Some suggest a rolling campaign to 'name and claim' things – such as has happened with *Tarndanyangga*, the traditional Kaurna name for the area in Adelaide that colonists named 'Victoria Square'.

Signs in Indigenous languages are important. They provide a solid structure for children to learn from an early age; for example, "Welcome to Waialikna" at the entrance to Whyalla.

4.9.5 Protocols

Indigenous groups observe language protocols which they would like to see respected by non-Indigenous people and, where appropriate, enshrined in Australian law. These include the right of language custodians to be consulted about use of the language. We recommend that a meeting or workshop be convened to work out basic guidelines for these protocols. (Recommendation 20)

Observing local customs is also of great importance. For example, some respondents spoke of the custom of speaking the language of the land you are on:

> *You don't go speaking your language in somebody else's country, there's danger. You might offend people without even knowing that you are.*

4.9.6 Copyright

While 'copyrighting languages' may be ill-advised, Aboriginal people have legitimate concerns about ownership and protection of language materials. Sometimes non-Indigenous authors claim full copyright of material which is largely the work of Indigenous authors or community property. It has been reported that Aboriginal people will not broadcast stories in language on radio because they fear they lose ownership of the materials by doing so. These problems are holding back projects which could be contributing to language maintenance and should be resolved. We recommend the

holding of workshops on this topic and the production of a position paper by or on behalf of the proposed Policy unit of the SA language centre.

5 Assessing the state of languages

5.1 Assessment and indicators

5.1.1 Assessing language status

As far as possible, it is important for surveys into the status of Indigenous languages to employ the same methods for collecting and assessing data as has been used in previous surveys. Consistency of method allows researchers to identify trends and anomalies. For this reason, when designing the survey instrument for the current project, the Research Team was careful to take into consideration both the methodology used internationally by organisations like the United Nations and survey instruments that have previously been employed within Australia. It was also essential to shape the instrument in light of the specific aims of the project as outlined by ATSIC-SA in the Terms of Reference.

5.1.2 Using indicators in setting priorities

The most important aim of the survey is to make recommendations about priorities in spending and activity. We do not see this as just setting priorities about which types of languages are to be supported e.g. 'strong', 'endangered' and 'revival'. It is important that each of these language types should expect support if their programs and projects are appropriate and well planned. But we do recommend urgent attention be given to languages that still have living speakers yet have relatively little quality documentation.

In offering funding for projects, guidance should be offered as to how project proposals can be modified so that they match situations and available resources. Each program should have a clear idea of the language's current status. It is on the basis of this assessment that realistic goals can be set. Such goals will vary enormously: for some languages, it would be a major step forward for children to learn all the names of common animals in the language; for other languages the children already know this, and so it might be more appropriate for them to learn how to tell or write stories *in the language* about those animals.

Being able to gauge or refer to degrees of language endangerment and to current language use is very useful when it comes to assessing if a particular activity or plan is suitable for the situation it is proposed for. Our suggestions outlined in this chapter for indicators provide only a rough guide to describing language situations and we recommend that this be properly developed within the proposed language projects handbook (Recommendation 29).

Within this report, it is assumed that the primary goal of all language maintenance and revival programs is to increase the use of a particular language by the Indigenous population. This assumption means that developing an archive, recording old people, and/or creating books and teaching materials are to be done with the aim of passing knowledge on to Indigenous people. It also means that some other programs, such as promoting recognition of the language in the wider community and teaching some of it to non-Indigenous people, are secondary goals and are mainly justified by their support of

the primary task of transmission of the language within the Indigenous community. This is not to say that archiving or promotion in their own right are not to be supported, but when competing for limited funds with language maintenance-related activities, these activities may have to wait in line.

In the following sections, we discuss some of the problems with producing profiles of language situations, and identify some indicators that could be used. These have the advantage of being known and employed outside SA. They give relatively simple ways of assessing both degrees of language endangerment and the level of documentation for particular languages. There is also a longer discussion, with SA examples, of how to assess language use. Identifying languages

5.1.3 Identifying languages

'A language' may appear to be a simple category but there are complexities, which we must be aware of when we embark on a survey. Linguists often distinguish between *languages* and *dialects*. In this way of talking, each language is composed of different dialects which vary from each other in pronunciation, lexicon and grammar, in minor ways. Australian English can be classed as an English dialect. Furthermore, if we look at Britain or America we will see that they each have a number of English dialects within them. A language can be defined as a group of dialects, the speakers of which all understand each other. This is known as the *mutual intelligibility* criterion.

There are some problems with this way of defining a language. One concerns so-called ‘dialect chains’. If you speak dialect A you can understand the nearest neighbouring dialect B and perhaps the next one along C. People who speak C in turn can understand D but you can’t because the differences between your dialect (A) and dialect D are too great. Now where do you draw the line between languages in this situation? The answer often comes down to politics in such situations: who calls their language ‘a dialect of Dutch’ and who calls their language a ‘dialect of German’ usually seems to depend on which nation-state the speakers live in, the Netherlands or Germany. In Indigenous Australia there were not and are not ‘nation-states’ with standard languages in the same way, (although some people do speak of their affiliations with a ‘nation’ or ‘tribe’ and its language in a parallel way).

This is not to say that language differences were not and are not important in Indigenous Australia. The founding beings or Dreamings are believed to have created the divisions between languages, as they set down borders and other differences in cultures and laws, in most areas throughout Australia. However two neighbouring languages as defined in this way may be mutually intelligible – speakers of each can understand speakers of the other – and may be defined by linguists as ‘dialects’ of one language. Many Indigenous people often take issue with linguists calling their variety of talking a ‘dialect’ of a larger ‘language’ and prefer just to call all the ‘dialects’ ‘languages’. On the other hand, other Indigenous people are happy to regard a group of ‘dialects’ as belonging to a single ‘language’, especially if that language has a name that is recognised by Indigenous people and not just invented by linguists.

Given these different ways of defining language and dialect, it is obvious that there are problems in giving a simple answer to the question - 'how many Indigenous languages are there in South Australia'? More widely accepted definitions are clearly required.

5.1.3.1 Languages and dialects

In respect of SA we take our lead in talking about 'languages' and 'dialects' from the way that many contemporary Aboriginal groups in SA use the term 'language'. Most of the larger groups recognise that differences do or did exist between different varieties spoken in different areas of their overall country – we can call these varieties 'dialects', although individual cases may have varied from slight differences of 'accent' to major differences of vocabulary and even grammar.

For instance, Elders point to different Barngarla groups that relate to different areas, and who spoke slightly differently:

Arru Barngala
Malkiri Barngala
Kaltajula Barngala

In this case another language is recorded in history as occupying the area around Port Lincoln – the Nao (Nawu). Little is known about the language of this group (unlike Barngala which was quite extensively recorded in the nineteenth century and was spoken until relatively recently). Nowadays, however, Barngala believe that Nawu were socially allied with Barngala and spoke what might be described as a dialect of Barngala.

With Ngarrindjeri, there are clearly dialect differences. Some of these were described as separate languages in earlier writings but not all modern descendants see it that way – perhaps differences were never very great and/or the dialects might have grown closer together over the years. Similar patterns are found with Adnyamathanha and other languages.

> *There aren't many differences in the Ngarrindjeri language between the Riverland and Coorong - just small pronunciation differences, and some vocabulary. With 18 different lakinyeris (tribes or clans) included within Ngarrindjeri, it is not surprising that there should be variation.*
>
> *There are some differences in the way people speak up river and down river, but all identify as Ngarrindjeri – and speak the one language.*
>
> *Adnyamathanha is made up of four groups and there are dialect differences*

However, some other groupings which are described by linguists on the basis of their similarity and mutual intelligibility as dialects of a single 'Western Desert' language. - such as Pitjantjatjara, Yankunytjatjara and Antikirinya – are regarded as separate languages by speakers. This stance is exaggerated perhaps by the high level of recognition of Pitjantjatjara as a language of school and literacy in the period of bilingual education, whereas now the other groups tend to promote their own distinctiveness. On

the other hand, in Yalata at least, some younger people tend to describe their language as Pitjantjatjara even if they come from some other background.

5.1.3.2 Language change over time

As well as deciding whether two kinds of varieties or dialects spoken in different areas are the same language or different, we can also be faced with the question of whether two varieties of language which are found at different times are the same language or different.

All languages change over time but some SA languages may have changed drastically over the last century by absorbing elements of other Indigenous languages. This may be a factor in the dispute described in the next section.

Another situation which has occurred with several languages is that people began speaking a pidgin or Aboriginal form of English with some words and phrases inserted into it from a local language, or in some cases more than one Indigenous language. In a common form found in the Adelaide region, many words from Ngarrindjeri may appear with English suffixes and function words. For example, the following sentence in which the Ngarrindjeri words are in italics.

Nakkun the *mimini*s *le:wun* there

'Look at the women sitting there'

Here the English plural suffix –s is added to the Ngarrindjeri word *mimini* 'woman'. In traditional Ngarrindjeri 'women' would be *miminar* or *miminengk.*

This mixed form of language is sometimes referred to as a form of the original Indigenous language, although it typically has little of the grammar of the original language and not all of its vocabulary. Referring to speaking this form of language as speaking the original language causes some confusion (discussed below). While some language-owners do define 'language' so as to include mixed modern varieties, others do not. We would not recommend referring to both varieties (the traditional and the mixed language based on English) as the same language.

It is important to look first at actual differences, and then at people's varying attitudes to them. Some Ngarrindjeri view 'mixing' in contemporary speech as something to be avoided; others would like to embrace it as a modern form of the language. It is really up to the community to handle these issues, but it is not helpful to overlook differences between modern Ngarrindjeri and traditional forms.

5.1.3.3 Arguments about language identity

Indigenous groups sometimes argue about the identity of languages, whether one type of speech is a dialect of another language, and whether one type of speech has one particular name or another. These arguments can become particularly severe when they are mixed up with Native Title and other disputes between groups. On the west coast

there is an argument of this kind going on about whether a type of language written down in a book is Wirangu, Kukatha, Mirning or some kind of mixture of these. Normally one might expect this issue to be resolved by the groups holding a workshop to look at the evidence and arrive at some agreement. However, because there are other issues of land and politics involved, it is unlikely that the matter will be solved so simply. Some think it will need to go before a court for judgement.

One of the sad consequences of such arguments is that they obstruct work on language and language maintenance. For the languages involved here language work is a very urgent matter because all three of these languages are severely endangered (there are only a small number of elderly fluent speakers). Delaying work on language until a judge makes a Native Title decision - which could be five or ten years hence - could impact severely on those languages.

5.1.3.3.1 'Shared words'

One of the complications of the dispute mentioned above is that people might look at something written down in what is identified as language X and see a word, which they recognise as belonging to language Y. The person seeing this might jump to the conclusion that a mistake has been made - that really the language written down is Y and has been falsely named X. Similarly, people may hear another group using a word, which they also use, and assume that the group has 'taken' or even 'stolen' the word.

Each language has a vocabulary, which overlaps with that of neighbouring languages. Some words may be widespread across the state, like *mara* 'hand' which is found in many languages across most of Australia. As a number of our informants in this survey themselves stressed, this is traditional, and not just a result of the modern mixing of the languages. Many Indigenous people who know several languages are well aware of these 'shared words'. This occurs because many South Australian languages are closely related to each other; they have also, as linguists say, 'borrowed' words from each other over many hundreds and thousands of years. Languages such as Pitjantjatjara which were originally spoken in the inland have freely borrowed words for sea creatures from coastal languages like Wirangu, when Pitjantjatjara people moved south to places like Yalata.

Attention needs to be paid to Indigenous experts who have knowledge concerning "shared words". Awareness of similarities and differences needs to be increased, rather than prematurely concluding that people have accidentally or deliberately confused languages.

> *There are all sorts of different languages spoken in this area – they're all mixed up together. We need to work out which words belong to which language and sort out which words are shared by several languages.*

Grammatical patterns may be a more reliable indicator of basic differences between languages than a focus upon single words, but you need to be able to recognise differences in patterns. Linguistics provides tools to recognise these patterns.

When languages are highly endangered the owners of languages can get highly protective and sensitive about people messing around with their language, whether they are non-Indigenous or members of other Indigenous groups. However, in some cases there may be a greater need for "borrowing" than there was in traditional times. For instance, because there are missing words in Kaurna that were not written down and passed on, today Kaurna people might borrow words from neighbouring languages, following traditional patterns. In such cases the owner of the language that is "lending" the words might require that "borrowers" observe certain protocols. However, Kaurna people usually prefer to develop terms from within Kaurna rather than borrow from other languages. For instance, *kauwilta* 'platypus' was developed as a compound from *kauwe* 'water' + *pilta* 'brushtail possum'.

5.1.3.3.2 Use of incorrect names

While Aboriginal people are usually very keen to use Aboriginal words for organisations, buildings, festivals and so forth, trouble can result from incorrect use of Aboriginal languages in this way. Sometimes the word may be incorrect or may be perceived to be spelled wrongly or incorrectly pronounced. Some of these problems could be avoided if the bodies concerned consulted with language centres and programs, where people knowledgeable in the language can be contacted to give correct advice about forms of words and language protocols. Another common source of complaint is naming things from languages other than the rightful local language or mixing of more than one Aboriginal language in names. When the local language owners are not consulted, or their advice is ignored, the likelihood of causing offence is greatly increased:

> *They wanted a name for the health service. We [rightful language owners] gave them a name meaning 'safe house'. They didn't want it. They used a name which is a combination of different languages Kukatha, Mirning, Wirangu and Barngarla. Bastardising the languages. We don't go up there [on the country of other people] and use our language to name things. The language should be culturally appropriate and should be used properly with respect.*

5.1.3.4 Proficiency

One might wish to count 'speakers' of a language or define endangerment in terms of the age of the youngest speakers but in order to do that you need to define what you mean by 'speaker'. This is not easy, particularly when languages are being lost, and when people are keen to hang on to and be proud of whatever they have managed to inherit from older generations. People may be able to speak a kind of English interspersed with traditional language words. However, this does not make them fluent speakers of the traditional language, as many informants noted.

Informants expressed differing views of what 'speaking a language' meant. For some it did not necessarily mean 'fluency in the traditional language'. The use of disconnected words, or words inserted in English sentences might count as 'speaking [a named traditional] language'. The ability to speak in this way certainly represents some level of proficiency. It is necessary, however, to distinguish this situation from speaking a traditional language fluently. People who contributed to the survey frequently referred to

such distinctions. In describing the speech of different sections of their communities, they stressed that a major aim of Indigenous language programs in many places is to move from the speaking of 'just words' to using sentences and holding conversations.

In the longer term it may be necessary for Indigenous people running language maintenance and revival programs to develop ways of finding out how proficient people are at languages - to assess the situation that programs are facing and whether language maintenance and language revival schemes are working (McConvell 1994). We do not elaborate on this idea here but recommend that it be a topic for coverage in the proposed Projects Handbook (Recommendation 29).

A common phenomenon experienced by most groups with endangered languages and reported by many surveyed is that of 'passive competence' – younger people may have an understanding of what is being said but are unable to respond fluently. This is a good basis to start developing the 'active competence' or speaking ability of the young person. One informant claimed that passive competence has increased in the younger generation:

> *I spoke [the Aboriginal language] more when I was a kid than kids now, but they understand a whole lot more now.*

5.1.3.4.1 Issues of pronunciation

Another problem voiced by older speakers of endangered languages about younger speakers (or partial speakers) of languages is that they do not pronounce words correctly but change the pronunciation to sound more like non-Indigenous English speakers.

> *[Children and young people] need to have the differences between the Aboriginal language and English explained to them, so that they say words properly and all the same way.*

Middle aged people who have grown up with a language also confessed that they have some trouble with pronunciation and fluency because they do not use the language enough.

The problem for revival languages is somewhat different: they typically no longer have any old people who can correctly pronounce the words found in old sources. People involved with such programs say they need an understanding of phonetics to help pronounce the words. Collaboration with other language groups and comparison between different source materials can help decide on pronunciations.

With strong language groups some concern was expressed that non-Aboriginal teachers teaching Pitjantjatjara may be passing on incorrect language, especially pronunciations, to the children.

> *There is a need for either native speakers or highly qualified people to ensure high pronunciation standards. The current system allows non-Aboriginal teachers with limited knowledge to teach Pitjantjatjara.*

Many people advised us

> *You have to be careful of your pronunciation or you might be using a word with a different meaning. Some words in one language may sound the same as other words in another language and may be offensive.*

> *Where there are Indigenous names of places or bodies, people may pronounce it the way it looks in English and get it wrong. Aboriginal words have to be spoken in the proper way.*

5.2 Aboriginal English and 'slang'

There are several varieties of Aboriginal English spoken in SA. Sometimes these evolve into new forms which Aboriginal people then refer to as 'slang'. Slang may also incorporate words from a number of Indigenous languages. The Nunga English dialect of the Adelaide plains is spoken as a first language in most instances by Aboriginal people in that region, although it is reported from Yorke Peninsula that it is a second language there, learnt after standard Australian English.

> [*Nunga English] is an evolving, spoken language. Everybody understands it – and there's an emotional attachment to it. People don't want to let go of it.*

People tend to replace words in the Nunga English or 'Pidgin language' with words from the traditional mother tongue, and this is happening more and more as people increasingly identify with their ancestral languages.

> *Kaurna people use a lot more Kaurna words now in their Nunga English than they used to.*

Many people, including some Aboriginal people, disapprove of Aboriginal English, and even more of 'slang' but these are genuine dialects and forms of expression for Aboriginal people. Different forms of 'slang' were reported from Adelaide, the Ngarrindjeri areas and the west coast. The 'west coast slang' is deliberately used so that children from other areas will not understand.

> *Young people say things like 'Mirtika, mirtika' ['Behind, behind'] when they play footy.*

Some people were concerned that these mixed and changed languages were *mixing up* and *destroying* the traditional languages and preventing young people from really learning the traditional languages. Others felt that speakers of such varieties could still distinguish different languages and that there were positive aspects to the exuberant mixing going on.

> *The kids in the Port Adelaide area are using the language, but are using words from the west coast as well as local Narungga and Ngarrindjeri. [Person X] tells*

them off when they use a word like 'barnda' for 'money', when they could be using local words like 'ganya'.

It has become a dilemma for many communities:

Do we accept one mixed language? OR Do we sort it out into separate identities? Linguistic evidence can be used. We can seek out linguistic markers to differentiate languages.

The extent to which Aboriginal English, and 'slang' mixed language should be studied or encouraged is controversial in the Aboriginal community, and it may become an issue for the language centre if, for instance, a group wanted to base a project on this topic. Even if the aim is revitalisation or revival of the old language it could be argued that a variety currently used by young people is a suitable basis to build on. Other community people, however, may oppose this or at least not regard it as a priority as long as there is a 'purer' form of the old language to be worked with. This report does not take a stand on this issues but flags it as something that language centres will have to consider.

5.3 Language endangerment

In 1962 Wurm completed a partial survey of the state of Indigenous languages, especially in NSW and SA. He recorded the data under five headings:

- 'Ranking' (or language status – an indication of 'strength');
- Number of Speakers;
- Vocabulary (amount collected and documented, in number of words);
- Structure (sound system and grammar); and
- Recordings.

Today, the latter three would be called "level of documentation" today. Wurm's scheme is fairly good and could still be used today. A slightly modified version is used in this chapter to give a rough picture of the endangerment and documentation status of languages. This is very tentative and should not be relied upon. There needs to be more Indigenous input into the categories and measures used. The proposed SA languages Handbook would provide a better source of such information.

Wurm ranks languages (1962:138) on a five-point scale as follows:

1. Extinct.
2. Some, usually very old, individuals remember a little of the language, usually vocabulary.
3. A few, mostly very old, individuals can speak the language more or less fluently.
4. The language is still spoken but no longer in full tribal use.
5. The language is still in full tribal use.

LANGUAGE	'RANKING' (WURM)
ANTIKIRINYA	4
ARABANA	3
BARNGALA	2-3?
DIERI	3
ADNYAMATHANHA	2
GUYANI	2-3?
KOKATHA	4-5
MIRNING	3
NGARRINDJERI	2
NARUNGGA	2
NUGUNA	2
PITJANTJATJARA	5
WANGKANGURU	3
WIRANGU	3

The ranking is based on the two parameters of age group and fluency/proficiency. A phrase such as 'full tribal use' for 5 may be better interpreted as 'spoken by all age groups', and is referred to as 'strong ' in this report. 4 , 'no longer in full tribal use' may be taken to mean 'not spoken by all age groups' i.e. not spoken by children or not spoken by young people and children . In 1962 Wurm classified SA languages as follows according to this scheme. In more recent terminology, 3 and 4 would represent 'endangered' languages, with different degrees of endangerment - seriously and early stage. However, since there is much controversy surrounding which terms to use, particularly for 1 and 2, we use Wurm's number scheme here. Where necessary, 1 and 2 are referred to here as 'not spoken' or 'revival'.

Although most of these assessments seem reasonable for that date, it may be that some of them were slightly off-target through lack of good data. The assessment of the language Wurm calls Gadjinjamadja (which we have taken to be Adnyamathanha because it is like a version of the name) seems to be of a more highly endangered language than might have been expected 40 years ago. While it is certainly endangered today there appear to be some older fluent speakers who would have been young at that time. It is possible that Wurm never met or heard about the fluent speakers who lived in isolated areas of the Flinders Ranges. On the other hand Kokatha (Wurm's Gugada) was judged to be bordering on strong 40 years ago but is today seriously endangered, so either the earlier assessment was optimistic or use of the language has rapidly decreased.

In 1996, Wurm (1996) produced the following scheme, also a five-point scale, which is quite similar to that of Kinkade (1991), and of Australianist researchers such as Dixon (1989, 1991) and Schmidt (1990):

1. extinct language
2. moribund language
3. seriously endangered language
4. endangered language
5. autochthonous language not in danger

Although this scheme is not operationalised in detail, at least in that source, Wurm suggests a definition of 'endangerment' whereby any language which is not learnt by 30% of the children of the community should be considered endangered (Wurm 1996:1). This accords with Drapeau's suggestion that languages spoken by less than 30% of the 5-14 age group are in a 'very poor condition'. McConvell & Thieberger (2001) proposed the following classification which is similar to that of Wurm and others, and based on the criterion of which age groups do and don't speak the language concerned, also using the 30% cut-off point.

		ENDANGERED			
Age	Strong	Endangered (Early Stage)	Seriously Endangered	Near-Extinct (Critically endangered)	Extinct (No longer spoken)
5-19	speak	*don't speak*	*don't speak*	*don't speak*	*don't speak*
20-39	speak	speak	*don't speak*	*don't speak*	*don't speak*
40-59	speak	speak	speak	*don't speak*	*don't speak*
60+	speak	speak	speak	speak	*don't speak*

This represents an 'idealised' picture of language shift moving through age-groups. It is assumed also that language shift is proceeding in a single direction through age groups, which is not always the case. The scheme can be adapted to cater for revitalisation, where young people start relearning the language, but this is not discussed here (see McConvell and Thieberger 2001). 'Extinct', together with 'dead' are terms which offend many Australian Indigenous people whose heritage languages are seen to be in that condition (Thieberger 2001). In order to cater for these problems the terms 'critically endangered' and 'no longer spoken' are added as alternatives to 'near-extinct' and 'extinct' respectively. It should be noted too that this scheme does not distinguish between knowing just words or vocabulary, and fluency, as Wurm's schemes do.

If a criterion for 'speaking' is needed which can be assessed roughly from casual observation, we suggest **telling a simple story, recounting events or talking about everyday topics in the language in fully formed sentences**. Other definitions of 'speak a language', such as that used in the New Zealand census, refer to the ability to take part in a conversation on everyday topics. This is not applicable to the situation of many speakers of seriously endangered languages in South Australia, where there are often no other speakers of the language in the same community.

DETE, broadly following AILF (SSABSA, 1996) – also adopted by McKay (1997) – makes use of a similar scheme in classifying types of language programs in schools. First language (L1) programs are for Wurm's type 5 or 'strong' languages; revitalisation programs are for types 4 and 3 (endangered) languages; renewal programs are for type 2 languages (mainly only words used); and reclamation or reclamation/awareness for type 1 languages. The latter two (1 and 2; reclamation and renewal) can be classed as 'revival' in terms of this report, but in AILF revitalisation, renewal and reclamation are classed as

subtypes of language revival. There are 9 languages currently taught in SA schools and they are assigned to programs as follows:

LANGUAGE	**PROGRAM**
PITJANTJATJARA	L1 (MAINTENANCE)
YANKUNYTJATJARA	L1 (MAINTENANCE)
ANTIKIRINYA	REVITALISATION
ADNYAMATHANHA	REVITALISATION
ARABANA	REVITALISATION
NGARRINDJERI	RENEWAL
KAURNA	RECLAMATION
NARRUNGA	RECLAMATION/AWARENESS
WIRANGU	RECLAMATION/AWARENESS

Luise Hercus has worked on South Australian languages throughout the state and has made a great contribution to the writing of grammars and dictionaries of endangered languages and to other language programs. She assisted us with the survey in the North East area with her background knowledge, and by visiting the area in March 2002 and interviewing Indigenous people. She classifies the endangerment status of languages of the North East in a different way:

1. **Languages which have been extinct for the last 50 years or more**
   Karangura,
   Wadikali (including Tindale's Ngurunta)

2. **Languages which have become extinct over the last 30 years**
   (For this group, LH does not know of anyone who claims to be a speaker)
   Ngamani
   Thirrari
   Yardilyawara
   Pirlatapa
   Kuyani
   Yarluyandi

3. **Languages most gravely endangered**
   (only vocabulary survives)
   Diyari
   Yandhruwantha-Yawarawarrka

4. **Languages endangered but which have one or more good speakers and some partial speakers**
   Arabana
   Wangkangurru
   Adnyamathanha

This scheme can roughly be equated to Wurm's scheme as follows:

HERCUS	WURM	
1	1	Not spoken for two generations; little or none remembered
2	1	Not spoken for one generation; little remembered
3	2	Vocabulary known
4	3	Some fluent speakers

Hercus applies the term '(gravely) endangered' to her category 3, which is Wurm's category 2, which he (in an unfortunate choice of words) called 'moribund'.

We recommend that Wurm's 'ranking' (without his tendentious terminology) be adopted for use in assessing and monitoring programs and language status in SA as an intermediate measure, subject to ratification by a suitable state wide workshop with Indigenous participation. These guidelines are compatible with the list of Endangered languages of SA which we propose, which fall into the 3 and 4 categories. We also include three languages, which are regarded as in Wurm's category 2 in the Endangered list, since they may be on the 2/3 borderline.

McConvell and Thieberger (2001) use data from the ABS 1996 Census and an ATSIC language survey 1994 to gauge degree of language shift and language endangerment in Australia. They then categorise the shift according to five groupings:

> ***Group 1*** In regions with many speakers and strong languages there is relatively little variation in the ability of speakers in various age-groups, and language shift to a non-Indigenous language is either absent or just beginning. The north-west of SA especially the Anangu lands would fit into this pattern.
>
> ***Group 2*** This is a common pattern of steep and uninterrupted decline from old to young (e.g. the ATSIC regions of Kalgoorlie, Alice Springs – and in SA, Port Augusta) associated with language shift having taken hold in many groups 20-50 years ago. Thus Port Augusta is the central area of language endangerment in SA;
>
> ***Group 3*** In these regions (all others except Groups 4 and 5) associated with old white settlement and early language loss over 50 years ago, there is a very low level of speakers in all age groups, usually continuing to decline slightly.
>
> ***Group 4*** In this aberrant group of languages there is a dip in language ability in one or more of the middle age groups and a slight recovery in the younger age groups. Ceduna and Geraldton show aberrant patterns of swings back and forth in numbers between successive age groups, in the context of overall decline. This may be due to patterns like those of Group 2 but with two or more language groups which experienced drops and recoveries at different periods interfering with each. This may be due to distinct waves of migration from more outlying areas into areas where language shift sets in – in the case of Ceduna larger

numbers of speakers of strong Western Desert dialects impinging on a situation which was initially one of rapid decline and endangerment like Port Augusta.

Group 5 Adelaide is significant in that it is the only region in Australia which shows an increase in the number of younger speakers (from an already low level). While an influx of Western Desert speakers might have played a minor part, the increase is most likely attributable to the high level of activity and interest in language and language revival in Adelaide recently (including the revival of Kaurna discussed). Otherwise Adelaide fits into the pattern described for Group 3. This may reflect demonstrable effects of a well run and community supported language revival program.

Apart from the early signs of some success in language revival activities in Adelaide, Group 4 in particular (including Ceduna) appears to show a slightly more positive trend than other declining situations and deserves more detailed study of the individual languages and situations on the ground in those regions. Generally the patterns can be associated with a dominant type of endangerment and potential program category in each region as follows:

Group 1 – Type 5 (Strong/ Maintenance)
Group 2 – Types 4 & 3 (Endangered/Revitalisation)
Group 3 – Types 2 & 1 (Not spoken/Revival)

5.4 Language documentation

By 'language documentation' in this context we mean the amount of material collected on languages. Vocabulary/dictionary and grammar/sound system work and minutes of recording was assessed by Wurm for SA languages in the 1962 survey reported on above. His system awards points as follows:

POINTS	Vocabulary	Grammar
1	Some vocabulary	Some information
2	Approximately 500 items	Fair amount of information on main structural features
3	500-1000 items	Good information on main structural features; some information on subsidiary structural features
4	Over 1000 items	Good information on both main structural features and subsidiary structural features
5	Lexical information is satisfactory by modern linguistic standards	Information on structure is satisfactory by modern linguistic standards

His findings for the SA languages included in his study were as follows (brackets around a figure means it refers to older work which may not meet modern standards in some respects):

LANGUAGE	VOCAB	GRAMMAR	REC
ANTIKIRINYA	2	2	2
ARABANA	1-2	1	3
BARNGALA	1	(2)	-
DIERI	2	2	15
ADNYAMATHANHA	-	-	-
GUYANI	-	-	-
KOKATHA	2	2	15
MIRNING	2	2	19
NGARRINDJERI	1-(3)	(2-3)	-
NARUNGGA	1	-	-
NUGUNA	1	-	-
PITJANTJATJARA	4-5	5	?
WANGKANGURU	2	2	97
WIRANGU	2	2	20

McConvell & Thieberger (2001) propose a more extensive point system to describe the documentation of a language as follows (with a possible total of 20 points for a well-documented language):

> **Dictionaries**: Detailed dictionary (e.g. Arrernte, Pitjantjatjara) (4); Medium dictionary (e.g. Kaurna by Teichelmann & Schurmann) (3); Small dictionary/ wordlist (e.g. Nukunu by Hercus) (2); Simple wordlist (e.g. Ngadjuri by Berndt and Vogelsang) (1).
>
> **Texts**: Extensive text collection (3); Several texts (<10) (2); Elicited/example sentences (1). This category would include transcriptions of tapes.
>
> **Grammar**: Detailed grammar (e.g. Yankunytjatjara by Goddard) (4); Middle-sized grammar (eg. Handbook) (3); Grammar sketch or many technical articles (2); Few technical articles only (1).
>
> **Ethnolinguistic information**: Substantial ethnolinguistic work (e.g. thesis) (3); Ethnolinguistic description (2); Some ethnolinguistic information (1).
>
> **Audio recording**: More than several hours of audio (3); Less than several hours of audio (2); Less than an hour of audio (1).
>
> **Other:** A point could be added for any of the following: some literature or school books in the language (more than 200 words of text); one or more films or videos including more than 15 minutes of language; a multimedia product with a substantial amount of language content.

This is only partially implemented in the Indigenous Languages database accompanying McConvell & Thieberger (2001). We have not carried out a detailed survey of SA language documentation in these terms but recommend that this be part of the proposed SA languages handbook. The case studies appended to this report provide quite good coverage of this kind of information for six example languages.

Urgency of a project could be assessed on the basis of degree of endangerment of a language (using criteria outlined in an earlier section) combined with degree of documentation. The higher the degree of endangerment and the lower the level of documentation the more urgent a project would be judged to be. Wurm's ranking is really a scale of 'language strength'. The most endangered languages fall in the middle of this scale – those that score 3, followed by those that score 4 are the most endangered. There would be a need of course to make further judgements eg whether a grammar was of good quality, or covered all dialects. One might need to distinguish rough raw transcriptions from well edited and publishable texts. The prime criterion would be whether the work could only be carried out by working with living speakers. If that were not possible the project would be less urgent.

Status and level of documentation should not be used in isolation when deciding where funding and resources should be allocated. There are numerous other factors that should be taken into account, not least of which is the level of community support and ability to execute and manage the project. It should also be remembered that documentation is just one activity, albeit a very important aspect of language work. Documentation needs to be balanced against the need to develop resources, to coordinate activities such as language camps that promote transmission of the language, training, and a host of other activities.

5.5 Language status and documentation 2002.

An adaptation of Wurm's 1-5 characterisation of language status and documentation is applied in the table below for 2002. The results are set out for the six languages we have reviewed as case studies, which appear in the appendices. We have used Wurm's 5 point scale for vocabulary and grammar. For recordings, instead of the number of minutes being recorded, we have used the following: 1- less than 1 hour of audio; 2- more than 1 and less than 5 hours; 3- more than 5 and less than 10 hours; 4 more than 10 and less than 100 hours; 5 more than 100 hours. We have added a 5 point scale for texts, language resources (curriculum materials, video, film, songs, multimedia etc) and the potential for further documentation of the traditional language. These figures have not been thoroughly researched for 2002 and are not to be relied upon.

	Status	**Vocab**	**Grammar**	**Texts**	**Recordings**	**Language Resources**	**Potential for further documen-tation**
Adnyamathanha	3	4	4	3-4	?4	3	4
Kaurna	1-2	4	2-3	1	-	2	1
Narungga	1-2	2-3	1	0-1	0-1	1	1-2
Nawu	1	1	-	-	-	-	?1
Ngarrindjeri	2	4	2-3	3-4	2-3	2	3
Yankunytjatjara	5	5	5	5	5	4	5

What this table fails to show is the difference in the quality of the documentation. For instance, the amount of texts in Adnyamathanha and Ngarrindjeri is rated equally at 3 out of 5. However, the quality of Tindale's and the Berndts' transcriptions of Ngarrindjeri texts is not on a par with the quality of Schebeck's and Tunbridge's transcriptions of Adnyamathanha texts. Schebeck and Tunbridge are both linguists, trained in the art of phonetic transcription and analysis. Tindale and the Berndts were anthropologists. Whilst there is a large volume of Ngarrindjeri texts, most were not recorded on tape. Considerable time and effort might be needed to analyse and interpret these Ngarrindjeri transcriptions in order to work out how the words were pronounced and how the sentences were constructed. This has already been done for the Adnyamathanha texts.

Obviously this is still a very crude instrument. What it points to, however, is the need to develop more accurate and detailed means of describing both completed language work and possibilities for further language work in a given language. This would assist language planners and funding bodies to determine where to allocate resources.

5.6 Language use

5.6.1 Assessing language use

How Indigenous languages are used is a complex matter. We had many interesting discussions with informants about their perspectives on the subject. In the north-west Indigenous languages are used nearly all the time in all situations, and informants found it easier to tell us the limited occasions when they had to use English, in a court, say, or in a hospital where there is no interpreter available.

In many central and southern areas of the state the opposite is the case even where there are speakers of languages: people use English nearly all the time, even in conversing with other Aboriginal people, although Aboriginal English may be used, and occasional 'language' words thrown in. In some cases, many are concerned that the use of the languages has become so restricted that it is on the verge of being lost – even people who actually know languages in some cases use them so little because of their circumstances that they feel they are forgetting them. Others, because of Aboriginal protocols, are worried about very broad and open use of languages or fear that non-Aboriginal people may 'take away' language or knowledge that rightfully belongs to them.

> *Some people won't speak it in front of non-Aboriginal people because they don't want them to take it.*

While these views must be respected, a restrictive attitude to language use when languages are at the brink of extinction can pose further risks to language survival.

A third pattern of use is found in those areas, such as the Adelaide region, where language is 'waking up' and becoming more used. This increased use is generally associated with a reduction of the fear and shame formerly restricting speaking of

languages, although protocols concerning who can speak which language and when and where still apply.

There are many ways of describing language use. In the socio-linguistic literature language use is commonly described in terms of 'domains': 'Which language do you use to whom, where and when?' This is only part of the picture because people may not choose only one language to use in one 'domain' – say in the home, or to grandparents – but what language they choose may be due to a host of factors, some of which are not even clear to the speaker.

We do not need to go into such detail in making a rough-and-ready assessment of language use in communities. One of the major distinctions is that between public and private uses of language. Some people use their language in private only, and never in public. Others, like some of the people reviving Kaurna, use the language apart from greetings, perhaps more on public occasions, for speeches and the like. Public uses – in meetings, on the radio, at school, on signs – are relatively easy to recognise and acknowledge when assessing project outcomes. However maintaining and increasing private use is probably the most important thing for keeping a language going. Hinton (2001:415) writing of Californian languages, observes that "for an endangered language, the family is the last bastion against language loss … but, interestingly, the family household may be the last to regain use of the language when it is revitalised".

It is sometimes hard to get an accurate picture of language use in the home. Census data does not distinguish between people who identify with a language, using some words sometimes, and those who speak that language exclusively. This issue is important but cannot be resolved here. We recommend that it be explored further in workshops and the proposed Projects handbook.

McConvell and Thieberger (2001) also propose indicators for public uses of languages, place names, recognition etc which might be of use as indicators in monitoring language programs also.

5.6.2 Why language use is restricted

The present era follows on one of suppression and denigration of Indigenous languages and the legacy of that is still apparent. During those times, languages retreated to the private domain of home and family and were not used publicly for fear of ridicule and punishment.

Many informants report use of language among close family as being much more common, and that this is what sustains languages. There are also Indigenous protocols which make it problematic to speak your language – for instance it is considered bad manners to speak language when others don't understand it or on other people's country. Despite this however people sometimes

> *choose to use it to exclude others and love to use the language to make fun of people (when they don't know what they're saying).*

To know that the language is yours exclusively is a matter of privacy and pride for many people.

In the next sections we present some of the statements people made about language use in two regions: Adelaide and the North-west. These regions were chosen because of the contrasting uses of Indigenous languages – in the Adelaide region the languages are mainly in a revival situation and are still not used much; in the North-west they are much more commonly used by all age groups and are mostly strong. However even in the latter case there are fears of loss.

5.6.3 Language use in the Adelaide region

Of the languages of the Adelaide ATSIC region, Ngarrindjeri has been most successfully retained. While no longer spoken in its full form, a surprising number of Ngarrindjeri words are remembered for a language in such close proximity to a large capital city and with a long history of contact with settlers. Ngarrindjeri was among the first languages in contact with colonists in the 1830s.

People perceive that Ngarrindjeri were able to 'cocoon' their language more than others and thus save it for use in the home; at least to a greater degree than other language groups in the Adelaide region. Nowadays the Ngarrindjeri are using the language more in public functions such as church and funeral services, and for welcomes to country, although informants admitted that people are often not confident about doing the latter.

Some people say that *everybody uses language in Murray Bridge – even white kids* – by which they mean that they generally incorporate "common" Indigenous words into their English speech. However, others say that they can't have a conversation for over three minutes in Ngarrindjeri, before they have to switch to English.

Most people use single words but some can put 4 or 5 words together, not full sentences, 4 or 5 words. Beyond that we'd be struggling.

Ngarrindjeri young people and children are afraid that they might not be using the language properly because they do not know the language very well. If older people are too critical there is a concern that it may have a negative effect on language use. Other respondents reported that the language is *used mainly in the home* in their region and that people *feel very comfortable when using their traditional language*. An informant also wrote that *many children do pick up language… and speak it well*.

Some other languages in the Adelaide region are remembered to some extent, while others seem not to be recognised. For instance, Ngayawang has a substantial vocabulary and grammar (Moorehouse 1846) but current residents of Ngayawang territory now identify as Ngarrindjeri and do not relate to these historical materials. Little is known of some other languages such as Peramangk whose territory came close to Adelaide.

Kaurna, the language indigenous to Adelaide and the Adelaide Plains, has lain dormant in the archives for many generations. Since the 1980s it has undergone a renaissance, a

process which has been documented by Amery (1998, 2000). Usage has focussed on the public domain and includes the giving of speeches of welcome and introductions to public performances, singing of songs, messages and signage.

There is now a rekindled interest in people wanting to use Kaurna and Adelaide region languages more generally. Attitudes are changing and many feel that it is good that the *kids are feeling comfortable using their language in front of others*. One informant's grand daughter, however,

> *used to give speeches in Kaurna but is no longer brave enough to do that – perhaps because she is now attending a school that doesn't run an Aboriginal language program. She says it's a "Shame job".*

Kaurna people at one time adopted a lot of Ngarrindjeri language:

> *There was a tendency to use the greater language but now, since the revival movement, they tend to use our own language more, because Kaurna language is the language that belongs here.*
>
> *People used to use the Ngarrindjeri word for woman – 'mimini' – now they use the Kaurna word 'ngangki'*

People have become frustrated that Kaurna is being used in restricted ways - for greetings, and sometimes to welcome to country - and are starting to introduce a wider variety of words into their speech. Kinship terms and place names are already widely used and Kaurna are in the process of formalising cultural rituals.

> *The ultimate aim is to converse freely in Kaurna but that is not happening much yet.*

In Adelaide itself, elements of a range of languages are used to varying extents. Indigenous peoples from many different parts of the state and interstate are resident in Adelaide. Some individuals use 'strong' languages like Pitjantjatjara on a regular basis at home and in public. Buskers regularly sing in languages like Pitjantjatjara in Rundle Mall.

5.6.4 Language use in the north-west

People on the Anangu Pitjantjatjara Lands, and in nearby towns and communities, speak Pitjantjatjara, Yankunytjatjara and Antikirinya. They have heard this language *ever since they were born*.

> *They learnt it from their family. Their language is strong and they speak it everyday. They are not embarrassed or ashamed to speak their language*:
>
> *Even when we have to use language in places where whitefellas work, like the hospital, we are not embarrassed. … Anangu workers help us communicate with*

people who do not speak our language. Sometimes children are shy to speak language when strangers are around.

The Aboriginal languages are spoken with pride:

they inform your identity and tell people what country you are connected to.

Many also speak English, which is used mainly in the fields of tourism, government and education. Pitjantjatjara and Yankunytjatjara are taught in schools but only orally, outside the Lands.

Old people (over 60) mention that the language has changed from the older version. They believe that the original version is not being spoken properly by younger people. Old people are correcting younger people who are speaking the wrong language in the wrong country. In traditional custom

if you live in someone's country you must learn their language.

But now

People are mixing up the language. Some young people speak well and understand the language; others don't.

Some people in Coober Pedy forget some language, only on the Lands is there pure language.

Informants referred to these older people who use the original language as *higher level speakers*. This may cause miscommunication, because of lack of full understanding among the younger speakers.

The higher level language may have a different meaning.

Older people are now teaching younger generations the older version.

They take them out to the bush. They want to keep the language and culture strong.

There is some public recognition of local languages in this region. Streets within Oodnadatta have been given the names of various tree species. Some organisations have Anangu names. In Coober Pedy people who want to use language for the name of an event or an organisation have to get permission to do so. This is arranged through the Umoona Council.

Some people said that signs and written material in languages were not important as this is an oral, not a literate culture. However, one participant stated that,

it is important to have information disseminated in written and oral form, as this is a form of community education.

Antikirinya is still spoken and understood by children, but

Sometimes the tjitji (children) are ashamed to speak the language in front of walypala (whitefellas).

No one has lost their language in Oodnadatta. They would be very sad if that happened.

They expect the language still to be strong in 30 years time.

At Coober Pedy, however, there are *some children who don't want to learn their language*. Women interviewed weren't certain why this was the case, although they suspected that the children who don't want to learn language are probably ashamed.

In Coober Pedy, Antikirinya is the main language. Other languages spoken include Kokatha, Pitjantjatjara, Arrernte, Arabana and Ngarrindjeri. Community members are comfortable using language. The region recognises Coober Pedy as *being multicultural and having diverse languages*:

It's about community sharing.

Aside from court situations, informants stated that there are no places in Oodnadatta where people can't use their Indigenous language.

At Port Augusta, it was said that some organisations use language as part of their meetings but this was very limited; most Aboriginal meetings are conducted in English. Music is thought to be a very important medium for promoting Indigenous languages. There are many songs in Pitjantjatjara and Yankunytjatjara, and there is a local band that sing in Pitjantjatjara. There is a limited recognition of use of Indigenous place-names in the Port Augusta community; in schools students study the use of place-names in the community. Indigenous languages are generally used to coin new names for organisations in Port Augusta, but these are sometimes controversial.

5.7 Surveys into the state of Indigenous languages in Australia

This section presents a chronological overview of major surveys and reports conducted and/or published over the last decade with respect to the status of Australia's Indigenous languages. Particular attention is given to the South Australian component of the reports and to recommendations concerning support and maintenance for South Australian Indigenous languages.

The following reports and surveys are reviewed as per this chronological list:

A. Schmidt: *The Loss of Australia's Aboriginal Language Heritage* (1990).

House of Representatives Standing Committee: *Language and Culture – A Matter of Survival: Report of the Inquiry into Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Language Maintenance* (1992).

National Languages and Literacy Institute of Australia: *Backing Australian Languages: Review of the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Languages Initiatives Program* (1995).

G. McKay: *The Land Still Speaks: review of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander language maintenance and development needs and activities* (1996).

J. Henderson & D. Nash: *Culture and heritage: Indigenous Languages* (1997).

ATSIC: *Needs Survey of Community Languages 1996: Report* (1998).

Senate Employment, Workplace Relations, Small Business and Education References Committee: *Katu Kalpa: Report on the inquiry into the effectiveness of education and training programs for Indigenous Australians* (2000).

Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission: *Education Access: National Inquiry into Rural and Remote Education* (2000).

P. McConvell & N. Thieberger: *The State of Indigenous Languages in Australia* (2001).

DETE: *Ecological Issues in Language Revival* (forthcoming).

Although only reports released since 1990 are considered within this section, it is crucial to acknowledge a number of seminal works published earlier by linguists and anthropologists:

A. P. Elkin: *The Nature of Australian Languages* (1938).

S. A. Wurm: "Aboriginal Languages" (1963).

W. J. Oates & L. F. Oates: *A Revised Linguistic Survey of Australia* (1970).

N. B. Tindale: *Aboriginal tribes of Australia: their terrain, environmental controls, distribution, limits and proper names* (1974).

Such works were instrumental in laying the foundation upon which subsequent classification and assessment of Indigenous languages in Australia could be made. For

example, Wurm's paper, first delivered at a research conference in 1961, not only contained an important overview of extant research, but it also provided suggestions as to a rudimentary, albeit largely structural, classification of Australia's Indigenous languages into six language types (Wurm, 1963:131).

The evolution of a federal language policy in the late 1980s and early 1990s played a similarly important role; in this case, focusing community and government attention on the plight of Australia's Indigenous languages. Although much of the impetus for the development of those policies arose in response to concern over the language needs of migrant communities, all of the reports made recommendations with respect to the protection and maintenance of Indigenous languages and the language needs of Indigenous Australians. Key policy documents from this period included:

> J. Lo Bianco: *National Policy on Languages* (1987).
>
> Department of Employment, Education and Training: *The Language of Australia* (1990).
>
> Department of Employment, Education and Training: *Australia's Language* (1991).

5.7.1 The Loss of Australia's Aboriginal Language Heritage (1990).

First published in 1990, Annette Schmidt's report was the culmination of a three-year investigation into:

- the nature and extent of Aboriginal language loss;
- the level of support and funding for Aboriginal language programs;
- what is currently being done to maintain and record these languages;
- recurrent problems in Aboriginal language maintenance activities.
  (1990: Preface)

This report was a bleak and timely reminder of the plight of Australia's Indigenous languages. It clearly articulated long-held fears regarding Indigenous language loss, which until then had only been hinted at in isolated studies or discussed anecdotally. Through substantial fieldwork and surveying, Schmidt was able to offer an Australia-wide overview and make a series of recommendations. Her report emphasises the link between state and federal funding to support Indigenous languages and the ultimate fate of Australia's Indigenous languages. She argues that if the current rate of loss of Indigenous languages is to be arrested, significant and ongoing funds need to be made available immediately (1990: Executive Summary).

The report opens with an assessment of language loss in Australia:

> In the 200 or so years since white contact, the number of living Aboriginal languages in Australia has radically diminished.... prior to colonisation there were probably at least 250 distinct languages, each with its own range of dialects.

> Today, only one-third (about 90) of the original 250 languages are still living.... Of the surviving languages, only 20 of these (eight percent of the original 250) are in a relatively healthy state.... The other 70 surviving languages face severe threat of extinction.
> (Schmidt, 1990:1)

Schmidt's report categorises all of Australia's Indigenous languages according to the following four categories:

- healthy/strong
- weakening/severely threatened
- dying
- extinct.

For Schmidt, strong languages are "transmitted to and actively spoken by children," and are generally to be found in "isolated communities in central and northern Australia" (Schmidt, 1990:3). With respect to South Australia, she suggests that "the Pitjantjatjara / Yankunytjatjara varieties of Western Desert language… spoken in the northwest corner… are the only strong language varieties in this State" (Schmidt, 1990:3). Although Schmidt roughly estimates some 3000+ people speak "eastern Western Desert" – within which she groups both the Pitjantjatjara and Yankunytjatjara speakers – this figure also includes speakers of these varieties living in the Northern Territory as well as all speakers of Pintupi-Luritja.

With respect to weakening languages, only one South Australian language is listed in this category (Schmidt, 1990:5). Schmidt estimates that Adnyamathanha, spoken in the Flinders Ranges, has some "20+" speakers. It would appear that beyond these three languages/dialects, Schmidt categorises all remaining South Australian Indigenous languages as either "dying" or "extinct".

Elsewhere within the report South Australia's languages are more comprehensively represented, particularly within overviews of language maintenance activities (chapter 4) and language revival initiatives (chapter 6). For example, within a table listing "Some Aboriginal language courses, by location and language," she records that "Ngarangka" was then taught at Point Pearce School and "Ngarrindjeri" at Ruabon School (Schmidt 1990: 69).[1] Nevertheless, most observations within these two chapters relate to activities undertaken with respect to Adnyamathanha and Pitjantjatjara/Yankunytjatjara (see for example 1990: 58, 60-5, 69, 71, 103 & 106).

Although Schmidt appears to have an open mind with respect to the feasibility of language revival programs, the tenor of her report suggests she remains sceptical of their chances of success. Indeed, within the parameters of this report, the main priority seems to be improving the long-term prospects of "strong" languages, which she rightfully considers to be under threat (Schmidt 1990:3), rather than supporting the "90 per cent of Aboriginal people [who] have lost their linguistic heritage in the sense that they no longer

[1] Note the official spelling for these two languages is now "Narungga" and "Ngarrindjeri" respectively.

actively speak and have very little or no knowledge of their indigenous language" (1990:1). This is not to suggest that Schmidt does not value the efforts and outcomes of language revival movements but rather sees their attempts as less urgent than supporting the strong languages, predominantly spoken in remote regions of Australia. For Schmidt, "Aboriginal languages once lost, are lost forever" (1990:28).

Towards the end of the report, Schmidt provides a set of 15 recommendations (1990:127-129). These recommendations stress the need for immediate structural, policy, financial and professional support for Australia's Indigenous languages to ensure their immediate protection and maintenance before more languages are lost. These recommendations conclude with the following observation:

> South Australia does not have an Aboriginal language policy. There is bilingual education (predicted to end soon) in the northwest corner of the State, but no structured system of support for other Aboriginal languages.
> (Schmidt 1990:32)

In making this observation, Schmidt recognises that South Australia is just one of four states in which "Aboriginal languages are still actively spoken".

5.7.2 Language and Culture – A Matter of Survival: Report of the Inquiry into Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Language Maintenance (1992).

This 122-page report summarises the findings of a national inquiry conducted for the Commonwealth Government into Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Language Maintenance. The inquiry came out of the Minister for Aboriginal Affairs' (Robert Tickner) concern about the "disturbing decline in the number of languages with only about 20 in a healthy state" (1992: xi). The Inquiry called for submissions, conducted a "series of informal discussions and inspections", visited organisations, and held public hearings in all capital cities and in Alice Springs. In all, 1200 pages of evidence was collected.

The report outlines a set of 33 recommendations (1992: xii – xvi) covering:

- language maintenance objectives,
- Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander media,
- interpreter services,
- teacher training,
- training of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander teachers,
- linguistic training,
- the 1991 (national) Adelaide Conference,
- the Aboriginal Languages Education Strategy and
- the Aboriginal Literacy Strategy, and
- school-based language education.

The recommendations relating to the Adelaide conference specify that the Commonwealth should formally endorse the structure endorsed at that conference for the

delivery of the Aboriginal Languages Initiative Program (ALIP), and that an external review of ALIP be conducted at the end of 1994. It also recommends that Regional Language Centres and Language Management Committees be recognised as key reference points on Indigenous language matters.

5.7.3 Backing Australian Languages: Review of the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Languages Initiatives Program (1995).

This report presents the findings of a 1995 ATSIC-funded review of the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Languages Initiatives Program (ATSILIP). The report contains reviews of

- language maintenance programs world wide;
- programs related to Indigenous languages in Australia; and
- written materials on Australian-based language centres and organisations.

As part of the review, in every State and Territory, meetings were held with persons involved in language centres and organisations (1995: 82). In South Australia, meetings were held with 8 individuals (1995: 123).

The report contains reviews of all ATSILIP-funded Indigenous language centres operative as of 1995. A number of the Indigenous organisations funded through these centres are also reviewed. The situation in South Australia is summarised (1995: 64-5) and includes a description of Yaitya Warra Wodli (YWW), of which the following is an extract:

> The [YWW] Language Centre provides a library and resource centre for the purposes of carrying out local language projects. The Centre assists, educates and trains Aboriginal people and the wider community on Aboriginal language and culture through a number of specific projects and activities. The Adelaide Regional Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission Office is supportive of the project and indicated that the Centre is operating well.

This section of the report also notes that YWW "is planning to establish a new Centre within the next two years at Port Augusta" and that a State Aboriginal Language Workshop - held in June 1992 - not only decided to establish a language centre in Adelaide but expressed hopes of an additional "three language centres … in the long term" (1995: 65).

The report concludes with 32 recommendations, the most important of which is "that the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Language Initiatives Program be continued for a further five years" (1995: 85). Within the recommendations, the report highlights both the inadequacy of current funding levels for Indigenous language programs and centres, and the particular administrative and funding difficulties that have occurred as a result of the way ATSIC manages the program via its own regional centres.

5.7.4 The Land Still Speaks: review of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander language maintenance and development needs and activities (1996).

In February 1996, Graham McKay, a linguist at Curtin University, published *The Land Still Speaks*. This report, commissioned by the Australian Language and Literacy Council, presents the findings of a 1994 review of activities aimed at maintaining and developing the languages of the Indigenous people of Australia. In-depth studies of language maintenance activities were conducted in four communities (Borroloola, Kempsey, Ringer Soak, Saibai), none of which are located in South Australia.

Within a more general survey of "language maintenance and development activities in Australia", however, South Australian initiatives are well-represented (see McKay, 1996:85-156). This includes descriptions of activities linked to specific languages (eg Adnyamathanha Language Renewal Workshops and the Warra Kaurna program). Most of the information concerning South Australian activities appears to have been gathered from written responses and surveys returned by predominantly non-Indigenous linguists and language professionals.

5.7.5 Culture and heritage: Indigenous Languages (1997).

John Henderson and David Nash's survey of the state of Australia's Indigenous languages up to and including January 1995 was originally prepared as a special technical paper commissioned to inform the preparation of an "independent and comprehensive assessment of the state of Australia's environment" (1997: 5). It was subsequently published in 1997 by the federal Department of the Environment.

Concurring with many of the earlier findings of Annette Schmidt (1990), Henderson and Nash suggest that:

- at most twenty traditional languages … are being passed on to children and being used by them as a primary form of communication,
- on average, two languages are now lost every year,
- the worst case … is that all of the traditional languages currently spoken could be gone within a generation (1997: 7, 8 & 28).

The paper includes a useful overview of the expansion of linguistic research in Australia since the 1960s and applauds the way in which since the late 1980s an increasing amount of federal monies has been provided to examine, sustain and strengthen Indigenous languages (1997: 13-14). It also contains a thumbnail sketch as to the importance of providing Indigenous Australians with access to interpreting and translating services (1997: 19).

Although the report provides a clear and concise assessment of Indigenous Languages in Australia, an imbalance exists with respect to the emphasis given to the work of non-Indigenous researchers as compared with its coverage of community language activities and the work of Indigenous language experts. This imbalance is most probably a consequence of the requirements imposed on the paper by its commissioning body. For, as Henderson and Nash observe, "[t]he areas covered in this paper are as specified by the

State of the Environment expert reference group" (1997: 7). Despite such impositions, the writers manage to draw attention to many of the needs and concerns articulated by Indigenous communities themselves, including the "great need … for adequate resources to help maintain traditional languages and cultures" (1997: 32).

Overall, the paper stands as a useful, non-specialist introduction to factors threatening and supporting the maintenance of Indigenous languages in Australia. Arguing that this situation cannot be adequately described "in terms of the basic number of languages and speakers," the writers note that a more complex understanding is necessary and postulate that it can be determined by an analysis of more "practical indicators of language health" (1997: 13). Insights into this complexity would, Henderson and Nash suggest, enable funding bodies to realise the costs involved in establishing and properly sustaining language and cultural maintenance activities (1997: 33).

Within the paper, the linguistic situation in South Australia is referred to in passing with respect to language education programs and the use of Indigenous languages in the media (1997: 16-18).

5.7.6 Needs Survey of Community Languages 1996: Report (1998).

In 1996, the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission (ATSIC) commissioned a survey of Indigenous languages. Completed in April 1998, the National Report was written by Judi Cooper, who drew from reports submitted by consultants employed to collect data in specific Australian states. These consultants appear to have largely drawn their data from a *Needs Survey*, conducted with the cooperation of various Indigenous communities and organisations.

For South Australia, the sole Language Centre, Yaitya Warra Wodli, employed a consultant, listed in the final report as B. Redfern (1998:23; Appendix 2, vii-viii). After contacting metropolitan and regional "contributors," this consultant organised the responses within a report entitled, "Report of Field Trips *Needs Survey* 1996". Along with the survey results, this report appears to have been the main source used by Cooper when compiling the South Australian section of the National Report.

Excluding comments within appendices, 22 pages of the National Report are given over to a review of Indigenous languages in South Australia (1988:23-45). The findings, presented in both text and table format, appear under the following 13 topics:

- Contributor and Region
- Population
- Language
- Language Status
- Language Activity
- Language and BRACS
- Language and Employment
- Language and Education
- Language and Training

- Resource Development and Publication
- Intellectual Property
- Interpreting and Translating
- Language Maintenance Program Structure

The South Australian section of the National Report has a number of problems and is replete with questionable and unsubstantiated claims. For example, in the section on "Language Status" (3.4), the author confusingly writes:

> There are 19 languages and dialects named from South Australia. Thirteen have at least some speakers. Of these:
> Six languages have no identified fluent speakers: Bungalla, Ngalea, Kaurna, Tanganekald, Wirrangu and Pangkala;
> Six languages have small numbers of speakers: Navo (N/K),[2] Kokatha (N/K), Narungga (N/K), Mirning (three to five known speakers), Ngarrindjeri (12 known speakers), and Dieri (40 known speakers);
> Five languages have a significant number of speakers: Pitjantjatjara (300+ known speakers in SA), Yankunytjatjara (widely spoken but no numbers given except Antikirinya where there are seven speakers), Arabunna (250+ speakers), Adnyamathanha (150+ known speakers), Antikirinya (200+ speakers);
> Yalata Kriol is a mixture of Wirangu, Antikirinya, Pangkala, Navo, Pitjantjatjara, Ngadju, Kokatha, Mirning and Ngalea. The number of speakers is unknown;
> Ngadju is mentioned only as part of the matrix of Yalata Kriol;
> There are no details of use given for Navo and Narungga.
> (ATSIC 1998:29-30)

Although the author of the National Report fails to source these details and figures, most likely they are based on the "Report of Field Trip *Needs Survey* 1996" submitted by Redfern. Some figures, as cited above and elsewhere within the report, are quite clearly incorrect. For example, in Section 3.4.4, the writer states, "The Pitjantjatjara language community has neither the numbers of speakers nor the levels of fluency of the community in the Northern Territory. Thus the language is interspersed with English and a local Kriol is developing" (ATSIC, 1998:31). In fact, Pitjantjatjara is normally quoted as being the strongest Indigenous language spoken in South Australia, with over 2,500 fluent first language speakers (see Eckert, 1995 & Schmidt, 1990), the majority of whom live in the far north-west corner of South Australia.

Similarly, no explanation is provided as to the basis on which the number of Indigenous languages in South Australia is determined as being 19. Notwithstanding that it might have been possible to make a case for offering such an estimation, according to most contemporary language maps, between 40 and 50 languages were traditionally spoken in South Australia at the time of the European invasion.

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[2] Within the final National Report (1998: 30), a footnote comments "This probably means the no. of speakers 'not known'."The spelling "Navo" is probably a typographical error, as the language is more generally spelt "Nauo" or "Nawu".

5.7.7 Katu Kalpa: Report on the inquiry into the effectiveness of education and training programs for Indigenous Australians (2000).

Published in March 2000, *Katu Kalpa* presents the findings of a two-year inquiry into the "effectiveness of education and training programs for Indigenous Australians" (2000: ix). During the course of the inquiry, the committee "received 43 submissions and conducted public hearings as well as inspections and site visits in four states and both territories" (2000: xi). Four of the 43 submissions are listed as originating in South Australia. Public hearings were held in Adelaide and Port Adelaide on 27 July 1999, with a total of 14 persons making representation to the committee.

Chapter 5 of the final report, "Language and Literacy" (2000: 91-102), included brief overviews of the debates surrounding:

- the level of English literacy amongst the Indigenous population;
- the appropriateness of bilingual education programs;
- the recognition of Aboriginal English; and
- the teaching of Indigenous languages.

During the course of the Committee's investigation, the Northern Territory government passed legislation to phase out its official support for bilingual education. Although the Committee wrote of its reluctance "to make any specific recommendations with regard to bilingual education," it suggested the issue was not a significant one outside of the Northern Territory (2000: 96). Having described what it perceived to be both positive and negative experiences with respect to bilingual education, it reported:

> Decisions on bilingual education are largely the province of communities and educators. The Committee believes that bilingual education is one of a range of approaches that need to be considered in addressing the language needs of Indigenous communities. Bilingual education will not be appropriate in many situations. Where it is, however, and where it has the support of the community it deserves consideration (2000: 98).

The Committee recognises the validity and importance of distinguishing between Aboriginal English and Standard Australian English. However, such recognition, it argues, "should in no way diminish the importance of standard English in the classroom" (2000: 99). It continues:

> In view of the clearly expressed views of parents and teachers about the importance of learning Standard English, it would seem that Aboriginal English should best be regarded as a pathway or transition to Standard English. … The Committee heard no views supporting the teaching of Aboriginal English in preference to standard English, for no other reason than because standard English is the language needed to co-exist with the dominant culture (2000: 100).

In a section entitled "Teaching Indigenous Languages" (2000: 101-102), the Committee notes competing views within Indigenous communities as to the appropriateness of Indigenous languages being taught within the school system. Although the work carried

out by Aboriginal languages curriculum officers for the SA Department of Education, Training and Employment was acknowledged, the Committee neither endorsed nor genuinely assessed this work but instead adopted an ambivalent attitude towards its aims and prospects. Noting that it sees "no inconsistency between the encouragement of efforts to preserve Indigenous languages and that of ensuring the best method of teaching English," the report suggests that enthusiasm for preserving Indigenous languages is more often championed by linguists and scholars than by Indigenous communities themselves (2000: 102).

Despite the appropriation of a Luritja expression as the title of its report, the committee shies away from offering any firm conclusion as to the place and role of Indigenous languages within education and training programs. Rather, it concentrates on the ways in which levels of English literacy and numeracy could be improved amongst Indigenous Australians. Of the 34 recommendations put forward by the Committee, only one acknowledged any role for Indigenous languages within education and training:

> Recommendation 15
> The Committee recommends that support for bilingual education programs be maintained in those areas where they are seen as appropriate and necessary by Indigenous communities (2000: xvii & 98).

5.7.8 Education Access: National Inquiry into Rural and Remote Education (2000).

Initiated in February 1999, this inquiry "investigated the provision of education for children in rural and remote Australia;" predominantly, in terms of availability, accessibility and quality of educational services. As part of its third term of reference, the inquiry was instructed to investigate "whether the education available to Indigenous children complies with their human rights."

Evidence was sought both through written submissions and formal public hearings. Informal interviews were also held with parents, students, teachers and other stakeholders. Of the 287 written and e-mailed submissions received by the Inquiry, 62 focused on Indigenous Education. Within its submission, the South Australian Government indicated that in 1999, support for "First Language maintenance and development" was operative in 33 country schools. Of these, 27 conducted programs focussed on one of 6 Indigenous Languages (Adnyamathanha, Antikirinya, Arabana, Ngarrindjeri, Pitjantjatjara and Wirangu).

In March 2000, the inquiry published *Emerging Themes*, a summary of the evidence submitted to it. Concerning Indigenous education, submissions to the inquiry claimed that in many parts of Australia both Indigenous children and their parents had become alienated from the school system (2000: 58). In part, this alienation was a consequence of lack of support for Indigenous languages which, the Inquiry notes, are currently spoken as the first language by one third of all Indigenous students living in remote and rural locations (2000: 64).

In May 2000, the inquiry released its recommendations. Noting that the "language of instruction can be … [a] barrier to education access," it observes that "this barrier particularly affects Indigenous children" (2000: 62). The inquiry found that:

> Indigenous languages are not appropriately represented as languages of instruction in Australia. They are not included as LOTE (Languages Other Than English) options. … In most States and Territories the opportunity for any child, Indigenous or non-Indigenous, to study an Indigenous Australian language is very limited. … There are insufficient curriculum materials in Indigenous languages and too few language speakers able to teach in schools to support Indigenous language programs. ATSIC's language programs are very limited and cannot meet the demand from schools for curriculum materials in language. … In rural and remote schools where all or most students speak a language other than English as their first language, teachers rarely have training in the teaching of English as a second language (ESL). Governments place high priority on English literacy but teachers are not properly equipped for literacy education in these situations.

In response to these findings, the inquiry makes the following recommendations:

> All education providers should progressively introduce and accredit regional Indigenous languages to be available as LOTE options and for use in bilingual education programs (Recommendation 6.19).
>
> The Commonwealth … should fund appropriate Indigenous organisations in all regions to record, preserve and teach the Indigenous languages of the region and to resource all school communities desirous of teaching an Indigenous language or providing a bilingual education program (Recommendation 6.20a)
>
> These organisations should also be funded to coordinate the provision of advisory services to education providers on school curriculum, materials and language resource development. Wherever possible, local Indigenous experts should be employed to provide this advice (Recommendation 6.20b).
>
> All education providers should ensure that, where a high proportion of children in a school speak a language other than English as their first language, teachers are trained and receive regular professional development in the teaching of English as a second language (Recommendation 6.21).

The inquiry also found that "low Indigenous school participation and poor education outcomes" were in part due to a "failure to assure to Indigenous children their right to learn their own language and to learn in their first language" (2000: 72). The inquiry, which explicitly endorses some of the recommendations contained in *Katu Kalpa* (2000), strongly supporting its finding that "bilingual education programs should be maintained in those areas where they are seen as appropriate and necessary by Indigenous communities" (2000: 73).

In Recommendation 8.1, the Inquiry identifies "five basic principles" it considered "should form the basis for future planning and provision of education to Indigenous students throughout Australia." Two of these principles highlighted the importance of Indigenous languages (2000: 73-4):

> 2. Indigenous children have a right to be educated in and about their own language, culture and history. The way in which this right is implemented, including the choice of educators, should be determined by the local Indigenous community.
>
> 4. Indigenous communities have a right to transmit their language and culture and the education system should respect the knowledge, expertise and experience of Indigenous community members and ensure that every opportunity is provided for its use in the education of Indigenous and non-Indigenous children.

Noting that the Australian education system had *not* been designed with respect to the needs of Indigenous Australians, the Inquiry found that:

> Indigenous knowledge, cultures, values and languages have rarely been valued in education and the curriculum in most schools has paid no more than lip service to Indigenous history, cultures and languages (2000: 74).

5.7.9 The State of Indigenous Languages in Australia (2001).

This report was submitted as part of the State of the Environment reporting for 2001 and the results from it are summarised in the Natural and Cultural Heritage chapter of the report http://www.ea.gov.au/soe/2001/heritage/pubs/part07.pdf.

Its overall assessment of the situation is that Indigenous languages in Australia are at grave risk and that if urgent and effective measures are not put in place we could be looking at complete loss of the languages in the second half of this century. While some hopeful developments indicate that this scenario may be too pessimistic, the closing down of Aboriginal bilingual education in the north of SA and in the NT are severe blows to the support structures of languages. The establishment of Regional Aboriginal Language Centres, funded largely through ATSILIP, is singled out as one of the most positive moves by governments in the last 15 years.

The report also reviews language endangerment in other parts of the world and indicators which have been developed to monitor language status including those in Henderson and Nash (1997), but modifies and applies the latter to 1996 census data. The proposed indicators are discussed earlier in this chapter.

5.7.10 Ecological Issues in Language Revival: syllabus development and learner motivation (forthcoming)

In 1998, Peter Mühlhäusler, Rob Amery, Silvia Schwarz and Julia Winefield received funding from the federal Indigenous Education Strategic Initiatives Program to

investigate factors impacting on the success of language revival programs, with a particular emphasis on motivational factors.

Section 1 of the report of this research outlines an ecological approach to language revival and investigates the contexts in which language revival takes place. An ecological approach considers languages in their cultural, linguistic, environmental, sociological, educational, historical and political contexts. This means, in part, not looking at one language in isolation, but coming to understand it in the context of neighbouring languages and cultures (*see* Haugen 1972: Mühlhäusler 1996; Fettes 1997).

Appropriate methodologies, including language immersion, the Master-Apprentice model (Hinton 1994: 235-247), the Formulaic Method (Amery 2000: 209-215) and the use of technology, are discussed.

The report contains a set of nine specific recommendations (29-30):

- Indigenous languages should be recognised as the property of their Indigenous custodians.
- Language consultants should be consulted at all stages of the language planning process.
- Custodial communities have a diversity of views. Language revival should involve everybody even if they disagree on issues such as politics or ideology.
- Language revival is a long-term strategic process of social planning. Policies and resources should be prepared before implementation.
- Language revival requires knowledge and expertise. Inservice training and regular liaison with expert language planners and academics should be facilitated.
- Maximum continuity of personnel and long-term contracts for community members are vitally important for the success of programs.
- To minimise the frustration of long-term processes, stages of achievement should be clearly identified and the attainment of short-term goals marked and celebrated.
- Language revival should not be separated from other educational and social processes. The language should be spoken outside as well as inside the school. Excursions, language camps, and visits to target language communities should be an integral part of programs.
- Members of language revival teams should collaborate through workshops, seminars, or the Internet, to share materials, resources, and methods.

Section 2 reports on the findings of a detailed survey of people involved in language revival activities. In all, there were 182 respondents, including students, Indigenous language teaching team members, language teachers, other teachers, parents and community members. The survey investigated three kinds of motivational factors:

- Intrinsic: learning the language itself provides learner motivation
- Integrative: learners want to identify or engage with the language group
- Instrumental: learners want to reach particular goals such as employment.

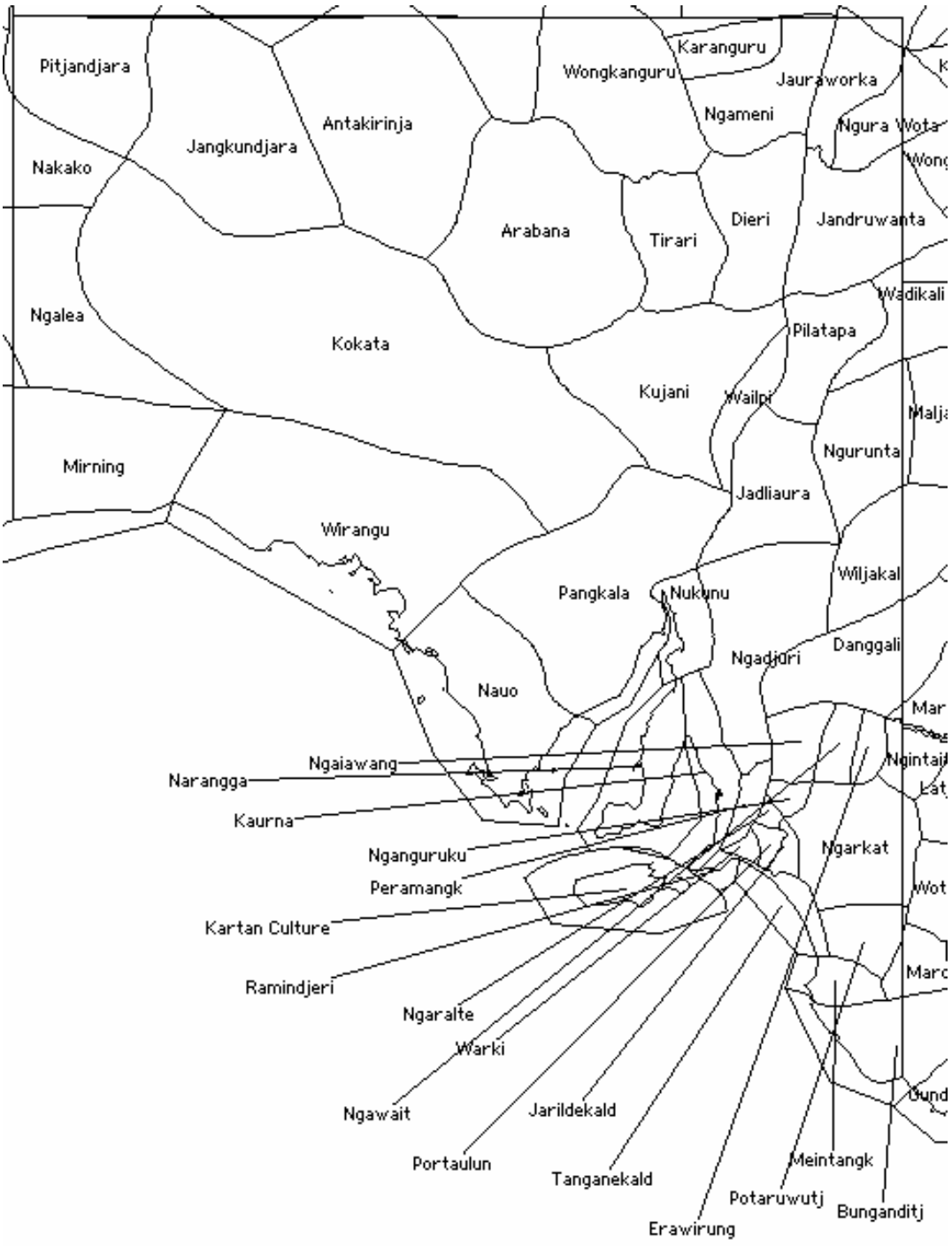
Intrinsic and integrative motivational factors were most important for students learning languages in revival mode, especially for personal and group identity and for the purposes of healing and reconciliation.

This report identifies a range of factors which support revival programs in schools. These include the way programs are set up, community involvement, resourcing of programs and teaching methods. Many issues emerged including choice of language: who should teach Indigenous languages and who should be able to participate in the learning of them.

Section 3 of the report contains an extensive annotated bibliography of sources relating to (a) Theory and Practice in Indigenous and Minority Languages Education, (b) Research on Teaching and Motivation in Language Programs, (c) Comparative Case Studies in Australian Indigenous Languages and (d) Comparative Case Studies of International Language Programs.

5.8 Maps

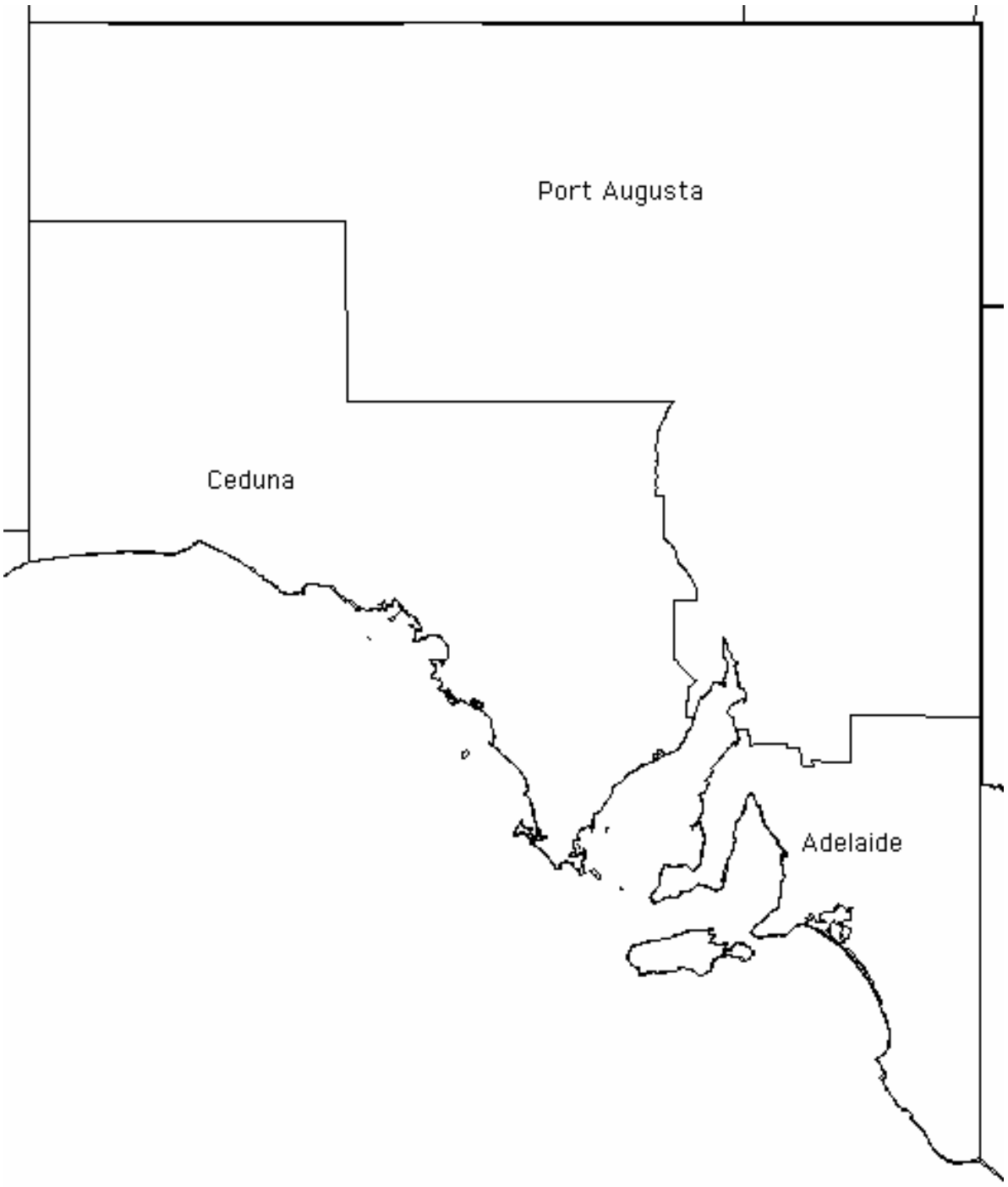
5.8.1 Distribution of South Australian Indigenous languages (Norman Tindale 1974):



5.8.2 Distribution of South Australian Indigenous languages (David Horton 1994)

Source: Horton, D (1994) *The Encyclopaedia of Aboriginal Australia*. Canberra: Aboriginal Studies Press.

5.8.3 ATSIC Regions, South Australia.



6 South Australia's Indigenous languages: an historical perspective

6.1 Language names

Indigenous people in South Australia define themselves and their languages in diverse and complex ways. They remain reticent with respect to non-Indigenous categorisations of their culture and heritage. For the sake of organising data in a systematic and accessible fashion for this report, the following 1999 list of the Indigenous languages of South Australia has been adopted:

Adnyamathanha	Antikirinya	Arabana (Arabunna)
Barngarla (Parnkalla)	Bindjali	Bodaruwitj
Bunganditj (Boandik)	Dhirari	Dieri
Karangura	Kaurna	Kokatha
Kukatja	Kuyani	Luritja
Maintangk	Malyangapa	Mirning
Narungga	Nawu	Ngadjuri
Ngamini	Ngangaruku	Ngarkat
Ngarrindjeri	Ngawadj	Ngayawang
Nukunu	Nyangatjatjara	Peramangk
Pirlatapa	Pitjantjatjara	Ramindjeri
Southern Arrernte	Thangal/Tanganekald	Wadigali
Wailpi	Wangkanguru	Wirangu
Yadliawara	Yandruwantha	Yankunytjatjara
Yaralde	Yarluyandi	Yawarawarka
Yirawirung		

This list was first read out on the steps of Parliament House in Adelaide on 26 May 1999 as part of commemorations held to mark the anniversary of National Sorry Day. As part of that event, the name of each South Australian Indigenous language was written on a message stick. For the following year, these sticks were displayed within Parliament House. Today they are held at Yaitya Warra Wodli.

According to Amery (2001: 8), the 1999 list was primarily based on earlier listings contained in Oates & Oates (1970) and Tindale (1974). He also observes that the "boundaries established by Tindale (1974) are those with which Indigenous South Australians identify with in the main today" (2001: 8).

While there is some reason to debate some of the spellings used in this listing, for reasons of consistency, they will be used throughout this report.

6.2 Before invasion

Prior to colonisation, the many Indigenous groups who occupied the land that now makes up the state of South Australia were thriving, multilingual societies. Enormous linguistic

and cultural diversity existed amongst these groups. Yet, despite this diversity, carefully maintained networks and protocols fostered a buoyant cultural and material economy. Prior to the arrival of the first Europeans in the early 1800s, these groups co-existed relatively harmoniously, with more distant contact only being with other Indigenous Australians.

During this period, the diversity of languages was not a problem to be overcome but a mark of cultural sophistication. Multilingualism, a valuable asset, was encouraged in the young. Often these societies were exogamous, with women marrying into different language groups, thus making bilingualism an essential skill for effective day-to-day communication.

6.3 Early impacts

Although European sealers and whalers entered the region in the early 1800s, severe disruption to the life of South Australia's Indigenous communities was not ongoing until 1836 when the first permanent settlers arrived. Since then, Indigenous people have had to defend their right to speak and maintain their own languages. For much of this time, they have had to cope with either official apathy or outright antagonism towards the maintenance of their mother tongue (Human Rights & Equal Opportunity Commission 1997: 298-9), as well as confront ill-informed assumptions as to their language's lack of complexity and/or its status as a 'Stone Age relic'. Indigenous South Australians have repeatedly been advised that their languages are not equipped for contemporary living and that if these languages are not already 'extinct', they soon will be.

Many respondents blame missions and/or government agencies for the loss of their languages. Some cite the way missions were set up, with different groups herded together, as the reason languages got pushed together, confused and, in some cases, lost. Indigenous people were frequently told their languages were 'evil' and forbidden to speak them:

> *It was the Christians who took away our language from our grandparents. So then our parents didn't learn it so they couldn't teach us. It's sad that we now have to reclaim our language (Narungga).*

Some early missionaries and government officials, however, had very different attitudes to Indigenous languages. In a number of important instances, their efforts laid the groundwork for the present-day revival of some 'sleeping' languages.

6.4 The recording and research of South Australia's Indigenous languages

In the early years of white settlement, South Australia was a place of comparatively high linguistic activity and language documentation. A number of missionary-linguists, as well as some ethnographers, undertook detailed research into languages. This began in the southern coastal parts of the state in the 1830s and, from the late 1860s, in the northern Coopers Creek region. In the case of the missionaries, the primary motive was to acquire enough language to be able to preach the Christian Gospel in the 'native tongue', thereby

improving the chances of winning converts. In the south, Lutheran missionaries included Clamor Schürmann, Christian Teichelmann, Samuel Klose and Heinrich Meyer, while further north, C.H.M. Schoknecht, Johannes Flierl, J.G. Reuther and Carl Strehlow worked on the Dieri language. Taken together, these missionaries produced numerous wordlists, grammars and Biblical texts that have proved invaluable language resources for present-day language revival programs. Other non-Lutheran missionaries, such as George Taplin, and ethnographers with humanitarian motives, such as William Cawthorne, also produced valuable wordlists and texts. In the early days of the colony, government-appointed Protectors of Aborigines were required to learn and document local languages as a part of their official duties. Such work was completed by William Wyatt, Edward John Eyre and Matthew Moorhouse.

The first wordlist of a South Australian Indigenous language was recorded in 1826 by a French zoologist, M.Gaimard. He obtained this material from two Kaurna people, known only as Sally and Harry, who had been taken from South Australia by European sealers and transported to King George Sound in Western Australia. This list was published in 1833 (*see* Amery 1998:181).

In South Australia, linguistic work began in earnest in October 1838 with the arrival of the Dresden missionaries, Schürmann and Teichelmann. These men immediately set about learning and documenting Kaurna, then referred to as the language of the 'Adelaide Tribe'. In this work, they relied on the assistance of Mullawirraburka (King John), Kadlitpinna (Captain Jack) and Ityamaiitpinna (King Rodney). After eighteen months, the first grammar of a South Australian language was completed. In contrast to other early records of this language, Teichelmann and Schürmann employed a more systematic and consistent transcription method. Consequently their records are proving a more reliable guide for present-day endeavours to determine the traditional pronunciation of this language.

In August 1840, two more Dresden missionaries arrived in South Australia, Klose and Meyer. Klose remained in Adelaide to work with the Kaurna people, while Meyer worked in the Encounter Bay area. Meyer soon began a school, and when the children grew tired of their lessons he would ask them words and sentences in Ramindjeri, to develop his language skills in the local Indigenous language. He also consulted with adults such as Bob and Kaltake, both of whom were able to speak the local and the Adelaide language. In 1843, Meyer published a grammar and vocabulary of Ramindjeri.

In producing this work, Meyer elected to follow Teichelmann and Schürmann's methods of recording languages. Klose was similarly influenced by their materials. In fact their methods of linguistic description and orthographic conventions were adopted by a number of 'followers' in and around Adelaide. Initially Moorhouse, a Government Protector, resisted using their methods, arguing instead for 'English' ways of spelling. However, he had clearly been won over to their spelling conventions by the time he published a grammar of Ngayawang (Moorhouse 1846). Moorhouse's work was compiled with the assistance of an unnamed bilingual Kaurna man.

Jane Simpson (1992) has referred to these first linguistic pioneers, working under the patronage of Governors Gawler and Grey, as belonging to the "Adelaide School" of researchers; a group within which she places Teichelmann, Schürmann, Meyer and Moorhouse. Both Klose and John Weatherstone, a Wesleyan lay preacher who compiled a vocabulary of Ngayawang in 1843, should also be included in the "School". Moreover, Eyre (1845), Gell (1842) and later Taplin (1879) also drew upon the work of those who had preceded them, exchanging ideas and information with the early Lutheran missionaries. This was especially the case for Taplin who built on the work of Meyer.[3]

This first wave of linguistic activity continued until the end of the nineteenth century. A survey commissioned in the mid 1870s by the colony's governor provides a good overview of the knowledge that had been amassed by this point in time. This survey – prepared, conducted and compiled by Taplin – was eventually published in 1879, the year of his sudden death, under the title: *The Folklore, Manners and Customs of the South Australian Aborigines: gathered from inquiries made by authority of the South Australian Government.*

This initial period of high activity and inquiry was followed by one of relative quiescence. Non-Indigenous researchers, capitulating to the myth that Aboriginal people were a "dying race," believed there was no longer a need for serious linguistic work to be conducted. As A. P. Elkin later observed, "no studies of any value on any Australian languages were published between 1910 and 1930, though some quiet work was being carried out by a few missionaries" (1938:9). In making this statement, however, Elkin overlooked the valuable work of John McConnell Black who worked for the South Australian Museum, and who published short wordlists of a high quality on six languages, including Narungga (*see* Black 1917 & 1920). The Ngadjuri man, Barney Warrior, was to be a great source of information and help to researchers such as Black, and later the Berndts, having knowledge of his own plus surrounding languages such as Nugunu and Narungga. The museum became a popular place for Indigenous people to visit, when in Adelaide, and staff were keen to gleen all the information they could on such occasions. Another regular visitor was David Unaipon, a well-known Ngarrindjeri man, who compiled his own collection of 'stories' in the mid 1920s, with much inclusion of his own Ngarrindjeri language (*see* Unaipon 2001; and an analysis of his work in Gale 2001). Also during this period, Daisy Bates recorded wordlists for many South Australian languages, particularly on the west coast of the state. Bates' papers are held in the special collection of the Barr Smith Library, at Adelaide University.

With the establishment of Chairs in anthropology in Australian universities in the early 1920s, such as A.P. Elkin's appointment at the University of Sydney in 1920, interest in Aboriginal cultures and languages was rekindled. By the early 1930s, systematic language research was being undertaken by numerous scholars on S.A.'s Indigenous languages, and new publications began to emerge. In Adelaide, a number of significant

[3] To some extent, the "Adelaide School" of thought and the means of recording languages modelled itself on the earlier work of the Congregational missionary Lancelot Threlkeld (1834) who, with Biraban, worked on the Awabakal language, of the Lake Macquarie district of New South Wales. Threlkeld himself drew from the work of missionaries in the Pacific.

researchers were influenced by J. A. FitzHerbert, Professor of Classics at the University of Adelaide from 1928 to 1957. This included Bates, T.G.H. Strehlow, J. R. B. Love and R. M. Trudinger. FitzHerbert encouraged these researchers to employ “a standard phonetic script in the scientific collection and transcription of the various aboriginal languages and dialects” (Oest 1988:2).

This script was developed by a small Language Committee, formed at the University of Adelaide in 1930-31. Its three members were FitzHerbert, Charles Chewings and Norman Tindale. The Committee adapted and promoted a phonetic system based on the one used by the International Phonetic Association (IPA), adopting symbols that were easy to read and reproduce. For example, variation in vowel sounds were indicated by italicising or using bold forms of the English vowel symbols “a, i, e, o and u.” As with the IPA, the colon symbol – “:” – was used to mark length for both consonants and vowels. In part, the committee’s choices were influenced by the availability of printer’s type in South Australia, and the desire to preserve “legibility for general workers, who may desire to obtain a readable account, without concerning themselves with the finer shades of pronunciation” (*see* Tindale 1935:262).

From the early 1930s onward, Tindale was a significant contributor to the growing understanding of the status of Indigenous languages. Working out of the South Australian Museum, he became a prodigious and systematic collector of linguistic, ethnographic and genealogical records. In a 1935 paper, claiming that there were “now fewer than 30 full-blooded aborigines living in the whole of the area of South Australia east and south of Port Augusta,” Tindale argued that it was “essential” that information “be gathered as quickly as possible" (Tindale 1935:261).[4]

In 1974, after nearly fifty years of fieldwork and research, Tindale published *Aboriginal Tribes of Australia*. Amongst other things, this significant publication attempted to outline the “tribal boundaries” and distribution of all of the Indigenous groups that had inhabited Australia at the time of white settlement. It also sought to establish the “proper name” for each of these groups, as well as provide as full as possible a listing of the variant names and spellings by which such “tribes” had been previously referred. Both this 1974 publication, and the “Tindale Collection” now held in the SA Museum, remain major sources of linguistic material and information for South Australian Indigenous languages.[5]

Among Elkin’s students at the University of Sydney were Catherine and Ronald Berndt, whose detailed work on two South Australian languages is now recognised as important source material for future language work. In the late 1930s, Ronald began working with the Yaralde of the Ngarrindjeri bloc, work that he continued with Catherine in later years. In particular, the Berndts worked with the Yaralde man Albert Karloan. They then moved

[4] The distinction Tindale makes between ‘full-blooded’ and other Indigenous people is significant, because he was writing in an era that aimed to assimilate "part-Aboriginal" people into mainstream society. It was assumed "part-Aboriginal" people would possibly not have the knowledge of their language and culture sought by researchers. History has shown that this was not necessarily the case, particularly for those “part-Aboriginal” people who were not removed from their families.

[5] For more information on the Tindale Collection visit www.samuseum.sa.gov.au/tindale/

to the west coast of South Australia to work with the Aboriginal community at Ooldea, on the transcontinental railway line. Daisy Bates also worked on the languages of the Ooldea area in the early 1950s, where the Wirangu people lived, plus the Mirning from further west and the Kokatha people from the north. Wilf Douglas also worked on related languages in the north of the state.

From the late 1950s onward, Luise Hercus arguably inaugurated the modern era of systematic linguistic research into South Australian Indigenous languages. She has worked intensively on Nukunu, Arabana-Wangkanguru and Wirangu (*see* Hercus 1992, 1994 & 1998), and on numerous other languages. Hercus continues to work on these languages, writing up and publishing her materials and occasionally visiting Indigenous communities to assist locally organised language workshops. In the late 1950s, Geoffrey O'Grady and Ken Hale also conducted linguistic fieldwork in South Australia with respect to the following languages: Barngarla, Kukatja, Mirning and Wirangu. Aside from their and Hercus' work, at this time, the majority of language work was still carried out by missionaries.

In the early 1960s, the establishment of the Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies revitalised and supported academic research into Indigenous languages. In this modern era, Gavan Breen carried out extensive recording of languages in the far north of the state, notably Yandruwantha, and Platt worked on Kokatha. In the early 1970s, Bernard Schebeck worked on Adnyamathanha.

From the mid 1970s onwards, students studying under R.M.W. Dixon at the Australian National University conducted research on Indigenous languages right across Australia. Equipped with a sound knowledge of modern linguistic theory and research methods, these students recorded wordlists and sentences and produced numerous grammars. Many of these linguists have since gone on to train a later generation of linguists. Students of Dixon who conducted research in South Australia included: Peter Austin, working on Diyari; Dorothy Tunbridge working on Adnyamathanha; Jane Simpson doing comparative work and papers on Kaurna; Rob Amery working on Kaurna language reclamation; Mary Alice McDonald working on Yaralde phonology; and Cliff Goddard working on Yankunytjatjara.

Over the past thirty or so years, much of the linguistic research conducted by students and staff of universities has been descriptive, with one of its main aims being to contribute to the linguistic mapping and typological classification of Australia's Indigenous communities. Nevertheless, scholars have consistently supported Indigenous initiatives with respect to community or school-based language programs. Although students and staff of universities across Australia continue to research Indigenous languages, today the emphasis is more collaborative, with linguists being asked to work on projects of community interest. Examples of this approach include Rob Amery and Jane Simpson's work with the Kaurna community and Christina Eira's work with the Narungga community.

6.5 Indigenous languages in schools

South Australia has often broken new ground in terms of recognising the important role Indigenous languages can play in the formal education of Indigenous students. In particular, the state has a long history of mission teachers electing to use Indigenous languages as the medium of instruction within their schools. A comprehensive review of this linguistic recognition is contained in both Max Hart's thesis "A history of full-blood Aboriginal Education in South Australia" (1970) and Mary-Anne Gale's *Dhangum Djorra'wuy Dhawu: a history of writing in Aboriginal languages* (1997). In the latter work, Gale reviews efforts since the 1830s to develop alphabets and to prepare materials in Indigenous languages, both in South Australia and in the Northern Territory. Such work was carried out by the Lutheran, Catholic, Anglican and Presbyterian churches, as well as by non-denominational organisations such as the Aborigines' Friends Association and the United Aborigines Mission.

An Indigenous language was first used as the medium of instruction in a South Australian school in December 1839 when the German missionaries Teichelmann and Schürmann established a school at Piltawodli on the banks of the Torrens River in Adelaide. Their lessons in the Kaurna language included letter writing activities, singing, prayers and daily devotions. This vernacular program ran until 1845 when Governor Grey closed the school and instructed that its pupils henceforth be sent to the all-English speaking "Native School Establishment" on Kintore Avenue, Adelaide.

South Australia was the first state to enact an Aboriginal Education Act, nevertheless, the selection of English or an Indigenous language as the medium of instruction varied considerably, and seemed to depend on whether a particular institution was sponsored by the government or a missionary organisation. In general, government institutions adopted the English language as the sole medium of instruction, strongly discouraging the use of Aboriginal languages. Attitudes across the mission sector varied considerably and seemed to depend on which church administered the mission, and whether the school was for so-called "full-blood" or "half-caste" children (*see* Hart 1970).

Generally, mission schools run for "half-caste" children operated under strict assimilatory philosophies and Aboriginal languages and cultures were disparaged. This was the case at Poonindie mission, run by the Anglican church from 1850 on Eyre Peninsula, and for other Anglican homes and schools under the auspices of the United Aborigines Mission. In contrast, Lutheran missions taught in the local vernacular: in the Ramindjeri language at Encounter Bay in the early 1840s; in the Parnkalla language at Port Lincoln in 1849; and in the Diyari language at Killalpaninna in the Coopers Creek region in 1867 (*see* Gale 1997). Inspired by the Lutherans, Taplin made genuine efforts to use Ngarrindjeri in the schooling of his charges at Point McLeay mission. This school, on the shores of Lake Alexandrina, commenced in 1857 under the auspices of the Aborigines Friends' Association.

Mission schools were always dependent on private donations and government support. In many cases, lack of funding brought about the closure of schools and the concomitant loss of language expertise. Alternatively, the government might elect to take over the

running of a mission, such as it did at Point McLeay and Point Pearce. When this occurred, the enforcement of assimilation policies prevented the continuation of vernacular schooling.

During the early decades of the Twentieth Century, the desperate plight of Indigenous people fostered the myth of a "doomed race". But some missionaries continued to evangelise in local Indigenous languages with the belief that this provided the best opportunity for the maximum number of souls to be saved prior to the extinction of all "full blooded" Aboriginal people. Throughout the 1920s and 30s, however, the plight of Indigenous people caught the attention of a number of social activists. These persons began to campaign for the protection of Indigenous rights and culture. Their work often recognised the importance of respecting the right of communities to maintain and speak their mother tongues. Thus, for example, in 1936 Dr Charles Duguid reported to the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church:

> It is a sorry business. The more one learns of the aborigines of Australia, the more one comes to the conclusion that in the past they have been more maligned and misrepresented than any people on earth. … The only hope for the natives of the Great Inland Reserve … is to be found in a Christian Mission station in the vicinity of the Musgrave Ranges. It must be run on the lines of similar Christian missions in the Australian Mandated Territory of New Guinea, *the missionaries learning the language of the native, getting to understand their side of the clash of cultures as well as ours*. … There is no need for our natives to die out.
>
> (Duguid 1936: 99, 102 & 105, *emphasis added*)

In 1937, primarily as a consequence of Duguid's efforts, the Presbyterian Church established a mission station at Ernabella, at the eastern end of the Musgrave Ranges. In 1940, a school was opened at which, again in response to Duguid's vision, all instruction was given in Pitjantjatjara. From the beginning, the mission's decision to keep English-language instruction to a minimum was controversial. Nevertheless, for many years, this commitment to vernacular instruction was fully supported by the SA Education Department. Despite opposition, for more than twenty years, Pitjantjatjara language remained the primary medium of instruction both at Ernabella and later at the outstation school opened at Fregon. Given this, the Ernabella Mission was more than a decade in advance of UNESCO's 1953 championing of vernacular literacy, which asserted that "the best medium for teaching is the mother tongue of the pupil" (*in* Bull 1964:527).[6] In the 1960s, concern over the lack of English being learnt by Indigenous students at Ernabella saw a shift in the language policy of the school, with an increase in the English component of what was by then a bilingual education program (*see* Edwards 1969).[7]

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[6] Australia is a member nation of the United Nations, thus a subscriber to Article 23 of the International Labour Organisation, which is concerned with the "Protection … Integration of Indigenous and Other Tribal and semi-tribal Populations in Independent Countries". This article reads in part: "Children belonging to populations concerned shall be taught to read and write in their mother tongue…. Appropriate measures shall, as far as possible be taken to preserve the mother tongue." (quoted in Croker, 1981:1).

[7] Interestingly, the Commonwealth government was still withholding funding for Aboriginal missions schools, which they still administered in the N.T., unless the medium of instruction was English (see, for example, in *Hansard* in April 1964 the clarification being sought by Kim Beazley Sr. regarding this policy, see Gale, 1997:113).

Much later, in the post-Mission years, the SA Education Department acknowledged the value of maintaining a vernacular program. Consequently, in 1985, it appointed a regional teacher-linguist to the Ernabella school.[8] A central component of this new initiative was the establishment of a literature production centre with an on-site printing press. This centre served all the bilingual schools on the Pitjantjatjara lands, including Fregon, Indulkana and Amata. Such new found support for vernacular literacy was short-lived. In the early 1990s, the bilingual program became a scape-goat for low academic achievements in Pitjantjatjara schools. In 1992, bilingual education was officially replaced in these remote Aboriginal schools with all-English programs, albeit under the guise of "Two-Way Schooling". Although trained Anangu teachers work in these schools, they are expected to adopt English, the schools' official language, as the medium of instruction. Today no Aboriginal schools within South Australia use an Indigenous language as the official medium of instruction.[9]

Over the last decade, learning a second language has become a compulsory part of national schooling for all year levels from Reception to Year Eight (*see* DEET 1991). As a consequence, during the 1990s, several schools in South Australia adopted an Indigenous language for their school's language program (once called LOTE – Language Other Than English). Even prior to changes in the national curriculum policy with regard to languages, some S.A. schools had inaugurated Indigenous language programs, predominantly for non-Indigenous students. For example, Pitjantjatjara was taught at Walkerville Primary School for two years in the early 1970s. Since 1981, Pitjantjatjara has also been taught to students at Victor Harbor Primary School, as part of an annual exchange program with Fregon school on the Anangu Pitjantjatjara Lands. This program, which has now been running for twenty years, enables a class of Year Seven students, along with their parents, to learn Pitjantjatjara prior to visiting Fregon. A similar exchange program, with an inbuilt language component, has been running between Goolwa Primary School and the Amata community for at least a decade.

A more detailed account of what has happened over the last decade, regarding Indigenous languages in SA schools, appears in the next chapter.

6.6 Indigenous languages in universities

Despite the fluctuating official use of the Pitjantjatjara language within remote Aboriginal schools, Pitjantjatjara has been taught within the tertiary sector since the late 1960s. A Pitjantjatjara language course was first established at the University of Adelaide

[8] Bilingual education was implemented officially into Northern Territory Aboriginal schools in 1973, and by the 1980s bilingual programs were operating in all the larger remote Aboriginal schools in the N.T. The bilingual schools in S.A. were inspired by the N.T experience, particularly by their curriculum and their success in developing Aboriginal language materials.

[9] By contrast, South Australia has become a recognised leader in the development of Aboriginal Studies curriculum for use in schools. Curriculum materials are prepared for both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal classrooms. During the 1980s a series of publications covering many aspects of Aboriginal cultures were produced. Separate books focused on particular cultural groups, including the Kaurna, the Adnyamathanha and the Ngarrindjeri people (see Education Department of S.A., Aboriginal Studies R – 12 curriculum materials). Although curriculum materials have been developed for the full period of schooling – that is, from Reception to Year 12 – within South Australia, Aboriginal Studies is only a compulsory part of the curriculum from Reception to Year 7.

in 1966, primarily with the aim of training persons who intended to work amongst Anangu (Pitjantjatjara, Yankunytjatjara and Antikirinya people). It seems likely that this was the first time an Indigenous language was taught at a tertiary institution in Australia. In the early years, Gordon Ingkatji was the main Indigenous instructor. In more recent years, the course has been offered by the University of South Australia with Mona Tur taking on the responsibility of Indigenous teacher, often working in tandem with Rev Bill Edwards, formerly the superintendent of the Ernabella Mission.

In the mid 1980s, whilst working for the South Australian College of Advanced Education, Brian Kirke initiated research into the teaching of Narungga and Ngarrindjeri. Following on from this work, in the late 1980s, the Kaurna Plains Aboriginal School received funding from the commonwealth government to conduct further work on local Nunga languages, including the Kaurna, Narungga and Ngarrindjeri language. This work inspired enthusiasm for further work in language revival, particularly in Kaurna, which will be discussed further in the next chapter. Suffice to say, Kaurna and its northern neighbour language Pitjantjatjara, is now taught not only at the university level in Adelaide, but also within Secondary, Primary and Early Childhood Centres within this state.

6.7 The legacy of language suppression

South Australia's impressive achievements with respect to the preservation, documentation and maintenance of Indigenous languages cannot diminish the ongoing pain many Indigenous people and communities experience as a result of language loss. In South Australia, from the mid-nineteenth century up until the official end of the era of assimilation, suppression of Indigenous languages was an overt part of government policy and practice. In an effort to stop Indigenous languages from being spoken and maintained, authorities used physical coercion and psychological pressure.

Many measures such as forced movements, institutionalisation, the mixing of groups and the banning of ceremonies aimed to destroy the social and cultural fabric of Aboriginal society. These measures had the side-effect, welcomed by colonial authorities, of causing massive language shift from the active use of diverse Indigenous languages to the widespread use of different forms of English.

Removal from traditional lands prevented communities from being able to use their own language to assert ownership and to sustain their links with the land. According to traditional protocols and customs, it was necessary for displaced communities to either adopt the language of the Indigenous community on whose land they now resided, or to use English. In some cases, removals and the mixing of communities led to the development of a non-traditional language:

> *Nungas who come from Mission areas use a combination of all the languages – Narungga, Kaurna, Ngarrindjeri, bits and pieces from the West Coast, Pitjantjatjara, and a creole type language.*

The practice of beating children for speaking their language was found to have occurred in many schools in South Australia, up until at least the 1950s. At Koonibba, a west-coast mission near Ceduna, an elder recalls:

> *They used to give us a belting, [we were] not allowed to speak that 'evil' language. But that didn't stop us from talking it at home.*

On the Anangu Pitjantjatjara Lands, however, Indigenous communities were generally encouraged to speak their language, but this was not the case throughout all of the northern regions of the state. At Nepabunna mission in the Flinders Ranges, for example, and also in Coober Pedy, children were regularly beaten for using their mother tongue. In some places, people were not allowed to attend corroborees and language could only be spoken *behind closed doors*. People lived in fear:

> *They threatened us with taking our rations, or kicking us off the reserves if we kept speaking our language. We have old people who can remember the language, and speak it fluently, but are too frightened to speak it still. [One] grandmother, for example, … is to this very day very frightened to speak language.*

A number of Ngarrindjeri respondents recall how speaking their language could lead to the withdrawal of medical services and rations, to imprisonment, or to being kicked off the Reserve:

> *All of this had been documented and is knowledge that has been handed down within the Ngarrindjeri community. … [It] was part of a deliberate plan by the government to kill off the language. … Our language was thrown out the door. We weren't allowed to speak it. … I feel very angry that I can't speak my own language.*

In some instances, official suppression and denigration led younger community members to disparage their Elders:

> *They got me that way [that when] I went home… me and my sister said 'we're not listening to Nana'.*

In this particular instance, the children were later confronted by their father who told them never to treat their Elders and their language like that again. This experience, fortunately, led to the respondent retaining her language.

People removed to institutions were subjected to constant propaganda against their language and culture:

> *I feel sad and sorry about the loss of my language. Mum was taken away and made to feel ashamed. Single words survived and they became precious much*

later. There are still people who speak Mirning and maybe I can access it one day.

Languages also ceased to be handed down because of the threat of having kids taken away:

Old people didn't speak to us kids [in Language]; they were worried what would happen to us if we started using Language.

While outright banning and denigration are rare today, instances of ridicule and suppression still occur:

I remember being ridiculed at High School in the town by kids for speaking Ngarrindjeri – that's terrible. It still happens today.

Others talk of how they used to hear the language spoken fluently when they were young, but regretfully reflect on how that fluency and ability seems lost:

but that's all gone now … they just use words and short sentences now.

The era of suppression has left a very deep mark on Indigenous communities, which now have to confront attitudes and behaviours instilled by past repressive policies. Many feel the loss of language very personally, and this depth of feeling should not be underestimated; as one woman testified:

I feel as if I have been raped.

6.8 Conclusion

This chapter has provided an historical perspective on Indigenous languages in the State by reviewing and celebrating the breadth of linguistic research that has taken place in South Australia since the arrival of the first European missionaries in the 1830s. Nationally, South Australia has been a leader in this area – but has not necessarily maintained this lead in more recent years.

This chapter has also reviewed the language teaching programs that have been undertaken in schools and universities in this state. This is an area of language activity of which this state can remain proud, particularly with regards to the teaching of Indigenous languages in the schools. This review has demonstrated how past language research has nurtured and sustained the successful implementation of language programs in schools and universities. South Australia can justifiably celebrate the significant initiatives that have been taken over the years with respect to the very rich inheritance that it still enjoys in the way of its Indigenous languages.

As important as these achievements are, it is crucial to reflect on the very significant loss and anger that many Indigenous people still feel regarding their Indigenous languages. Governments must recognise that active suppression and denigration of Indigenous

languages was carried out by those in authority throughout much of the State. It is these wrongs that need to be righted, in part through policy and financial support, for the future benefit of all Indigenous South Australians.

7 Indigenous languages: programs and activities

This chapter outlines a contemporary overview of what has been happening in the state of South Australia in the way of language programs, activities and initiatives from around 1990 to the present. It demonstrates that current initiatives are building on the positive developments that have occurred in the past, which were reviewed in the last chapter. But it also shows how present language programs are striving to compensate for past language suppression and loss. Although some of these programs and activities are run by public institutions and government departments, many have emerged because of the determination of Indigenous South Australians to 'right the wrongs'of the past.

7.1 Education

This section outlines the current language programs and initiatives that are happening within the various education sectors of South Australia, including preschool, primary and secondary schools. The schooling situation in the Anangu Lands in the north-west of the state, where school students still speak Pitjantjatjara and Yankunytjatjara as their first language, has had quite a different history regarding the use and promotion of their languages. This was reviewed in the last chapter, and is discussed further in a separate section after the following general overview of language programs in school in the rest of the state.

7.1.1 The South Australian Education Department

There was relatively little interest within South Australian schools in the teaching of Aboriginal languages prior to the implementation of a national policy on languages (by DEET) in 1991. This policy stipulates that all children must learn a second language up to Year 8 of their schooling. Its implementation caused some schools with larger numbers of Indigenous students to think hard about the languages they were already offering their students. Prior to 1991, any interest in teaching Aboriginal languages was school driven and determined by the motivation of individual staff members. For such language programs, there was always a shortage of resources, and the teaching was generally conducted by non-Indigenous staff members who had the knowledge and drive to teach an Aboriginal language – as was the case with Pitjantjatjara being taught by Chris Tapscott at Victor Harbor Primary from 1981, and by Greg Wilson from 1986 at several urban schools including Pennington, Alberton, Taperoo and Cowandilla Primary Schools. Greg taught with the assistance of a number of Pitjantjatjara people such as Kenneth Ken. Although there were Aboriginal Education Workers (such as Pat Warrior, Josie Agius and Lewis O'Brien) employed in urban schools, there was no infrastructure or official support for them to teach their own local Nunga languages. At this time, Chris Warren was also offering some Pitjantjatjara and Adnyamathanha in Port Augusta.

In the mid 1980s a linguist, Brian Kirke, secured state funding to work with Jillian Sumner and Marlene Stewart, among others, on the Ngarrindjeri and Narungga languages. One product of their efforts were 'Language Kits' for both languages, which have been used as valuable resources in schools ever since. Then in the late 1980s, commonwealth funding was made available for Indigenous languages in the form of the National Aboriginal Language Program (NALP). Schools were invited to apply for

NALP funding to assist them in the teaching of Aboriginal languages. Alice Rigney (Principal of Kaurna Plains School) and Greg Wilson were successful in gaining $30,000 each for twelve months. They pooled their funding and employed Kathryn Gale, a non-Indigenous teacher with experience working in bilingual programs in the AP Lands and the Northern Territory, to work with Josie Agius to teach Aboriginal languages in schools. Because funding was for such a short period, Gale convinced Rigney and Wilson that the best way to use the money would be to spend the twelve months running workshops to inspire and train local Aboriginal adults to teach their own languages in schools.

Teaming up with the linguist Rob Amery and Nunga language workers, Liz Rigney and Nelson Varcoe, they ran a series of language workshops throughout Adelaide for any local Nunga who was interested in languages, targeting in particular AEWs already working in schools. They organised a field trip for those interested to the Flinders Ranges and Alice Springs to visit different language programs. Gale, Agius, Amery, Rigney and Varcoe also visited many Aboriginal communities in and around Adelaide to talk about languages. Liz Rigney is Ngarrindjeri, and at the time she was concerned that her son was not able to learn his own language at Taperoo, where Indonesian and Pitjantjatjara were being taught.

Lack of language resources was quickly recognised as a major problem in schools, so the team decided that the best possible resource they could produce with the money they had left would be to run a workshop to produce a songbook. This songwriting workshop, held at Tandanya, proved to be the highlight of the year-long project, and involved much local talent. The final product was a songbook and tape comprising songs in the three local Nunga languages – Kaurna, Narungga and Ngarrindjeri. It was published in 1990, entitled *Narrunga, Kaurna & Ngarrindjeri Songs*. It continues to be sold and used in schools and community groups throughout this state and further afield. Indeed, this project proved that it is a very sound strategy to "use music as a medium to keep your languages alive for future generations" (see 1990 Songbook: Acknowledgement page). Liz Rigney and Agius continued to work in schools, and were finally given recognition for their knowledge and experience by the Education Department. Aguis commenced teaching her own language, Narungga, at Kaurna Plains School and Taperoo Primary, while Liz Rigney taught Ngarrindjeri. The introduction of compulsory LOTE in 1991 was a continuing and strong motivating factor for such Indigenous peoples to strive to continue to teach their own languages in school.

The songwriter and performer, Nelson Varcoe, who was particularly instrumental in the success of the 1990 songwriting initiative, continues today to write and perform songs in the Kaurna and Narungga languages. Following on from the success of the first songbook project, Varcoe initiated a Kaurna songbook project in 1995. The Kaurna songbook was finally published in 1999 (Schultz *et al* 1999).

The early language work done in schools by people such as Varcoe, Agius and Rigney inspired enthusiasm for what was possible in the way of language revival. It saw local Aboriginal languages being adopted with enthusiasm in more schools with Aboriginal

students. Others involved in teaching Aboriginal languages in those early days included Rhonda Agius, who taught her own language Ngarrindjeri at Alberton Primary and Mansfield Park Primary. She continues to teach Ngarrindjeri to the Aboriginal students at Mansfield Park today. Sandra Ken and Sam Osborne were also employed to teach Pitjantjatjara at Cowandilla and Alberton Primary, plus Kalaya Child Centre where it is still taught today.

Another major language initiative for this state has been South Australia's leadership in the development of a national curriculum for the teaching of Indigenous languages at the senior secondary level in schools. This initiative was undertaken by the Senior Secondary Assessment Board of South Australia (SSABSA), which is a body that oversees the curriculum and assessment of Years 11 and 12 in both government and non-government schools in SA and the NT. Tony Mercurio of SSABSA was concerned that many European, Asian and other languages were being offered to students as publically assessed subjects at senior secondary level, but no opportunities were available for studying our own Indigenous languages. A team of educators and linguists (including Rob Amery and Simone Ulalka Tur) were employed over a period of four years to develop a national curriculum framework that could be used by teachers to offer Indigenous languages to students. The framework is flexible and allows for students to study Indigenous languages, whether they be 'sleeping' or 'strong', but also for students to look at regional languages and the many other Indigenous languages of Australia. The Australian Indigenous Languages Framework (AILF) was officially accredited in 1994, and is now offered to students in various parts of the state and the NT. Although numbers in the program are not large, early student interest and results have been promising.

7.1.2 The last ten years

The teaching of Indigenous languages within South Australian schools has escalated considerably over the last decade. This is partly because of the implementation of the (1991) national policy on languages, making the study of a second language compulsory through to Year 8. But it is also because of the increased support and funding for Indigenous languages in both the school and non-school sector. But for this interest to be maintained, so must funding. For practical and economic reasons, primary schools tend to offer just one language as their official School Language (or LOTE - Language Other Than English). So over the last decade, schools with high enrolments of Indigenous students have increasingly chosen to offer an Indigenous language as their official School Language. In 1992, for example, the Kaurna language was adopted as the official School Language (or LOTE) for the Kaurna Plains School. Pitjantjatjara has also been the official language taught at Alberton Primary for some years.

Indigenous languages continue to be taught in schools, in 2002, where there is a large Aboriginal student enrolment. Programs are no longer predominantly offered in the metropolitan area, with many regional schools now offering the local Indigenous language. These regional schools particularly offer their program to non-Indigenous students, such as Port Augusta and Leigh Creek schools (offering Adnyamathanha) and Ceduna and Port Lincoln schools (offering Pitjantjatjara). Approximately 20% of Indigenous students in primary schools and 6% of those in secondary schools participate

in Indigenous language programs. In the last three years, both the number of programs offered and the numbers of students studying an Indigenous language have almost doubled. (p.c. Wilson & Tunstill 2002)

In 2001, nine Indigenous languages were taught in South Australian schools to at least 3,274 students[10] through 84 language programs. These figures include Preschool-age children plus Primary and Secondary students, but the majority of programs are Primary school based, and the majority of Primary programs target Indigenous students. The languages taught are Adnyamathanha, Antikirinya, Arabana, Kaurna, Narungga, Ngarrindjeri, Pitjantjatjara, Wirangu and Yankunytjatjara (*see* Wilson & Tunstill 2001).

Pitjantjatjara is the strongest Indigenous language spoken in the state, and was the first Aboriginal language to be taught in schools outside of its traditional land area. It continues to be the most widely taught language in schools, being taught where it is a first language for some students (such as Port Augusta, Ceduna, Oak Valley and Koonibba) and as a second language to others. It is taught at 17 different sites, including six centres in Adelaide, including a new program at Gepps Cross Girls High school that commenced in 2001. Yankunytjatjara, which is a close language variety to Pitjantjatjara, is being taught in Port Augusta at five different sites.

Ngarrindjeri is another commonly taught language in schools, being taught at 16 sites, largely in the Riverland and Murray Bridge, but also in two urban Kindergartens and at Mansfield Park Primary. These programs are categorised as Language "Renewal" programs[11]. Adnyamathanha is taught at 12 sites, predominantly at Port Augusta and Leigh Creek, where the programs are categorised as "Revitalisation" programs. It is also taught in a few urban sites, such as Stirling North Primary and Stirling North Childhood Services Centre.

The Kaurna language, which is undergoing the "Reclamation" process, is taught in the most wide range of educational institutions, all in the northern Adelaide area, ranging from the Kaurna Plains Early Childhood Centre to the Para West Adult Campus. It is also taught at Tauondi College (an Aboriginal TAFE institution) as well as at the University of South Australia. The Narungga language, belonging to a large Nunga population in the state, is also being "Reclaimed" and being taught at Point Pearce community in the Primary School and Child-Parent Centre. Wirangu, also being "Reclaimed", is being taught at Ceduna and Koonibba on the west coast. The two remaining languages that are taught are also operating in regional areas, including Antikirinya (at Coober Pedy and Oodnadatta) and Arabana (at Port Augusta and Marree).

In many cases, these language programs are taught by Indigenous language teachers, but lack of available community teachers is a severe problem in sustaining these programs.

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[10] This figure of 3,274 is incomplete, and lower than the actual number learning an Aboriginal language. Some school sites did not offer figures for the annual survey conducted by Wilson & Tunstill (2001).

[11] The languages taught in schools are categorised by The Department under four different program types: First Language maintenance and development; Second Language Learning; Language Revival (comprising Revitalisation, Renewal and Reclamation) and Language Awareness.

The programs can falter when there is a change-over in staff, and don't necessarily run all year round. Maitland Area School, for example, ceased its Narungga program in 1999 due to the lack of a teacher. Issues of 'language ownership' are of concern amongst many Indigenous communities, particularly where languages are no longer spoken fluently by the younger generations. These communities prefer their language only to be taught by their own people, and for permission to be sought before programs are initiated. There is no secure funding, however, for these Indigenous teachers, and lack of official training as teachers generally sees them being paid on an hourly paid basis, with no clearly defined career paths. Rhonda Agius, for example, has taught her own Ngarrindjeri language within the school sector for over ten years, but remains on hourly paid rates. Similarly, Cherie Watkins has taught the Kaurna language in both the Primary and Secondary system, as well as the Tertiary sector, but also works on a contract basis. The expansion of Indigenous language programs throughout SA schools is in no small part a consequence of the dedication of these and other Indigenous teachers.

Lack of language resources and teaching materials continues to be a problem for programs at all levels of schooling, thus hindering the success of Indigenous language programs. The Education Department currently funds two Project Officer positions to support these programs in schools, but there are more programs, and thus more demands for support, than these two people can possibly meet. Much of their time in recent years has been spent writing curriculum frameworks that align with the current South Australian Curriculum Standards and Accountability (SACSA) framework that was recently adopted for all South Australian schools. They have also produced useful curriculum guidelines such as *Warranna Purruttiappandi: Reviving Languages* (DETE 1998) and a curriculum document for Yankunytjatjara (DECS 1994). They are currently working on curriculum documents for Arabana and Adnyamathanha, but there is a need for further support at the grass roots level in schools.

In 1994 the first students undertook Stage One (Year 11) of the AILF program in South Australia, studying the Kaurna language in Adelaide, and Pitjantjatjara in Port Augusta. These were the first students to study an Indigenous language at the senior secondary level in the country. Later that year Antikirinya was offered at Oodnadatta Aboriginal School. AILF is now also operating in the Northern Territory and Victoria.[12] At one stage Kaurna was taught at two sites in the northern suburbs of Adelaide, including Fremont-Elizabeth City High School and the Para West Adult Campus, but in 2002 it is only at the former site. The stability of programs is very much dependent on staffing, and unfortunately language programs in the north of the state are not currently operating at the senior secondary level. One way of reaching more students across the state has been to offer intensive summer schools over a two week period in a central area. The first of these intensive schools was offered in December 2001 in Adelaide by a team from SSABSA, and proved to be very successful. They offered the three languages Kaurna, Pitjantjatjara and Ngarrindjeri, with the majority of students being Indigenous and

[12] In 2002 in the NT, Djambarrpuyngu (a Yolngu language from Arnhem Land) is taught to students at Kormilda College and Kriol is being taught to students at Mararra Christian School, and in Victoria both Djambarrpuyngu and Yorta Yorta (from western Victoria) are taught at Worawa College.

identifying with one of these three languages. Funding and support is needed to run more of these intensive schools in the future, as this was just a one-off initiative by SSABSA.

7.1.3 Schooling and language in the Anangu Lands.

At present, Indigenous languages are not officially taught in schools in the Anangu Lands, despite many of the trained teachers employed in these schools being Anangu and first language speakers of Pitjantjatjara. This has been the case since the dismantling of the bilingual education program in 1992. The schools officially adopted 'Two Way' schooling, but this new surreptitious policy dictated that English-only was to be used in the classroom, which many of the Anangu teachers find hard to sustain. English is also the official language in other schools in the north where most students are strong Indigenous language speakers. Some oral programs have been mounted but one at least was discontinued this year.

The findings of the state-wide survey revealed that speakers of Pitjantjatjara, Yankunytjatjara and Antikirinya overwhelmingly advocated the teaching of Indigenous languages within the school system. Respondents see many benefits in having Indigenous languages taught, including:

- Speaking language gives the children a sense of confidence - makes the children feel worthwhile
- Children feel they can help and contribute to those who do not speak the language fluently
- It promotes strong community involvement in the school program because the community feels the language belongs to them (including choosing the language to be taught, and AEWs making their own language resources etc)

People who spoke to us were particularly enthusiastic about the community aspect of language programs. They did not see any reason to divorce community and school language programs, and felt that ideally they should be inseparable:

> *[Language] belongs to the people, the school belongs to the community and the community belongs to the school.*
>
> *The family are the teachers, language should follow the children from school to home. This nurtures identity and belonging.*

Most people who responded to the survey thought the decision to discontinue bilingual or 'both-ways' education in Anangu schools was wrong and should be reversed. In the early 1990s, the main justification for ending bilingual education was that it would supposedly improve English outcomes. While we do not have any reports of research on that question, after ten years of an English-only system, informant responses suggest that there has been no improvement. Most of the Indigenous people we spoke to across South Australia totally rejected the notion that learning an Indigenous language in school interferes with the acquisition of English. Most strongly supported the right for Mother Tongue education.

While this issue does not directly concern ATSILI programs, it is one in which the rights of Indigenous people to education in their mother-tongue, as supported by the United Nations, is at stake. Thus, it should be a matter for comment by both ATSIC-SA and any representative Indigenous language body operating within this state.

As well as the immediate effect on the children who have been denied an education in their languages, there are a number of other effects from an absence of bilingual education over an extended period. People who went through schooling with a vernacular literacy program are literate in their language but those following after them in more recent years are not. The adults are sad because children have lost the art of writing and reading in their own language. They want the children to be able to do these things to keep the culture strong. While there was bilingual education there was a lot of reading and writing and cultural production going on involving literacy in local languages. This is no longer happening among the young people.

The current generation of children do not know how to read and write Pitjantjatjara. Most adults can read and write to some degree, but a lot of people need more help with writing. If there are Pitjantjatjara literacy needs in the clinic, at the office, or in the church, there are a limited number of people who can help. With the launch of the Pitjantjatjara Bible during Easter at Ernabella, in 2002, Anangu are very conscious of the fact that many of the younger generation cannot read this new and valuable resource. Literacy skills in Pitjantjatjara are the major priority in their minds.

One Stolen Generation person said:

> *I wept when I heard that they were taking language out of the school. They don't know what they're doing.*

While a Pitjantjatjara speaker said:

> *Two ways, I was thinking… One way is no way!*

Another side-effect of the closure of bilingual education, which effects those beyond the Anangu Lands, is a reduction in the amount of Pitjantjatjara language materials being produced. Many language resources were generated by the bilingual education system, and these often found their way into many other schools and university courses where Pitjantjatjara is taught as a second language. This supply has now stopped.

7.1.4 Does learning an Indigenous language hold back English?

For some time, a rearguard action has been waged by 'neo-assimilationists' in South Australia against recognition and support for Indigenous languages. Those waging this battle favour assimilationist English-only policies and were, in some cases, involved in the decision to axe bilingual education on the Anangu Pitjantjatjara Lands. A small number of Anangu leaders also supported this approach, arguing that home is the place for learning Indigenous languages. Their understanding was/is that school should be

conducted in English only so that students have longer to acquire a good level of English. A number of academics and others have backed this view by arguing that English is the 'power' language and that Aboriginal students are ultimately disadvantaged by having attending classes conducted in their first language.

Some prominent Aboriginal academics and leaders have recently made statements along these lines. These statements have been publicised heavily in both the national and Indigenous media (*see* eg. *The Australian,* August 2001). Respondents in Port Augusta were critical of statements made by Noel Pearson in which he said Indigenous languages had no place in schools. For these respondents, removing Indigenous languages from schools would lead to a loss of culture and identity.

The idea that people cannot learn English well if they also have classes in an Aboriginal language is founded on the widely discredited idea that students cannot learn two languages at once. Traditional Aboriginal people had no trouble in being bilingual or multilingual, nor do the majority of people around the world. It has been shown both overseas and in Australia that learning to read and write initially in your first language helps with learning a second language, and does not hinder it (*see* Cummins, 1986; K. Gale, 1981 *et al*; Murtagh, 1979). As one Barngarla informant noted:

> *But that's where they made the mistake. We could have learnt both. They should have been taught together.*

The overwhelming view of survey participants, whether at meetings, individual interviews or in completed questionnaires, was complete support for the teaching of Indigenous language in schools. They considered the suggestion that students would not learn English well if they were exposed to an Indigenous languages as: *a fallacy*; *an old Greek myth* and *rubbish* as well as other colourful expletives..

Many people see enormous value in having two languages in their children's education; it helps develop the children's minds and provides a firm foundation for them to acquire other languages such as English. It is hard for them to understand why there is a push for English-only education:

> *Knowing their own language really gives the young kids a grip on English. It strengthens them in their learning of other things. If we can get them to understand the differences between English and their own language, and see that the two of them can operate side-by-side, then they can get a grip and can go forward in whatever they learn.*

7.2 The tertiary sector

In 1997 the Kaurna language was introduced at the tertiary level in South Australia, thus joining Pitjantjatjara as one of two Indigenous languages taught as an accredited language at a university. It was initially taught at the University of Adelaide, but in 2002 this course was transferred to the University of South Australia along with the course's founder Rob Amery. This course is as much a language awareness program as it is a

language learning experience and Kaurna community members are employed to give guest lectures throughout the course. A small number of Kaurna people are also regular participating students in the course, some doing it for credit, others attending through the community access program.

Kaurna is also taught at Tauondi College, which is a TAFE institution at Port Adelaide for Indigenous students. The Kaurna classes are taught by Cherie Watkins as part of the Cultural Instructors and Tourism course, and is undertaken by students who wish to pursue careers as tour guides or in some other capacity in the tourism industry.

Since those early efforts in 1990 of producing songs in the Kaurna language, community enthusiasm for language revival work in the Kaurna language has steadily grown. The methods being adopted in the Kaurna language reclamation movement are now showing the way for numerous other Indigenous language revival programs throughout Australia, and on the world stage (*see* Amery 2000). Its successes are an inspiration for other Indigenous South Australians wanting to pursue work in their own languages, such as the Narungga people of Yorke Peninsula. Its achievements also stand as an important example of the potential for Indigenous communities to reclaim and revitalise their languages, even if they have been declared 'dead' or 'extinct' by non-Indigenous researchers and academics.

Apart from the two Indigenous languages being taught at the University of SA, there is little by way of support for Indigenous languages in the tertiary sector in South Australia. In the late 1980s, the SACAE (now University of South Australia) supported language revival projects in Ngarrindjeri and Narungga undertaken by Brian Kirke, Jillian Sumner and others. In 1993, Linguistics was established as a discipline at Adelaide University with the appointment of Professor Peter Mühlhäusler. Mühlhäusler recruited a number of postgraduate students who carried out research into South Australian languages, including Kaurna, Dieri, Pitjantjatjara, Antikirinya and Ngarrindjeri. In addition, Mühlhäusler and colleagues have worked on several consultancies – for example for DETE and NLLIA – and have obtained some funds to carry out other small research projects on SA languages. Much of this latter work has been archival.

Several attempts have been made by Mühlhäusler and colleagues to embed Indigenous languages within the tertiary sector, but with limited success. At Adelaide University, Indigenous languages and Indigenous language issues are currently covered within existing linguistic courses (Foundations of Linguistics; Ethnography of Communications; Language Planning and Language Maintenance). But with the current depressed economic climate within universities, courses that attract relatively lower student numbers find it difficult to sustain themselves. It has been a constant battle for those running the Indigenous language classes to justify their existence in either university.

In 1996, however, Christine Nicholls introduced the course "Australian Indigenous Languages: Issues and Debates" at Flinders University. Nicholls has been an outspoken advocate for Bilingual Education (*see* Nicholls 2001a; 2001b).

7.3 Interpreting/translation

In South Australia, the *Evidence Act* provides that a person whose native language is not English and who is "not reasonably fluent in English" is entitled to the assistance of an interpreter during police investigations and within the courts. Despite this provision having been inserted into the *Act* in 1986, many Indigenous people still have to encounter legal and other institutions without access to a professional interpreting service. The importance of providing quality interpreting services, and the training of Aboriginal people to take on this work, was noted by the Royal Commission into Aboriginal Deaths in Custody (*see* Recommendations 99, 100 & 249 in Johnston 1991).

In South Australia, interpreting and translation services for Indigenous people are coordinated through the Interpreting and Translation Centre, a unit within the Division of Multicultural Affairs. This centre, which was established in 1975, currently accesses only four interpreters who specialise in interpreting Indigenous languages. Three of these interpret for Anangu (Antikirinya, Pitjantjatjara and Yankunytjatjara speakers), while the other person occasionally interprets for Aranda speakers (generally people from the Northern Territory who are in Adelaide for medical treatment).

In reality, however, the Interpreting and Translation Centre forwards the vast majority of requests for interpreting services to one of two interpreters: a 65 year old Antikirinya woman and a 72 year old non-Indigenous man. In 2001, the male interpreter was called upon to provide interpretation on 106 occasions. A similar burden of responsibility is carried by the female interpreter. The Research Team spoke with both these persons, each of whom expressed deep concern as to how such services would be maintained in years to come. Both felt that because interpreters are only paid an hourly rate of approximately $20.00, few Indigenous people would be prepared to take on this work professionally. In the far north of the state, one informant spoke of her inability to obtain interpreting work despite constant efforts. This person had been told that she needed a "whitefella qualification" to be considered for the position. Despite this many government and non-government organisations call on her for non-paid, interpreting "help". Indeed, many Aboriginal persons employed in organisations in the northern half of the state constantly provide interpreting services, though this is rarely formally recognised. As one informant commented:

> *ATSIC people should realise that office workers who do translating for CDEP should be paid as interpreters.*

Other informants suggested that the Education Department and the Tertiary sector be encouraged to establish units within existing courses that would allow Indigenous students to gain understanding, experience and recognition with respect to cross-cultural communication and formal interpreting. Such courses could be linked to the Wiltja Program at Woodville High School and the Anangu Tertiary Education Program at the University of South Australia.

While translation work does take place occasionally, this is largely on an ad hoc basis. Indeed staff at the Interpreting and Translating Centre estimated that in terms of Indigenous languages, less than 5% of requests were for translating services.

7.4 Media

This section does not attempt to cover all media organisations that have produced anything with Indigenous language content in SA. Instead it reviews those organisations and activities about which we were told during our survey.

7.4.1 P/Y Media

Established in 1989, and currently funded by ATSIC, the P/Y Media organisation produces electronic, visual and auditory materials for and about communities living on the Anangu Pitjantjatjara Lands.[13] The use and celebration of the traditional languages of this region – Pitjantjatjara and Yankunytjatjara – are integral to all productions. Programs produced include the recording of *inma* (dance and song), *Tjukurpa* (traditional storytelling and re-enactments of Dreaming narratives), oral histories, and explanations of traditional skills and knowledge (eg bush medicine and foods). In recent years, P/Y Media has established the *EVTV Archival project*. This project provides Pitjantjatjara, and Yankunytjatjara communities with an archive of language productions and recordings. Its video collection, containing copies of all past productions, currently holds some 3,000 hours of material recorded in the Pitjantjatjara and Yankunytjatjara languages.

7.4.2 Radio 5NPY

Launched in 1998, and based at Umuwa on the Anangu Pitjantjatjara Lands, this radio network – which is part of the program operations of P/Y Media – broadcasts to over one fifth of Australia's land mass. Programming emphasises local news and information, talkback shows, and music. Many of the programs on Radio 5NPY are wholly or partly produced in the language of its target audiences: Pitjantjatjara, Yankunytjatjara & Ngaanyatjarra. As a part of P/Y Media, the station receives its main operating funds from ATSIC.

7.4.3 Umeewarra Media

Umeewarra Media's main activity is running a radio station in Port Augusta. Apparently the local language content used to be higher but is at a low level now. Its operators tried for years to get people to speak language on air but it was too hard to get people to come in. When asked about this reluctance, some offered the explanation that people had been told they would lose copyright or ownership of their stories if they broadcast them on air. Further explanations were not offered.

7.4.4 Yalata radio

The west coast community of Yalata reportedly had a community radio station that operated two or three years ago. It used to broadcast in Pitjantjatjara and English, and

[13] The establishment of P/Y Media was a widening of work begun at Ernabella in 1984 as *EVTV: Ernabella Video Television*.

operated for one to two years. People at Yalata thought it would be good to get their radio station going again. People also said they want to have TV programs and videos made in Pitjantjatjara, as is currently happening in the north of the state.

7.5 Church-related language activities

In April 2002, as mentioned earlier, the shorter Pitjantjatjara Bible was dedicated at Ernabella. It comprises all of the New Testament and approximately 15% of the Old Testament. It was dedicated as part of the Easter celebrations held at Ernabella. This enormous translation project, which originally began in the mid 1940s, culminated with 24 years of work by the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL) Bible translation project, which was undertaken by Paul and Ann Eckert together with local A<u>n</u>angu language workers.

The development of translation skills and Pitjantjatjara literacy skills have been important spin-offs for the many Pitjantjatjara people who have been involved in the Bible translation project. In 1996-97 two Pitjantjatjara translators, Margaret Dagg and Kanytjupai Armstrong, completed the SIL Certificate in Translating. They were the first Aboriginal people in Australia to complete the course and have worked with the translation project as its backbone for more than a decade.

The singing of hymns and the conduct of liturgy in Indigenous languages remain important uses of Indigenous languages today. Outside of the A<u>n</u>angu Pitjantjatjara Lands, Pitjantjatjara and other Indigenous languages are being increasingly adopted for religious purposes. The Lutheran Church has a long history of use of Indigenous languages, and to this day still supports the use of Pitjantjatjara liturgy and the singing of Pitjantjatjara hymns in church and Christian inma (‘dance/ceremony’) at Yalata, Oak Valley and to some extent in Port Augusta.

In Adelaide the Committee for Aboriginal Ministry in South Australia (CAMSA) supported Nelson Varcoe (who is training to join the ministry) to produce a CD which included hymns sung in the Kaurna language. One such hymn is the all-time favourite among Nungas ‘The old rugged cross’. The Nunga church in Adelaide incorporates hymns from several Indigenous South Australian languages into their worship services.

Church remains an important area for further expansion in the use of Aboriginal languages. The conduct of funerals and other ceremonies is probably one of the easiest and best ways to re-introduce ‘sleeping’ languages, particularly because these are events which require the use of formulaic language.

8 ATSIC Language Programs

This chapter reviews Indigenous language programs funded by ATSIC, primarily through its ATSILI program. In South Australia, since 1993, the Yaitya Warra Wodli Language Centre (YWW) has received and distributed almost all ATSILIP funding designated for the support and maintenance of Indigenous languages within this State. This chapter therefore contains a review of YWW operations and provides descriptions of some of the community language projects it has supported. Following on from this, respondent observations as to the effectiveness of YWW and ATSIC's programs and operations are summarised.

8.1 Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Languages Initiative (ATSILI).

In the early 1990s, ATSIC assumed responsibility for administering the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Languages Initiative (ATSILI). This purpose of this program is to:

- provide support for community initiated projects aimed at the maintenance, retrieval and revival of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander languages;
- promote the use and development of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander languages in contemporary contexts; and
- improve awareness and appreciation of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander languages amongst the wider Australian community and government agencies involved in language and literacy issues.

(in *ATSILI Funding Guidelines* 2002)

As part of its ATSILI responsibilities, ATSIC distributes funds to support

> base recurrent operations of Regional Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Language Centres, … and local community based … Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Projects which are affiliated with … regional language centres.
>
> (in *ATSILI Funding Guidelines* 2002)

In South Australia such funding is primarily directed to and distributed by YWW.

8.1.1 The Yaitya Warra Wodli Language Centre, 1993-2000

In 1993, YWW was established as an administrative centre for South Australian-based Aboriginal language projects. Despite suggestions and declaration that additional language centres would be established in regional centres, as of May 2002, YWW remains the only such centre operative within South Australia.

According to its constitution, YWW has two main objectives:

1. To promote, resource and assist the development, recording, retrieval, teaching and use of Aboriginal Language and Culture.

2. To do all such other things as may be incidental to the attainment of such objects.
(*in* ATSIC 2000: 4)

In short, the expectation is that YWW will be the peak body for Indigenous languages in South Australia:

- identifying community needs,
- supporting and funding community language initiatives, and
- providing advocacy and ongoing support for South Australia's Indigenous communities, particularly with respect to lobbying all levels of government on language issues.

Notwithstanding these objectives, YWW's major responsibility is to distribute ATSILI program funding for language programs and initiatives across South Australia.

The first major review of YWW, conducted in 1996, "highlighted major deficiencies" in the organisation's "administration and operational management" (*in* ATSIC 2000: 24). Four years later, another review was undertaken in order to "establish the status of the operational and financial management" of YWW and to "make recommendations accordingly" (ATSIC 2000: 3). This second review, conducted by ATSIC, investigated YWW's performance in terms of its:

- management structure;
- Board;
- operational procedures;
- financial management;
- compliance with the terms and conditions of funding; and
- service provision.

In February 2000, the Review Team released its findings and recommendations. Apart from comments noting that YWW's financial records were of a "satisfactory standard," the 25-page report was otherwise scathing of YWW's past performance and sceptical as to its capacity to embrace meaningful change. Noting that none of the recommendations made in 1996 "in relation to the management of the community based language program ha[d] been implemented," the Review Team suggested YWW was "unable or unwilling to accept recommended changes" (ATSIC 2000:24).

The nature of the report's criticisms and conclusions are exemplified by such statements as:

- YWW "has for a number of years failed to produce any significant outcomes";
- YWW "is failing to provide an adequate service delivery to Aboriginal communities in South Australia";
- YWW "is bogged down with administrative processes";
- YWW "has not established any policy that identifies the language priorities for the State despite the need for such a policy being raised on numerous occasions";
- YWW "is clearly not meeting the required outcomes or addressing the purpose of the ATSILIP"; and

- the "late release of funds to organisations … has contributed to the lack of any project outcomes and led to the ultimate failing of the community based language projects and the program as a whole".

(ATSIC 2000: 9, 12, 15, 16 & 22)

In summary, the Review Team suggested YWW did "not have the ability to efficiently and effectively manage a State Language Centre," nor "the capacity to develop the community based language program to an acceptable standard, which is the core function of Language Centres" (ATSIC 2000: 25). As a consequence in its final recommendations, the Review Team advocated both the suspension of ATSILIP in South Australia and the defunding of YWW (ATSIC 2000: 25).

8.1.2 The Yaitya Warra Wodli Language Centre, 2000/01.

In response to the Review Team's damaging report and recommendations (ATSIC 2000), YWW has amended some of its operating procedures and attempted to operate in a more efficient and community-centred manner. Some aspects of this change happened relatively swiftly, as the "Performance Indicator Reports" it submits on a quarterly basis to ATSIC make clear. Prior to the release of the Review Team's findings these contained minimal information, with a significant amount of the "narrative report" being recycled and/or reused unchanged from quarter to quarter (*see* YWW 1999 & 2000a). Little evidence was provided in support of the activities undertaken and, as a consequence of YWW's recycling of previous reports, questionable claims appear to have been made.[14] Quarterly reports submitted after the release of the 2000 Review Team's report demonstrate efforts to improve the processing of funding applications. For example, in the final quarterly report submitted in 1999/2000, the Narrative Report indicates that three new language projects had been funded and, in terms of "Performance Indicators", that the number of Indigenous employees working on language projects had risen considerably (YWW 2000b).

A review of the quarterly report submitted six months later (YWW 2001a) suggests that YWW has continued to respond to past criticisms. In contrast to earlier reports, this one contains much more information and suggests a determination by the YWW Board to fund language projects in a fair and professional manner. Activities undertaken by the Board address a number of the Review Team's criticism and recommendations. For example, in a section entitled "Achievements," Rigney writes:

> The Board of Management has also developed decision-making [processes] for approving language project applications. Justification for decisions are clearly stated in board minutes when these decisions are made. The Board has also established procedures for applications in line with the ATSIC funding cycle.

[14] The text of the Narrative Reports submitted to ATSIC as part of the "Performance Indicator Report" for the first and second quarters 1999/2000 are largely identical. Consequently, YWW claims that staff and Board members "attended the FATSIL Annual General Meeting and Language Expo Forum in Perth" in both the first and second quarters 1999/2000.

While this report does indicate a much-needed culture of change, it is difficult to be certain that this culture has been maintained or ascertain the extent to which all of the Review Team's recommendations relating to operating procedures have been addressed. An examination of the four quarterly reports submitted in 2001 might provide a more conclusive answer, ensure that "interim" steps – as described by Rigney (YWW 2001a) – have been successfully and appropriately formalised and determine whether YWW has successfully developed the mooted traineeship program.

8.1.2.1 The YWW Strategic Plan 2001-3.

Early in 2001, YWW produced a three-year Strategic Plan (YWW 2001b). Within a section detailing the "ideas and feelings about what this place [YWW] could mean," the Strategic Plans identifies its aim to be the "retrieval, preservation, restoration, translation, and promotion of ALL South Australian Aboriginal languages" (2001b: 2).

For such an aim to be realised, it is essential to formulate and position detailed strategies within a specified timeframe. Unfortunately the YWW Strategic Plan largely lacks this degree of definition and precision. This is exemplified in the organisation's 'goals' listed below:

1. Establish an organisation capable of taking Aboriginal Language issues to greater heights
2. Systematically address Aboriginal language issues and priorities at local and state levels
3. Develop strategic partnerships
4. Increase the range of programs and services of YWW and access to them

(YWW 2001b: 3)

Of these four goals, numbers 1 and 2 are particularly vague and difficult to interpret. While elsewhere in the report, YWW does attempt to link goals with strategies within a specified timeframe, the current Research Team has not seen any of the documents purported to be completed by the end of 2001. That noted, a number of the strategies contained within the document are valuable and should be pursued. These include:

GOAL	STRATEGY	WHEN
4, 1	Establish a picture of current programs and services	January 2001
4, 1	Develop a services and programs data collection system	Functioning system by March 2001
4, 1	Develop a forward plan for programs and services	Report by December 2001
2	Develop a register of Language protocols	Ongoing
2	Develop a register of people with language skills	Ongoing
2	Develop a working list of languages ranging from most at risk to the level of self-sustainability	Preliminary listing by June 2001

8.1.3 Indigenous Language Projects funded by Yaitya Warra Wodli.

It had not been possible to obtain with any certainty a full and comprehensive listing of all of the language projects YWW has funded since its establishment in 1993; in part this

is a consequence of poor record keeping in earlier years, in part a reticence by current staff and Board members to provide easy access to YWW's archives and working files. That said, the YWW Board did allow an Indigenous member of this Research Team to spend two days collecting information on past and present projects from their office files. Based on the information gathered during that visit, as well as brief descriptions supplied by YWW's Manager, this Table and the descriptions that follow it list a selection of projects known to have been funded by YWW.

Table: Projects funded by YWW, 1993-2001

Language(s)	Administering Organisation	Project Title/Description	Year(s)
Adnyamathanha	Nepabunna Aboriginal School	Yura Ngawarla Language Project	1993 (?)
Adnyamathanha	Iga Warta Homelands Aboriginal Corporation	Adnyamathanha Language Project	1995
Adnyamathanha	Yura Language Consultative group / Eunice March	Adnyamathanha: Grammatical Dictionary, Yura Ngawarla Training	1997
Antikirinya	Bobby Brown / Barossa Valley Skills Training Committee	Antikirinya and Yankunytjatjara Language Project	1994
Antikirinya	Yaitya Warra Wodli, in association with Patch Theatre Company	The Antikirinya Tjitjiku Inma Project	1995
Antikirinya	Port Pirie and Districts Aboriginal Community Centre	Antikirinya Wangka Walaringkuntjatjara. Antikirinya Handbook	2001
Arabana	Ikara Wilpena Association	1. Arabana language 2. Anantharra Bilya Bilya Luwisa-Ku Wangka Project	n.d. 1998
Barngarla	Barngarla Aboriginal Consultative Council	Barngarla Language Project.	1994
Kaurna	Kaurna Plains School Council	Kaurna Language Project: Retrieval and Maintenance "*Warra Kaurna*"	1992
Kaurna	Aboriginal Community College	Kaurna Cultural Excursion Videos	1994 (?)
Kokatha	Western Kokatha Weenamooga Aboriginal Corporation	Kokatha Preservation and Maintenance Project	2000
Mirning	Yirkala-Mirning Trust	Yirkala-Mirning Language Program	2000/01
Narungga	Narungga Wodli Heritage Cultural & Language Centre	The Narungga Language & Culture Development Project	1995-6 (?)
Narungga	Narungga Aboriginal Progress Association	Narungga People's Language Project.	2000/01
Ngarrindjeri	Mansfield Park Primary School	Ngarrindjeri Culture and language studies	1993 (?)
Ngarrindjeri	Jerry Mason Senior Memorial Centre	Ngarrindjeri Language Project	1997
Ngarrindjeri[15]	Lower Murray Nunga's Club	Ngurnauwe Tunggarar Project for the Ngarrindjeri language	2000/01
Ngarrindjeri	Kungari Aboriginal Cultural Heritage Association	Kungari Language Research and Retrieval Project	2001
Nukunu	Nukunu Peoples Council	Nukunu Languages Project: Research, development and dictionary project.	1995
Pitjantjatjara	Yalata Community	Punu Kutjupa Kutjupa Tjuta Project	1999
Pitjantjatjara	Irintata Homelands	Pitjantjatjara language Revival Project	2000/01
Pitjantjatjara/ Yankunytjatjara	Pitjantjatjara Council	The Ara Irititja Archival Project	1999
Wirangu and local languages	Port Lincoln Aboriginal Community Council	1. Wirangu Project 2. Traditional Languages Lost Project	2000/01 1997
Yarluyandi	Nangkada Tjikarna Council	Yarluyandi Language Development – CD Project	2001

[15] See discussion below, in footnote attached to section 8.1.3.7

8.1.3.1 The Ara Irititja Archival Project

Target Languages: Pitjantjatjara and Yankunytjatjara

The Ara Irititja Archival Project is managed by the Social History Unit of the Pitjantjatjara Council, in conjunction with Anangu Pitjantjatjara. The project identifies, copies and electronically records historical materials about Anangu (Pitjantjatjara/Yankunytjatjara people). The project started in 1994 when it was realised that a significant amount of material about Anangu – including language material – was not controlled by or accessible to them.

Over the last seven years, the Ara Irititja Archival Project has developed an electronic archive that responds to the specific cultural needs of Anangu. In contrast to most archives that manage static items, the Ara Irititja Archival Project is structured around a dynamic database. When viewing records, Anangu can add, expand, or correct data and historical details. Such contributions can be made in Pitjantjatjara, Yankunytjatjara and/or English. In 2001, electronic archives containing more than 26,000 records were handed over to four Anangu communities (Ernabella/Pukatja, Murputja, Umuwa & Mimili). The archives were housed in robust, dust-proof, mobile workstations, each of which contained an iMac computer, data projector, colour printer and uninterruptible power supply unit. At least four more communities are scheduled to receive an archive/mobile workstation in 2002.

The recording of oral histories is one of the main aims of the project. Priority is given to recording and transcribing the stories of elderly Anangu living on the Anangu Pitjantjatjara Lands. YWW has supported this aspect of the project's work through grants to collect stories of (a) first contact and (b) the struggle for Land Rights. This funding also enabled these oral histories to be transcribed and translated with a view to publication.[16]

8.1.3.2 The Nukunu Languages Project

Target Language: Nukunu

Managed by the Nukunu Peoples Council, this project was first funded by YWW in July 1995. It aimed to research, document and record the Nukunu language. The project builds on an earlier collaboration with linguist Luise Hercus, during which a draft dictionary was compiled. The project aimed to redraft and expand this document.

8.1.3.3 The Barngarla Language Project

Target Language: Barngarla

This project, which received funding support from YWW in February 1994, was managed by the Barngarla Aboriginal Consultative Council. The council is a representative for all Barngarla people and is committed to protecting and reviving Barngarla culture. Barngarla language is an integral part of this protection and revival process.

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[16] Ara Irititja' is a Pitjantjatjara/Yankunytjatjara expression meaning 'stories from long ago'. More information on the Ara Irititja Archival Project is available at: www.pitcouncil.com.au/social_arairititja.html.

The project aimed to

- record oral histories and examples of Barngarla language,
- retrieve historical language materials in which Barngarla language had been recorded (eg Schürmann 1844),
- assess these texts in the light of Barngarla community knowledge and expertise, correcting them as necessary,
- present these corrected materials in a format that would enable and encourage Barngarla people (and others) to learn about their own language and culture.

The project was funded to

- undertake two research trips to the Australian Institute for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies in Canberra,
- conduct field trips,
- collate the material collected, and
- hold three language workshops with Barngarla people.

8.1.3.4 The Ngarrindjeri Language Project

Target Language: Ngarrindjeri

The project, which received funding support from YWW in July 1997, was managed by the Jerry Mason Senior Memorial Centre. It had two main aims::

- produce and develop Ngarrindjeri language resources, and
- maintain the Ngarrindjeri language within the Glossop and Riverland areas.

At the time it received funding, the centre envisaged developing and producing

- a language learning kit,
- audio recordings, and
- picture poster/books in the Ngarrindjeri language, with accompanying English translations.

8.1.3.5 Traditional Languages Lost Project

Target Language(s): Indigenous language traditionally spoken in and around Port Lincoln and on the west coast of South Australia.

The project was managed by the Port Lincoln Aboriginal Community Council. In April 1997, the Council received funding from YWW to

- research and record the languages of the Port Lincoln area and the far west coast of South Australia,
- collate this information and language, and
- return this knowledge and language materials to their traditional owners.

The project's main outcomes were envisaged as:

- the production of video and audio recordings of the Indigenous language spoken within this region;

- the conducting of conversations focused on local languages, with elderly men and women in the community;
- the locating, via Internet searches, of examples of local languages and previous research (that is, materials then being held in museums and libraries).

8.1.3.6 Punu Kutjupa Kutjupa Tjuta Project

Target Language: Pitjantjatjara
This project was managed by the Yalata Community. In 1999, the community received funding from YWW to conduct research into the names and usages of plants within the Yalata Aboriginal Lands and nearby regions. The community's ultimate aim was to produce a visual resource detailing Pitjantjatjara plant names and their English /Latin botanical names. It was envisaged that such a resource would benefit both the local community and other groups and audiences. As part of the first stage of this project, community members aimed to develop skills in relation to research and the production of language materials. The organisation has indicated that additional funding will be required to produce the final publication.

8.1.3.7 Kungari Language Research and Retrieval Project

Target Languages: Maintangk, Tanganekald and other languages of the South East[17]
This project is managed by the Kungari Aboriginal Cultural Heritage Association. The Association aims to raise the profile of and improve understanding with respect to the culture of the Indigenous people of the Coorong and South East regions of South Australia. In 2001, the Association received funding from YWW for a project aimed at nurturing, recovering and promoting the use of Indigenous languages within this area.

A committee of ten traditional owners oversaw the first stage of the language project, ensuring that culturally appropriate protocols were followed at all times and that, where necessary, permissions were sought. During this stage, Dr Irene Watson located and collated extant pieces of language from both historical and contemporary sources. This material was then presented to the Kungari Aboriginal Cultural Heritage Association.

The research report from this first stage contained strategies for extending the research and promoting the teaching and use of Indigenous languages in the South East region. The Association will soon be seeking funding for the next phase of their reclamation project. As part of that phase, they hope to employ a professionally qualified linguist to work with them on the project.

8.1.3.8 Yarluyandi Language Development – CD Project

Target Language: Yarluyandi
Managed by the Nangkada Tjikarna Council, this project aims to record and preserve the traditional language of the Yarluyandi people. It was first funded by YWW in November 2001.

[17] Some of the documentation provided to the Research Team by YWW indicated that this project was funded as a Ngarrindjeri language project. It is thus classified as such in the table in section 8.1.3 of this report. The Kungari Aboriginal Cultural Heritage Association informed the Research Team that it is working on Maintangk, Tanganekald and other related languages of the South East region of South Australia.

The knowledge of a traditional elder, fluent in Yarluyandi, as well as that possessed by other community members who speak a version of Yarluyandi (incorporating Wangkanguru and Wangkamana) will be accessed.

As well as producing a CD and accompanying booklets on the Yarluyandi language, the project aims to produce language maintenance and education software that is user-friendly and culturally appropriate and which can be readily adapted for use with other Indigenous languages.

8.1.3.9 Kaurna Language Project: Retrieval and Maintenance, Warra Kaurna

Target Language: Kaurna

The Kaurna Language Project was a school and community-based initiative and part of the language revival program operative within the Kaurna Plains Early Childhood Centre, Kaurna Plains School, Elizabeth City High School and the Adult Entry Campus. The project received funding from YWW in 1992.

The aim of the *Warra Kaurna* program, managed by the Kaurna Plains School Council Inc, was to provide opportunities for children to learn their mother tongue and to involve parents and community members in the learning of the Kaurna language. The knowledge of Kaurna language specialists and of linguists was utilised in the teaching of language throughout the school curriculum and the recording of language materials. *Warra Kaurna* also involved the public performances of Kaurna songs at school and community events.

8.1.3.10 Ngurnauwe Tunggarar (Our Languages) Project

Target Language: Ngarrindjeri

Managed by the Lower Murray Nungas Club, this project first received funding from YWW in July 2000. The project aimed to:

- acknowledge and reinforce the language and cultural knowledge of senior Ngarrindjeri people;
- collate historical language documents and recordings and verify their authenticity;
- produce a vocabulary and grammatical resource base;
- make language resources available to all members of the Ngarrindjeri community;
- support local primary and high schools Ngarrindjeri acquisition programs within the Lower Murrary / Murrayland regions; and
- increase public awareness of the Ngarrindjeri language.

8.1.3.11 Kokatha Preservation and Maintenance Project

Target Language: Kokatha

This project was managed by the Western Kokatha Weenamooga Aboriginal Corporation. It first received funding from YWW in July 2000.

Assisted by Elders, and in collaboration with other Kokatha groups in South Australia, the Corporation aimed to research and correctly record the Kokatha language. Through

research, recording and documentation, the project sought to affirm the true custodianship of the Kokatha language. At some future point, the Corporation intends to publish language materials.

8.1.3.12 Narungga People's Language Project (NAPA)[18]

Target Language: Narungga

Managed by the Narungga Aboriginal Progress Association, this language reclamation and empowerment project commenced in April 2001. It is funded by YWW and directed by a Reference Group comprised of key Narungga people and informed non-Narungga specialists. A Project linguist, Dr Christina Eira, has been employed and a base office established at the Aboriginal Research Institute (University of South Australia).

Within its first seven months of operations the Project undertook and completed a comprehensive search both for language knowledge and expertise held by Narungga Elders and for historical language records held in museums and libraries across Australia. This search identified about 1000 Narungga words and phrases which have subsequently been analysed by the Project linguist. A series of language workshops is currently being held to address matters like the need for a standard orthography and the processes by which new words may be coined.

On 30 November 2001, at a community meeting held on Narungga land, Narungga people made speeches in their language for the first time in many decades. As outlined in a media release prepared to highlight this event, the vision of the Project's manager, Lesley Wanganeen, is "to restore the language to a level where it can be used independently, for speeches, stories, conversations and written language … to provide resources whereby children can claim their Language heritage … and to make the language available to all Narungga people and their descendants" (Wanganeen & Eira 2001).

In the long-term, the Project also hopes to produce an encyclopedic dictionary, an interactive CD-Rom and to reinstate the names of places on Narungga land.

8.1.3.13 Antikirinya Wangka Walaringkuntjatjara (Antikirinya Handbook)

Target Language: Antikirinya

This project is managed by the Port Pirie and Districts Aboriginal Community Centre. It first received funding support from YWW in October 2001. The project aims to affirm the identity of Antikirinya people – their language and their culture – through the production of an Antikirinya Handbook.

[18] The information contained in this Project Description is primarily based on a media release written to celebrate the reawakening of the Narungga language (Wanganeen & Eira 2001). Requests for additional information on the Narungga People's Language Project should be addressed to Lesley Wanganeen, Project Manager, Narungga Aboriginal Progress Association Inc., 18 Caroline Street, Maitland, SA, 5573.

8.1.3.14 Adnyamathanha Language Project

Target Language: Adnyamathanha
This language revival project was managed by the Iga Warta Homelands Aboriginal Corporation Inc. It first received funding support from YWW in 1995.

8.1.3.15 Anantharra Bilya Bilya Luwisa-Ku Wangka Project

Target Language: Arabana
This project, managed by the Ikara Wilpena Association, commenced in April 1998. It aimed to research and record Arabana (Arabunna) language materials. This is the second of two projects managed by the Association that have received funding support from YWW.

8.1.4 ATSIC-funded language projects not handled by YWW

In the last three years, the following organisations received either ATSILIP or LAIP funding through Port Augusta ATSIC:[19]

- Pitjantjatjara Council: Archive Development and Management (2000/2001 & 2002/2003)
- Pitjantjatjara Council: Broadcast Development and Support (2000/2001)
- Kaltjiti Community Aboriginal Coporation: Archive Development and Management (2001/2002)
- Iga-Warta Homelands Aboriginal Corporation: Preservation of Indigenous Langauges Development and Support (2001/2002)
- Anilalya Homelands Council Aboriginal Corporation: Preservation of Indigenous Languages Development and Support (2001/2002)
- Nepabunna Community Council: Archive Development and Management (2002/2003)

8.2 Effectiveness of programs: the role of ATSIC

Many respondents unequivocally located responsibility for maintaining and strengthening Indigenous languages with ATSIC:

> *As ATSIC is the funding body for Aboriginal & Torres Strait Islanders – it should supply [long term] funding specifically for language studies.*

Although quite a number of participants observed that *there is not enough money for languages* in the ATSIC budget, many others were completely unaware that ATSIC had a budget for language at all. Overall ATSIC staff and councillors were not seen to be doing enough to promote and strengthen Indigenous languages. People were keen for chairpersons, councillors and especially those who hold language portfolios to take more of an active role in language questions.

[19]This listing is based on information supplied to the Research Team by ATSIC-SA (April 2002).

Some participants suggested that ATSIC's lack of effort with respect to language comes about as a result of it having chosen to focus on different issues, like Native Title, health and housing.

Finally, a number of persons approached by the Research Team expressed a profound distrust and sceptism of ATSIC and as a consequence declined to participate in the survey. For some of these people, as well as for others who did participate, ATSIC method of fund distribution is inequitable and/or unhelpful:

> *People who can talk and work the system get access to funds.*
>
> *There are unreal rules and regulations for the management of money and they [ATSIC] often don't live up to their own policies.*

8.3 Effectiveness of programs: The role of YWW

Right across the state, YWW has a very low profile. An extraordinary number of people, that the Research Team spoke with, especially in the Port Augusta and Ceduna regions, had never heard of YWW, had never been visited by anyone from it, and had no idea that this was the State's only language centre and its primary funding channel for Indigenous community language projects. This low profile was especially surprising in gatherings where a large number of those present had an obvious interests in Indigenous language matters.

Other respondents had heard of YWW but did not know where it was located or what its role was. On the west coast, one respondent observed:

> *We have never had meetings about language matters before. This is the first time.*

Many respondents were similarly unaware of the projects YWW had funded within their region. In some instances, when respondents were aware of a past language project, they could offer little explanation as to why it had ended or what it had achieved. In most regions, it would seem, few activities and/or events exist to publicise the existence and progress of such projects. Moreover, YWW has failed to foster the necessary state-wide and regional networks whereby such information can be exchanged.

Non-Adelaide respondents who are aware of YWW, frequently spoke of the difficulty of accessing it and of it being *too far away*. Similarly some metropolitan respondents suggested YWW's current location undermines its ability to raise the profile of Indigenous languages. Thus, one respondent compared it unfavourably with a city-based Indigenous organisation:

> *Tandanya is one that is set up as a cultural institute … it is in a prime location and has a profile. Maybe they could give space for language work.*

8.3.1 YWW and the use and distribution of ATSILIP funds:

Although some respondents expressed a preference for program funding to come directly to local organisations, others recognised the need for a state-wide body that could rise above *local and political agendas*:

> *A state centre should be able to keep a state-wide view of things, and ensure that all groups are catered for and not just your own group.*

That said, others expressed doubts as to whether current funding allocation is fair and unbiased. In many places, a perception exists that certain groups get preferential treatment:

> *When it comes to distributing money for different languages in the state, the money should be available for all languages, not just those that are "well established". … The body that distributes the money should also have representation from all groups – which would ensure that the money is dealt out fairly.*

Some rural organisations describe themselves as being *drip-fed* and consider that they are at *the end of the bucket* and are *the last cab off the rank*. For these groups, YWW is a metropolitan-based organisation with little appreciation of the needs of the regions. Conversely, some communities closer to Adelaide, believe YWW is more interested in 'strong' languages as opposed to those that had *suffered the full brunt of colonisation and frontier violence*.

It is essential that steps be taken to address this issue of bias and to ensure greater transparency. As one respondent observed:

> *Regarding funding, there needs to be a balance so that funding is available to the north-west communities as well as others. The board of YWW needs to reflect the language needs in the community – I'm not sure if that's the case at present.*

Some groups while not suggesting bias said they had very little idea how funding decisions are made. This was even the case for some organisations in receipt of YWW funding.

Another group, whose application had been rejected, claimed it had been told that its 'approach' was not liked by YWW. The group now feels that if 'philosophical' differences with YWW rule them out for grants, other options for funding should be made available by ATSIC.

The Research Team also heard criticisms of YWW's ability to manage financial processes and procedures. While some of the organisations that had received funding from YWW were relatively happy with the way this process worked, others spoke of delays in receiving finances and of how this led to 'stop-start-stop-start' programs. In at least one instance, this caused the organisation to put a worker on CDEP while it waited

for funds to come through. It was suggested by some respondents that these delays were not YWW's fault but caused by hold-ups in ATSIC.

Several organisations that had received project funding commented that YWW was only interested in financial matters and administration. One group complained that the YWW application forms are *very hard for people to follow and understand*. *They need to be simpler.* When this group submitted their application, YWW *picked it apart* mainly because of financial issues:

> *Adelaide people come up here and say, 'You're not allowed to do this, this and that.' You have to fulfill the funding [organisation's] needs, not the people's needs.*

Finally, there was also criticism as to the amount of ATSILIP funding expended on administration costs, as opposed to supporting community projects and programs. There is a need to reduce administration overheads in order to expend a greater percentage of total funding on language projects. Also, if extra project funding cannot be generated in this way or obtained from government agencies, respondents suggested YWW identify additional and alternative funding sources.

8.3.2 Composition of the YWW Board

The Board of YWW is currently constituted according to an unusual formula whereby six out of its nine positions must be filled by Indigenous persons residing in metropolitan Adelaide. The other three positions are filled with a representative from each ATSIC region. Since one of these regions centres on Adelaide, the current formula encourages seven of the nine positions on the Board to be held by persons living in metropolitan Adelaide.

While this arrangement may have been put in place to save travelling expenses it does raise the issue of bias towards the Adelaide region, something of concern to Indigenous people living in outlying regions. Respondents also pointed out that this Adelaide-bias mitigated against the dissemination of information to remote regional centres. Indeed, the membership structure of the Board may go some way to explaining YWW's low profile within the Ceduna and Port Augusta regions.

Finally, although some of the current Adelaide-based Board members are connected to Indigenous languages groups that are centred within other ATSIC regions, this is a fortuitous situation and not a guaranteed outcome under YWW's constitution.

8.3.3 Lack of support for funded projects

Many funding recipients claimed that *you only hear from them [YWW], if there is a problem* with the funding requirements or when they need some information to justify their own funding. In fact, current projects do not appear to receive much support in terms of linguistic expertise, legal advice, day-to-day project management organisation and/or the design, publication and copyrighting of language resources. In some instances, this kind of advice, along with project feedback, is desperately needed.

In general, community language projects require linguistic expertise and assistance to be maximally effective. At present, YWW does not have such expertise amongst its staff. Previously it was thought that YWW would not fund projects with non-Indigenous linguists associated with them, but recently this practice seems to be changing. However not every project can afford to hire a linguist and it would be invaluable to have such expertise available in YWW itself.

Rob Amery (University of South Australia) has received numerous requests for information, advice and assistance with language programs from a range of language groups, including Thangal (Tanganekald), Ramindjeri, Ngarrindjeri, Kaurna, Narungga, Kukatha and Mirning. Some of these requests have been directed to Amery by YWW. Due to time constraints and lack of resources, these requests for assistance go largely unanswered. This also points to the urgent need for the state language centre to equip itself to respond to such requests.

The need for equipment purchased out of project funds to be returned to YWW at the conclusion of that project's funding, undermines community efforts to extend project outcomes. This is particularly hard on remote projects with little infrastructure and no funds to purchase, say, another computer. Where a community intends to continue its language project after YWW funding has come to an end, such equipment should be left with the organisation. In other instances, the equipment should be recycled to other language projects to reduce costs.

8.3.4 Lack of coordination with other programs and sectors

Project support could also be improved by YWW ensuring that information is disseminated quickly and widely. Projects need to know what other communities are attempting, what works well and what does not. In some instances, YWW had failed to advise new projects of previously-funded projects that had worked on the same language. It is vital that projects build upon past and current achievements, as opposed to always starting from scratch. It should be the role of a properly functioning language centre to ensure this happens.

On another level, it is essential that YWW coordinates its projects with other language programs organised by other institutions; for example with what is going on in schools:

> *YWW still has the attitude that they should be funding community projects and not schools. But the schools have teachers and students who are also part of the community, which makes this a false division.*

Respondents put a high priority on such coordination and on formally recognising what already occurs at the grass roots.

8.4 Conclusion

Indigenous community language projects often experience difficulties in achieving their stated outcomes. Many respondents believed that YWW and/or ATSIC must bear some of the responsibility for this disappointing state of affairs.

Finally, regardless of a particular project's aims, many communities assess its achievements solely in terms of the extent to which local people have been enabled to speak or understand the language in question. A widespread lack of understanding is evident as to what it is realistic to aim for within the constraints of any one program/project. In order to protect community language projects from this almost certain failure, YWW need to foster an understanding of the slow pace of change and educate Indigenous communities as to the importance of moving towards a stated goal in small increments. In a few instances, this insight was already on display:

> *It will take us as long to get our language back as it took to lose them. … It's the journey that is important. … A single step makes a journey.*

9 Present and Future needs

This chapter summarises the present and future needs for Indigenous languages in South Australia, as perceived by the Indigenous people who participated in the state-wide survey. It links these needs with the Recommendations made by the research team, which appear in Chapter Two of this report. This chapter also addresses the factors that work against language maintenance and revival, but then moves onto a positive discussion about the factors that promote language survival. This is followed by an outline of some remedies that can be adopted or promoted to ensure the longterm survival of Indigenous languages in this state. It concludes by offering alternative models for service provision and makes a final recommendation of the most appropriate language service model for South Australia.

During the course of the survey, Aboriginal people made it quite clear to the research team that they wanted to see all languages that are currently spoken maintained or revived. They want to see their languages:

> *still surviving into the future, and those which are weak now strengthened. So, for instance, Ngarrindjeri, currently spoken in odd words and phrases, in future should be spoken fluently.*

Similar expressions came from people all over the state, who want to build on what knowledge people still have, in terms of fluent old speakers and knowledge of words and phrases among younger people. They want to reach a higher level of proficiency and use the languages for a wider range of functions. Where people still have relatively strong languages they want to build up knowledge of deeper aspects of the language and culture among the children. Early signs of erosion of the languages were also reported for strong languages, and people want that recognised so they can combat the current downward trend.

9.1 Funding

Many people called for an urgent increase in funding for language maintenance and language revival work which has been at the same level for many years. The consequences of lack of action and commitment in this area will be the permanent loss of a huge part of Australia's and Aboriginal people's heritage. Survey respondents continually reiterated the need for more funding:

> *Right across the field there is a lack of resources to cover everything.*

> *It took 160 years to take our language away, so it will take a long time to get it back. It all happened over a long period of time… 160 years isn't going to be undone by $1.60.*

Such sentiments are often coupled with calls for adequate reparations based on legal responsibility, that take account of the enormous damage done by deliberate government policies in taking away people's language and culture. See Recommendations 1 and 37.

9.2 Language documentation

Recording of languages should be a top priority. It is important to document endangered languages immediately due to the fact that *those who hold knowledge of it are getting old*. This is something we heard time after time, from both young people and from the older speakers themselves. When other people mentioned that there could be delays in seeking funding or training a person to collect material, the older people complained that they may not be there by the time this was all put in place. An Aboriginal person concerned with language said:

> *It happened to me – one of the last speakers of the language died during the course of the Barngarla project. She was able to go out and identify and provide the Barngarla words for specific bushes .*

Recording of speakers should go hand in hand with archival research:

> *The Barngala research used Schurmann's list as a base together with local interview. The wordlist was helping [the Elder] her to remember things. She turned out to be also a speaker of Wirangu, which the researcher didn't know before.*

Tasks can be shared between Indigenous researchers and non-Indigenous linguists so as to record material as quickly as possible, and at the same time, allowing for the Indigenous researchers to get on-the-job training:

> *People trained in linguistics can get grammatical facts but Indigenous researchers without such training should move from topic to topic recording stories, place-names etc on tape. They may not be able to write down the words without a spelling system being developed with a linguist and getting trained to use the orthography*.

When language is documented it is important that it is well kept in an archive:

> *Some resources have been burnt in fires or eaten by mice.*

9.3 Partnerships with schools

Generally respondents were keen to see the divide between school and 'community' programs broken down and collaboration occurring. Part of the reason why it can be difficult is that education is generally a state responsibility distinct from federal ATSIC. Some people disliked having to *jump over* from federal to state departments to coordinate language programs and argued that funding:

> *should be available in just one cost centre for languages to avoid having to look for funding for languages in schools in one place and for language work in community from another source.*

This may be difficult in terms of administrative structures but we recommend that ATSIC and the language centre negotiate some arrangement of mutual benefit to allow collaborative work to be carried out.

One area that could benefit from such collaboration is language documentation and resource development. An excellent model for the kind of development need is the work of Greg Wilson and Guy Tunstill in the SA Education Department (DETE) who have supported the development of user-friendly grammars, dictionaries and curriculum material especially for endangered languages. Many informants reported that they had attended workshops run by this team, had learnt a lot and were keen to progress further (see under Workshops below). Lack of follow-up was one criticism, and this may be due to an absence of full commitment to this area on the part of the SA Education Department. We recommend stronger partnership and collaboration between the SA language centre or centres and the Education Department to ensure improved project outcomes (Recommendation 30).

9.4 Seeking the help of specialists

Seeking the help of linguistic expertise can be crucial to the success of language projects. A number of Aboriginal groups have been reluctant to work with non-Indigenous linguists on the grounds that they might just take knowledge away for their own benefit. Others fear that they may be too authoritative and not respect the knowledge that Indigenous language owners have:

> *I won't listen to whitefellas speaking Ngarrindjeri: [I say] "Don't tell me how my language should be spoken".*
>
> *I don't need whitefellas to teach the language if they're going to tell me I say it wrong. Whitefellas can learn and help but <u>can't</u> become black or the authority.*

Others worry that they might just take over the work rather than advising, helping and training:

> *Non-Indigenous experts need to work with us, not do the work for us.*

Non-indigenous and Indigenous people have worked together successfully on language projects in S.A. already, and in many language centres around Australia. This collaboration is becoming more common in SA, with even some YWW projects working with non-Indigenous linguists. One of the keys to success is for the linguist to work in a team with Indigenous language workers and Indigenous experts.

Other expertise that may be needed in language projects relates to computer assistance, publications, finances, and legal matters. A language centre could provide advice in some of these areas or, if necessary, short-term consultants could be contracted by the centre or project. If this can be combined with on-the-job training for Indigenous workers that is a bonus.

9.4.1 The Indigenous experts

Indigenous experts, both elders who have more language knowledge, and those who have skills in organising research and teaching, should have the leading role in projects. They should be given full recognition in terms of status and pay:

> *YWW should get older people to speak on to tape and to express how words were said, with linguists to assist in writing. Learn from the tape. They should contract Ngarrindjeri consultants – pay older knowledgable people as consultants … pay them properly.*

> *Indigenous language experts should be paid more, payment that matches their expertise.*

> *Languages can be supported by looking after the senior people who are the language experts. Women need support to train more teachers in case, for example, Aunty goes to hospital.*

9.4.2 Linguists

Linguists are primarily associated in many people's minds with spelling and being able to write down the languages correctly. But they can also train Indigenous people to write in the same way:

> *Today they [local Aboriginal people] wouldn't know where to begin with writing the language; they would need help from linguists outside.*

However, there is much more to the analytical work that linguists can do which some Indigenous people appreciate:

> *With language research, you never know what the extensions and benefits will be. We need to aim for excellence in our language projects, and employ linguists who can help us get it right – particularly with the grammar and other technical things. When we print things they need to be "correct". But we also need to have some healthy debates about the issues and have a collective unity about issues. Maybe money could be accessed through AIATSIS to employ the linguistic expertise we need.*

> *We need funding, possibly through AIATSIS, that funds collaborative research projects that involve linguists working collaboratively with communities – so we can draw on their expertise – but the communities need to be in control of the research agenda.*

Informants suggested that linguistic expertise should be accessed in two ways – either through a 'roving' linguist on the staff of the language centre; or on a contract to carry out particular tasks:

A roving linguist working in a mentoring role to provide support in submission writing, imparting linguistic skills, giving advice on preparation of materials etc might be worth consideration

YWW should have a pool of linguists (have their CVs on file) so that groups can choose their own. YWW should not dictate who should work for the respective language projects.

9.5 Training needs

There is a need for the Indigenous staff of the Language Centre and Indigenous staff attached to specific language projects to develop expertise over the long term. If funding was guaranteed over a longer term, there would be the opportunity for staff to build up expertise in certain areas, such as language analysis. A linguist for example should work with an Aboriginal trainee who could also perhaps be taking a language work course part-time.

Many of the skills learnt in this way such as interviewing, audio- and video-recording, transcribing, handling computers etc. are readlily transferable to other trades and professions and should be recognised as a valuable contribution to general skilling of an Aboriginal workforce.

Some people proposed that there should be a place to learn teaching skills related to Indigenous languages in SA. We are recommending that tertiary and TAFE bodies be asked to look into this. There are also institutions interstate (Pundulmurra College in WA and Batchelor Institute in the NT) which offer courses for Indigenous students working on Indigenous languages. Recommendation 31.

Besides training for Indigenous language workers, there is also an urgent need for teacher training in this state for those wishing to specialise in the teaching of Indigenous languages. A cross-institutional Australian Indigenous Languages major has been proposed and discussed on several occassions by the DETE Language Standing Committee and parties from all three universities. However, without sponsorship or the injection of outside funding it appears unlikely that such an initiative would be approved or enjoy widespread support within an already, overstretched tertiary sector. Respondents thought the proposed major was a good idea and several indicated their eagerness to participate.

The need for training schemes for interpreters and translators was also raised by survey respondents. Such courses will never attract sufficient students for them to be viable according to usual criteria. Nonetheless the need is urgent, pointing to the absolute necessity for outside support and the injection of targetted funds for these initiatives. (Recommendation 22)

There is a general lack of career paths or job security for Indigenous language workers working in the language centres or on individual language projects. This needs to be addressed immediately. Career paths, which give recognition to experience, skills and

traineeships, should be established and linked into any potential courses of study established for language workers. (Recommendation 32)

9.6 Research

Fieldwork and archival research are important parts of the process of documenting and analysing languages, and should be a prime area in which a language centre can assist projects. Whilst research did not figure prominently in feedback received from the survey, it is nonetheless important. Quality research is fundamental to implementation of quality language programs. Some ATSIC or YWW funded language programs are in essence research projects themselves.

There are a range of research needs in relation to South Australia's Indigenous languages including the following:

- recording, documentation and analysis of languages as they are still spoken by remaining speakers of the languages
- assemblage and analysis of historical documentation of individual languages
- determination of the endangerment status of the languages of South Australia
- survey of language use within the Indigenous communities of South Australia
- compilation of a Handbook of South Australian languages
- evaluation of programs
- optimal methods and approaches for language maintenance and revival
- language ecology – the support structures that enable language maintenance and revival
- motivation and attitude studies
- code-switching studies
- language modernisation and language development strategies
- Indigenous placenames research
- forms of Aboriginal English and their relationship to ancestral languages

AIATSIS funds and, to some extent, carries out linguistic research, including the documentation of languages. This can feed into educational and other applied projects. A number of our informants mentioned AIATSIS as an institution which could assist with research:

> *With language research, you never know what the extensions and benefits will be. We need to aim for excellence in our language projects, and employ linguists who can help us get it right – particularly with the grammar and other technical things. When we print things they need to be correct. But we also need to have some healthy debates about the issues and have a collective unity about issues. Maybe money could be accessed through AIATSIS to employ the linguistic expertise we need.*
>
> *We need funding, possibly through AIATSIS, that funds collaborative research projects that involve linguists working collaboratively with communities – so we*

can draw on their expertise – but the communities need to be in control of the research agenda.

One person recommended that AIATSIS link up with FATSIL to deliver applied research of the type needed by centres. The Network of Aboriginal Language Centres, a federation formed in 2002 at a meeting in Broome, also called for a national centre to assist with such research. (Recommendation 40).

Some archival work, research into placenames and research into contemporary current usage of particular languages is currently being undertaken by postgraduate research students and tertiary sector researchers, but much remains to be done. Certainly postgraduate research studies that support language maintenance and revival efforts should be encouraged, but finding potential postgraduate researchers cannot be relied upon as a means of getting the necessary research done. Considerable progress can be made when a community has access to a dedicated researcher. For example, reclamation of the Kaurna language benefitted from being the subject of a PhD project, whereby the linguist Rob Amery was able to focus his full attention on the language and revival efforts of Kaurna for several years. In the course of his PhD, Amery worked closely with school and, to a lesser extent, community language programs and was instrumental in initiating or supporting many innovative projects. Now that the PhD has been completed, this level of linguistic support is no longer available and, as a result, revival efforts are losing momentum.

In the case of Kaurna, funds have been sought through the tertiary sector to continue linguistic support and research into Kaurna, but these grant applications have met with limited success. Most applications to the Australian Research Council fail because this work is seen to be too community-oriented. Funding was also sought through the LAIP program, but the application was deemed ineligible because it was lodged by tertiary sector researchers, even though the proposal had widespread support from Kaurna organisations and Aboriginal organisations, including YWW.

This all points to the fact that successful language reclamation requires intensive linguistic input and technical expertise, but current funding arrangements are not well coordinated to facilitate this kind of input. Postgraduate research projects, such as that conducted by Amery (1998; 2000), should be encouraged, but it has proved difficult to attract postgraduate students for other projects. Linguistics is a very small discipline in South Australia, and current available undergraduate courses do not provide sufficient breadth or depth of study to provide the skills.

9.7 Education strategies

Teaching languages in schools, and especially in early childhood centres or kindergartens, was identified as a number one priority by just about everyone surveyed, whatever category their language fell into. Along with that goes the need for curriculum development and the production of good quality materials.

While schools are important we were also told in no uncertain manner that parents have a major responsibility to ensure their kids learn their language and not be expecting others to do it:

> *The parents must play a major part.*

One respondent did not think that Indigenous languages should be taught in school because:

> *there is no commitment to this being done properly and no priority given to this activity. If it's not going to be done properly, I don't think it should be done.*

People saw a dilemma in wanting to support those who are teaching languages, but knowing there are problems in the way the language is being taught. It is difficult to know:

> *how to make sure the language is true and correct without knocking those who are teaching it.*

The help and involvement of the language centre, in ensuring that projects and programs are well resourced and supported, could help enormously in resolving such questions without undermining sincere teacher efforts. Some respondents to the survey saw schools as potentially important 'hubs' of Indigenous language activity:

> *Aboriginal language programs need their own rooms in schools, where paintings and language words can be displayed on walls. Schools could also act as a "little language centre" so that each suburb or region has one.*

People from the strong languages area of the north-west spoke of their language being taught in their schools once again. They felt that:

> *if the [school-based] language programs aren't able to continue, the language may be lost and once it's lost it is gone forever. But if we teach it, it will be strong and continue.*
>
> *language is important for the future well-being of our children.*

Anangu are generally happy for the Pitjantjatjara language to be taught in Adelaide and elsewhere but felt the teachers must have strong knowledge of the language and be recognised by the community. Some disagree:

> *It's wrong for non-Indigenous people to teach the language/culture. The result of this has been that white kids sometime tell Anangu kids that there are speaking the language incorrectly.*

On the other hand, two women interviewed in the north-west believed that either Anangu or non-Anangu can teach language provided that they *know* the language. Others believe white and black should exchange language knowledge:

Anangu should teach the language. In the schools it should be ngapartji ngapartji, [reciprocal]. If you [whitefellas] learn the language you have to give something back.

Recently, DETE (SA Education) cut funding from its Curriculum and Policy Directorate, which currently employs two Indigenous Languages Project Officers. As a result, only one of these positions will continue to be maintained. Thus, DETE's professional support for Aboriginal language programs in schools is actually decreasing, not increasing. There is much demand on the two current Project Officers to spend time writing curriculum documents and the SACSA framework, which takes them away from providing grass root level support for programs in schools. The SA language centre should lobby DETE to maintain and increase its commitment to language programs in schools Recommendations 21 and 30.

A further problem is that schools don't have continuity of language programs from Reception to Year 12, nor any consistency in where such programs are offered:

It's up to individual schools to offer language programs, and just because they have a large population of Aboriginal students doesn't necessarily mean that they will offer a language program. For example Salisbury High has over 70 kids in senior secondary but no program.

There is a need to build languages into the next long-term Aborignal Education Plan, which they are currently working on at Enfield for 2004.

The lack of opportunity for students to study an Indigenous language at senior secondary level can be alleviated by the running of an intensive "Compact Course" over a period of two weeks on an annual basis which was done very successfully for 20 students last year in Adelaide. DETE and/or ATSIC needs to consider funding and supporting this alternative as there is currently no one institution planning such a course for 2002.

One issue that seems to divide communities is the question: Are languages to be offered to all students in schools or just Indigenous descendants? Some say:

When we go to teach our language to students, there's all these krinks [whitefellas] there [in Adelaide]. We want to teach it to our own kids, not krinks.

Initially Barngarla programs should be just for Barngarla people – should be restricted to Barngarla bloodline. After that it should be broader.

The opposing view is:

Languages should be taught wherever people come together, particularly in schools, and should not be restricted to Indigenous students. I now think Goonyas should also have the opportunity to learn languages – its like a spit in the ocean – it may seem small but it can have a ripple effect that spreads.

One informant said that he wanted to:

> *take the wider community along with them and use the language programs as a means of reconciliation.*

Complicating this whole issue of non-Indigenous students learning Indigenous languages is the dilemma of white kids occasionally progressing faster in lessons. The reasons for this are complex, but the result can be that Indigenous students become ashamed when up-staged by their non-Indigenous peers. Some repondents felt:

> *You don't put things in schools which make the whitefellas stronger.*

This whole issue is a vexed one, and needs to be debated amongst each language group to reach some consensus.

9.8 Factors working against language maintenance

There are many factors working against language maintenance, including social issues and other more practical issues.

9.8.1 The social situation

Many factors in the social situation can influence individuals and groups to stop speaking their language. These include:

- **Attrition of language among speakers when separated from other speakers**
  Many people have moved from the home area of their mother tongue and live mixed in with other groups and non-Aboriginal people. They have little opportunity to use their own language and lose facility in it over the years.

- **Intermarriage with persons from another language group**
  People married to speakers of other languages tend to use a neutral language like English and each mother tonguecan be threatened; people in this situation often do not pass their language on to their children

- **Living in other people's country**
  This relates to the first point above but also to an Aboriginal protocol which requires people to speak in the language of the country they live on if possible; thus people who have moved to someone else's country can feel inhibited about speaking their own mother tongue, especially in public.

- **Lesser number of speakers**
  As the number of speakers of each language decline they tend to speak less to anyone in that language, and quite often the few speakers left are not living close to each so cannot talk together. If they talk in a group, there will be people in the group who do not speak the language, and this tends to force them, for reasons of politeness, to speak in English. With so few speakers around, less and less children will hear the language and will not get a good chance to learn.

- **Urbanisation**
  Moving into towns tends to separated speakers, especially separation from the older fluent speakers who may be in remote areas. The general English-speaking environment also puts more pressure on people not to use the traditional language.

- **Television**
  Yankunytjatjara and Antikirinya respondents are concerned about the rising use of English in their communities via influx of free-to-air television;

- **Dominance of English in schools**
  While there are Aboriginal language programs in a few schools and a number of liberal attitude to the speaking of other languages at least among some teachers, schools are still not a friendly environment for use and maintenance of Aboriginal languages, and tend to enforce complete dominance of English.

- **Peer groups/friends**
  Non-Aboriginal peers may make fun of Aboriginal children and young people for speaking Aboriginal languages.

- **Lack of fluency**
  When the younger generation cannot speak a language well this can cause a downward spiral in use and proficiency:

  > *People are not able to speak a language fluently, especially the younger generation. They may have an understanding of what is being spoken but are unable to respond fluently.*

One further suggestion made by a respondent was the distraction of other overpowering problems that communities have besides language loss:

> *Some other issue or crisis comes along that overshadows what is already happening (eg black deaths in custody, heroin etc.) pushing things like language temporarily into the background. These deaths are overwhelming, and people are numbed by sorry business.*

9.8.2 Lack of language program continuity

Informants repeatedly mentioned the problem of a lack of continuity in language programs. Funding issues play a role in this but other problems and interruptions may be involved:

> *Community, schools, language centres etc. that are teaching language should be responsible to continue and maintain programs because it needs to be maintained for a generation to make a real difference.*

The importance of continuous and adequate funding for program success cannot be denied. Nearly all respondents stressed the problem of lack of continuity of funding and the need for continuous funding for projects, *because it takes time*:

> *It will take us as long to get our language back as it took to lose them.*
>
> *A program that goes in fits and starts is unlikely to have really good outcomes. If there's only funding for a little time, people will stop. It can't be just annual funding. It needs to be for 3 years, 5 years.*
>
> *There is inadequate funding for language programs, consequently they are unable to 'lock in' programs: When there is limited amounts of money, especially one-off grants, people need to be wise in the way it is spent.*
>
> *I'm really pleased about the language reclamation movement – it is an important part of people's healing. But we won't get fluency if the programs have stop-start gaps. We need continuous funding with communities taking control of language programs*
>
> *Projects need to be long-term, and the funding is never long-term*

The lack of a long-term vision and commitment on the part of governments and ATSIC was also commented on many people. Funding bodies need to realise that:

> *You don't plant a field of potatoes if you're not going to be around to harvest them.*

There is anger at the current arrangement of 'seeding' money where,

> *money only lasts for 12 months and then Indigenous community are supposed to be self-reliant.*

While there may be some money that a language program can bring in, it is not and will not be a business. It is about righting historical wrongs and saving a heritage that is worth more than money.

9.8.3 Ownership and factional divisions

Some communities are fractured and tense because of Native Title and other disputes, and find it very difficult at the present time to *'pull together'* on projects such as language, even though all agree it is important. This can be made worse if language identity is an issue in the Native Title dispute.

In the grip of such disputes, some communities may request separate projects or meetings, or refuse to share materials. A language centre or funding body cannot realistically submit to that kind of division and may reluctantly have to postpone doing anything. This is especially regrettable in the case of endangered languages as the old people who are keen to work on language and pass it on may not be alive much longer.

It is important too that information – for instance on language programs – be disseminated throughout a community by the Council. If it only reaches certain people in the kind of acrimonious climate that can exist, this may be perceived as deliberately withholding it from others.

In one community, participants kept returning to the issue of 'copyright' and how another person in the community had 'copyrighted' earlier language work and wasn't allowing others in community to use it. Divisions within the community are impacting on the success of current programs. There is a need to ensure that language materials are produced and made accessible.

9.8.4 Orthography/spelling issues

In other language centres interstate, and to a limited extent in SA, people have called in linguists to work on an orthography or spelling system and have held a community meeting afterwards to decide on a consistent spelling system. However some groups in SA have quite a different conception of how to proceed. They allow people to spell as they please with the result that noone else – even the original writer – can read the words back accurately. They avoid the advice of a linguist because they do not want *a white person telling them how to speak their language.*

Apart from making it virtually impossible to have accurate and consistent documentation of languages, the method of everyone spelling as they please, without a standard or training, frequently leads to divisions within the community. This can lead to the suspension of work on language altogether. These spelling disputes may be exaggerated by others over differences between 'contemporary' and 'traditional' forms of language, and different dialect forms, where the words may sound slightly different. This can cause a confusion between a standardised spelling and a consistent spelling system which may be able to represent differences:

> *We lose meaning of words when we start writing. The Dominant culture insists we write it on their terms. Pressure is placed on Indigenous people to standardise both the spelling and the pronunciation.*

Some people may no longer recognise words they are familiar with, either because of unfamiliar spellings or the use of a different dialect form, or both. A well-worked out spelling system should be able to represent several different ways of saying words (different dialects, old and new). Such a system can be mastered by local Indigenous people and there need not be any non-Indigenous linguists around telling people what to do or how to pronounce words. If the local community or region want to have a standard spelling or choose one dialect to be the standard, that would be their decision.

9.8.5 Shortage of language resources and language teachers

For most languages in the state there is a paucity of language materials and teaching resources, particularly when you compare them with resources available for the teaching of other languages in schools such as German, French, Indonesian and Chinese. Those

teaching Ngarrindjeri, which has an acute shortage of teaching resources, tried to rectify the situation recently by holding a one-day resource workshop. But there has been no follow-up, which was clearly called for. Teachers in the Ceduna area are also aware that something needs to be done for Kukatha and Wirangu. But in the school context it is very difficult to find the time and funding to remedy this need for quality resources. People are aware that the need is urgent.

There is also an acute lack of 'human resources' – people able and willing to teach languages in schools. For many languages there is only one person available, who has to spread him/herself over a number of schools. Alternatively, AEW's who do the language teaching are criticised for not being knowledgeable, with some not belonging to the language group whose language they are teaching. Complaints were also voiced that the work is irregular and poorly paid.

9.9 Factors working for language maintenance

One of the important factors that will make language maintenance possible is a change of mood and attitude away from the fear and shame of Indigenous languages that the authorities tried to instill in the previous era. Language survival requires speakers to embrace and maintain a new confidence and pride in their languages. Many informants celebrate this renewed pride in their languages:

> *There's been a definite change of mood - a resurgence that makes language maintenance and revival seem possible*

> *There has been a rejuvenation of cultural practices and most of these are conducted at least partly in Aboriginal languages.*

One of the problems people had mentioned was the mixing and even confusion of languages when communities and individuals were moved around. But now:

> *Young people and children are becoming increasingly aware of differences between languages*.

Revival programs such as Kaurna are beginning to show definite successes:

> *Children at Kaurna Plains School understand what is said to them in Kaurna and are said to be teaching their parents.*

The reinstatement of old place names is awakening new interest in the old languages. People go from simply pride in using the name that belongs to them and the country, to wanting to know what that name means and the stories that lie behind it. (Recommendation 38).

People are receptive to ideas, for maintaining and reviving their languages, that have worked elsewhere. Across the state, informants responded to methods such as Hinton's (1994, 2001) Master-Apprentice model, where an enthusiastic young adult is paired with a fluent language speaker and funded, for a period of 4 months, to spend at least six hours

per day doing things together and speaking in language. People in some places were also aware of and were impressed by the *Kohanga Reo* "Language Nests" immersion approach pioneered in New Zealand and also used in other places such as Hawai'i. Many thought these methods could be applied to great advantage in their own situation. We recommend that such initiatives be explored by language centres and programs, and information on such approaches be made available to projects at workshops or in the form of a Handbook. (Recommendation 29).

9.10 Remedies – what can be done?

Nobody suggests that language maintenance is an easy task because of the enormous pressures that exist in a society like Australia to eliminate small localised languages. In order to put the brakes on language shift to English only, and further language loss, it is important to understand what is driving it and therefore what needs to be changed to make language maintenance more achievable. Our informants offered many suggestions about how this could be achieved:

> *there is need for a support network to maintain languages in communities. Such a network would agree to speak fully and fluently (as far as possible) amongst themselves for certain periods each day.*

Some of these suggestions may involve changes in social behaviour as well as the running of language courses and projects. Below are some of the remedies proposed by Indigenous respondents for these problems, and we provide suggestions of positive strategies that can be adopted to assist longterm language survival.

9.10.1 Workshops

Many people looked back on language workshops (such as on Barngala, and Adnyamathanha) as times of great enjoyment and intense learning. At least some of these were sponsored partly by YWW but in recent years more were organised by the SA Education Department (particularly by Wilson and Tunstill, mentioned above). For many, they are also get-togethers of speakers of a language who may have been scattered for years, and who can thus renew and build up their language both by formally analysing it and by informally chatting with each other. Elders can be real authorities on their knowledge and be listened to respectfully by younger ones eager to learn; an increasingly rare situation these days.

Workshops often produce materials for programs or start a process of such production. They can also start people on the road towards a career or at least a good stint of language work. They are a time for sharing and networking ideas and finding out what has been done already. Many participants were unsure of what resources already existed before such workshops and were relieved that they did not have to reinvent the wheel. They stressed that new initiatives should:

> *build on what's already been done - don't start all over again.*

Workshops can also resolve contentious issues like choosing an orthography (discussed above) by bringing together people to find a compromise and to understand that a consistent system is not necessarily a cultural imposition.

9.10.2 Multi media resources

- **CD-ROMs**

  Many language groups are now wanting CD-ROMs to provide databases of their language. Anangu women are keen:

  > *to provide their children with state-of-the-art resources to make the language more interesting.*

  Language CD-ROMs are clearly attractive to learners but they are currently quite expensive to produce, needing intensive labour from both Aboriginal language workers and computer experts. A coordinated effort by a state centre or even a national centre could ease the burden on local projects in producing these. (Recommendation 39)

- **Web sites**

  Web sites are among the computer-based resources that were mentioned as desirable by a number of groups. These also can be quite expensive to produce and need to be carefully monitored by language owners to prevent abuses of language rights and protocols. Once again, as with CD-ROMs, a state or national coordinated approach might help. The NT University Online initiative to teach Yolngu Matha may be a model worth reviewing.

- **Audio-CDs**

  Audio-CDs are easier to produce than CD-ROMs. These were suggested by a couple of people who thought it would be good to listen to, and learn their language while driving along in a car. There is a Pitjantjatjara language learning kit now available on audio-CD.

- **Film**

  Film is another medium that can be used to promote and support languages (Recommendation 39). For some Nungas it is a very real aspiration:

  > *Film should be a specific priority. Films made entirely in the language of the group is such a powerful medium. Film can have a wide distribution – national TV, may go overseas. Digital video is a very important technical revolution in film. Because it is non-linear you can cut and paste anything anywhere. This technology is getting close to our cultural practices – a better vehicle for our culture.*

9.10.3 Teaching young children at home and school

With all the calls for teaching Aboriginal languages at school, it should not be forgotten that *home is the best place to learn them.* One of the most important ways to reverse

language shift is to introduce language at the early childhood level when children are most receptive. This is a proven success in the Language Nests movement initiated for for Maori children in New Zealand. The Kohanga Reo 'Language Nests' language immersion approach has proved to be highly effective in producing Maori-speaking preschoolers. The Kohanga Reo approach was discussed with some respondents during the survey, and they invariably responded enthusiastically to this approach. On several occasions respondents raised the notion, and were aware that this approach has had success with other Indigenous groups.

Many people in SA are now talking about getting the language and culture back by starting with the kids - by teaching weaving and other crafts, and talking and telling stories in language at the same time. One grandfather said:

> *I will learn my own grannies [grandchildren]. I will teach them what we have left.*

Teaching children the language of their environment is especially popular as it can be combined with bush trips and fun activities like tracking, making artifacts (and learning their names). People are also making materials on bush tucker etc into booklets. At Fregon the children write in their language about the experience of the bush trip afterwards in school.

Even strong language speakers are noticing that their children are losing a lot of the names and knowledge about bush plants and animals, and they are determined that they should keep it.

9.10.4 Regular state conferences

A number of people expressed the need for regular state-wide Indigenous languages conferences to discuss issues such as those raised in this report. Conferences also help develop a support network for people working on their languages. We recommend that this be a regular event, perhaps annually.

9.10.5 Resources and Publications

Since the closing down of the vernacular literacy program in tha Anangu Lands, there has been a reduction of readily available resources for the teaching of Pitjantjatjara elsewhere in the state. There is also a general lack of good quality learning and teaching materials for other Indigenous languages. This problem has already been mentioned above. The Indigenous language Project Officers of the SA Education Department have produced a great deal of excellent material but cannot keep up with the demand. There is a clear need for more people working in the area of resource production:

> *There is a great need for literacy and numeracy aids of a good quality to support the teaching of languages.*

People understand that ATSIC and YWW do not fund projects related to schools, but such funding has been known to happen. The projects funded through YWW and ATSILIP have had materials production among their aims but not a great deal of it has

become available. As many people emhasised to us, the division between school and community language programs is artificial and should be broken down. ATSILIP has to recognise the strength of schools to assist in the struggle for language maintenance, and the benefits of community and school programs collaborating and working together.

Teachers complain that there are few resources available and what there are may be quite dated. Resources need to be updated and made attractive to compete with English books. Some respondents felt it:

> *would be good to set up YWW with publishing facilities so that projects know that there is a place that they can go to to publish their books, learning resources and electronic resources.*

Finding more available 'human resources' is an urgent need. Many of the potential language workers and teachers are old and sick and would be better used as consultants to improve documentation, and as trainers and advisors to younger people who could do the more demanding teaching and materials production. If community language programs were better organised and resourced they might be able to put together such teams and offer 'packages' to the Education Department to assist with the running of programs in schools. Obviously there is a need for training more people to teach languages in schools, or to work on language projects and produce resources. (Recommendation 22).

9.10.6 Aboriginal Studies

While there is division in the Aboriginal community about whether Aboriginal languages should be taught to non-Aboriginal students, there is strong support for teaching Aboriginal Studies in schools, preferably with a regional emphasis. Should this regional emphasis be embraced by schools, it could include a component on local regional languages with input from Indigenous experts from the region. Local language projects could certainly contribute to this component of the schools' (compulsory) Aboriginal Studies curriculum, and foster ties between local schools and the Indigenous community.

It was reported during the survey, however, that as a result of criticisms about the way Aboriginal Studies was taught in the 1990s, it has gone 'out of fashion' in schools, and is not being pursued now with the same commitment. This is disappointing and frustrating to Aboriginal people, as well as a great loss for non-Indigenous students who only stood to gain from such programs:

> *These are needed to teach people the true history of Australia and should include regional and local material including information on languages, indigenous place-names etc.*

A concerted effort to improve the delivery of Aboriginal Studies courses could indirectly help Aboriginal language programs in schools.

9.11 Stages of programs

Many of our informants indicated that they want staged programs that build on existing knowledge, and move onto a higher level in a planned way. It is important for programs to address the situations that the languages are dealing with, and ultimately progress through appropriate stages. A lot of people we spoke with who had been involved with language projects used the concepts of 'levels', and talked of language passing through these different 'levels'. Within a model of teaching and learning, these levels were named by one respondent as 'words', 'sentences' and 'fluency':

> *There are different levels you can aim for in programs – just words up to constructing sentences and fluency.*

Other respondents referred to stages and sequences in revival projects:

> *You can't get into revival until retrieval is done, then comes usage.*
> *Understanding what stage we are at is one of the most important things.*

A similar scheme and number of stages were put forward for working with Indigenous languages by someone associated with another YWW project:

> ***Stage 1***
> *Collecting the language, from both speakers and the archives, but speakers were more important. Non-Indigenous records can be wrong.*
>
> ***Stage 2***
> *Need linguists to work out phonetics and the grammar.*
> *Also to identify which vocabulary items are shared, which are likely to have been borrowed, which are unique to particular languages. (Shared words will cause problems – need to sort this out)*
>
> ***Stage 3***
> *Developing resources*
> *Developing curriculum*
> *Training and finding teachers*
> *Publishing of resources and materials*

These sentiments are all admirable. However as we look deeper into how these schemes are applied in projects, some serious problems begin to emerge. There is a serious misconception here that 'language' can be 'collected' from speakers and written down in Stage 1 before being submitted to a linguist for analysis in Stage 2. Sound system and grammar must be analysed first so that an accurate and consistent way of writing down the language can be arrived at. If untrained people without an agreed orthography write down words and texts the results could possibly be unusable, and the whole process might have to be redone. This could cause stresses and strains in the project, and may cause people to lose faith in the process.

Without appropriate training or linguistic advice from a language centre, a lot of effort could be wasted – exactly what is not needed in the case of an endangered languages. With poor training and planning, projects may never really get off the ground. One man who was a fluent speaker of a language, but completely unfamiliar with the tasks of research and dictionary-making, was given funding by YWW to carry out a project, but became depressed at his inability to produce results. This was not his fault at all.

A funding and administering agency has to be much more realistic about the support needed and thus provide the right combination of help and expertise to carry out the tasks at hand. YWW has fallen down badly on the job in allowing poorly planned and resourced projects to go ahead without providing any of the linguistic and technical advice which could put projects back on track.

The concepts of levels and stages are key ones, but they must be correctly understood to be put into practice and to get good project outcomes. We would recommend that the proposed Projects handbook explains such ideas, but it is also necessary to have a linguist providing advice, workshops and analysis to ensure success (Recommendations 23, 26 & 28).

9.12 Provision of support

In an attempt to discern Indigenous aspirations with respect to both the support of and the promotion of Indigenous languages, individual survey respondents and participants in community consultations were asked the following two questions:

> How do you think funding and support for Indigenous languages should be organised in South Australia generally, and in your region in particular?
>
> Is there a town or place that would best serve as a hub of activity for Indigenous languages in your region?

At the request of the YWW, no explicit reference was made to them in either of these questions. In some instances, when respondents seemed unable to formulate a response to one or both of these questions, members of the Research Team would ask follow-up questions. For example:

> What about if there was a place where you could go to get support for your projects?
>
> Where might be a good place for a language centre to be situated?

In many instances, respondents had not previously considered the functions of a language centre. However some people had obviously given considerable thought to the idea and were able to list the potential functions of a regional language centre. The following are three such responses:

There should be a centre to service a range of languages and provide a range of services. It should

- *be a place to hold resources*
- *be a place to hold language classes at night (or whenever)*
- *direct its efforts in the first place towards Indigenous people's needs*
- *monitor language use to ensure it is correct*
- *support the rights of Elders to determine protocols about how the language is used*
- *assist with interpreting/translation*

A language centre should:

- *be a secure archive of language materials*
- *develop protocols for accessing language materials*
- *sort out spellings and pronunciation*
- *provide support to community, possibly via a roving linguist who could run workshops.*

The role of a language centre:

- *language preservation*
- *language classes*
- *training of language workers*
- *promotion of languages and history, heritage and cultures within wider community*
- *setting down protocols for relating to Aboriginal people*
- *archive of language material, genealogies etc*
- *resource production - books, CDs, tapes*
- *children to access centre (from school or community)*
- *run workshops (eg on language or submission writing)*
- *create full time job for language teacher and coordinate the teaching*
- *monitor research, troubleshooting*
- *protocols for access to language materials and ownership of materials*
- *decent facilities*

Despite these detailed suggestions, the vast majority of respondents were unaware of the existence of Yaitya Warra Wodli and of the possibility of approaching it to obtain funding for community language projects. Such unfamiliarity by a majority of informants, particularly from the north east and western regions of the state, indicates that the YWW's coverage of language maintenance activities in South Australia is minimal.

In the majority of regional meetings, informants expressed strong support for the notion that the service provider should be located as close to them as possible:

> *It's very difficult that everything has to revolve around the big cities. … If there's a language centre in Adelaide, I won't be attending it.*

A large number of informants advocated establishing a centre in the nearest local town and/or community. In some instances, this extended to an expression of the desire for every Indigenous language group to have its own centre. While such expectations are unrealistic, in terms of existing and even potential funding, the Research Team is committed to bringing these localised Indigenous aspirations to ATSIC's attention and to using them as the basis for modelling alternative options for supporting and strengthening Indigenous languages throughout South Australia.

The following six models have been formulated on the basis of responses received both from individual informants and in larger community consultations. Some of these models were explicitly offered in the manner described here by informants themselves. Others represent an amalgam of similar suggestions. For example, the suggestion to establish three language centres, one in each of the ATSIC regions, has been drawn from a number of responses in which the recommended number of language centres ranged between two and six. The 'Two Language Centres' model (*see* 9.10.4) came in response to the Research Team's draft report circulated in April 2002.

Having reviewed all six models, the Research Team advocates that the model outlined in section 9.10.6 be established in South Australia as soon as possible.

9.12.1 Yaitya Warra Wodli Language Centre – status quo

A small number of informants supported no change to the manner in which support and services are provided through YWW. In most instances, these informants also recommended that funding to YWW be increased, arguing that more funds would generate better outcomes. Given both the recommendations of ATSIC's *Major Review of Yaitya Warra Wodli – South Australia State Language Centre* (2000) and the Research Team's review of YWW's operations and history (*see* Chapter 8), it is extremely unlikely that this model would strengthen the prospects for South Australia's Indigenous languages.

9.12.2 Three language centres.

Once conversant with the notion of a language centre, many informants indicated a desire to be able to access support and project funding via a regional centre. While some informants did not consider how such a model might function across the length and breadth of South Australia, others offered explicit suggestions as to the total number of centres that should be established. For instance, one Ngarrindjeri informant advocated funding a total of six language centres at the following locations: (1) Adelaide, (2) Ceduna, (3) somewhere in the Flinders Ranges, (4) Murray Bridge, (5) the Anangu Pitjantjatjara Lands and (6) Port Augusta.

The proposal to support South Australian Indigenous Languages has a long history. It was first recommended to the then Minister of Aboriginal Affairs, Mike Rann, in June 1992 as one of the outcomes of the two-day Aboriginal Languages Workshop. The workshop, which led to the establishment of the YWW, advocated the establishment of "three Regional Aboriginal Languages Centres … within as short a time as possible."

This recommendation was endorsed in a media release subsequently issued by the Minister of Aboriginal Affairs:

> The establishment of Aboriginal Language Centres in SA has been strongly supported by the Minister of Aboriginal Affairs, Mike Rann. … "I hope to see three Language Centres up and running in SA before too long. Aboriginal participants at the workshop tell me that two Centres in country areas plus one in Adelaide will be required to ensure SA Languages can be properly retrieved, maintained, and above all taught and spoken to children. These Centres will act as the central hubs for community based language programs" (Rann 1992).

Despite this recommendation and it having the support of the Minister of Aboriginal Affairs, ten years later YWW remains the sole language centre operative within South Australia. In 1995, YWW was still talking of moving towards at least an additional centre at Port Augusta, but nothing came of that. YWW's current Strategic Plan (2001) makes no mention of the need to establish additional centres.

During the course of the current research project, key members of a number of Indigenous language groups expressed a strong desire to access services and support from a regional centre located at Port Augusta, independent of YWW. As one informant argued:

> *Port Augusta is the crossroads. We can have the centre here but each language can have their own section… Adelaide is too far. Port Augusta is more central and can service Whyalla, Port Pirie, Flinders Ranges and Marree.*

This sentiment was echoed by another informant:

> *There are many different language groups in Port Augusta and we need our own regional language centre. It must have a structure which recognises and values the separate language groups. This is urgent. It should be done before the old people die.*

The focus group meeting held at Port Augusta recorded the following recommendations with respect to establishing a centre there:

> *Establishment of a Port Augusta language centre:*
> - *A resource building for access by all the different language groups around Port Augusta.*
> - *The Port Augusta centre to be run by someone neutral*
> - *It should have a committee with representatives from each language group - each language group to elect one*
> - *It should go through the traditional owners of the area*
> - *It should be independent of YWW*
> - *Traineeships in language and other necessary skills through ATSIC and TAFE - not something that will take 'for ever' to set up*

- *A list or register of resource people*
- *As an interim measure, engage a non-Aboriginal person to work in a mentoring role to train local language workers*
- *Recognise those with knowledge of the languages*

Having considered these and similar responses, the Research Team understands the merits of a model that would establish three language centres in South Australia. Potentially, one centre could be placed in each of the three ATSIC Council regions; in Adelaide, Port Augusta and Ceduna.

Despite considerable support for this model, the Research Team is reticent to give it its full and immediate support. In the first instance, this model would result in a substantial and ongoing increase in the cost of the provision of services and support. Secondly, as has sometimes been the case in Adelaide, each centre would have the potential to be dominated by a minority of language groups and interests. Thirdly, as voiced by some informants, in some instances Indigenous language groups are reticent to work through a centre that is outside their own country. Thus, members of the Adnyamathanha community present at the focus group meeting held in Port Augusta said:

> *This [Port Augusta] is not our country … The Adnyamathanha centre should be in our home region so we can run it the way we want to run it, not disrupted by other groups.*

That noted, the Research Team strongly advocates that the option of establishing additional language centres continue to be seriously explored (Recommendations 23, 24 & 25).

9.12.3 No language centres.

In a diverse range of locations, a significant number of informants advocated bypassing the whole notion of language centres and distributing ATSILIP funding directly to proven Indigenous organisations. Some informants indicated that by reducing the amount of funds tied up in administration, more funds would become available for language programs. Such a model of service provision is already operable in Queensland and New South Wales, although its success is debatable.

On the negative side, this model does not provide a mechanism for Indigenous communities to develop and lobby with respect to state language policies. Moreover, it would most likely foster a situation wherein instead of building on the experience of other communities, every project would, in effect, start from scratch. The Research Team believes that best practice can only be achieved by sharing expertise, resources and outcomes. Such practice would also be cost effective since frameworks and software developed in one situation would be made available to other groups embarking on similar projects. The lack of coordination, thus stands as a major disincentive.

9.12.4 Two language centres

In her response to the draft report of the current project, Agnes Rigney, Chair of the YWW Board, says that although there may have been a perceived need for three centres in 1992, ten years on this is no longer necessary. Rigney also cites lack of ATSIC funding as a reason for categorising the three centres model as "unfeasible." Instead, she proposes that there be two centres, a new one to serve the north of the state – Port Augusta and Ceduna ATSIC Regions – with YWW servicing the Adelaide ATSIC region as well as carrying out some State-level functions.

In some respects, this proposal is similar to the 'State language centre with two language teams' model recommended by the Research Team. However, there are some differences:

1. Rigney's proposal limits the number of centres to two, with no further investigation as to the potential of a third centre. In contrast, the Research Team advocates reviewing the idea of a centre in the Ceduna region in two years time (Recommendation 25)

2. Rigney's proposal favours a second northern independent centre but the process of canvassing opinion about that option and setting it up is vested in the hands of YWW. In contrast, the Research Team's proposal nominates that ATSIC, together with a representative committee, should oversee the process. (Recommendation 23)

3. Rigney's proposal does not advocate the establishment of a language team in the north before a centre is established there. In contrast, because of the urgency of the task, the Research Team is proposing that the northern languages team be established immediately; and that the commencement of this work not be conditional on the establishment of a separate centre.

9.12.5 A language centre for each Indigenous language

As mentioned earlier, many informants and groups requested that they be funded to establish their own language centre to focus on their specific language concerns. It seems likely that for many informants, this option was advocated because of a lack of familiarity with the typical role and function of language centres (as practiced in other states). In effect, many of those making this request were principally concerned with finding a way to establish, fund and support a particular local initiative. In other words, their current basic needs could have been met through the provision of project/program funding.

While the option of establishing more than 40 language centres throughout the state is a strategy aimed at maximum coverage of language maintenance needs, it is simply not financially viable.

9.12.6 A State language centre with three language teams.

Recognising the need for a state focus, many communities also favoured receiving targeted support from skilled linguists and other trained personnel. These persons would

visit programs at their request, advising them with regard to key issues and/or running workshop and training sessions. Such proposals were not always economically viable. For example, one informant advocated appointing "roving linguists", establishing six language centres and for YWW to continue in its current role.

Having listened to Indigenous communities across South Australia, the Research Team believes that it is essential to break with the past and provide service and support via a new model. It is convinced that this model must reflect two key findings of its research. These are:

> the importance of decentralising support and service from a distant and, largely invisible Adelaide-based language centre and
>
> the importance of maintaining a state body to
> - coordinate service delivery, both across communities and sectors,
> - maximise limited resources,
> - maintain an Indigenous languages archive and
> - pursue additional funding sources

Bearing this in mind, the Research Team recommends reconceptualising and restructuring Yaitya Warra Wodli towards broadening its functions and decentralising its service delivery. A possible new structure would be comprised of the following:

> A YWW Board, with greater regional representation and closer links to key stake holders and relevant government departments. This Board would also be a member of the proposed South Australian Indigenous Languages Policy Committee. It would be charged with oversight of YWW whose operations would be divided into three key areas:
>
> 1. Administration and Policy;
> 2. Languages Archive, and
> 3. Mobile Language Teams: each Mobile Language Team would work at the direction of a Reference Committee representing the languages served.

Yaitya Warra Wodli Board

It is recommended that the YWW Board be comprised of 12 members plus coopted, non-voting advisers. Six positions would be filled by elected Indigenous representatives (two from each South Australian ATSIC region, with the proviso that one of these currently reside in that region). Three positions would be filled by ATSIC councillors (one from each SA ATSIC region, preferably the languages portfolio holder from each council). Three positions would be filled by stakeholder representatives (one from each of the following stakeholders: DOSAA/SAETAAC, DETE, the Tertiary Sector). As is presently the case, the six Indigenous representatives would be elected at YWW's Annual General Meeting.

The option of coopting non-voting advisors recognises the need for the YWW Board to have access to specialised knowledge. It could, for example, include the cooption of a trained linguist, an archivist and/or an ATSIC staff member. Employment by YWW would preclude membership of the Board, although such staff might attend Board meetings in a non-voting, advisory capacity.

In determining which funding applications to support, the Board would be guided by advice from the relevant language team. For example, when established, the Endangered and Strong Languages Team would advise the Board with respect to the feasibility of project applications indicating a desire to work with an endangered or strong language.

Staffing
Within Yaitya Warra Wodli, staffing would initially be split across four key areas:

The ***Administration and Policy Officer*** (1 position full-time). This person would be charged with the day-to-day operations of the organisation and the development of key policy statements. It would be their responsibility to ensure that the voice and views of South Australia's peak language body are represented to all relevant government inquiries. Working with the Education and Publicity Officer, the person would identify potential funding sources and advise Indigenous communities across the state of such opportunities to obtain additional funding.

The ***South Australian Languages Archive Officer*** (1 position 0.5). This person would be charged with maintaining a comprehensive Indigenous languages archive. Such an archive would be open to all Indigenous persons in South Australia and those with legitimate research needs. It would be this officer's responsibility to ensure that new language programs are aware of all relevant language materials.

The ***Publicity and Support Officer***: (1 position 0.5). This person would assist in the day-to-day running of YWW. They would work together with the Mobile Language Teams to organise and run seminars and workshops for Indigenous communities across the state. In addition, it is hoped that they would initiate an occasional language lecture series as a way of improving the profile of Indigenous languages within the Adelaide region. Finally, working with the Administration and Policy Officer, the person would identify potential funding sources and advise Indigenous communities across the state of such opportunities to obtain additional funding.

Mobile Language Teams: (initially 2 positions full-time to be assessed after two years). In principle two language teams should be established with separate areas of responsibility: (a) endangered and strong languages and (b) reviving languages. However, in consideration of the practicalities of funding, only the Endangered and Strong Languages Team will initially be formed, to start work in July 2002 or soon afterwards. Funding permitting, the Reviving Languages Team should be established and begin working in July 2003 or soon afterwards. It would be the responsibility of each team to provide tangible support to language programs, both those funded by YWW and those

which are not in receipt of their funds. Each team would consist of an Indigenous Project Officer and a trained linguist, with the latter being charged with the responsibility of providing the Project Officer with on-the-job training as necessary.

Endangered and Strong Languages Team:
In the first instance, as a matter of priority, this team should determine whether or not the identified endangered languages have been adequately documented and, if not, immediately record what language fragments remain within their respective communities. At this point in time, the Research Team considers the following languages to fall within this category: Adnyamathanha, Arabana, Wangkanguru, Dieri, Kukatha, Mirning, Wirangu and Yandhruwantha. Given the location of these languages, it is essential that this Mobile Team be based in Port Augusta, working out of the premises of an established Indigenous organisation. It is recommended that for the next two years 40% of ATSILI program funding be assigned to endangered languages projects and 30% of ATSILI program funds be assigned to strong languages projects. (Recommendation 11)

Reviving Languages Team:
Funding permitting, in 2003-04, a second mobile team, based at YWW, should be established to support language revival projects. This team would provide expert advice on locating resources, archival research, language development and strategies for language reintroduction. The Reviving Languages Team would work closely with both community language projects and language revival programs in schools. It is recommended that for the next two years 30% of ATSILI program funding be assigned to projects working on reviving languages. (Recommendation 27)

The Research Team recommends that the work of the Endangered and Strong Languages Team be reviewed in 2003-2004 and that a regional language meeting be convened in the Port Augusta region to canvas options (Recommendations 23 & 24). The meeting will determine if the Team should remain under the control of YWW, work under an Aboriginal organisation in the Port Augusta Region or whether an independent regional language centre is viable, has popular support and would improve service delivery. If this is the case, then ATSIC should immediately proceed with establishment of an independent regional language centre in Port Augusta.

A similar meeting should be held with communities across the Ceduna ATSIC region to determine whether an independent language centre in Ceduna is viable and whether it would significantly improve service delivery. Should that be the case, a Ceduna Language Centre could be established in 2004-2005 (Recommendation 25).

9.13 Recommendations and process

The Research Team strongly recommends that ATSIC-SA and YWW adopt the model outlined in section 9.10.6 and take the necessary steps to ensure its immediate implementation. For this to occur, it is essential that ATSIC-SA determine how the recommendations outlined in Chapter 2 should be enacted.

It is the opinion of the Research Team that the necessary process of change cannot be guided by YWW but must be overseen by ATSIC-SA. For this reason, it recommends:

> that in the period 2002 to 2004, the ATSIC staff member responsible for the Indigenous languages portfolio also be responsible for ensuring that the recommendations of this report are enacted (Recommendation 5).

Of necessity, the coming months will be a period of change and some uncertainty. It is therefore essential that the person tasked with guiding the next stage of this process be mindful of the need to keep all concerned and interested parties adequately informed.

Finally, the Research Team is confident that the recommendations contained in this report, if enacted, will improve the prospects of South Australia's Indigenous languages, thereby providing future generations of Indigenous children with the opportunity to embrace their linguistic heritage. As one Elder reminded us:

> *What I'd like to see, and what will happen, will depend on governments…. I'd like to see our kids maintain most of our language, and get to understand the difference between their own language and English. Once they get a grip on that everything will happen for them.*

10 Appendices

10.1 Timetable

WORK	STAGE	TIMETABLE
Research Review	First draft review completed, circulated for commented	September 2001
	Second draft of review completed	21 December 2001
Research guide/ survey instrument	First draft discussed	12 September 2001
	Revised draft to team by mid-October (for pilot)	19 October 2001
	Post-pilot instrument	22 November 2001
Pilot survey	Conducted in Adelaide; results analysed	late October to 22 November 2001
	Meeting held to workshop results and prepare for main fieldwork	20 November 2001
Interim (progress) report	Drafted by McConvell	27 November 2001, revised 14 December 2001
Main survey fieldwork	Team visited various centres throughout the state, and conducted focus-group meetings in about 10 locations	December 2001 –April 2002
	Reports of fieldwork completed and analysed	April 2002
Draft Final Report	Team meeting on draft report	15 April 2002
	Draft sent out for comment	19 April 2002
Final Report Completed	Feedback received, presented to Steering Committee meeting	1 May 2002
	Report revised, printed and presented to ATSIC	May 2002

10.2 Places and groups contacted

The following organisations were contacted and/or visited by the Research Team during its review of the status of Indigenous languages in South Australia. The inclusion of an organisation on this list should not be taken in any way to indicate their endorsement of either the findings or the recommendations of this report.

Aboriginal and Islander Support Unit (University of South Australia)
Aboriginal Elders Village
Aboriginal Legal Rights Movement
Amata Anangu School
Amata Community Inc
Anangu Pitjantjatjara
Anangu Tertiary Education Program (University of South Australia)
ATSIC Ceduna
ATSIC Port Augusta
Burrandies Aboriginal Corporation
Buttlingara Aboriginal Corporation
Camp Coorong
Cavan Training Centre
Ceduna Area School
Ceduna Community Radio
Centre for Aboriginal Studies in Music
Crossways Lutheran School Ceduna
Davenport
Department of State Aboriginal Affairs
DETE Aboriginal Languages Standing Committee
Dunjiba Community Council
Ernabella Anangu School
Fregon Anangu School
Gooreta Aboriginal Corporation
Indulkana Anangu School
Irintata Homelands Council Aboriginal Corporation
Iwantja Community Inc
Iwara Kutju Inc
KACHA Inc. (Kaurna Aboriginal Community and Heritage Association)
Kaitjiti Community Aboriginal Corporation
Kalaya
Kalparrin Community Inc.
Kaurna Meyunna Inc.
Kaurna Plains Child Education Centre
Kaurna Plains Preschool
Kaurna Plains School
Kenmore Park Anangu School
Koonibba Aboriginal Community Council Inc.
Kungari Association
Kura Yerlo
Lower Murray Nungas Club
Maralinga Tjarutja

Marree Aboriginal School
Marree Arabunna People's Committee
Mimili Anangu School
Minya Bunhi (Ceduna)
Mirning Language Project
Murputja Anangu School
Nankuwarrin Yunti
NAPA (Narungga Aboriginal Progress Association)
Neporendi Aboriginal Forum
Oodnadatta Aboriginal School
Otherway Centre
Pika Wiya
Pipalyatjara Anangu School
Pipalyatjara Community Inc
Pitjantjatjara Homelands Council Aboriginal Corporation
Point Macleay Community Council
Port Augusta Women's Centre (not sure if this is the correct title)
Port Lincoln Aboriginal Community Council
Pukatja Community Inc
Raukkan School
Scot Desco
South East Neighbours Community Organization Centre
Tandanya
Tauondi College
Tia Tuckier
Tjilbruke Forum
Tjurma Homelands Council Aboriginal Corporation
Tjutjunaka Worka Tjuta (TWT)
Umeewarra Media
Umeewarra Radio
Umoona Community Council Inc
Umuwa Community
Wallatina Homestead
Watarru Aboriginal Corporation
Weenamooga Women's Group.
Wilto Yerlo
Winmante Arts Cultural Tourism Centre
Yaitya Makkitura
Yalata CDEP Tullawan
Yalata School
Yaralina
Year 11 students, Australian Indigenous Languages compact course, stage 1. (held at Nankuwarrin Yunti).

Additionally, more than 150 individuals attended a focus group meeting, completed a questionnaire or participated in a less formal discussion with a member of the Research Team. As stipulated on the Consent Form – incorporated into the Research Questionnaire – none of those persons shall be identified within this report.

10.3 Survey methods

10.3.1 Survey questionnaire

A Survey Questionnaire was developed, piloted and used to guide the Research Process. It was subsequently used both by Individual Respondents and as the basis for group discussions. The Questionnaire was sent out to all interested parties. It was also posted on the AIATSIS website where it could be either downloaded in PDF format or completed and submitted online.

The survey was divided into four sections.

1. Identification Information
2. State of the languages
3. Current Activities and Support
4. Future Needs

1. Identification Information

If an Individual is filling in the form:

1.What is your name?
2. Where do you live?
3. Are you male or female?
4. What is your age-group? (circle)

0-19 20-39 40-59 60 or over

5. Are you Indigenous?
6. If so, which language group or groups do you identify with?

If a group is being interviewed:

7. Where is the meeting taking place?
8. When?
9. Who are the people present?
10. Which age-groups are represented? (circle)

0-19 20-39 40-59 60 or over

11. Where do the people present live? (list places)
12. Which languages do people in the group identify with?
13. Do the people agree to have their talk recorded on paper and on audio-tape?(see survey guide).
14. Who were the interviewers?

2. State of the Languages

1. Apart from the languages you identify with (question A6 and A12) , are there other Indigenous languages in this region?
2. Who uses Indigenous languages in your region and what for?
3. Do people feel comfortable when they use an Indigenous language, or does something hold them back from using it?
4. How well do children know the Indigenous languages?
5. Have some of your languages, or some parts of them, been lost? If so, why was that and how do you feel about it?

6. What status or recognition is given to Indigenous languages in your region (by government, schools, other bodies?)

3. Current Activities and Support

1. What language programs or projects are going on in your region?
2. What language projects or programs have been started up in the past in your region? If they stopped or never got going properly, why was that?
3. If there are programs which went well and kept going, why was that?
4. Does the whole community get involved in language learning or other language activities or just some people?
5. Have any meetings, conferences or workshops been held on Indigenous languages involving your communities?

4. Future Needs

1. How do you think funding and support for Indigenous languages should be organised in South Australia generally, and in your region in particular?
2. Is there a town or place that would best serve as a hub of activity for Indigenous languages in your region?
3. Should Indigenous language be taught in schools?
4. Some people say that Indigenous children will learn English better if they are not taught their own language in schools. What do you think?
5. What role would you like to see Indigenous languages play, in the State and your region?
6. Ideally, what would you like to see happening in say ten years time?
7. How would you like to see ideas about Indigenous languages followed up and promoted (for instance, with governments?)
8. Any other comments about Indigenous Language Needs, or this survey?

10.3.2 Translated questionnaire for use with speakers of Antikirinya, Pitjantjatjara & Yankunytjatjara.

Prior to conducting interviews and meetings with Anangu, the original survey instrument was reworked and then translated into the first language of the Indigenous people living in Coober Pedy, Oodnadatta and on the Anangu Pitjantjatjara Lands. Mona Ngitji Ngitji Tur, who acted as interpreter for the Research Team's visit to these regions, completed this translation.

The following questions (*see below*) were used to prompt and guide conversations, meetings and interviews. In every case, these questions were expanded and reworked within a particular context and in light of previous discussion.

It is important to emphasise that the English explanations of these questions offered below are not precise but approximate translations. In many cases, it is not possible to provide a full explanation of key Anangu terms or to detail, here, the manner in which particular terms and/or expressions were voiced.

Some of the original questions were also deleted or altered to reflect the community context. For example, questions relating to the age, gender and Indigenous-identity of the participants were not asked. To ask such questions would have been seen as rude, idiotic or both. All of the interviews with Anangu required a lead-up discussion, prior to the asking of the main questions. During these discussions the interviewers explained who they were, the nature of their research and why they considered it important to find out what Anangu think about language.

> Nyuntumpa ini ngananya?
> *Who is your name?*
>
> Nyuntu mukuringanyi nyiriangka ini nyuntumpa walkatjura?
> *Can we write your name down on the paper?*
>
> Nyuntu ngura nganala nyinapai?
> *Where do you usually live?*
>
> Ka nyuntu wangka nyaa wangkanyi? Nyuntu Yankunytjatjara, Pitjantjatjara, Antikirinya, Aranda? Tjinguru wangka kutjupa?
> *What is your language? Yankunytjatjara, Pitjantjatjara, Antikirinya, Aranda? Maybe you also another language?*
>
> Nganana tjapini wangka-tjaa tjuta Ananangulu wangkapai [*name of local community*]-la?
> *What language do you speak in [name of local community]?*
>
> Ka nganalu wangka tjanampa wangkanyi munu nyaaku nyuntumpa wangka kanyini?
> *Who speaks their language and why do you keep it?*
>
> Ananangu tjuta palya kulini tjanampa tjaa-wangka munu pukultu wangkanyi| ara kutjupara tjinguru tjana kuntaringanyi?
> *Do people think their language is okay and are they happy speaking it? Other times, perhaps, they feel ashamed?*
>
> Tjitji tjuta pulkara wangkanyi munu kulini tjanampa wangka-tjaa?
> *Do children speak and understand their language fully?*
>
> Nyuntumpa wangka nyuntu kawilinu? Tjinguru nyuntumpa wangka wiyaringu ka nyuntu pukulpa wiya. Yaaltji nyuntu kulini?
> *Have you lost your language? Perhaps your language is finished and you're not happy? What do you think of that?*
>
> Kamantalu, Education Department kuula munu walypalalu nyuranmpa Ananangu tjutaku tjaa—wangka pulkara alpamilani kanytila ngaranytjaku.
> *The Government, Education Department, school and white people – do they help you to look after your language and keep it strong?*
>
> [*name of local community*]-la Language/wangka program kanyini? Munu nganalu nintini Ananangulu tjinguru walypalalu?

Does [name of local community] have a program to look after the language? And who is it being taught by, Aboriginal or whitefella?

Nyuntu nganmanpa wangka/tjaa program startamilanu. Program paluru nyaaku wiyaringu?
Did you previously have a language program? Why did it finish?

Tjinguru program nyura kanyini ka nyaaku program paluru intjuta-wiru ngarangyi?
If you have a program, why is it still going/standing?

Anangu Communitylanguru uwankara tjungu nintini nganampa wangka, tjinguru Anangu wangka ninti pulka?
Is everybody in the community knowledgeable and teaching language or only a few?

Nyuntu mitingiku yanu mungartji kuwari?
Did you go to a [language] meeting recently?

Nyuntu mukuringanyi nyuntumpa wangka pulkara atunymanatjaku ngura nyangakuta?
Do you desire to look after your language to keep it healthy?

Nyuntu kulini nganampa wangka kuulangka nintintjaku tjitji tjutangka?
Do you want language to be taught in school to all children?

Anangu, Walypalu kunyu kulinpai tjitji tjuta nintringanyi kuulala English munu tjanampa wangka-tjaa wantinyi. Ka yaaltji nyuntu kulini?
It's said that if you teach the kids English in the school, they may not want to speak their language. What do you think about that?

10.3.3 Consent form

Prior to completing a questionnaire or participating in a group decision, the nature and focus of the research project was explained to each informant. The person was then asked to consider whether they were willing to participate in the Research and, if so, were asked to complete a Consent Form

The Consent Form listed the Project Title and the names of all members of the Research Team. It included the following statements:

- I have received information about this research project.
- I understand the purpose of the research project and my involvement in it.
- I understand that I may withdraw from the research project at any stage.
- I understand that while information gained during the study may be published, I will not be identified and my personal results will remain confidential, unless I agree in writing or on tape to allow specific words of mine to be published.

Participants were asked to sign their assent to these statements. Parental consent was required for participants under the age of 18.

10.4 Cases studies of South Australian Indigenous languages

This Appendix contains six case studies, each of which provides a detailed description of a South Australian Indigenous language.

Language materials and resources listed in these case-study descriptions include both published and unpublished texts and audio recordings. Extensive catalogue searches were carried out for the holdings of the following institutions: AIATSIS, State Library of South Australia, Barr Smith Library (University of Adelaide) and the University of South Australia Library. Additional searching was conducted on selected electronic databases (LLBA, Austrom, Heritage & Environment), as well via the internet (search engine: Google). Despite such extensive searching, these case studies remain preliminary efforts. No doubt, many more extant texts warrant inclusion.

Where possible, catalogue references have been checked against original material. It has not, however, been possible to check all of the materials listed here. In the case of manuscripts produced during the early years of white settlement, language texts were often recorded in a rudimentary fashion in situations where neither the recorder nor the speaker of a particular language was in a position to communicate with each other in a sophisticated manner. As a result, many transcription and classificatory errors occurred. Persons using the following descriptions are therefore advised to check the original material closely and/or consult with a suitably qualified linguist prior to incorporating them within language maintenance or revival programs.

The task of preparing these case studies has highlighted the difficulties Indigenous people and communities face in accessing materials that would strengthen their efforts with regards to language maintenance and revival initiatives. A user-friendly handbook and/or database for South Australian Indigenous languages is long overdue. The case studies gathered in this appendix could be incorporated into such a resource.

The six languages selected have been chosen with the aim of ensuring both a broad geographical spread and a genuine representation of the varying states of languages (from ‘first language use’ to ‘revival efforts’). A standard format of 13 information fields has been adopted to organise the information presented in each case-study.

These chosen fields are:

- Location
  A description of the geographical region within which the language was spoken at the time of the European invasion.
- Alternative names and variant spellings
  Entries in this category are primarily based on a composite of listings found in Oates & Oates (1970), Tindale (1974) and the SOIL database (Thieberger 2000).
- Dialects and closely related languages
- Present number and distribution of speakers
- People who have worked formerly on the language

- Practical spelling system
- Early records and manuscripts
- Wordlists / dictionaries
- Grammar / sketch grammar
- Language learning material
- Language programs
  This listing includes programs conducted within primary and high schools, tertiary courses, as well as less formal, community-based programs.
- Community language functions / activities
- Other related materials

10.4.1 Adnyamathanha

Prepared by Guy Tunstill with assistance from Bernard Schebeck

Location:
The homelands of the Adnyamathanha people are the northern Flinders Ranges, in South Australia. This area lies some 500 km north of Adelaide and is approximately delineated by Lyndhurst and Moolawatana Homestead in the north-west and north-east, Lake Frome in the east, and Parachilna and Blinman in the south. Mount Serle (*Atuwarapanha*) and Mount McKinlay (*Wayanha*), located in the central north part of this area, are focal points of Adnyamathanha traditions and recent history.

Alternative Names and Variant Spellings:
Names based on the construction 'Rock People/Language': Atnyamathanha, Adnyamatana, Adnjamathanha, Anyamatana, Keidnamutha, Gadnyamatana, Anyamitana, Anjimatana, Adnyamathnha, Unyamootha, Atnyaarlta. The word *kanyamatja* has been recorded from Western Desert speakers in referring to northern Flinders Ranges people and traditions.

Names based on the construction 'People's/This/My Language': Yura Ngawarla, Adnyamathanha Yura Ngawarla, Nimbalda, Archualda.

The Adnyamathanha people often refer to themselves as Yura.

Dialects and closely associated languages:
The Adnyamathanha language today is spoken in a number of family-based varieties that may possibly derive from dialects spoken in different parts of the original homelands. Neighbouring groups include the Kuyani, the Wailpi (or *Walypi*), the Yartliyawarra, and the Pirlatapa. There is some suggestion that these diverse groups may have contributed to the formation of a residual population that took refuge in the hills (*atnya*) after the savage onslaught, beginning in the 1850s, of European invaders, and that ultimately this amalgam became known as the Hills/Rock People, or Adnyamathanha (Brock 1985:13–18).

Present number and distribution of speakers:
The 1996 Census of Housing and Population reported that 125 people spoke Adnyamathanha at home. It is likely that the number of people who identify as Adnyamathanha is much greater than this figure.

Today, many Yuras live not only in the Adnyamathanha township of Nepabunna and nearby towns such as Copley, but also further south in the towns of Hawker, Quorn and Port Augusta, and also in Adelaide. Some Yura families are engaged in park-ranging duties in the Gammon Ranges National Park and so live in the park itself.

People who have worked formally on the language:
The first comprehensive and rigorous work on the language began in the mid-1960s when Andrew Coulthard and Bernhard Schebeck collaborated to record, translate and analyse a

number of texts. Schebeck also recorded texts from May and Henry Wilton and other speakers. This work resulted in the first descriptions of Adnyamathanha phonology, grammar, and the first publication of extended texts (Schebeck 1973, 1974, 1976).

Following the foundational work of Coulthard and Schebeck, Dorothy Tunbridge conducted linguistic research from the late 1970s into the 1980s, working with a number of speakers from the Nepabunna area. This led to the development of a practical orthography for use in schools and the wider community, as well as publications devoted to particular aspects of traditional Adnyamathanha culture (Tunbridge and Coulthard 1985; Tunbridge and others 1988, 1991) and Adnyamathanha linguistics (Tunbridge 1988).

In the 1980s Adnyamathanha speakers John and Pearl McKenzie of Hawker, working with John McEntee of Erudina Station, began publishing topical word-lists of Adnyamathanha (McEntee, McKenzie and McKenzie 1986, McEntee and McKenzie 1988), culminating in a consolidated dictionary (McEntee and McKenzie 1992). A special orthography was developed for this work, heavily reliant on diacritics used with capitals letters arranged in a Sanskrit-based alphabetical order.

In 1997 Bernhard Schebeck resumed Adnyamathanha linguistics in a project sponsored by the Yura Women's Group in Port Augusta, and a year later continued with a curriculum development project sponsored by the South Australian Department of Education, Training and Employment. Speakers involved with the latter project included Lily Neville, Rhoda Ryan, Margaret Brown, Clara Johnson, Myra McKenzie, Buck McKenzie, Evelyn Coulthard, Cynthia Ryan, Denise Champion, Noeleen Ryan-Lester, Pauline Wilton, Maxine Turner and Sylvia Brady. Department officers Greg Wilson and Guy Tunstill have also contributed. Work in these projects is still in progress; to date there is a draft syllabus for Years R–10 containing sample texts, an unpublished research dictionary (Adnyamathanha–English and English–Adnyamathanha), and a draft language learning manual for both teachers and students.

Practical spelling system:

A practical spelling system for Adnyamathanha was developed in the 1980s as an element of Tunbridge's work, and has been the standard, more or less, ever since. However, it suffers for want of a published word-list against which speakers can check their spellings and it retains a number of consonantal phoneticisms. Today there is a significant degree of inconsistency in the way this orthography is used by Yuras. Therefore, during the syllabus development project, a simplified orthography was developed and trialled that removed the main residual phoneticisms and redundant letters and symbols, and a comprehensive word-list comparing the various spellings was compiled to assist writers, teachers and learners.

The simplified orthography reflects Schebeck's original analyses published in the 1970s and, for the stops, sets up a fortis *vs* lenis series, rather than the voiceless *vs* voiced series of Tunbridge's analysis. Lenis consonants are rare and do not occur in combination with nasals, as the first element in consonant clusters, or in homorganic clusters; in the

simplified orthography they are signalled by the letters **v**, **d**, and **g**. This results in the standard series of **p**, **th**, **ty**, **t**, **rt**, **k** doing most of the work in representing stops, a far less frequent use of the 'voiced' series of letters (a source of confusion in writing Adnyamathanha today, especially the use of the letter 'g'), and the elimination of three symbols: **b**, **dy** and **-**. For comparison, the two systems are tabulated below using the usual dimensions of 'place and manner of articulation':

1980s orthography

p	**th**	**ty**	**t**	**rt**	**k**
b	**dh**	**dy**	**d**	**rd**	**g**
v					
m	**nh**	**ny**	**n**	**rn**	**ng**
	lh	**ly**	**l**	**rl**	
w		**y**		**r**	
			rr		
			d	**rd**	

- to indicate reduplication, and to separate alveolar **n** from velar **g**, ie **n-g** *vs* the digraph **ng**.

Simplified orthography, introduced 1999 and currently under trial

p	**th**	**ty**	**t**	**rt**	**k**
v	**dh**		**d**	**rd**	**g**
m	**nh**	**ny**	**n**	**rn**	**ng**
	lh	**ly**	**l**	**rl**	
w		**y**		**r**	
			rr		

The trialling of the simplified spelling is still in its early stages and as yet is little used outside school programs. Part of the reason for Schebeck's preparation of the two-way research dictionary is to make the simplified spelling more widely known amongst speakers and language workers. Note that a strict adoption of the simplified spelling would render the name of the group as 'Atnyamathanha' (which first appeared in Schebeck 1974), but it remains to be seen whether this will be adopted in preference to the now more familiar 'Adnyamathanha'.

The system of capitals-plus-diacritics developed and used by McEntee and John and Pearl McKenzie is regarded as not suitable for use in schools or with young learners. It has little currency outside of Hawker.

Early records and manuscripts:

The first record of a language from the northern Flinders Ranges is a short word list compiled by George Taplin in 1879 from data collected by another person. In it, the people are called the 'Nimbalda' and the language is called 'Archualda' (Taplin 1879: 88). These two names can be interpreted as *nhimpa arlta* and *ngatyu arlta*, that is, 'this language' and 'my language', which are not really names. The form of the term 'Adnyamathanha' first surfaces a few years later as 'Unyamootha Tribe', reported by S. Gason (Curr 1886:118–123).

Fifty years later two researchers, N.B. Tindale and C.P. Mountford, passed through the area, but these visits did not significantly advance linguistic knowledge. However, some stories in English and isolated words and phrases were recorded (Mountford–Sheard Collection in the State Library of South Australia, Mountford and Harvey 1941, Tindale Diaries). In his publications Tindale uses the name 'Wailpi' instead of 'Adnyamathanha', disputing the validity of the latter; yet his diary entry of 21 November 1924 reports 'The natives belong to the Adnimatna tribe & their country used to be from Yankanina (Narniyakanina) to Blinman (Angurichina) in the North Flinders Range'. Other archival material is quoted and listed in Brock 1985.

Wordlists and Dictionaries:
The only published dictionary of the Adnyamathanha language is McEntee and McKenzie (1992) which lists about 1600 head words. Also published are some topical word-lists (McEntee, McKenzie and McKenzie 1986; McEntee and McKenzie 1988; Tunbridge and Coulthard 1985; Tunbridge and others 1991; Pedler 1994). Bernhard Schebeck has compiled a two-way research dictionary that is a comprehensive and comparative listing drawn from every publication on, or in, Adnyamathanha. There are 2529 main entries in the Adnyamathanha–English part and 2783 main entries in the English–Adnyamathanha part. It remains unpublished, and was prepared for internal circulation to assist further research and language teaching.

Grammar or sketch grammar:
Schebeck 1974 remains the only published grammar of the language that approaches comprehensiveness. It is based on the analysis of 13 texts from Andrew Coulthard that deal with the Adnyamathanha social system. Apart from this there are a few articles dealing with aspects of Adnyamathanha grammar published in linguistics collections (Schebeck 1976; Tunbridge 1988).

Language learning material:
In 1986 a course in Adnyamathanha language and culture for adults was held over five days at Pichi Richi in the Flinders Ranges. The unpublished notes from this were collated and are still referred to in school programs.

The Department of Education, Training and Employment has published a number of curriculum materials in the field of Aboriginal Studies to support the learning of Adnyamathanha history and culture. Some Adnyamathanha language appears in these (EDSA 1992a, b; DECS 1996).

The Department's syllabus for Adnyamathanha language learning in schools is in draft form and is expected to be completed during 2002. It is written for second language learning for Years R–10, and when published will include several accompanying texts suitable for the classroom as well as recordings of Adnyamathanha speakers.

Literature in the language:
Several Adnyamathanha people have had stories and other texts published, ranging from English-only stories, bilingual stories and postcards. As well as the large collection of

stories published in English by Tunbridge and others (1988) there are three Adnyamathanha stories in English (*Moon Man, The Magpie and the Crow*, and *Yulu's Coal*) in the Aboriginal Australia Reading series (published by Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich) written by Terrence Coulthard, Cliff Coulthard, and Buck McKenzie. Clem and Terrence Coulthard published a bilingual Adnyamathanha story in about 1998 (Coulthard and Coulthard n.d.) and Buck McKenzie issued a series of Adnyamathanha postcards in 2001, each containing a short text. A short welcome text in Adnyamathanha appears in the South Australian Tourist Commission's Flinders Ranges visitor guide.

An active contributor to the syllabus development project, Lily Neville of Quorn, continues to produce a great amount of hand-written material in the language. She plans to have these published. Her texts range from translations of well known songs, to observations of life in the bush, and family matters. She writes and speaks fluently and her material is of great value.

Language Programs:
Adnyamathanha has been taught in northern country schools for a number of years, and is today being learned by over 800 students in seven schools (five in the Port Augusta area and one each in Leigh Creek and Adelaide) in language revitalisation programs (which essentially use second language learning methodologies). Most of this teaching is in the primary years and teaching is done by teams comprising a classroom teacher and an Aboriginal Language and Cultural Specialist. Teaching programs receive central support in the form of annual funding and the services of two project officers (who support all 66 Aboriginal languages programs operating in South Australian schools). These programs have been trialling the draft syllabus materials.

The language is also taught in two or three preschools in the Port Augusta area, and occasionally at the local TAFE.

Community language functions / activities:
Most Adnyamathanha people now use English as a major means of communication. The 1996 census reports that 125 people use Adnyamathanha at home but it is uncertain whether this usage is monolingual. There are several arenas and activities that serve to promote a deliberate use of the language:

The Adnyamathanha Women's Choir: This group of singers often convenes to sing at important events. Most recently they performed at the 2002 Adelaide Festival, and before that at the Opera in the Outback. They sing traditional songs entirely in Adnyamathanha.

The Yura Women's Group: The object of this group is to record and publish Adnyamathanha language and traditions in a form that reflects community needs.

Language Syllabus Project: Supported by the Department of Education, Training and Employment, this project is nearing completion and will result in the publication and implementation of a Year R–10 language learning syllabus and associated materials. It

has involved the active participation of 13 Adnyamathanha people, mainly from the Port Augusta area which is where most school programs are located.

Buck McKenzie: Buck is an Adnyamathanha singer–songwriter who has been active for many years promoting an understanding of Adnyamathanha lands and traditions. Much of this work has been done through schools, working with both students and teachers.

Iga Warta: Terrence and Cliff Coulthard operate a cultural tourism program from their home at Iga Warta (near Nepabunna) which encourages visitors to stay overnight and join cultural tours through the nearby ranges.

10.4.2 Kaurna

Location:
The area identified on Tindale's (1974) map is the current accepted extent of Kaurna territory which occupies the Adelaide Plains from Crystal Brook and Clare in the north, to Cape Jervis in the south, bounded by St Vincents Gulf to the west and the Mt Lofty Ranges to the east.

Alternative Names and Variant Spellings:
Kaurna is the only name for the language in current use, having been popularised by Tindale after 1926. The German missionaries referred to it as the language of the 'Adelaide Tribe'. Klose recorded Wito Meyunna 'reed men' for the people of Adelaide and Taralye Meyunna 'stockade men' (for those who lived at Piltawodli 'The Native Location'). The Kaurna living at Rapid Bay were known as the Patpa Meyunna 'south people'. Kauwandilla (Cowandilla) Tribe and Tarndanya (Darnda Gunya etc) Tribe were also names used in the nineteenth century. Wyatt (1879) records Meyurna 'people' as the name of Onkaparinga Jack's Tribe, who was one of the main sources of the language as we know it today.

Dialects and closely related languages:
There appear to have been at least 4 dialects of Kaurna. Different words for the verb 'to go' appear to have been one such dialect marker (padnendi in the north; murrendi at Aldinga and wenendi at Rapid Bay). There is little possibility of restoring a detailed knowledge of dialectal differences. Practically speaking, there is now just one variety of Kaurna in use.

Kaurna is closely related to Narungga, Nukunu and Ngadjuri. Barngarla and Adnyamathanha are a little more distantly related but still share numerous words. Further north, 29% of Pitjantjatjara vocabulary is said to be cognate with Kaurna.

Present number and distribution of speakers:
Kaurna is referred to as a 'sleeping' language by Kaurna people, a language that is now being 'woken up' or revived. Many linguists still view the language as 'dead' or 'extinct'.

There are at least several hundred who now identify primarily as Kaurna people and several thousand with known Kaurna ancestry. Forty to fifty Kaurna people have participated in formal courses or workshops attempting to learn the language, together with numbers of Indigenous people from other language groups and scores of non-Indigenous students. The use of some Kaurna terms and expressions which were developed within formal courses and workshops has spread within the Kaurna community and to some extent within Nunga society in Adelaide.

People who have worked formerly on the language:
German missionaries, Schürmann and Teichelmann, are the main and by far the best source of knowledge of the Kaurna language. They produced a sketch grammar, a vocabulary of about 3,000 words and recorded hundreds of translated sentences but very

few texts (Teichelmann & Schürmann 1840; Teichelmann 1857; 1858). Missionary Klose also preserved several letters and texts written by Kaurna children as well as Schürmann's and Teichelmann's translations of six German hymns. Their Kaurna translations of the Ten Commandments and one of Governor Gawler's speeches also survive. A range of other sources of lesser quality also exist.

Jane Simpson from the University of Sydney has worked extensively on Kaurna grammar and relationships with neighbouring languages, though much of this material is unpublished. She has also written papers on Teichelmann's (1857) manuscript dictionary (Simpson 1992), Kaurna personal names (Simpson 1998) and the early Pidgin Kaurna language (Simpson 1996).

Rob Amery completed a PhD in 1998 at Adelaide University entitled *Warrabarna Kaurna! Reclaiming Aboriginal Languages from Written Historical Sources: Kaurna Case Study* which analyses Kaurna historical sources and attempts to relearn the language and use it for a range of purposes in the 1990s. A reduced version of this thesis is published (Amery 2000). Amery continues to work on Kaurna, acting as a consultant to Kaurna language programs and initiatives.

Practical Spelling System:
Despite its shortcomings, the spelling system developed by Teichelmann & Schürmann (1840) has been adopted for use by contemporary Kaurna language programs. Their spelling unnecessarily over-represents the vowels, uses both voiced and voiceless stops, seldom indicates interdental consonants, only sometimes represents retroflex consonants, does not adequately distinguish between the three phonemic rhotics (r sounds) and is inconsistent in its use of ng (to represent both [n] and [ng]). However, it is consistent in its use of the vowel symbols a, i and u to represent the vowels [a], [ ] and [ ].

Jane Simpson and Luise Hercus have developed a system of transcription which uses upper case letters to flag uncertainty, while lower case letters indicate that the phonemic status is known. Thus, for instance, the letter T indicates an oral stop, but we don't know whether an interdental, alveolar or retroflex stop is involved. Similarly, R indicates a rhotic, which might be a rolled r, tap or glide r. This system of transcription is very useful for purposes of linguistic analysis, but is impractical for general use.

Early records and manuscripts:

Kaurna Sources Making an Original Contribution (Dr Rob Amery, UniSA)

Source	Date[20]	No. of words	Domains	Orthography	Glosses	Addit. Vocab[21]	Sentences
Gaimard	1826	168	various	'French' spell. eg *iouk = yoko*	minimal	5 words	no
Robinson	?1837	80	various	'English' spell. *you.co = yoko*	minimal	5 words	2
Koeler	1837-1838	150	various body parts	'German' spell *júkka = yoka*	minimal; some rich	few words	8 (Pidgin Kaurna)
Williams (1840)	1836-1839	377	all	'English' sp. *yoo-coo = yoko*	minimal	ca 30 words	28 (Pidgin Kaurna)
Piesse (1840)	1839	75	fauna; pl. names	followed Williams	varying; spec. locns	26 words	no
Wyatt (1840; 1879)	1837-1839	651	all	'English' sp. *olte = ngulti*	varying	>100 wds 15 places	17 + short text
Earl	1838	14	body parts	'English' sp. *kundi = kanti*	simple	none	no
Stephens	1838	36	birds	'English' sp.	some untransl.	> 20	no
T&S (1840)	1838-1840	ca 2,000	all	reasonably consistent	extensive	main source	ca 200 + short texts
Schürmann Journal	1838-1840	ca 40 + 30 names	culture-specific; religion	similar to T&S; used *j* instead of *y*	rich contextual info.	none	several + 2 songlines
Teichelmann Diary	1839-1846	15 wds; 7 names	religion	T&S at times used *j* for *y*	in context	none	no
Klose letters	1840-1845	ca 40 7 names 7 grps	numbers, grp names, religion	T&S	rich ethnog. info.	one	6 hymns 2 letters
Teichelmann (1857)	1840-1857	ca 2,500	all	slight modific. of T&S	extensive	?? 600-700 wds	numerous
Teichelmann footnotes	1841	ca 150	religion	T&S	rich ethno. descript.	enriched glosses	no
Moorhouse correspondence ; Journal	1839-?1845	> 50	birth-order names, nouns pronouns	T&S	in context	few birth-order names; *ngurpo*	2 songlines
Cawthorne (1844); diary	1842 - 1846	51	artifacts	inconsistent mangno=manga	good descript.	ca 12	no
Stephens (1889).	1840s	few	various	poor *coondee = kanti*	minimal;	two words	no
Day (1902)	?1840s	8 words 7 place names	basic vocab. + pl. names	poor 'English' spellings *cadelcoo=karko*	in context	one word	no
Chittleborough (1906)	1830s-1840s	48	Basic Vocab.	'English' sp. me-hew=meyu	variable	none	no
Bates	1919	26	kinship	good 'Eng.' sp. *ngappubi = ngappappi*	brief	8	no
Black	1920	66	various	modified IPA *miju = meyu*	sometimes rich	several pl names	8 phrases 20 sent.
Tindale	1920s	few	various, pl. names	modified IPA *´julti = yulti*	rich	few wds, pl. names	few phrases

[20]Date here refers to likely date of collection of Kaurna language material, rather than publication date

[21]Kaurna sources are assessed relative to the main sources, T&S.

Wordlists / Dictionaries:
All together, somewhere between 3,000 and 3,500 words were recorded in historical sources, most by the German missionaries (Teichelmann & Schürmann, 1840) and Teichelmann (1857). William Wyatt (1879) recorded some 651 words, including more that 100 not appearing in the German sources. William Williams (1840) recorded 377 words, of which about 30 were not recorded by Teichelmann & Schürmann (1840) or Teichelmann (1857). A number of other sources contribute a handful of additional words which do not appear in the major sources. See Amery (2000: 112).

The vocabulary in Teichelmann & Schürmann (1840), Teichelmann (1857), some additional words imported from the lesser sources and new terms developed in the 1990s were published in a composite wordlist organised by topic or domain (Amery 1997). New terms include items such as 'computer', 'whiteboard' and 'reading' needed within the school context, together with sporting terms, numbers, days of the week, months of the year and holidays etc.

Additional vocabulary items within the context of childrearing and homelife were developed in a series of workshops held in November 2000 (Amery & Gale 2000), but is not yet available to the wider public.

Teichelmann & Schürmann (1840) and Teichelmann (1857) were keyboarded as electronic files by Jane Simpson and recently converted to a Shoebox database by Howard Amery in 2001. These wordlists will soon be available as an English-Kaurna reversal.

Grammar / Sketch Grammar:
A good sketch grammar was produced by the Dresden missionaries (Teichelmann & Schürmann 1840) and additional grammatical notes by Teichelmann (1858). Further observations are embedded within his extensive vocabulary (Teichelmann 1857).

Jane Simpson is currently writing a grammar of Kaurna based on a compilation of historical sources and comparisons with related languages.

Language Learning Material:
No Kaurna curriculum has yet been developed, though certain modules of work and materials have been developed on-site within the Kaurna programs in schools.

A set of thirteen language learning lessons for the 'Kaurna Language & Language Ecology' course at Adelaide University were recorded on tape with an accompanying transcript (Amery, Watkins & Rigney 1997). A phonology tape was also recorded (Amery 1997) to teach pronunciation. This consists of Kaurna words with known Nukunu cognates.

Amery also developed several HyperCard stacks (Sounds & Spellings; Multiple Choice questions on example sentences taken from Teichelmann & Schürmann 1840; Moving

objects according to instructions given). These were used in Kaurna programs at Inbarendi College and Kaurna Plains School in the mid-1990s.

Modules of work on Kaurna Kinship and Kaurna Placenames were published within the AILF materials (SSABSA 1996: 22-25) and have been a prominent feature of Kaurna programs.

Numerous worksheets and translation exercises have been produced in association with Kaurna workshops and for the senior secondary programs, but have never been collated and published. Examples of some of this material is included in Amery (1998: Vol.2: 153-200).

Cherie Watkins has produced a number of photocopied booklets at Kaurna Plains School. These include *Nganna Karrendi* 'What Can Fly?', *Yaintya Ngai* 'This is me' together with counting books, booklets to support excursions, and games such as a Kaurna version of Bingo. Adult students of Kaurna have produced board games and other language learning materials.

Kaurna songs were the first Kaurna language materials produced and remain a very important element of Kaurna language programs. In the first songbook (Ngarrindjeri, Narrunga and Kaurna Languages Project 1990) seven of the 23 songs produced made use of Kaurna words. Some were entirely in Kaurna, others included a Kaurna verse or words in English. In 1995 an additional set of 25 Kaurna songs were written and recorded and later published (Schultz et al 1999). Most of these songs are much more complex than those published previously. Since then, numerous other Kaurna songs have been written. Only a few of these have been published. For example, Nelson Varcoe's song Nguya Nguya Murradlu – Reconciliation was published by the South Australian Primary Schools Music Society (SAPSMS 1998).

Several stories have been written in Kaurna including *Wai Yerlitta!* 'But Dad!' (Varcoe 1990) and *Freddy Kanto* 'Freddy the Bullfrog' (Wanganeen 1990) and a Kaurna translation (Amery 1992) of *Tucker's Mob* by Christobel Mattingley. Other translations of popular children's books were undertaken, but the books have not yet been produced. Several are planned, but this remains an area in urgent need of work.

Language Programs:
Kaurna is currently taught to relatively small numbers of students at all levels of education – early childhood, junior primary, primary, junior secondary, senior secondary, adult and tertiary level programs. Since 1990, when these programs began, there has been a steady expansion of programs. A few have been shortlived, but most have continued to operate despite staff turnover and minimal outside support.

Kaurna was introduced as the school language (LOTE program) in 1992 at Kaurna Plains School. This program has operated continuously since then. A senior secondary AILF program was introduced at Elizabeth City HS and Elizabeth West Adult Campus (now called Para West Adult Campus) in 1994. The latter program has operated continuously

since then. A Year 8 program was introduced in 1997 at Fremont-Elizabeth City HS. Courses have commenced in several other schools. In 2000, there were 221 students learning Kaurna in schools, though these figures do not include the enrolments at Fremont-Elizabeth City HS.

In 1993, a Kaurna course was introduced at Tauondi into the Cultural Instructors and Tourism course. This course focusses on fauna, flora, artifacts, ochres, kinship and other culture specific topics, together with greetings and introductions, in accordance with the language needs in cultural tourism. About 15 to 20 students are enrolled in this course each year.

Community Language Functions / Activities:

- As a subject of instruction at all levels of education
- Used to a small extent as a medium of instruction
- Used for greetings and leavetakings between an increasing number of Kaurna people and others who work, study or otherwise associate with them
- To welcome people to Kaurna land speeches of welcome)
- To introduce cultural performances (eg Paitya Dancers)
- To write and perform Kaurna songs
- To name people and pets
- To name or rename places
- In signage and art installations in the public domain
- As the language of the home (to a small extent)

10.4.3 Narungga[22]

Location:
At the time of the European invasion, Narungga speakers lived on Yorke Peninsula. Today many Narungga people still live on their traditional country, although a significant number also reside in metropolitan Adelaide and other locations. In the 1970s, Norman Tindale estimated the traditional Narungga territory to be "Yorke Peninsula, north to Port Broughton; east to Hummock Range; at Bute, Wallaroo, Ardrossan, Marion Bay, and Cape Spencer" (1974: 214).

Alternative Names and Variant Spellings:
Adjabdurah, Adjadura, Adjahdurah, Adjahdural, Moor-in-nunjie, Murinandji, Nanunga, Naranga, Narangga, Narangga, Narranga, Narrangga, Narranggu, Narrang-gu, Narrangu, Narrang-u, Narrunga, Narunga, Nharangka, Turra, Wallaroo tribe.

Dialects and closely related languages:
Narungga is closely related to Kaurna, Ngadjuri and Nukunu.

Present number and distribution of speakers:
Since the 1930s, anthropologists and linguists have typically classified Narungga as either "severely endangered" or "extinct". For example, in 1936, Tindale wrote that he had recorded the last speaker of this language and, in 1963, Wurm classified the language as "critically endangered." However, although Narungga has not been spoken fully for several decades, many members of the Narungga community retain some knowledge of it. In particular, Narungga Elders – including Gladys Elphick, Phoebe Wanganeen, Doris Graham and Eileen Jovic – have maintained a linguistic storehouse of approximately 200 words and some idiomatic phrases. These Elders have repeatedly promoted the value and importance of the language (*for example* Graham & Graham 1987). As a consequence of their efforts, the language is currently being reclaimed and revived. On 30 November 2001, at a community meeting held on Narungga land, Narungga people made speeches in their language for the first time in many decades. Narunnga was also spoken as part of the opening of the 2002 Adelaide Festival of Arts.

People who have worked formerly on the language:
From the 1930s onwards a number of linguists and anthropologists recorded Narungga vocabulary and compiled wordlists. This included Tindale, A. P. Elkin, Luise Hercus and Catherine Ellis. Hercus and Ellis' work also involved making sound recordings of the language being spoken and/or sung by Gladys Elphick, Joe Owen, Cliff Edwards and others. In the 1980s, Narungga elders, including Gladys Elphick, Phoebe Wanganeen, Doris Graham and Eileen Jovic, worked with Brian Kirke to prepare and publish the Narungga Language Kit. Since May 2001, Christina Eira has been working on the Narungga People's Language Project. Eira's work was instigated by the Narungga community and is controlled by them through the Narungga Aboriginal Progress Association.

[22] The Research Team gratefully acknowledges assistance received from the Narungga Language Project's Reference Committee in providing access to some of the information contained in this case study.

Practical spelling system:
The Narungga Language Kit published in the 1980s contained alternative spellings for Narungga words. Early in 2002, the first of a series of workshops was held to determine a practical spelling system for Narungga. These workshops, conducted as part of the Narungga People's Language Project, are ongoing. It is anticipated that a community-endorsed spelling system will be finalised before the end of this year.

Early records and manuscripts:
Some early settlers and missionaries who lived and worked on Narungga land collected examples of the language. This included Edward Snell (1849-59), Wilhelm Kuhn (1886) and T. M. Sutton (1889). In general, most early records containing Narungga language fail to properly acknowledge the expertise and assistance of Narungga people. Nevertheless, it is known that Snell's wordlist was based on information he received from a Narungga woman whom he identified as Tanne Arrito. The knowledge of another Narungga woman, Louise Eggington, was also very important. First recorded in the 1890s, Eggington's knowledge informed some important publications, including Johnson (1930-31) and Tindale (1936).

Wordlists / dictionaries:
Altogether nearly 1000 Narungga words and phrases are recorded in historical and scientific records. Important early wordlists are found in Snell's diaries (1849-59), Kuhn (1886), Black (1920), Johnson (recorded 1898-1900, published 1930-31) and Tindale (1936). In the 1980s, as the Narungga community began to reclaim their language some of these wordlists were reprinted (*see* Wanganeen & Narungga Community College 1987) One of the goals of the current language reclamation project is to produce an encyclopedic dictionary, possibly in a CD-Rom format.

Grammar / sketch grammar:
Narungga does not currently have a written grammar. That noted, Eira's comprehensive search of museums and libraries sources has revealed a great deal of grammatical information. By carefully analysing this information and combining it with the knowledge of Narungga Elders, it may be possible to produce a Narungga grammar. Eira and the Narungga Aboriginal Progress Association are currently seeking funding to begin this task.

Language learning material:
Since the 1980s, a number of important works have appeared, including *Point Pearce: Past and present* (Wanganeen & Narungga Community College 1987). In the late 1980s the South Australian College of Advanced Education (now the University of South Australia) funded Brian Kirke, Jillian Sumner and others to work with Narungga Elders to produce a "Narungga Language Kit". In the late 1980s, the National Aboriginal Language Program provided 12-month funding for a team of teachers and linguists to assist Indigenous communities with the teaching of Aboriginal languages. Towards the end of that project, a songwriting workshop was held in which songs were written in Narungga and two other Nunga languages. These were subsequently published as a

songbook and tape recording (Ngarrindjeri, Narrunga and Kaurna Languages Project 1990) and continue to be an important resource for initial language learning. Other language learning materials include: the book *Maikuku Birku [Tucker's Mob]* (Varcoe & Amery 1992) and the book and accompanying video for *Winda: a Narungga Dreaming Story* (1998).

Language Programs in schools:
For more than a decade, Josie Sumner and other members of the Narungga community have taught Narungga in school and kindergartens both in Adelaide and on Yorke Peninsular. In 2001, Narungga was one of nine Indigenous languages taught in South Australian schools (Wilson & Tunstill 2001).

Community language functions / activities:
Today, the Narungga community is actively promoting the wider use of its language. This includes an increasing amount of signage in Narungga at Point Pearce and at other places on Yorke Peninsular. In March 2002, Kevin O'Loughlin made a short speech in Narungga as part of the official opening ceremony for the 2002 Adelaide Festival of Arts.

Since April 2001, the main language development activity has been the Narungga People's Language Project. Funded by Yaitya Worra Wodli, this Project aims "to restore the language to a level where it can be used independently, for speeches, stories, conversations and written language" and "to provide resources whereby children can claim their Language heritage, and to make the language available to all Narungga people and their descendants" (Lesley Wanganeen, cited in Wanganeen & Eira 2001).

10.4.4 Nawu

Location:
At the time of first contact, Nawu speakers lived in the southwestern half of Eyre Peninsula. According to Tindale, their territory stretched "west to Cape Radstock, north to beyond Minnipa; east to near Darke Peak; west of Cleve and halfway between Carrow and Franklin Harbor; at Port Lincoln, Mount Hope, Coffin Bay, and Elliston" (1974: 214).

Alternative Names and Variant Spellings:
Battara, Gnowoo, Growoo, Hilleri, Kadu, Kartawon-gulta, Kartwongulta, Naua, Nauo, Nawa, Nawo, Nawu, Neow, New O, Ngao, Njao, Njau, Now, Nowo, Wiljaru, Willuro.

Dialects and closely related languages:
Nawu is closely related to Barngarla and Wirangu.

Present number and distribution of speakers:
Nil known. In 1970, Oates & Oates write of Nawu as being "Probably extinct" (1970: 91). In 1974, Tindale, noting that all of his data had been collected from "Wirangu and Pangkala [Barngarla] informants," listed the language as being "extinct" (1974: 214).

People who have worked formerly on the language:
Luise Hercus and Jane Simpson have made a close study of all known and many possible sources of Nawu. Their article, "The tragedy of Nauo," provides the most comprehensive account of this language (Hercus & Simpson 2001).

Practical spelling system:
Nil known.

Early records and manuscripts:
Few definitive examples of Nawu language have so far been identified; the primary source being the diaries, papers and publications of Clamor Schürmann, a Dresden missionary, who resided at Port Lincoln in the 1840s. His *The aboriginal tribes of Port Lincoln in South Australia : their mode of life, manners, customs, etc*, first published in 1846, includes a comparison of 10 Nawu words with their Barngarla equivalents (1987: 252). As Hercus and Simpson note (2001: 274), "[t]his is the major source of Nauo [Nawu] vocabulary." Other examples of Nawu, though not explicitly indentified as such, are most probably contained in Schürmann's diaries (1838-53) and his Parnkalla [Barngarla] vocabulary (1844). An analysis of these materials is found in Hercus and Simpson (2001).

Norman Tindale recorded references to Nawu people and their culture – which he spelt 'Nauo' – in various journals and field notes from the 1920s onward, though very few explicit examples of Nauo language. The South Australian Museum maintains an online catalogue of this work. A listing of Tindale's "Nauo" references can be found at: www.samuseum.sa.gov.au/tindale/HDMS/tindaletribes/nauo.htm

Wordlists / Dictionaries:
Nil known. See, however, comments under both "Early records and manuscripts" and "Other Materials".

Grammar / sketch grammar:
Nil known

Language learning material:
Nil known

Language Programs in schools:
Nil known

Community language functions / activities:
In April 1997, the Port Lincoln Aboriginal Community Council received funding from Yaitya Warra Wodli for the "Traditional Languages Lost Project." The project aims to research and record the languages of the Port Lincoln area and the far west coast of South Australia, to collate this information and then return it to its traditional owners.

Other Material:
As Hercus and Simpson note, all potential historical sources of Nawu language are problematic: "authors rarely distinguish between Nauo [Nawu] and Barngarla people as sources of information, or mention the language in which the information was given" (2001: 274). Nevertheless, they suggest Nawu vocabulary may be found in "places names in the Coffin Bay area, diaries and reports from protectors and mission stations, and accounts of mythology." On the basis of careful linguistic analysis, Hercus and Simpson provides some examples of likely Nawu place names (2001: 284-7).

Searching Mura, the online catalogue of AIATSIS, by "language group" generates a sizeable list of source materials. A number of these, including some not listed in Hercus and Simpson (2001), would seem worthy of closer examination: Bedford (1868); Cawthorne (1858); Condon (1955); Matthews (1893-1918 & 1900); Provis (1886); Richardson (1886). That noted, researchers are cautioned against assuming these items necessarily contain example of Nawu language. Indeed, some items listed by Mura as containing such material would appear to concern an Indigenous language spoken in the Northern Territory in which the name of Noah, a Biblical figure, is spelt "Nawu".

10.4.5 Ngarrindjeri

Location
The Ngarrindjeri language, and the Ngarrindjeri 'nation', is associated with the country on the Lower Murray River and in the Murray Lakes and Coorong Region of South Australia. The community of Raukkan (on the southern shores of Lake Alexandrina, formerly known as Point McLeay) is seen as the hub of Ngarrindjeri country.

The land of the Ngarrindjeri nation, according to Jenkin (1979:11), is "a great triangle of land" extending from the western extremity of Cape Jervis on the tip of Fleurieu Peninsula, north to Swanport on the Murray River (about 5 kms south of Murray Bridge) and south around Lake Alexandrina and Lake Albert, and stretching further south along the Coorong to Kingston. Others include the town of Murray Bridge within Ngarrindjeri territory.

Alternative Names and Variant Spellings
Narinyerrie, Narrin'yerree, Narrinjeri, Narrinyeri and Ngarrindjeri.

There are numerous dialects and clan groups within the Ngarrindjeri language group, along with their many variant spellings and suffixes: Alkaiyana, Jaralde, Jaraldi, Jarildekald, Jarildikald, Kauralaig, Kauralaigal, Kaurareg, Kaurarega, Koiyana, Kokkaiya, Korariga, Kororega, Kowrarega, Lakalinyeri, Malulaig, Maralaig, Morolag, Muralug, Paruru, Ramindjari, Ramindjerar, Ramindjeri, Ramingara, Raminjeri, Raminyeri, Ramong, Rormear, Tarbanawulun, Warawalde, Wathai-yunu, Wirramu-mejo, Yalawarre, Yaralde, Yarilde, Yarildewallin, Yarrildie.

Dialects and Closely Associated Languages
George Taplin's early (1879a:34 & 1879b) ethnographic work divides the Ngarrindjeri nation into 18 clans or "Lakinyeri"[23]. Each of these clans had their own dialect, tract of land and 'Ngaitye' (or totem') [24], which are listed below:

1. Ramindjeri - Encounter Bay - Wattle gum
2. Tanganarin - Goolwa - Pelican
3. Kondarlindjeri - Murray Mouth (west side) - Whale
4. Lungundi - Murray Mouth (east side) - Tern
5. Turarorn - Mundoo Island - Coot
6. Pakindjeri - Lake Coorong - Butterfish
7. Kanmerarorn - Lake Coorong - Mullet
8. Kaikalabindjeri - Lake Albert (south side) - Bull ant
9. Mungulindjeri - Lake Albert (east side) - Chocolate Sheldrake
10. Rangulindjeri - Lake Albert Passage - Wild dog, dark colour

[23] The plural form for "lakinyeri", according to Taplin, is "lakinyerar".
[24] According to Meyer's (1843:18-19) grammar the –nyeri (~ndjeri) suffix means 'belonging' or 'pertaining to' a particular place.

11. Karatinderi - Point Malcolm - Wild dog, light colour
12. Piltindjeri - Lake Alexandrina (east end) - Leeches, Catfish
13. Korowalie - Lake Alexandrina (north side) - Whipsnake
14. Punguratpular - Milang (Lake Alexandrina) - Musk duck
15. Welindjeri - River Murray - Black duck, Red belly black snake
16. Luthindjeri - River Murray - Black snake, Teal, Grey belly black snake
17. Wunyakulde - River Murray - Black duck
18. Ngrangatari - Lacepede Bay - Kangaroo rat

By contrast, Berndt & Berndt's (1993:303-312) later ethnographic work distinguishes ten distinct groupings of the Ngarrindjeri (which they spelt "Narrinyeri" or used the name "Kukabrak"). These ten groups include the: Yaraldi, Tangani, Ramindjeri, Malganduwa, Marunggulindjeri, Naberuwolin, Potawolin, Wakend, Walerumaldi and Wonyakaldi. For each of these groups they list many subgroups, or clan groups, with a total of 77 clan names, each of which had their own distinct dialect.

Present number and distribution of speakers

There are probably several thousand people who identify as being Ngarrindjeri, with a very large proportion living in the Adelaide metropolitan area or in regional towns such as Murray Bridge, Tailem Bend, Meningie and towns in the Riverland, such as Gerard and Glossop. In 2002 there were 123 people living at Raukkan itself.

There are no fluent speakers of the Ngarrindjeri language, however, there still remains a considerable number of older Ngarrindjeri people who have a broad knowledge of Ngarrindjeri words and phrases, which they regularly incorporate into their speech. Younger people also incorporate Ngarrindjeri words (as well as words from other Indigenous languages) into their English, thus speaking a dialect of English commonly known as Nunga English.

People who have worked formerly on the language

Rev. G Taplin, who established Point McLeay mission in 1859, immediately commenced formal linguistic work on the language. He drew from the quality linguistic work conducted by the Lutheran missionary H.A.E. Meyer, who published a wordlist of a 'dialect' of Ngarrindjeri spoken at Encounter Bay. Further ethnographic work was conducted by N.B. Tindale (of the SA Museum) and the Berndts, who were particularly interested in recording as much as they could about traditional Ngarrindjeri culture, place-names and mythology. Tindale actually audio-recorded a Ngarrindjeri text (of the Waijungari legend) on two Edison wax cylinders, told by Frank Blackmoor, who was then an "aged full-blooded aborigine of Peltangk.... [who] belongs to the Peltindjeri clan" (see Tindale, 1935:266).

The research by Tindale and the Berndts was conducted from the 1920s and 1930s respectively, and neither had any formal linguistic training in the recording of Australian languages. Although both Tindale's and the Berndts' work forms a major source of vernacular material for Ngarrindjeri people today, the veracity of its quality and consistency should not be assumed. Among others, Tindale worked particularly closely

with Clarence Long (or Milerum, a Tangani man) while the Berndts worked closely with Albert Karloan (a Yaraldi man).

Many other ethnographers, anthropologists and linguists have also worked on Ngarrindjeri and its associated languages. Much of this work is referred to or listed below, and includes wordlists and other linguistic and ethnographic material. There is much Ngarrindjeri material held in the Berndt Collection at the University of Western Australia (which had a 30 year embargo placed on it in the late 1990s). The Tindale Collection, which is held at the SA Museum, is more publically available and contains considerable Ngarrindjeri ethnographic material.

Practical spelling system

In 1985 a group of Ngarrindjeri adults attended the School of Australian Linguistics, now the Centre for Australian Languages and Linguistics (CALL), at Batchelor located 90 kms south of Darwin. While at Batchelor they worked together with the linguist Steve Johnson to develop a practical orthography for their language. In November 1989 a meeting was convened during the 'Ngarrindjeri Yanun Workshop' held at Raukkan [literally: 'speaking Ngarrindjeri workshop']. The following orthography (or alphabet) was endorsed by representatives of the community at this meeting.

Vowels:

Short vowels: a, i, u, e, o
Long vowels: a:, i:, u:, e:, o:

Consonants:

Voiceless stops: p, th, t, tj, k
Voiced stops: b, dh, d, dj, g
(the voiced stops rarely appear, and only after another voiced consonant)
(th and dh are interdentals sounds)
Nasals: m, nh, n, ny, ng
Others: l, r, rr
Possible retroflexed sounds: rl, rt, rn

Although there is a formalised Ngarrindjeri orthography, not every Ngarrindjeri person is aware of it and others prefer to use an irregular Anglicised spelling system.

Wordlists

One of the most extensive and consistently spelt wordlists is that of H.A.E. Meyer (1843), prepared on the Ramindjeri language variety. This list is from Ramindjeri to English. The other old list is Taplin (1879), which is an English to Narrinyeri list. Steve Johnson also compiled a short wordlist at Batchelor with his Ngarrindjeri students in the 1980s, but this is not readily available.

Connie Love and Dave Roe-Simons more recently compiled an English-to-Ngarrindjeri and Ngarrindjeri-to-English wordlist on the computer for use in school programs. It combinines the Taplin and Meyer wordlists as well as that prepared by Steve Johnson at

Batchelor. This list is available on computer disk from the Lower Murray Nungas Club at Murray Bridge. It does not use the orthography outlined above consistently.

Grammar or sketch grammar

Meyer (1843) provides a sketch grammar of Ramindjeri, but there is a need for this grammar to be explained and interpreted for the lay reader. It has many diacritics, some analogous to his own German tongue. His chosen spelling system needs to be reinterpreted in light of the contemporary standard orthography for Ngarrindjeri. Talpin (1879b) also provides a sketch grammar of 'Narrinyeri'. Again there is a need for this to be re-written in lay terms and combined with the Grammar provided by Meyer.

Language learning material

In the late 1980s, Brian Kirke developed a language learning kit for two Nunga languages: Ngarrindjeri and Narungga. Kirke produced these kits through the South Australian College of Advanced Education, now a part of the University of South Australia. The Ngarrindjeri kit, *Ngarrindjeri Yanun,* includes large stimulus photos and other useful language learning materials and explanations. Unfortunately not a large number of kits were made, and they are now extremely difficult to come by.

Some language learning material is being generated in schools through the LOTE programs offering Ngarrindjeri (see section "Language Programs in Schools" below).

Literature in the language

There is no large corpus of literature in the Ngarrindjeri language. Paradoxically, Ngarrindjeri was the first Indigenous language of Australia in which to have "extracts" from the Bible published: *Tungarar Jehovah.* This translation work was done by Rev. George Taplin and James Ngunaitponi (David Unaipon's father) in "Yarildewallin" (literally: 'Yaralde-belonging'). Together they translated parts of both the Old and New Testament, including: Genesis, chapters I-IV, Exodus, chapters XIX -XX; Matthew, chapters V-VII; and St. John, chapter III & XVIII-XXI. These extracts were first published in 1864, but have since been republished as facsimile editions in 1926, by the British and Foreign Bible Society, and again in 1986 by the Bible Society in Australia. It is now out of print. A further early publication in the "Narrinyeri" language was a "Lessons, Hymns and Prayers" booklet, also published in 1864 by Taplin, for use in his school at Point McLeay.

There is quite a large corpus of Aboriginal Studies materials being produced by the Education Department, of South Australia which includes books and booklets on the Ngarrindjeri people (for example the 1990 publication *The Ngarrindjeri people: Aboriginal people of the River Murray, Lakes and Coorong*). There are some Ngarrindjeri words and phrases in these materials. The large Berndt & Berndt 1993 publication has a comprehensive appendices which includes many Ngarrindjeri Dreaming narratives and ethnographic texts in the Ngarrindjeri language, with interlinear glosses in English. The eclectic writings of David Unaipon, recently republished in his own name (Unaipon, 2001) incorporate many Ngarrindjeri words within the English text. Further literature is being generated in the Ngarrindjeri language today, largely in schools. This

literature largely takes the form of hand-made books produced by students and teachers as part of their language lessons.

Language programs in schools

In the year 2001 there were nine different Indigenous languages taught in South Australian Schools in 62 different schools as part of their Languages Other than English Program (*see* Wilson and Tunstill for a comprehensive summary of these programs-types, the languages taught and the participating schools, 2001). Ngarrindjeri is taught in 16 different schools in the state, as outlined in the table below. They are all of the 'Language Renewal' type program:

NAME OF SCHOOL	Number of Aboriginal students	Number of other students
Christie Downs Kindy	**-**	**-**
Fraser Park CPC	**-**	**-**
Fraser Park Primary	**31**	**-**
Gerard-Winkie CPC	**3**	**9**
Glossop High	**8**	**18**
Karrendi Primary	**7**	**10**
Mansfield Park Primary	**47**	**-**
Meningie Preschool	**-**	**-**
Murray Bridge High	**15**	**9**
Murray Bridge North Ss	**44**	**-**
Murray Bridge Preschool	**-**	**-**
Murray Bridge South Kindy	**20**	**40**
Murray Bridge South Primary	**56**	**-**
Salisbury North Primary	**45**	**2**
Victor Harbor Kindy	**-**	**-**
Winkie Primary	**18**	**10**

Community Language Function / Activities

Although the Ngarrindjeri language is not spoken fluently by its custodians, it still serves important functions in the community, especially the way it is incorporated into the speech of Ngarrindjeri people today. Its use within Nunga English by both young and old alike serves to cement the community as a group that share a common identity and a common knowledge of certain vocabulary items. Ngarrindjeri is also used in public performances by a Ngarrindjeri dance troupe who sing and dance in a 'traditional' style at many public functions throughout the state. Ngarrindjeri is also taught in schools, predominantly to Indigenous students, but also to some non-Indigenous students. It is generally felt in the community that Ngarrindjeri should only be taught in schools by Ngarrindjeri language teachers.

10.4.6 Yankunytjatjara

Location:
Yankunytjatjara speakers live in the north-west of South Australia. Prior to their displacement by Pitjantjatjara speakers, in about 1917, Yankunytjatjara communities inhabited the "Musgrave Ranges east of Oparinna, on Officer Creek; north to near Mount Robert, east to Everard Ranges, south to latitude 28°30′" (Tindale 1974: 212). Today, major Yankunytjatjara centres include Indulkana and Mimili.

Alternative Names and Variant Spellings:
Alinjera, Ankundjara, "Everard Range Tribe", Jan-gundjara, Janggundajara, Janggundjara, Jangkun(dja)tjarra, Jangkundjadjara, Jangkundjara, Jangundjara, Jangwundjara, Jankundjadjara, Jankundjara, Jankundjindjara, Jankuntjatara, Jankuntjatjara, Jankunzazara, Junkunzazzara, Kaltjilandjara, Kulban(dja)tjarra, Nankundjara, Wirtjapakandja, Wirtjapokandja, Yangundjadjara, Yangundyadyara, Yankundyari, Yankunjara, Yankuntjatjara, Yankunytjatjara.

Dialects and closely associated languages:
Yankunytjatjara is closely related to the language spoken by Antikirinya, Pitjantjatjara and Luritja people. Linguists typically classify Yankunytjatjara as a particular dialect of the Western Desert Language spoken over vast areas of central Australia.

Present number and distribution of speakers:
In 1981, David Nash & Kathy Menning estimated that there were "[p]erhaps a hundred speakers" of Yankunytjatjara (1981: 34**)**. More recently, Cliff Goddard has written of it being "spoken by several hundred people" (1992: 93).

People who have worked formally on the language:
In the early 1980s, Cliff Goddard conducted extensive research into Yankunytjatjara. His fieldwork formed the basis of a doctoral thesis (1983), later published as *A Grammar of Yankunytjatjara* (1985). Over the next decade, Goddard continued to study Yankunytjatjara, producing language resources for Yankunytjatjara and Pitjantjatjara communities (Goddard 1982, 1987, 1996 & 1997), as well as a number of more academic articles (Goddard, 1990 & 1992). In all of these publications, Goddard acknowledged his reliance on Yankunytjatjara language experts and advisers. Over the years, he has been assisted by, amongst others, Tommy Tjampu, Pompey Everard, Tji<u>l</u>pi Kanytji, William Wangkati, Sam Pumani and Yami Lester.

Practical spelling system:
Yankunytjatjara has had a practical spelling system, with little modification, since the Presbyterian Mission opened a school at Ernabella in 1940. This orthography has rarely been modified. Although the missionaries used diacritics to differentiate between retroflex and non-retroflex sounds (eg 'r' and '<u>r</u>'), these markings are commonly omitted by Yankunytjatjara speakers. As Goddard notes, "fluent speakers do not need them to read and write efficiently, since only a handful of words are distinguished from one another solely by the presence or absence of a single underline" (1996: vi).

Early records and manuscripts:
Many earlier explorers, anthropologists and missionaries collected examples of the local language as they entered and travelled across Yankunytjatjara country; for example Basedow (1904), Black (1915), Cleland & Johnson (1937-8) and Tindale (1957).

Wordlists and Dictionaries:
Since the 1980s, IAD Press has published a number of high quality Yankunytjatjara wordlists and dictionaries (Goddard, 1982, 1987 & 1996), including the *Pitjantjatjara/Yankunytjatjara pocket dictionary* (Goddard, 1997).

Grammar or sketch grammar:
As a consequence of the location and priorities of the Ernabella Mission, many of the first grammars to be produced in Yankunytjatjara country were for the closely related, Pitjantjatjara language: for example, Love (1937), Trudinger (1943) and "Pitjantjatjara Grammar" (1958[?]). Typically, these grammars included a number of Yankunytjatjara terms. The first grammar to focus specifically on Yankunytjatjara was published in 1985 (Goddard, 1985).

Language learning material:
In 1981, Goddard produced Yankunytjatjara-specific language learning material. Many more materials have been produced for Pitjantjatjara language learners. These often include an introductory comment noting that the materials are also suitable for anyone wanting to learn to speak Yankunytjatjara (Eckert & Hudson, 1993: 1).

Literature in the language:
Much of the early literature available for Yankunytjatjara readers was published in the closely related Pitjantjatjara language. This included children's books and a sizeable collection of Christian literature and Biblical texts. For about a decade, from the mid 1980s onward, the presence of a number of Literature Production centres on the Anangu Pitjantjatjara Lands, as well as the support of the AnTEP program, fostered the writing and publication of many texts in both Pitjantjatjara and Yankunytjatjara: for example Riley (1984), Weller (1984), Pingkayi (1989), Kenny (1988) and AnTEP Students (1995). At various times Anangu communities have also written, produced and sold community newsletters.

In 1995, a group of Yankunytjatjara speakers and their supporters published a book on plant use in their own language (Everard, 1995).

Language Programs:
In 2001, Yankunytjatjara was one of nine Indigenous languages taught in South Australian schools as part of LOTE requirements (see Wilson & Tunstill, 2001). Since the late 1960s, Pitjantjatjara has been taught within the tertiary sector. Many participants have gone on to work in Yankunytjatjara communities. For many years, Mona Tur has been the main Indigenous language expert involved in the teaching of this course. Mona

is a member of the Antikirinya community, a group whose language is more closely aligned with Yankunytjatjara than with Pitjantjatjara.

Community language functions / activities:
Yankunytjatjara is the first language of several hundred people who use the language in all aspects of their lives. In addition, a number of programs/organisation operating within these communities champion the use of the Yankunytjatjara language:

The Ara Irititja Archival Project: This project, established in 1994, provides Yankunytjatjara and Pitjantjatjara communities with access to historical and cultural materials. This includes providing them with copies of audio recordings in which senior members of their communities recount, in language, important events. A copy of the electronic archive was handed over to the predominantly Yankunytjatjara-speaking community at Mimili in October 2001.

AnTEP: Vernacular Literacy Workshop: In 1985, the South Australian College of Advanced Education (now the University of South Australia) launched the Anangu Teacher Education Program (now the Anangu Tertiary Education Program). This program has enabled Pitjantjatjara and Yankunytjatjara speakers living on the Anangu Pitjantjatjara Lands to study towards a Diploma of Teaching qualification. As part of this course, Anangu students undertake Oral History projects and participate in a Vernacular Literacy Workshop, both of which lead to the production of Pitjantjatjara/Yankunytjatjara texts.

P/Y Media: This organisation produces electronic, visual and auditory materials for and about the communities living on the Anangu Pitjantjatjara Lands. The use and celebration of the traditional language of this region is integral to all of this company's visual and audio productions.

Radio 5NPY: This radio network, launched in 1998, broadcasts to over one fifth of Australia's land mass. Many of its programs are in Indigenous languages, particularly Ngaanyatjarra, Pitjantjatjara and Yankunytjatjara. Eleven communities in South Australia and Northern Territory have BRACS units (Broadcasting in Remote Aboriginal Communities Scheme). These units allow communities to produce and transmit their own radio programs. BRACS units are located in Yankunytjatjara communities at Mimili and Indulkana.

10.5 Proposal for a cross-institutional Indigenous languages major

Rationale

One of the major findings to emerge from the South Australian Aboriginal Languages Needs Survey is the need for increased support, training and development of those working on Aboriginal language projects in the field. Some talented Indigenous people have reported that they have had to abandon language work for want of an established career path and support.

The Aboriginal Languages Standing Committee has, on several occasions, discussed the need for courses at the tertiary level to support professional development of teachers of Aboriginal languages in schools. DETE has a structure in place to support the professional development of teachers of Indigenous (and non-Indigenous) languages through payment of course fees for teachers working in Aboriginal Languages Programs. Even if these teachers are not currently enrolled in a degree program, DETE will support their enrolment as non-Award students (fees equivalent to HECS and transcript of results issued).

Teaching staff within the three universities have held discussions over the past few years about the desirability of introducing an Australian Indigenous Languages Major that draws upon current offerings in Linguistics at Adelaide University, Indigenous language issues within Australian Studies at Flinders University and the two Indigenous languages taught here at UniSA. Existing offerings together with two new courses, 'Field Linguistics and Archival Research' and 'Teaching Australian Indigenous Languages' would be sufficient to provide a coherent major in Australian Indigenous Languages of sufficient depth and breadth to enable graduates to work more effectively in community-based and school-based language programs. The AIL Major would assist in providing a career path by establishing a recognised qualification for those working with Indigenous languages. It is anticipated that a program of study such as this would boost enrolments in existing courses in all three universities.

As a first step towards the development of this major, I am proposing to develop and teach one of these new courses as a summer school in Semester 3 in January 2003 together with regional workshops during 2002 and 2003. The course will be offered on a fee for service basis, with separate fee structures for the 1-week intensive course in Adelaide and regional workshops. Some clients may elect to study only part of the course such as the regional workshop. The course would be open to students at UniSA, Adelaide University and Flinders University. If they complete all the assessment requirements they would be granted full credit towards their degrees.

Offering this new course as a summer school will test the demand for the course without impinging greatly on school resources. Costs will be covered by fees charged. Regional workshops may be combined with additional DETE inservice activities and research activities thus offsetting travel costs incurred.

The proposed course in Field Linguistics and Archival Research fits alongside of an existing research agenda conducted by Dr Rob Amery in collaboration with Prof. Peter Muhlhausler at Adelaide University and Lester Irabinna Rigney and Simone Ulalka Tur at Yunggorendi, Flinders University.

Recommendation 1.
That a course in Field Linguistics and Archival Research be accredited as both a 4.5 and a 6 point course. (see attached Course Statement)

Recommendation 2.
That Field Linguistics and Archival Research be offered in Semester 3 over the summer of 2002-2003 as a fee-for-service course along similar lines to the delivery of the Pitjantjatjara Summer School.

10.5.1 Summary of course offerings

The following is the latest listing of exisiting and proposed courses that could be offered as part of the cross-institutional Indigenous languages major.

EXISTING

Adelaide University:

- *Foundations in Linguistics* (Peter Mühlhäusler)
- *Ethnography of Communication* (Peter Mühlhäusler)
- *Computer Assisted Language Learning* (Peter Mickan)
- *Language Maintenance and Language Planning* (Peter Mühlhäusler)

Flinders University:

- *Australian Languages: Issues and Debates* (Christine Nicholls)
- *Australian Languages: More Issues and Debates* (Christine Nicholls)

University of South Australia:

- *Pitjantjatjara* (Bill Edwards, Mona Tur & Sandra Ken)
- *Kaurna Language & Culture* (Rob Amery + input from Kaurna people)

PROPOSED

- *Teaching Indigenous Languages* – methodologies specific to AILs and AIL curriculum development
- *Field Linguistics and Research Methods* – language recording and analysis, linguistic description; action research

10.5.2 Course description: field linguistics and archival research

Aims

To gain skills to research and document Indigenous languages in the field and from the archives with a particular emphasis on recording and developing languages in situations of advanced attrition and loss.

On completion of this course students should:

- be familiar with techniques of linguistic elicitation
- be able to access archival holdings of Australian Indigenous language materials
- be able to transcribe sound recordings of Australian Indigenous languages and devise practical orthographies
- undertake preliminary linguistic analysis of recordings of Australian Indigenous languages
- be familiar with the principles of dictionary compilation and electronic archiving
- be aware of ethical issues associated with research in the field
- be familiar with copyright provisions
- be familiar with Indigenous language protocols

Syllabus

Elicitation and recording techniques; phonetic transcription; orthographies; compiling dictionaries and wordlists; grammatical analysis; analysing texts; accessing archives; research ethics; copyright issues; language modernisation and language development; techniques for filling gaps.

Teaching and learning arrangements

This course will be delivered using the following means:

- On-site workshops in regional centres
- Intensive program of lectures, workshops and presentations
- Visits to archival holdings
- Fieldwork

Assessment

Tape/Video Recording and Transcription	25%
Extended Dictionary work & Semantic Analysis	20%
Grammatical analysis task	15%
Archival Inventory	20%
Analysis of Archival Materials	20%

Main Textbook

Thieberger, Nicholas (Ed.) (1995). *Paper and talk: A manual for reconstituting materials in Australian indigenous languages from historical sources.* Aboriginal Studies Press, Canberra.

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