

Aboriginal languages in Canada: Emerging trends and perspectives on second language acquisition

by Mary Jane Norris

Canada enjoys a rich diversity of peoples, cultures and languages. In addition to French and English, the country's two official languages, and numerous immigrant languages, there are many languages indigenous to Canada itself. Indeed, across Canada there are some 50 or more individual languages belonging to 11 Aboriginal language families. These languages reflect distinctive histories, cultures and identities linked to family, community, the land and traditional knowledge. For many First Nation, Inuit and Métis people, these languages are at the very core of their identity.

Aboriginal peoples, though, are confronted with the fact that many of their languages are disappearing, an issue which may have profound implications. Over the past 100 years or more, at least ten once-flourishing languages have become extinct. However, declining trends in the intergenerational transmission of Aboriginal mother tongues are being offset to a degree by the fact that Aboriginal languages are also being learned as second languages.

Only one in four Aboriginal people speaks an Aboriginal language

Currently, only a minority of the Aboriginal population in Canada is able to speak or understand an Aboriginal language. According to 2001 Census data, of the 976,300 people who identified themselves as Aboriginal, 235,000 (or 24%) reported that they were able to conduct a conversation in an Aboriginal language.¹

This represents a sharp drop from 29% in 1996,² and appears to confirm most research which suggests that there has been substantial erosion in the use of Aboriginal languages in recent decades. Another definite indicator of the erosion is the declining percentage of the Aboriginal population whose mother tongue is Aboriginal. In 2001, just 21% of Aboriginals in Canada had an Aboriginal mother tongue, down from 26% in 1996.

However, the decline in mother tongue population has been offset to some degree by the fact that many Aboriginal people have learned an Aboriginal language as a second language. In 2001, more people could speak an Aboriginal language than had an Aboriginal mother

tongue (239,600 versus 203,300). This suggests that some speakers must have learned their Aboriginal language as a second language. It appears that this is especially the case for young people.

Learning an Aboriginal language as a second language cannot be considered a substitute for learning it as a first language.³ Nevertheless, increasing the number of second language speakers is part of the process of language revitalization, and may go some way towards preventing, or at least slowing, the rapid erosion and possible extinction of endangered languages. Indeed, the acquisition of an Aboriginal language as a second language may be the only option available to many Aboriginal communities if transmission from parent to child is no longer viable.

As well, in gaining the ability to speak the language of their parents or grandparents, young Aboriginal people will be able to communicate with their older family members in their traditional language. It is also thought that the process itself of learning an Aboriginal language may contribute to increased self-esteem and community well-being, as well as cultural continuity.⁴

A crucial element affecting the long-term viability of a language is simply how many people speak it at home. The language that is most often spoken within the home is more likely to become the mother tongue of the next generation; if not, the transmission from one generation to the next will likely be broken. Indeed, as the 1996 Report of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples concluded, the viability or continuity of a language is dependent on it being used on a daily basis, ideally as the primary home language.

Long-term declines in language continuity translate into decreasing shares of children acquiring an Aboriginal mother tongue, and increasingly older mother tongue populations. Erosion of home language use has seen the proportion of children (ages 0 to 19 years) in the Aboriginal mother tongue population fall from 41% in 1986 to just 32% in 2001, while the percentage of adults aged 55 and over increased from 12% to 17%.

These trends indicate that many Aboriginal languages – even larger ones – will be confronted with the challenges of continuity for the next generation. In 2001, just 13% of the Aboriginal population reported that they spoke an Aboriginal language most often in the home, while an additional 5% reported using one regularly. This proportion is lower than the rates for people who can converse in an Aboriginal language as well as those for mother tongue speakers (24% and 21%, respectively). For example, even though Ojibway has the third largest mother tongue population in Canada, its use as the major home language is diminishing.

The prospects of transmitting a language as a mother tongue can be assessed using an index of continuity, which measures the number of people who speak the language at home for every 100 persons who speak it as their mother tongue. Over the period 1981 to 2001, the index of continuity decreased from about 76 to 61. Both men and women in practically all age groups experienced a decline in language continuity as their home language use shifted from Aboriginal to non-Aboriginal languages. The trend was most pronounced for women, especially those in the child-bearing and working-age years.

However, information on languages spoken “regularly” at home (as distinct from “most often”) began to be collected with the 2001 Census. In 2001, while the number of people speaking an Aboriginal language most often in the home was 129,300, just over 50,000 additional people were speaking one at home on a “regular” basis. This information could be particularly relevant to endangered languages, which tend to be spoken “regularly” at home but not “most often.” For example, only 10% of persons reporting Haida as a home language speak it “most often”, while 90% speak it “regularly.” In contrast, the majority of viable languages tend to be spoken in the home on a “most often” rather than on a “regular” basis, for example Inuktitut (82%), Cree (69%) and Ojibway (56%).¹

1. Norris, M.J. and L. Jantzen. 2003. “Aboriginal Languages in Canada’s Urban Areas: Characteristics, Considerations and Implications.” In *Not Strangers in These Parts: Urban Aboriginal Peoples*. Eds. David Newhouse and Evelyn Peters. Ottawa: Privy Council Office.

Aboriginal second language speakers

According to the 2001 Census, 20% of the total population who could speak an Aboriginal language – over 47,100 people – had learned it as a second language. And it appears that second language learning has been on the rise. The index of second language acquisition indicates that for every 100 people with an Aboriginal mother tongue, the number of people able to speak an Aboriginal language increased from 117 to about 120 speakers between

1996 and 2001 (Table 1). It appears that growing numbers of second language speakers may increasingly be offsetting the declining size of mother tongue populations.

What is perhaps even more significant to their long-term viability is the fact that second language speakers tend to be considerably younger than people who learned an Aboriginal language as their mother tongue. In 2001, for example, about 45% of second language speakers were under age 25, compared to 38% of mother tongue speakers (Chart 1).

Second language learners impact endangered Aboriginal languages

Over the 20-year period from 1981 to 2001, most Aboriginal languages, whether considered *viable* or *endangered*, experienced long-term declines in their continuity (see “What you should know about this study” for definitions). And not surprisingly, the endangered ones suffered the most. Among endangered British Columbia languages like Haida and Tlingit, for example, continuity levels declined to practically nil by 2001; indeed,

Table 1 Young Aboriginal language speakers are increasingly likely to acquire their language as a second language rather than as a mother tongue

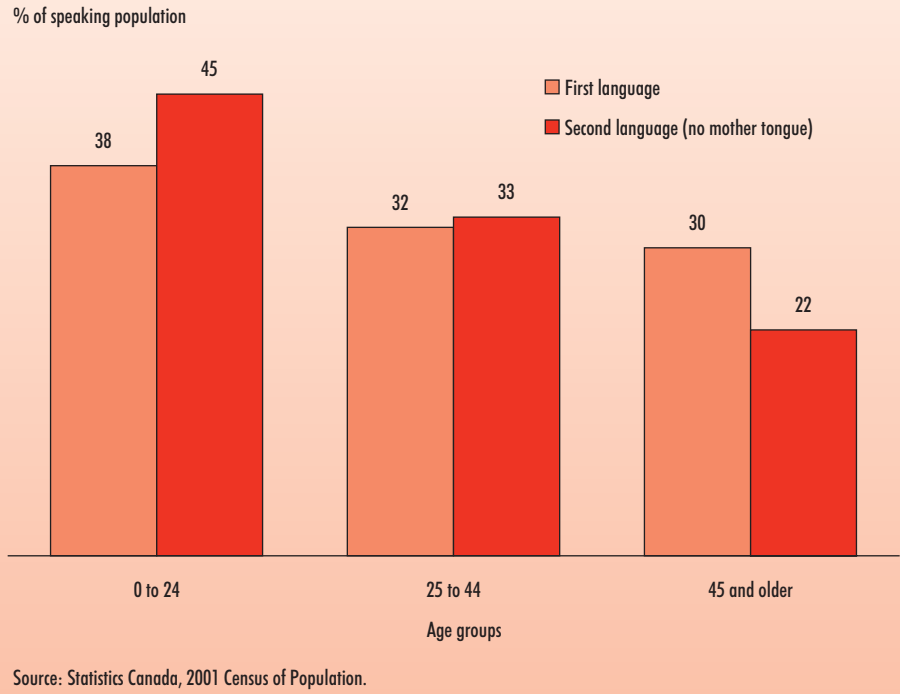
	Total population in 2001 with...			% of all speakers who are second language speakers				
	Ability to speak	Second language	Index of second language acquisition ¹	All ages	Under 25	Age 25-44	Age 45-64	Age 65+
Total Aboriginal languages	239,620	47,155	120	20	23	20	16	12
Algonquian Family								
Cree	97,230	20,160	121	21	25	20	16	14
Ojibway	30,505	7,960	130	26	40	27	18	11
Montagnais-Naskapi	10,470	605	106	6	5	6	6	3
Micmac	8,955	1,740	117	19	26	19	10	9
Oji-Cree	10,475	680	106	6	9	5	2	2
Attikamekw	4,955	210	105	4	6	3	1	0
Blackfoot	4,495	1,600	149	36	74	38	17	8
Algonquin	2,425	585	130	24	31	22	18	10
Malecite	1,095	415	133	38	46	53	25	13
Algonquian n.i.e. (includes Michif)	995	415	154	42	70	48	35	22
Inuktitut	32,775	3,445	110	11	11	10	11	9
Athapaskan Family								
Dene	10,585	985	110	9	11	8	7	4
South Slave	2,205	695	151	32	54	31	19	10
Dogrib	2,285	355	119	16	23	9	11	6
Carrier	2,055	750	142	36	68	49	21	13
Chipewyan	940	270	144	29	64	29	19	17
Athapaskan, n.i.e.	1,690	615	140	36	58	41	25	13
Chilcotin	1,145	220	113	19	42	16	7	0
Kutchin-Gwich'in (Loucheux)	500	180	137	36	73	53	24	21
North Slave (Hare)	1,030	165	119	16	27	17	6	8
Dakota/Sioux Family	4,955	815	115	16	20	16	14	8
Salish Family								
Salish, n.i.e.	3,020	1,565	157	52	83	65	30	22
Shuswap	1,255	590	154	47	71	59	24	23
Thompson (Ntlakapamux)	720	315	152	44	85	61	30	16
Tsimshian Family								
Gitksan	1,320	370	132	28	77	33	14	10
Nishga	915	430	153	47	86	70	35	4
Tsimshian	505	160	117	32	0	46	38	20
Wakashan Family								
Wakashan, n.i.e.	1,270	450	130	35	80	48	26	13
Nootka	505	160	109	32	79	64	13	13
Iroquoian Family								
Mohawk	755	405	178	54	80	48	38	18
Iroquoian, n.i.e.	250	105	102	42	50	40	40	25
Haida Isolate	270	145	164	54	78	71	38	29
Kutenai Isolate	220	90	129	41	67	55	7	29
Tlingit Isolate	230	130	219	57	83	77	42	11
Aboriginal languages, n.i.e.	1,400	740	159	53	61	61	51	31

1. See "What you should know about this study" for concepts and definitions.
n.i.e. Not included elsewhere.

Notes: For total Aboriginal languages combined, Index of Second Language Acquisition is based on total number of responses, since some respondents are able to speak more than one Aboriginal language. Due to incomplete enumeration of reserves, special caution should be exercised when using data for the Iroquoian family of languages.

Source: Statistics Canada, 1996 and 2001 Censuses of Population.

Chart 1 Second language learners tend to be much younger than the people who learned an Aboriginal language as their mother tongue



each of these languages currently has fewer than 200 first language speakers. At the same time, while the more viable languages like Inuktitut have retained their linguistic vitality, several larger viable languages like Cree and Ojibway saw steady long-term declines in continuity over the two decades.

Depending on the state of a given language – that is, whether it is viable or endangered – a number of different growth patterns were observed between 1996 and 2001. In particular, younger generations of Aboriginal language speakers are increasingly likely to acquire their language, especially if it is endangered, as a second language rather than as a mother tongue. For example, the Tlingit language family has one of the oldest mother tongue populations, but the index of second language acquisition and average age of speakers indicates that two people (usually younger) speak the language to every one person with a mother tongue. These indicators

suggest that younger generations are more likely to learn Tlingit as a second language.

Generally, among most endangered languages, there is an overall decline in the ability to speak the language because any gains in second language speakers are not sufficiently large enough to offset the losses of mother tongue speakers. However, for some endangered Aboriginal languages, it appears that the speaker population may be growing due to a concerted effort to learn them as a second language.

This appears to be the case of the smaller Salish languages, which experienced a 5% drop in mother tongue population from 1996 to 2001, while simultaneously posting an impressive 17% increase in total number of speakers. At the same time, the average age of all Salish speakers was notably younger at 42 years of age, compared to 50 years for the mother tongue population. (Table 2)

This pattern also applies to a number of viable languages in which second language speakers appear to be adding to the total number of speakers. Languages experiencing these growth patterns between 1996 and 2001 include Attikamek, with a 21% increase in population able to speak the language compared to a 19% growth in its mother tongue population. Similarly, the number of people able to speak Dene increased 11%, while its mother tongue population increased only 7%. Other languages with higher gains in ability to speak compared to gains as a mother tongue include Micmac, Dakota/Sioux, Montagnais/Naskapi, and Inuktitut.

In fact, among some of the most endangered languages, second language speakers account for over half of the speaking population. In 2001, for example, 57% of those who spoke Tlingit as well as 54% of those who spoke Haida and 52% who spoke some of the smaller Salish languages were second language learners. Similarly, among practically all of the endangered languages, as well as many languages considered to be “not quite viable, approaching endangered” or “uncertain”, a minimum of a third of all speakers are second language speakers. These included the smaller Algonquin languages, Malecite, Blackfoot, Carrier, Tsimshian, Kutenai, Nishga, and Shuswap.

It also appears that young people make up a substantial share of Aboriginal second language speakers among endangered languages. In 2001, for example, among children under age 15 who could speak an endangered language, 71% learned it as a second language (Chart 2).

In contrast, the prevalence of second language speakers declines with increasing age among both endangered and viable-language speakers, a pattern that is not surprising since older generations of Aboriginal peoples are more likely to have an Aboriginal mother tongue. Among speakers aged 65 years and

Table 2 For some Aboriginal languages, gains in second language speakers may be offsetting the decline in mother tongue populations

	Mother Tongue	Continuity Index ¹	Ability Index ¹	% change 1996 to 2001 for languages with over 2,000 speakers		Viability status ¹ in 1996 and 2001
				Mother tongue	Ability	
Total Aboriginal languages	203,300	64	120	-3.3	-0.6	
Algonquian Family	142,090	62	120			mostly viable
Cree	80,075	62	121	-6.2	-3.1	viable large
Ojibway	23,520	45	130	-10.1	-6.0	viable large
Montagnais-Naskapi	9,890	91	106	8.0	10.2	viable small
Micmac	7,650	65	117	2.3	8.2	viable small
Oji-Cree	9,875	73	106	4.1	2.4	viable small
Attiakamek	4,725	95	105	18.6	21.1	viable small
Blackfoot	3,025	56	149	-27.1	-20.2	viable small / uncertain
Algonquin	1,860	30	130	-12.6	-8.4	viable small / uncertain
Malecite	825	33	133			viable small / uncertain
Algonquian, n.i.e. (includes Michif)	645	19	154			uncertain
Inuktitut	29,695	82	110	7.5	8.7	viable large
Athapaskan Family	18,530	63	121			mostly viable
Dene	9,595	81	110	6.8	10.8	viable small
South Slave	1,460	39	151			viable small / uncertain
Dogrib	1,925	70	119	-7.7	-6.8	viable small
Carrier	1,445	34	142	-34.8	-29.3	viable small / uncertain
Chipewyan	655	27	144			viable small / uncertain
Athapaskan, n.i.e.	1,210	22	140			uncertain
Chilcotin	1,010	53	113			viable small
Kutchin-Gwich'in (Loucheux)	365	15	137			endangered
North Slave (Hare)	865	55	119			endangered
(Dakota)Siouan Family	4,310	66	115	0.2	3.5	viable small
Salish Family	3,210	20	156			endangered
Salish, n.i.e.	1,920	21	157	-5.2	17.1	endangered
Shuswap	815	19	154			endangered
Thompson	475	18	151			endangered
Tsimshian Family	2,030	26	135			mostly endangered
Gitksan	1,000	31	132			viable small / uncertain
Nishga	600	23	153			endangered
Tsimshian	430	21	117			endangered
Wakashan Family	1,445	14	123			endangered
Wakashan	980	18	130			endangered
Nootka	465	6	109			endangered
Iroquoian Family	670	8	150			uncertain
Mohawk	425	8	178			uncertain
Iroquoian, n.i.e.	245	8	102			uncertain
Haida Isolate	165	6	164			endangered
Kutenai Isolate	170	29	129			endangered
Tlingit Isolate	105	5	219			endangered
Aboriginal languages, n.i.e.	880	24	159			endangered

1. See "What you should know about this study" for concepts and definitions.

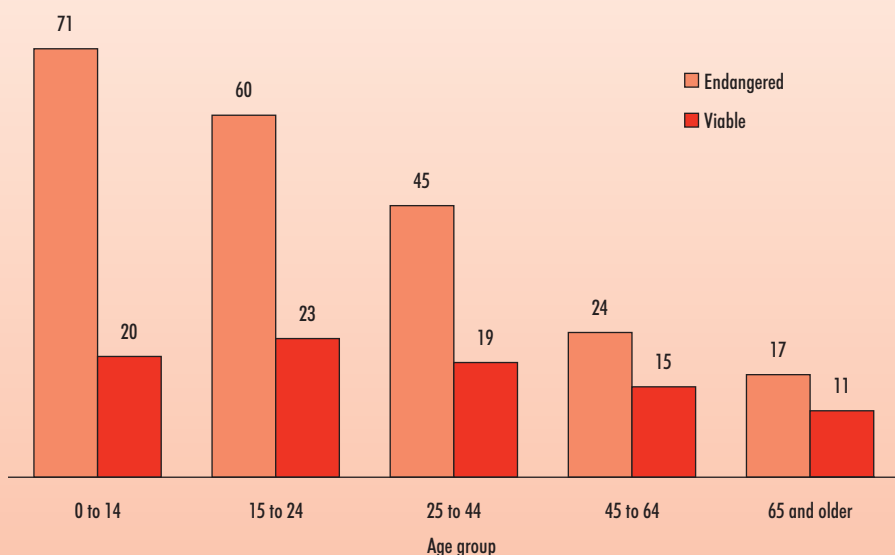
n.i.e. Not included elsewhere.

Notes: The indices are based on combined single and multiple responses for mother tongue and home language. Due to incomplete enumeration of reserves, special caution should be exercised when using data for the Iroquoian family of languages. Changes in coding procedures between 1996 and 2001 means that counts for North Slave and South Slave (Athapaskan family) are not comparable between censuses. Percentage changes calculated using data adjusted for differences in enumeration and reporting patterns in 1996 and 2001, particularly affecting Cree, Ojibway and Oji-Cree.

Source: Statistics Canada, 1996 and 2001 Censuses of Population. Catalogue 9660030XIE2001007, and Norris, "Aboriginal Languages in Canada," Canadian Social Trends No. 51 (Winter 1998).

Chart 2 In younger age groups, second language learners make up the majority of people speaking endangered Aboriginal languages

% of speaking population who are second language learners



Note: See "What you should know about this study" for definitions of endangered and viable languages.
Source: Statistics Canada, 2001 Census of Population.

be it as a mother tongue or as a second language. The vast majority of Aboriginal children aged 5 to 14 (over 90%) can converse in their parent's or parents' language, with many having learned it as a second language. Children most likely to learn an Aboriginal language as a second language are from linguistically mixed families, live in urban areas, or speak an endangered language.⁷ For example, while 70% of children with Salish language parentage could speak their parent(s)' language, only about 10 percent had acquired it as a mother tongue.⁸

Learning Aboriginal language is important to most parents

Recent trends in the acquisition of Aboriginal languages as second languages point to an increased recognition that speaking an Aboriginal language is important. According to the 2001 Aboriginal Peoples Survey, parents of 60% of Aboriginal children in non-reserve areas believed it was very important or somewhat important for their children to speak and understand an Aboriginal language.

Parents are not alone in thinking that learning an Aboriginal language is important. Both Aboriginal adults and youth, including those in non-reserve areas, share the same opinion. For example, among the off-reserve population in Saskatchewan, 65% of Aboriginal adults and 63% of Aboriginal youth aged 15 to 24 thought that learning, relearning, or maintaining their language was "somewhat important" or "very important". Similarly, in the Yukon, language learning was considered important by even higher proportions of Aboriginal adults and youth (78% and 76%, respectively).⁹

The attitudes of youth are critical to the future of languages, particularly as parents of the next generation. Furthermore, unlike older generations, Aboriginal youth today have to contend with the prevailing influence of English and French through the mass media, popular culture, and

older, the share of second language speakers drops to just 17% of those speaking an endangered language, and 11% of those speaking a viable language.

However, for some of the most endangered languages, high shares of second language speakers do not always imply younger speakers. In fact, populations of second language speakers are also aging along with mother tongue populations. For example, in 2001 virtually none of the 500 people who could speak Tsimshian were under the age of 25, even though 32% were second language speakers.

Both on- and off-reserve, second language learners are making gains

Interestingly, it also appears that younger generations living off-reserve, and especially those in urban areas, are increasingly likely to learn an Aboriginal language as a second language rather than as a mother tongue. Among Registered Indians

off reserve, 165 children aged 10 to 14 are able to speak a First Nation language for every 100 children with a First Nation mother tongue.⁵ This suggests that a substantial number of children learn their traditional language as a second language.

Of course, the issue is even more salient in Aboriginal communities (that is, reserves, Inuit communities and settlements). In 1996, about two-thirds of comparable communities reported that most Aboriginal speakers had learned the language as their mother tongue; by 2001, the proportion had dropped to less than half. In contrast, the number of communities where many speakers had acquired it as their second language doubled from 8.5% to 17%. All told, about 33% of communities enumerated in 2001 could be classified as being in transition from a mother tongue to a second language population.⁶

Naturally, families impact the transmission of an Aboriginal language from parent to child,

This study is based mainly on 1996 and 2001 Census of Population data. The study population covers those individuals who self-identified as Aboriginal on the census. Some caution is required in comparing Aboriginal populations between censuses, due to ethnic mobility and fluidity in self-identity among the Aboriginal population. Also, intercensal comparisons of Aboriginal language data can be affected by differentials in coverage, incomplete enumeration, reporting, content and questions, which have been controlled for where feasible.

Aboriginal language speaker: The ability to speak and to converse in an Aboriginal language. Although respondents were instructed to report only those languages in which they can carry on a conversation of some length on various topics, ability is based on the respondent's own assessment. Since varying degrees of fluency may be represented in the data, it is suggested that some caution be exercised in considering the implications of second language acquisition for transmission and continuity.

Mother tongue/first language speaker: Mother tongue refers to the first language learned at home in childhood and still understood by the individual. First language speakers are those persons with an Aboriginal mother tongue who report the ability to speak an Aboriginal language. In a small percentage of cases (5%, or 11,000, in 2001), respondents with an Aboriginal mother tongue did not report that they could speak an Aboriginal language. Although the Aboriginal mother tongue population and first language speakers are not strictly equivalent concepts, the two terms are used interchangeably in this article.

Second language speakers: For purposes of this study, these individuals are defined as persons who report the ability to speak an Aboriginal language, but who do not have an Aboriginal mother tongue.

Home language: In this study, home language refers to the language spoken most often at home by the individual. In the 2001 Census, a new section on languages spoken on a regular basis at home was added. (Because of changes in the question, the 2001 "spoken most often" measure may not be directly comparable to previous censuses.)

Index of ability/Index of second language acquisition: compares the number of people who report being able to speak the language with the number who have that Aboriginal

language as a mother tongue. If, for every 100 people with a specific Aboriginal mother tongue, more than 100 persons in the overall population have the ability to speak that language, then some have learned it as a second language.

N.B.: As indirect estimates of second language acquisition, the index of second language acquisition and the estimated intercensal growth in the numbers of second language speakers assume that all persons with an Aboriginal mother tongue also reported the ability to speak an Aboriginal language. As such they serve only as indicators, not as precise measures.

Index of continuity: measures the number of people who speak the language at home for every 100 persons who speak it as their mother tongue.

Viability of Aboriginal languages

Aboriginal languages differ significantly in their state, and in their trends and outlook, and as such they can be classified accordingly. On the basis of a classification by Kinkade,¹ they can be divided into five groupings: already extinct; near extinction; endangered; viable but with a small population base; and viable with a large population.

Near extinction: These languages may be beyond the possibility of revival. As only a few elderly people speak them, there may only be enough time to record and archive them.

Endangered: These languages are spoken by enough people to make survival a possibility, given sufficient community interest and concerted educational programs. They tend to have small populations, older speakers, and lower rates of language transmission. Many of the smaller languages, often with far fewer than 1,000 persons, have very low prospects for on-going transmission across generations. This is particularly relevant to the situation in British Columbia where many of the languages found there have very low prospects for continuity and are either endangered (e.g. Nishga, Haida) or near extinction.

Viable but small: These languages have generally more than 1,000 speakers and are spoken in isolated or well-organized communities with strong self-awareness. In these communities, language is considered one of the important marks of identity. They can be considered viable if their continuity is high and they have relatively young speakers, for example, Attikamek and Dene.

Viable large: These languages have a large enough population base that long-term survival is likely assured. Cree, Inuktitut and Ojibway are the only viable languages with large population bases. Large or small, viable languages tend to have relatively young speakers, compared to endangered languages. Census data are available for viable and endangered languages but are not available separately

for languages near extinction owing to their small numbers of speakers.

1. Kinkade, M.D. 1991. "The Decline of Native Languages in Canada" in *Endangered Languages*. Eds. Robert H. Robins and Eugenius M. Uhlenbeck. Published with the Authority of the Permanent International Committee of Linguists (PICL). Canada: Berg Publishers Limited.

other aspects of their daily lives such as education and work. At the same time, their traditional language can serve a different role than that of mainstream languages: it can be a means to "...express the identity of the speakers of a community ... fostering family ties, maintaining social relationships, preserving historical links..."¹⁰ An in-depth study about the values and attitudes of Inuit youth concerning Inuktitut and English found that most young Inuit, even those who thought that they were "good" or "excellent" at speaking Inuktitut, expressed concern that as they use and hear English more frequently, they are losing their ability to speak Inuktitut well.¹¹ Many also report speaking English more than when they were children. At the same time, many youth associate Inuktitut with their identity, traditional knowledge, and culture; for some, losing Inuktitut can affect their sense of belonging, leading to feelings of marginalization and exclusion. While youth are making a concerted effort to use Inuktitut in daily activities, they also identify a need for support through family, community and education, with opportunities to learn, hear and use it.

Summary

Although most Aboriginal language speakers learned their language as a mother tongue, many factors contribute to the erosion of intergenerational transmission of Aboriginal languages, including increasing migration between Aboriginal communities and cities, and to and from reserves; linguistic intermarriage; the prevailing influence of English and French in daily life; and the legacy of the residential school system.¹² Furthermore, for most Aboriginal children, the "ideal" conditions for acquiring an Aboriginal mother tongue – with both parents having an Aboriginal mother tongue, and residing in an Aboriginal community – are not always feasible.

These pressures and demographics increase the likelihood that a significant share of the next generation of Aboriginal language speakers will be second language learners. Most importantly, though, it will be the desire and interest in learning Aboriginal languages today that will help shape the growth of future generations of Aboriginal language speakers, both first and second language learners.



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1. Data for 2001 are the most recent available at the time of publication. Language data from the 2006 Census of Population will be released in December 2007.
2. Part of this decrease over the period 1996 to 2001 is also attributable to the increased tendency of people to identify themselves as Aboriginal. This is especially the case among persons of Métis heritage, only a small proportion of whom report being able to speak an Aboriginal language. See Statistics Canada, 2003. *Aboriginal Peoples of Canada: A demographic profile, 2001 Census. Analysis Series, 2001 Census*. Catalogue no. 96F0030XIE2001007.
3. See Report of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (1996), *Gathering Strength* (Vol. 3) and *Perspectives and Realities* (Vol. 4). Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services Canada.
4. Canadian Heritage, 2005. "Towards a New Beginning: A Foundation Report for a Strategy to Revitalize First Nation, Inuit and Métis Languages and Cultures." Report to the Minister of Canadian Heritage by The Task Force on Aboriginal Languages and Cultures, June 2005. Ottawa. Catalogue No. CH4-96/2005; Chandler, M. J. 2006. "Cultural Continuity in the Face of Radical Social Change: Language Preservation as a Protective Factor against Suicide in First Nations Youth." University of British Columbia. Paper presented at Raising our Voices, Language Conference, Cornwall, Ontario, 15 August 2006.
5. Calculations based on 1996 Census data. Norris, M.J. and L. Jantzen. 2002. Poster and PowerPoint Presentation "From Generation to Generation: Survival and Maintenance of Canada's Aboriginal Languages within Families, Communities and Cities." Indian and Northern Affairs Canada and Canadian Heritage.

6. Norris, M.J. 2006. "Aboriginal Languages in Canada: Trends and Perspectives on Maintenance and Revitalization" In *Aboriginal Policy Research: Moving Forward, Making a Difference*. Eds. J. P. White, S. Wingert, D. Beavon and P. Maxim. Thompson Educational Publishing, Toronto.
7. Norris, M.J. 2003. "From Generation to generation: Survival and Maintenance of Canada's Aboriginal Languages within Families, Communities and Cities." In *Maintaining the Links: Language, Identity and the Lands*. Proceedings of the 7th Conference of the Foundation for Endangered Languages, Broome, Western Australia: 22-24 September, 2003.
8. Norris, M.J. and K. MacCon. 2003. "Aboriginal Language, Transmission and Maintenance in Families: Results of an Intergenerational and Gender-Based Analysis for Canada, 1996." In *Aboriginal Conditions: Research as a Foundation for Public Policy*. Eds. J. White, P. Maxim and D. Beavon. Vancouver: LIBC Press.
9. Statistics Canada, 2006. "Aboriginal Peoples Survey 2001 – Provincial and Territorial Reports: Off reserve Aboriginal Population." Catalogue no. 89-618-XIE, Ottawa.
10. Crystal, D. 2000. *Language Death*. Cambridge University Press.
11. Tulloch, Shelley. 2005 "Inuit Youth: The Future of Inuktitut" in R. O. van Everdingen (comp.), *Proceedings of the 14th Inuit Studies Conference. 11-15 August 2004*, p. 285-300. The Arctic Institute of North America, University of Calgary, Calgary, Alberta, Canada. Available online at <http://pubs.aina.ucalgary.ca/aina/14thISCProceedings.pdf>.
12. Castellano, B., M. and L. Archibald. 2007. "Healing historic trauma: A report from the Aboriginal Healing Foundation." (www.ahf.ca) In *Aboriginal Policy Research: Moving Forward, Making a Difference* (Vol. 4) Eds. J.P. White, S. Wingert, D. Beavon and P. Maxim. Toronto: Thompson Educational Publishing.