THE STATE OF INDIGENOUS LANGUAGES IN CANADA: TRENDS AND PROSPECTS IN LANGUAGE RETENTION, REVITALIZATION AND REVIVAL

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This article begins with an overview of the diversity and state of Indigenous languages in Canada. Census-based analyses assess both long-term demographic trends underlying the state of Aboriginal languages today and more recent trends in language revitalization, including second language acquisition and regular usage of an Aboriginal language at home. Findings suggest not only are first – and second – language speakers regular users of an Aboriginal home language, but also those unable to conduct a conversation in an Aboriginal language – likely "learners" – for whom regular home use is part of learning an Aboriginal language. Implications are explored for future prospects in language retention, revitalization and revival. Selected aspects and examples of the numerous ongoing efforts and best practices currently in place to support Indigenous languages across Canada are highlighted in an Appendix.

DIVERSITY AND STATE OF INDIGENOUS[1] LANGUAGES

A rich diversity of First Nation, Inuit and Métis languages are spoken in Canada today, representing a variety of distinctive histories, cultures and identities.

Estimates of the current numbers of different Indigenous languages vary according to the linguistic classification, in particular the distinction between "language" and "dialect". The 2016 Census categorized Indigenous languages into 68 distinct categories (Statistics Canada 2017). The most recent update to the classification used in the UNESCO *Atlas of the World's Languages in Danger* (Moseley 2010) identifies 88 distinct categories (Norris, in preparation).

Indigenous languages are spoken in hundreds of communities across Canada. Most Aboriginal speakers reside in Indigenous communities on reserves and in settlements

1 The terms "Indigenous" and "Aboriginal" are both used in this article: "Aboriginal" generally when referencing the Census, given data are collected for "Aboriginal" population and languages; otherwise "Indigenous" is used; and sometimes terms are used interchangeably in discussion.

spread across Canada (61% in 2011); in rural areas (21%), and in urban areas, cities small (11.5%) and large (6.5%), like Winnipeg and Vancouver (Norris 2017a, b).

LANGUAGE VITALITY & ENDANGERMENT

Indigenous languages and their communities differ widely across Canada in their size and geographical distributions. They also differ significantly in their vitality and endangerment; with mother tongue populations ranging in size from a handful to thousands of speakers. Some languages are relatively thriving with children still learning the language; though most are endangered, many critically, with small and aging populations. For example, Inuit languages in Nunavut and Northern Quebec (Nunavik) tend to be more viable, whereas many smaller First Nation languages in B.C. are critically endangered.

UNESCO's "Levels of Endangerment" (UNESCO 2003) reflect the outcomes of declining major home language use and intergenerational transmission. About three quarters of Indigenous languages/dialects spoken in Canada today are endangered in varying degrees (definitely, severely or critically); while a quarter are "vulnerable", meaning children still speak their parental language as a first language, though not in all domains. None of the Indigenous languages currently spoken in Canada can be viewed as "safe" – where a language is used by all ages, from children up, in all domains (e.g. school, work, services); and where transmission is uninterrupted. Even the largest and most viable languages (e.g. Inuit, Cree) are considered 'unsafe' or vulnerable to declining use (Norris 2016b).

Overall, most Aboriginal children are no longer acquiring the traditional languages of their parents or grandparents as a mother tongue (Norris 2017c).

2016 CENSUS SELECTED ABORIGINAL LANGUAGE INDICATORS

According to the 2016 Census, 208,720 or 12.5% of the 1.67 million (1,673,785) people reporting an Aboriginal Identity in Canada indicated an Aboriginal language as a mother tongue. In 2016, more Aboriginal people (260,550 or 15.6%) were able to conduct a conversation in an Aboriginal language than reported an Aboriginal mother tongue (Statistics Canada 2017b). This pattern, similar to that found in previous censuses from 1996 to 2011, implies that some speakers have learned their Aboriginal language as a second language, suggesting possible signs of language revitalization.

The 2016 Census also reports that "there are more people who speak an Aboriginal language at home than people with an Aboriginal mother tongue" (Statistics Canada 2017a). For the first time among the Aboriginal Identity population in 2016, there were more people (223,380 or 13.3%) who reported speaking an Aboriginal language at home than people with a mother tongue (Statistics Canada 2018).

However for Aboriginal home language usage, the distinction between "most often" and "regular" use is important. The extent to which Aboriginal languages are spoken at home is an important consideration in the state and prospects of Indigenous languages in Canada. Among Aboriginal people in 2016, 135,430 or 8.1%, spoke an Aboriginal language "most often" at home, than reported an Aboriginal mother tongue; while another 87,950 or 5.3%, spoke an Aboriginal language regularly at home, in addition to the main home language.

TRENDS IN DECLINING INTERGENERATIONAL TRANSMISSION AND AGING MOTHER TONGUE POPULATIONS

Demographic trends over the past six censuses (1986 to 2011) indicate an aging Aboriginal mother tongue population. Over this 25-year period, the shares of children and youth (aged 0-19 years) declined from 41% in 1986 to 30% by 2011. In contrast, older adults (aged 55+) made up a growing share of the mother tongue population, from 12% to 21%. Over this period, the average age of the Aboriginal mother tongue population rose from about 28 to 35 years of age (see Figure 1) (Norris 2016a). By contrast, the average ages of the Identity population overall are younger than those of the Identity population reporting an Aboriginal mother tongue. For example, between 2001 and 2011, the average age of the total Identity population overall rose from 27.0 to 30.2 years of age, compared to 32.9 to 35.0 years of age for the Aboriginal mother tongue population (Norris 2017a).

Between 2001 and 2016, the share of older adults (aged 55+) among the Aboriginal mother tongue population, increased from 17% to 25%, surpassing the declining share of children (aged 0-14), from 25% to 21%.

DEMOGRAPHIC TRENDS IN INDIGENOUS LANGUAGE REVITALIZATION

SECOND LANGUAGE ACQUISITION: A COUNTERBALANCE TO DECLINES IN MOTHER TONGUE TRANSMISSION

The demographic outcomes of long-term declining trends in major home use and intergenerational transmission have reduced the chances of children learning their traditional Aboriginal language as a mother tongue; and eroded conditions conducive to transmission, especially for (a) endangered languages, (b) urban areas, and increasingly for (c) today's youth.

Second language acquisition can serve to some extent as a counterbalance to the long-term decline in mother tongue transmission, and a contributor to language revitalization and revival. Though not a substitute for mother tongue transmission, second language learning may demographically be the only option when major home language use and parent-child transmission are no longer viable. Increasing the number of second language speakers can be part of revitalization, and a contributor to language maintenance and partial retention.

SIGNS OF LANGUAGE REVITALIZATION: INCREASING SECOND LANGUAGE ACQUISITION

Among the Identity population between 2011 and 2016, the total number reporting the ability to speak (converse in) an Aboriginal language increased to a greater extent than the number reporting an Aboriginal language as a mother tongue; with estimated (unadjusted)[2] intercensal percentage increases of about eight percent and three percent respectively. This greater increase in the growth of speakers, compared to that of the mother tongue population, suggests the growing acquisition of an Aboriginal language as a second language.

Further evidence of an increasing trend in second language acquisition between 2001 and 2016 can be observed from the estimated numbers of second language speakers (those speakers who have acquired an Aboriginal language as a second language). Estimates suggest a steady increase in the numbers of second-language speakers and in their share of Aboriginal language speakers; increasing from 2001 with 47,115 second-language speakers, or 19.7% of all Aboriginal language speakers[3] (Norris 2007); to 52,275 (21.7%) in 2011 (Statistics Canada 2013); and by 2016 reaching 65,350 (25.1%) (Statistics Canada 2018).

Over the decade between 2006 and 2016, Aboriginal people saw their total speakers (first- and second- language) increase: "*The number of Aboriginal people who could speak an Aboriginal language in 2016 has grown by 3.1% since 2006*." Statistics Canada 2017b). In contrast, the number reporting an Aboriginal mother tongue declined by an estimated five percent (unadjusted).

REGULAR USE OF AN ABORIGINAL LANGUAGE IN THE HOME: PARTIAL RETENTION AND SECOND LANGUAGE ACQUISITION

The extent to which an Aboriginal language is used at home, whether spoken "most often" or "regularly", can affect language transmission, full or partial retention of an Aboriginal mother tongue, language learning, and acquisition. The "major" use of an Aboriginal language most often at home has important implications for the prospects of intergenerational transmission. The Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (RCAP 1996) stressed that the viability of a language is dependent on it being used on a daily basis, ideally as the primary home language, since it is otherwise not likely to be transmitted as a mother tongue to the next generation.

The distinction between "most often" and "regular" use of an Aboriginal home language is especially significant for: (a) those whose traditional language is one of the endangered Aboriginal languages; (b) Aboriginal people in urban areas; and (c) today's Aboriginal youth in general. Among these groups, Aboriginal languages tend to be spoken at home more on a "regular" than on a "most often" basis (Norris and Jantzen 2003; Norris 2011). Speaking an Aboriginal language regularly at home may help slow down Aboriginal language loss, through increased partial retention and second language learning.

SIGNS OF LANGUAGE REVITALIZATION: EMERGING TRENDS IN INCREASING REGULAR USE OF ABORIGINAL HOME LANGUAGES

Signs of an emerging trend among Aboriginal people in increasing numbers speaking an Aboriginal language regularly at home, including a major shift from previous Censuses in patterns of "most often" or "regular" home use, were first observed with the 2011 NHS (Norris 2017a).

In both 2001 and 2006, 28% of users of an Aboriginal home language, spoke their traditional language regularly, while the vast majority, 72%, spoke it most often, at home. By 2011, the proportion of home users speaking an Aboriginal language regularly at home had risen sharply to 39.7% (unadjusted); with a similar share, 39.4%, in 2016.

Among Aboriginal people between 2001 and 2006, the numbers speaking an Aboriginal language "most often" and "regularly" at home increased similarly by about seven percent and

2 "Unadjusted": With the exception of Statistics Canada's reported percentage or proportion changes between censuses, the data in this report showing such percentages or proportions have not been adjusted to account for differences. Where applicable, percentage or proportion changes not based on adjusted intercensal data are indicated as "unadjusted". These unadjusted census estimates need to be interpreted with caution as they are biased due to the effects of incomplete enumeration, as well as undercoverage, and their variations between censuses, which can confound estimates.

3 Estimates (unadjusted) for 2001 refer to the total (Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal) population able to speak an Aboriginal language (~98% of speakers Aboriginal); 2011 and 2016 unadjusted estimates refer to Aboriginal Identity population only; 2006 estimates not available.

six percent (unadjusted) respectively. However, between 2006 and 2011, the number speaking an Aboriginal home language most often declined by about 14% (unadjusted), whereas the number speaking regularly at home rose sharply from 54,150 to 77,890, an (unadjusted) increase of about 44%. Between 2011 and 2016, the numbers of Aboriginal people reporting an Aboriginal home language "most often" and "regularly" increased similarly by about 14% and 13% (unadjusted) respectively.

Over each of the past three intercensal periods, the numbers of Aboriginal people speaking an Aboriginal language regularly at home have steadily increased. The same does not appear to be the case for the other language indicators of mother tongue, major home language use, and the ability to conduct a conversation in an Aboriginal language. The most notable increase over the decade between 2006 and 2016, occurred with the number speaking an Aboriginal language regularly at home with an (unadjusted) increase of some 62%, from 54,150 to 87,950 (Norris 2017a).

Possible factors underlying these trends and patterns in regular home language use could be associated with: issues of the viability or sustainability of speaking an Aboriginal language most often at home; and, the impacts of growing efforts and activities across generations of Aboriginal people, their families and communities in the revitalization and learning of their traditional languages.

FIRST- AND SECOND- LANGUAGE SPEAKERS, AND LEARNERS: USE AN ABORIGINAL LANGUAGE REGULARLY AT HOME

Patterns of Aboriginal home language use differ between first-language (mother tongue) and second-language speakers. Among users of an Aboriginal home language in 2011, the majority, 70% (113,755) of first-language speakers, spoke it most often at home; the other 30% (49,740) regularly. Conversely, the vast majority, 82% (21,270) of second-language speakers spoke it regularly at home; the other 18% (4,735) most often (Norris 2017a).

Four categories of speakers (first- and second- language) and learners (new and re-learning) are derived from the "mother tongue" and "speaker (ability to converse)" characteristics of home users. Variations between "most often" and "regular" users in these categories reflect different purposes of home usage.

"MAJOR" USERS OF AN ABORIGINAL HOME LANGUAGE: PRACTICALLY ALL FIRST-LANGUAGE SPEAKERS

Major usage of an Aboriginal language, "most often" at home, is associated with the transmission, or full retention, of an Aboriginal mother tongue. Among the 118,515 Aboriginal people speaking an Aboriginal language most often at home in 2011, almost all, 96%, were "first-language" speakers, reporting both an Aboriginal mother tongue and the ability to converse in an Aboriginal language[4]; while the remaining four percent were second-language speakers (see Figure 2).

"REGULAR" USERS OF AN ABORIGINAL HOME LANGUAGE: SPEAKERS AND LEARNERS

Regular home usage supports the "partial" retention of an Aboriginal mother tongue. It can also be a choice, when major home use is simply not a viable or sustainable option, or as part of learning an Aboriginal language, especially for (a) endangered languages; (b) those living in large urban areas/ cities (c) youth, and (d) older adults.

Among Aboriginal people in 2011, findings suggest that not only first- and second- language speakers, but also learners and re-learners of Aboriginal languages, regularly use an Aboriginal home language (Figure 2).

In 2011, first-language (Aboriginal mother tongue) speakers accounted for the majority, 64%, of the 77,890 regular users of an Aboriginal home language – much lower than their share (96%) of major home language users.

Among the 34% of regular users with a non-Aboriginal mother tongue, the majority were second-language speakers[5] able to converse in an Aboriginal language, accounting for 27% of the Identity population regularly using an Aboriginal home language.

The other seven percent, with a non-Aboriginal mother tongue, were not able to conduct a conversation in an Aboriginal language; suggesting they were most likely "learners", for whom regular home use is part of learning an Aboriginal language.

The remaining two percent of regular home language users appear to have lost the ability to speak an Aboriginal language despite still understanding it – reporting an Aboriginal mother tongue, but not the ability to converse in an Aboriginal language. This could imply they are possibly "Re-learners" for whom regular home use is part of relearning to speak their Aboriginal language.

4 This Aboriginal first-language category can include some speakers with an Aboriginal mother tongue who are also second-language speakers of other different Aboriginal languages.

5 This Aboriginal second-language category does not include speakers with an Aboriginal mother tongue who are also second language speakers of other different Aboriginal languages.

These speaker-learner categories derived for 2011, mirror to some extent, though not completely, those identified in the First Peoples' Cultural Council (FPCC) *Report on The Status of B.C. First Nation Languages 2014* (see Appendix B), comprising: Fluent speakers; Semi-speakers; Latent speakers and Learners.

CONSIDERATIONS AND PROSPECTS

The regular use of an Aboriginal language at home by both second-language speakers and learners is significant for language prospects:

> "...the most important locus of language revitalization is not in the schools, rather the home ...it is that step – of actually using the language in daily life at home – that is essential for true language revitalization" (Hinton 2013).

> Steady growth over the past 15 years (2001-2016) in the number of Indigenous people speaking an Aboriginal language regularly at home could reflect partial retention, second-language learning and the growth of second-language speakers, especially among youth.

Learners, as well as speakers, can be an important indicator of language revitalization. As the First Peoples' Cultural Council (FPCC) observed:

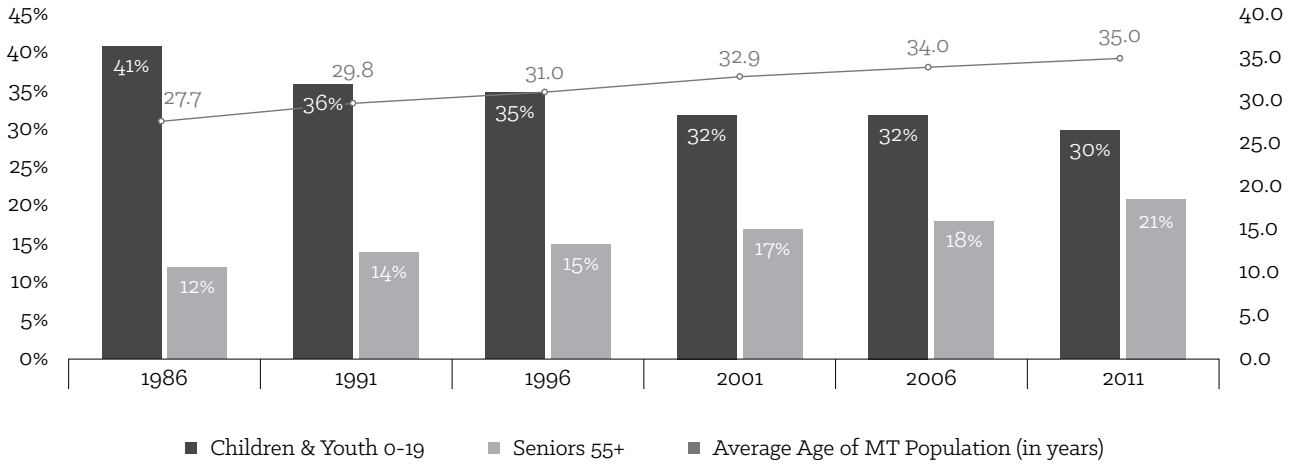
> "The number of learners is important because it represents hope for the revitalization of the language. The number of learners demonstrates the level of interest, desire to learn and presence of language in the community. In many cases the learners of a language are children, which is the most encouraging sign for language revitalization" (FPCC 2014).

Trends in increasing second language acquisition point to the growth of younger second-language speakers able to converse in an Aboriginal language. Within the context of language survival, second language learning represents an increasingly important aspect for many Indigenous languages in Canada today, especially those that are critically endangered.

The prospect of becoming a "secondarily surviving" language, meaning "a language that has no first-language speakers, but that is being actively taught as a second language..." (Golla 2007) is becoming an increasingly important consideration, especially for critically endangered languages, in countering their slide towards "extinction". "Since many of the North American languages that are on the verge of extinction as first languages are associated with heritage communities, it can be anticipated that the number of secondarily surviving languages will grow considerably in the next few decades" (Golla 2007).

For these reasons, signs of both learners and speakers, and trends in the growing numbers of Aboriginal people speaking an Aboriginal language on a regular basis at home, and of increasing second language acquisition, signal positive developments for the future prospects of many of the Indigenous languages in Canada today.

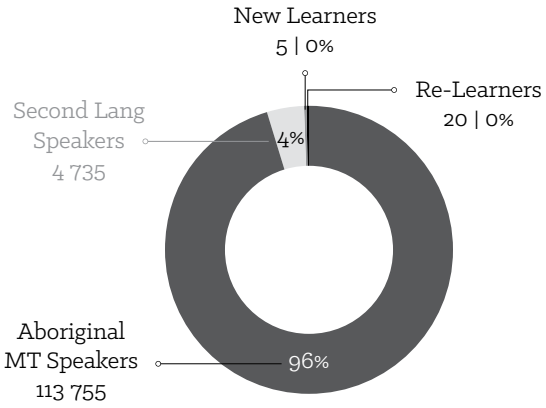
FIGURE 1: CHILDREN/YOUTH AND SENIORS AS A PERCENTAGE OF THE TOTAL POPULATION REPORTING AN ABORIGINAL MOTHER TONGUE POPULATION: AVERAGE AGE IN YEARS, CANADA, 1986 TO 2011



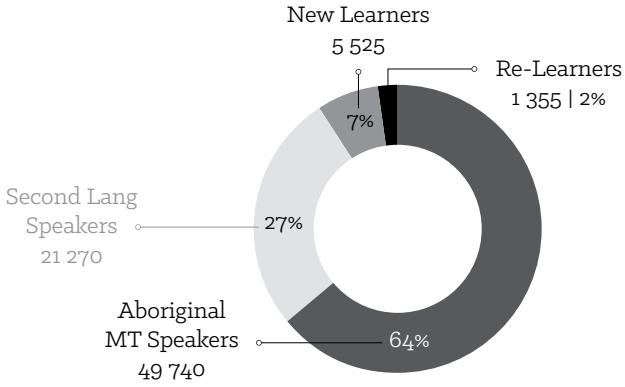
Source: 1986 to 2006 Census of Canada; 2011 NHS (unadjusted data). Adapted from Norris, Mary Jane 2016: *Aboriginal Languages in Canada: Generational and Community Perspectives on Language Maintenance, Loss, and Revitalization*, In David Long, ed, *Visions of the Heart: Canadian Aboriginal Issues*, 4th edition, 209-240. Toronto: Oxford University Press.

FIGURE 2: NUMBERS OF ABORIGINAL PEOPLE WHO REPORTED USING AN ABORIGINAL LANGUAGE AT HOME MOST OFTEN OR ON A REGULAR BASIS: ESTIMATED DISTRIBUTION BY "ABORIGINAL MOTHER TONGUE AND ABILITY TO CONDUCT A CONVERSATION IN AN ABORIGINAL LANGUAGE" CATEGORIES, 2011 NHS

Number of Persons Using an Aboriginal Home Language on a Most Often Basis, N=118 515



Number of Persons Using an Aboriginal Home Language on a Regular Basis, N=77 890



Source: 2011 National Household Survey (NHS) (unadjusted data). Author's calculations. Categories: a. "Aboriginal MT Speakers": Aboriginal Mother Tongue, and Ability to Converse in Aboriginal language; b. "Second Lang. Speakers": Non-Aboriginal Mother Tongue, and Ability to Converse in Aboriginal language; c. "New Learners": Non-Aboriginal Mother Tongue, and Not Able to Converse in Aboriginal language; d. "Re-Learners": Aboriginal Mother Tongue, and Not Able to Converse in Aboriginal language.

APPENDIX B – LANGUAGE RETENTION, REVITALIZATION AND REVIVAL: EFFORTS, ATTITUDES, PRIORITIES AND ACTIVITIES

FACTORS AND BEST PRACTICES IN SAFEGUARDING AND SUPPORTING INDIGENOUS LANGUAGES:

Efforts in safeguarding Indigenous languages by supporting their retention, revitalization or revival can be characterized as Indigenous-led, community-driven and collaborative, encompassing various aspects in association with: education, schools and universities; language activists, researchers and planners; Aboriginal and other language organizations; National Indigenous Organizations; and governments at all levels.

In terms of best practices, a key aspect is matching interventions to the language situation – "matching strategies to language goals" (Jacobs and McIvor 2017). Intergenerational transmission is a major consideration, and in its absence, intervention strategies such as pre-school language nests can be important.

Various evaluative frameworks or scales, such as the UNESCO factors of language vitality and endangerment (UNESCO 2003) and Fishman's Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (GIDS) (Fishman 1991) can be used to both assess language vitality and endangerment, and to help determine needs and develop measures for language maintenance or revitalization. For example, UNESCO's approach, that no single factor can assess language vitality/endangerment or determine interventions, utilizes nine factors. In addition to the obvious factor of intergenerational transmission, other aspects are considered, such as the attitudes of government, institutions and community towards revitalizing/supporting the language (Norris 2017c).

SUPPORTING INDIGENOUS LANGUAGES ACROSS CANADA: SOME SELECTED ASPECTS AND EXAMPLES

Revitalization: The First Peoples' Cultural Council (FPCC), a First Nations-run Crown Corporation, supports the revitalization of Aboriginal languages in British Columbia, in funding and resources to communities. Strategies comprise various language immersion and planning programs, including: Mentor-Apprentice; Language and Culture Camp; Language Nest; and Language Revitalization Planning (www.fpcc.ca). The website includes a comprehensive "Language Toolkit"; and references, such as a series of fact sheets on various topics in Indigenous language revitalization (e.g. diversity, language immersion, second language proficiency assessment and language in the home).

FPCC monitors the status of First Nations languages in its *Report on The Status of B.C. First Nation Languages 2014* (FPCC 2014), in which interventions are geared to the state of the language. Based on their evaluative framework of language speakers, usage and resources, FPCC concludes:

> "It is safe to say that all First Nations languages in B.C. are critically endangered" (FPCC 2014, 15).

The FPCC report identifies three categories of speakers, plus learners, including: a) Fluent speakers (usually but not always, mother tongue speakers); b) Semi-speakers (can speak and understand, but with generally less ability than fluent speaker); c) Latent speakers (can understand their language but may have barriers to speaking); and d) Learners (anyone (including semi-, fluent- and non-speakers) in the process of learning their language, whether in a formal or informal setting) (FPCC 2014, 11-12).

An example of one of the BC interventions to reverse the trend of language shift is that of Preschool within communities and the Pre-school Language Nests Programs:

> Here the "…revitalization strategy is for creating more fluent speakers from younger generations": "In most communities… these programs are currently the only way for young children to be immersed in their language;… we rely on them to raise a new generation of first-language or mother tongue speakers." (FPCC, 2014, 22)

FPCC raises awareness about the diversity of First Nations languages throughout BC and what communities are accomplishing in their revitalization. A recent example is the interactive exhibit *Our Living Languages: First Peoples' Voices in BC* at the Royal BC Museum in Victoria: https://royalbcmuseum.bc.ca/visit/exhibitions/our-living-languages-first-peoples-voices-bc.

Revival: Today most languages are sufficiently well documented that it is possible for them to be revived even if there are no fluent or first-language speakers living. In some cases even languages that were considered extinct more than a hundred years ago, can be revived given sufficient documentation and community efforts, such as Huron-Wendake, currently being revived near Quebec City (Dorais 2016).

Families and Communities: Many signs of Indigenous language revitalization and learning are evident in the efforts, attitudes, and priorities of First Nations, Métis and Inuit families and communities across the country. The 2015 First Nations Regional Early Childhood, Education and Employment Survey (FNREES 2016) indicated that for 88% of First Nations parents, it is important that their children learn a First Nations language and, that home and community are the primary sources of language learning and use. Statistics Canada's Aboriginal Peoples Surveys (APS) have consistently

shown that speaking or understanding an Aboriginal language is important to Aboriginal people of all ages – youth, parents, and adults: within and outside Aboriginal communities (2001 APS) and in cities (2012 APS). Language initiatives and efforts increasingly involve the participation of family and community across the generations: parents and children, youth and Elders; students and teachers, and other community members (Norris 2016a).

Education and Resources: Education and development of teaching resources are recognized as major priorities in language maintenance and revitalization. For example, FNREES highlighted findings that improving opportunities for children and youth for language learning in the classroom are important to First Nations parents, in order to build on the revitalization contributions of family and community for future generations. FPCC also emphasized the need for language immersion:

> "The long term goal should be to work towards an immersion model of education…that the ability to provide immersion instruction in First Nations languages… be the central focus…" (22).

Resources are also being developed to support the revitalization of Indigenous languages through education: an example is the recent manual: Reviving your Language through Education: BC First Nations Language Education Planning Workbook (McIvor 2015).

CILLDI, the Canadian Indigenous Languages and Literacy Development Institute, University of Alberta: supports the revitalization of Canada's Indigenous languages through documentation, teaching, and literacy. Students can: *Learn an Indigenous language or gain expertise in the areas of linguistics, endangered language documentation and revitalization, language and literacy learning, second language teaching and curriculum development, and language policy and planning*. Programs offer university credits in the areas of Indigenous languages and culture; and specialized training for leading community-based language projects through the Community Linguist Certificate. (www.ualberta.ca/canadian-indigenous-languages-and-literacy-development-institute).

The University's *Young Indigenous Women's Circle of Leadership (*https://ile.ualberta.ca/YIWCL) "…is a direct response to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada calls to action". The video "Strong Girls, Strong Women" (youtu.be/W7mukkac2q0) illustrates how it supports Indigenous youth in the knowledge of their traditional languages.

Government Programs and Legislation: A number of federal government efforts are in place to support Indigenous languages across Canada, most recently in 2016, the Government of Canada's commitment to "enact an Indigenous Languages Act, to be co-developed with Indigenous Peoples, with the goal of ensuring the preservation, protection, and revitalization of First Nations, Métis and Inuit languages"(Canadian Heritage 2017). The Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada's "Calls to Action" (2015) on language and culture addressed language-related: Rights (13); Legislation (14); and a Commissioner (15); and the role of post-secondary institutions.

The Canadian Heritage Aboriginal Peoples' Program, with the Aboriginal Languages Initiative (ALI) for community-based language projects (Canadian Heritage, 2018) is a major Federal initiative to support Indigenous languages in Canada. Other Federal examples include: INAC's First Nations and Inuit Cultural Education Centres Program (www.aadnc-aandc.gc.ca/eng/1100100033700/1100100033701); and the two Aboriginal Head Start Programs focussing on early childhood development (Urban and Northern Communities (AHSUNC) and on Reserve (AHSOR)), which include a component on Indigenous culture and language.

Legislation by Territorial Governments, Aboriginal languages have "Official language" status in both Nunavut and the Northwest Territories. In Nunavat, in addition to the Official Languages Act, another measure related to both language retention and revitalization is the Inuit Language Protection Act designed specifically *…to ensure respect for unilingual Inuit, particularly Elders; to reverse language shift among youth; and to strengthen the use of Inuktut [the Inuit language] among all Nunavummiut.* (Cloutier 2013).

The Foundation for Endangered Languages (FEL) Canada: Strengthening First Nation, Inuit and Métis Languages of Canada: Provides an extensive source of information on "Programs and initiatives across Canada devoted to promoting language use" available at the FEL Canada website (www.fel-canada.org/initiatives-in-canada). FEL Canada newsletters provide news on language initiatives, programs, activities, research, and conferences across Canada, available at www.felcanada.org/news-and-updates.

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