Revitalizing endangered languages: a practical guide
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Engaged Humanities

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Introduction

This book stems from the results of the collaborative *Engaged Humanities* project.[2] It has focused on developing participatory action research in linguistic-cultural heritage and on practical activities supporting the revitalization of endangered languages in Europe and beyond. We have been promoting collaboration and exchange with minority communities as partners in the creative dialogue, mutual capacity-building and empowerment. This has been possible through a series of workshops, summer and field schools in Europe and Mexico, field visits, lectures, fieldwork sessions, discussions and joint work. Our ENGHUM project has shown the potential and utility of sharing experiences and learning from other, even geographically or culturally remote, cases. It has also shown the potential and importance of empowering speakers, community members and other persons engaged in language revitalization and support.

We wish to share this and other experiences of language revitalization activities in this guidebook. Its aim is to provide practical help and guidance on how to approach and plan language revitalisation. We want to stress from the outset that there is no 'one size fits all', lock-step solution to language endangerment. Just like each language is different, the contexts in which each language is used are different, and the reasons why its use is declining are also different. Perceived similarities between communities can lead to underestimating or ignoring differences that may seriously influence revitalization efforts, and it is risky to assume that a specific approach implemented in one case will bring similar impact and results in another community. It is important to understand each context in order to address its unique situation; this book will provide insights into how to go about this in a principled manner.

Our practical and accessible guide to language revitalisation is written for community members, language activists, teachers, students and researchers interested in

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collaborating with local communities. It is also intended to fill the dearth in available literature on the topic. Most of the relevant existing works are specialized, academic publications that reflect more the views of researchers than the perspectives, goals and interests of communities and their members interested in revitalizing their own languages. We want this book to be affordable and accessible to local people. The guidebook provides members of language communities and other readers with concrete ideas and real examples of actual experiences and strategies, as well as the essential theoretical and methodological background that they will need in order to launch successful grass-root initiatives.

For this reason, our aim for this book has been to create readable content presenting a broad range of options and voices. We are convinced that accessible and understandable style, free of academic jargon, does not result in simplification, nor does it make the publication unfit for students or researchers. The organization of the book is intended to help readers conceptualize and plan practically-oriented projects. The chapters are written by contributors with a wealth of practical and research experience in language revitalisation that is being carried out in many countries around the world. The final result covers the language revitalization seen as a holistic, multi-level, multi-phase and long-term process, as completely as possible without resorting to a 500-page monograph or a 1000-page encyclopaedia. It is primarily **practitioner-oriented**. The fact that our book is designed first and foremost as a practical guide, implies that it is as 'hands-on' as possible (e.g. the capsules relate to the real-life experiences of various revitalizers), while preserving an academic grounding (the chapters are for the most part written by academics – all of whom are recognized scholars who engage in revitalization activities). Therefore the book is intended to present only as much theory as needed for the practical guidance and many relevant, hands-on examples. We avoid the one-size-fits all approach by not presenting any single possibility as the best or the only one. The guidebook shares good practices, different approaches previously applied in specific cases, and new possibilities currently being explored or put into practice. We discuss for example planning aims and objectives, understanding and addressing language attitudes, the advantages and disadvantages of writing or standardizing your language, policies and fundraising, and suggestions for practical activities including music, arts, and teaching and learning endangered languages. We also want to draw our readers' attention to the economic value of local languages and possible marketing strategies for language revitalization.

What is our ideological background and motivations? In the first place we wish to stress we aren't imposing a particular party line – the point of presenting options is to provide tools and share knowledge to facilitate making informed decisions and undertaking specific steps toward language revitalization. We also think that it is

important not to 'exoticise' Indigenous viewpoints – many endangered language community members live in cities and/or have been acculturated to majority lifestyles. In nearly every part of the world, it is possible to that over two to four generations, smaller or less powerful languages are being used less and less, while the use of larger, more dominant languages is growing. Some people do not see this as a problem; indeed, some even welcome it, saying that it is more useful for children to learn regional, national or international languages of wider communication. We believe it is important for language revitalizers to understand their own motivations, and to develop arguments to counter critics and gather support. The authors and editors of this book see language endangerment and loss as linked to the marginalization of Indigenous and minoritised peoples and their cultures. While at a general level language revitalization usually refers to counteracting the situation when a specific language stops to be spoken or has already lost its speakers, for us language revitalisation is therefore a key component of empowerment, reclaiming identities, and challenging colonialist attitudes. In fact, the majority of people in the world speak more than one language, using different languages and styles of speaking for different purposes in their daily lives. Multilingualism is beneficial, both for personal intellectual development and for social integration. We need to get across the message that engaging with wider societies and learning major languages does not mean that people need to abandon their own linguistic and identities and cultural heritage.

Many concepts and approaches that have been developed so far in this area of language revitalization, also including language maintenance, language revival or language reclamation. We should keep in mind, however, that these are ideas developed and promoted by researchers and often not the conceptualizations of communities themselves. These are also concepts strongly influenced by biological metaphors of Western science and not necessarily seen that way by language communities. Therefore, this book, while referring to the broad and open meaning of "language revitalization" avoids making strict conceptual distinctions and definitions, advocating for leaving the decision how the process should be called and defined to the speakers themselves. There are many different ways of reacting to language endangerment. As mentioned, some people see it as a sign of progress. Some are in denial, especially if they feel partly responsible for not passing their language to their children. Others feel nostalgic for a view of the past that, for them, is linked to their heritage language. But there are some who feel motivated to do something. Quite often, they feel a sense of urgency, because they can literally see their language dying – in Guernsey or Wilamowice, for example, most speakers are now very old and we're losing some every month or two. So it is not uncommon for language activists to rush into the first activities that come to mind; however, this might not be the best use of their time or energy.

We also want to encourage critical discussions about other ideas and real situations. For example, people often assume that because children seem to learn languages easily, and because schools are effective at killing minority languages, they need to get their languages taught in schools. But if our languages are not part of the mainstream curriculum, and have no materials or trained teachers, they often end up being taught for half an hour a week, after school or at weekends, by people who are passionate about their language but don't know now to teach it. Very few children will become fluent from this kind of teaching, and some will be put off the language for good; they may also absorb the implicit message that the minority language is not good enough for 'proper' school. And the language activists have no time for other activities which might be more effective, such as conversing with other adults to maintain or increase their fluency. It is important to take time to find out more about the language situation and to reflect on potential courses of action and their outcomes, in light of the resources available – human, financial, and in terms of language teaching and reference materials. This book discusses aims and objectives: short-term, medium-term and long-term. Spending a bit of time to undertake a survey of language attitudes, and who speaks the language, and how well, will repay the time and effort by providing a sound basis for planning other activities.

The richness of perspectives and examples as well as the coherent, logical sequence of complementary topics to consider while planning language revitalization or struggling in the midst of this process, is intended not only to provide revitalisers with coherent knowledge and a strong point of departure, but also to encourage, inspire and empower them. And, as we have already said but wish to emphasize again, we avoid a 'one size fits all' approach by presenting concrete examples and **providing readers with the tools they need to make their own decisions**.

Chapter 1

Why Revitalize?

Introduction

There are a great many reasons to consider revitalization, and more than one can be a decisive factor in deciding to revitalize. Different people have different ideas about why they want to revitalize, and there is no single right reason. It is also important to keep in mind that the motivations for revitalizing can change as one goes along. Revitalization is a dynamic, fluid process. More importantly, it is important to keep in mind that revitalization is not just about language: it is a social movement, and brings benefits to society as well as to individuals.

The decision to revitalize is often a personal one; it requires time, commitment, and tenacity. But at the same time many people may decide to revitalize to benefit not only themselves, but their family, or their larger community or network of friends and acquaintances. And there may be pressure from friends and family to revitalize, or not to. This chapter provides an overview of common motivations to revitalize, and a discussion of the potential benefits of language vitality. One over-arching impetus for revitalization has to do with *identity*: defining and claiming identity for an individual or a collective group is one of the most compelling reasons for language work.

The motivations listed here can be unified under the larger umbrella of identity, but it is important to consider each individually, to understand them better, and to think of how they can both be used to encourage revitalization work, and manipulated to serve its end goals. They are divided into six broad groups that encompass a range of social, psychological and physical categories/stimuli: (1) connecting with ancestors, the past, and cultural heritage; (2) healing; (3) building community; (4) knowledge and culture; (5) well-being; and (6) cognitive benefits. As these labels suggest, the categories intersect and even if the motivation for revitalization comes from one specific area, the resulting benefits are considerably broader.

For clarity, I list some reasons to revitalize as separate points, but it is useful to keep in mind that the benefits are interconnected and a benefit in one area can spill over to another. This is one reason motivations may change as people revitalize, because they recognize (and need) different benefits at different times. Moreover, there are benefits to

being bilingual, and these also intersect with the benefits of revitalization. If revitalization moves people from being monolingual to bilingual, they will enjoy the advantages of being bilingual. Being bi- (or multi-) lingual has benefits that are independent of language revitalization: being bilingual in two majority languages brings not only the obvious social benefits of being able to communicate with more people, and to interact with them more directly. This is true on a community level as well, and knowledge of

Overall language vitality is related to a nexus of factors—social, political, demographic and practical. Of greatest relevance here are the social and political factors: the use of the language in a wide variety of domains, including the home, schools, places of worship, government offices, on the streets, in stores, in the workplace (broadly defined). The availability of the target language in these various domains is not always the decision of individual speakers, it is often determined by the language and education policies. This is interconnected with the social prestige of a language, which is related to speakers' motivations to use the language, and also connected to the economic power of a language: does knowing the language bring job possibilities? or hinder them? Finally, practical considerations can also determine whether a language is used. These include such factors as whether the language has a written form, an orthography that makes it keyboard-friendly (for text messages. email, and social media), a standardized form that is taught in the schools, is used on signage, and so on. This is not to say that any of these are requirements for a language, but rather, if a standardized form has already been sorted out, it may be functionally easier to get it into textbooks and on public signs than if it hasn't, for example.

As this list makes clear, language use is a social act, and revitalization—by its very nature—involves social transformation. The transformation may be as basic as bringing use of the language into some domain where it was not previously found, or had not been used for many years. But it may involve massive social change if it involves the (re)introduction of language use (and thus language rights) in education and administration, and increased presence and voice in matters of governance. And this is one reason that revitalization efforts are sometimes (often?) met with resistance by authorities (local or national) as they are viewed as a kind of empowerment that may be threatening. Some governments see revitalization, as well as Indigenous language use more broadly, as steps toward self governance, autonomy from existing powers.

In this view, revitalization is not a sociolinguistic process but a sociological one, and the changes it brings may not be just locally significant, but regionally or nationally. This is a strong view, but it underscores that language revitalization is both social and political, and brings a host of potential benefits and hazards that are not, at first glance, directly related to language per se.

Revitalization is an active process, and the kinds of benefits you gain from it will depend on the investment, at an individual level and at a larger societal level. Because it is an active process, goals, motivations, and benefits can change over time. One of the core motivations for revitalization is to claim, or reclaim, identity. This is a consideration that drives many revitalization efforts, and in some sense is an overarching motivation that encompasses the separate points given here. Language revitalization is often packaged as having the goal of creating new speakers of the target language, of building new domains for language use, and of creating a future generation of speakers. This view is overly simplistic. Although creating new speakers is an important goal (and potential benefit) of revitalization, the notion of a speaker is complicated, and achieving fluency in a language requires a lot of work. It can be very liberating to reconceive the benefits and goals of language work to focus less on creating new speakers and more on the broader advantages that revitalization can bring.

Stories and oral histories have been, and continue to be, important vehicles for teaching about one's self, for learning what it means to be a member of society, how to deal with adversity, to face challenges, and to celebrate accomplishments. These are important aspects of identity and resilience, acquired and accessed through language. Tompson and Murray Orr (2011) discuss community activities and benefits in revitalizing language in two First Nations groups in Canada, in their report on the Mi'kmaq and Maliseet/Wolastoqi immersion programs. They note that the benefits are often framed in terms of academic impact, but they find in interviews with participants, language and identity are closely linked. They find that participants in the program evaluate knowing the language as the single route to learning to be a member of the culture. By the same token, the more children are exposed to the culture, the more they learn the language. The two cannot be separated.

1.   **Connecting with your ancestors, the past, and cultural heritage**

Language revitalization is often a first step in cultural revitalization and reinvigorating cultural traditions. Speaking the language of one's ancestors is one obvious way to make a connection with the past, with linguistic and cultural heritage. In some cases this can mean being able to speak directly with living relatives, elders, or other people. Speaking to them in their native tongue, your ancestral tongue, is rewarding for both sides, and opens windows to closer understanding of your heritage.

In other cases there may be no speakers of the language, but the cultural heritage lives on in prayers, stories and songs. In order to understand these texts, knowledge of the language is critical. Language revitalization often goes hand-in-hand with cultural

revitalization, and connections with the past provide a stepping stone for creating a new cultural future.

As this implies, motivations for revitalizing a language can be spiritual. Language is used for spiritual purposes, to communicate the gods, spirits or supernatural beings. Sacred language is an important part of many cultures. While in some, only certain people have access to sacred language, in others, all people do. In many societies language is the primary means for communicating with the spirits or gods, and even in places where a new religion has come to replace the old beliefs, it may not have done so entirely. In Siberia, Indigenous peoples are often Christian, but many communities still have shamans and practice animism alongside Christianity. Shamans communicate with the spirits in the ancestral language, and people need to communicate with the shamans in that language too.

The close connection between spirituality and culture is hard to understand without language, as these connections are often negotiated through language. For many Indigenous peoples, nature, spirituality and language are deeply interwoven

Breton provides an interesting counterpoint, illustrating that religion and language are intertwined in a variety of ways. Breton is a Celtic language, closely related to Cornish and Welsh. It is spoken in Brittany (also known as Bretagne) in France. The most up-to-date information of the total number of speakers puts it at 206,000, based on a poll conducted in 2007 (published in TMO-Fañch Broudic 2009; summary available online at http://www.fr.brezhoneg.bzh/5-chiffres-cles.htm).   (This figure is deceptively high, as most speakers are elderly and the language is considered endangered.) There is a strong association between Catholicism and the use of "good" traditional Breton; although this has led to stereotypes and strong ideologies about what counts as a speaker of Breton, it has also served as a protective factor, and revitalization (Davis 2015).

Some revitalization programs are aimed at what Leanne Hinton calls the "missing generations": people of parental and professional age who are not able to teach their children their ancestral language because they themselves do not speak it, but their parents, family members or elders, do. The Master-Apprentice Program is just one example of a program that specifically partners adults with elders to learn the language, thereby also building stronger, closer connections with at least one member of a generation that spoke it and used it in daily life. Such bridges are important for building connections that extend far beyond the language itself (a fact which pertains to most or even all revitalization). And this speaks to another motivation for revitalization: passing the language to your children (and their children), to future speakers. In this sense, connecting with generations is not only backward-looking, but forward-looking as well.

Connecting with the past may not alone be sufficient motivation for younger (or even older) speakers to revitalize, but understanding history and heritage is an important part of (re)claiming identity.

2.   Healing

Many Indigenous peoples cite healing as a primary reason for revitalization. They often feel (with good reason) that their languages were forcibly taken away from them, taken along with rights to self-determination and to deciding one's destiny. Revitalizing language is part of a larger process of cultural revitalization and reclaiming the right to determine one's fate. Colonial language practices have had a deleterious effect on local language vitality in many places. The forced imposition of a colonial (national) language and assimilation to a majority culture resulted in many people feeling a loss of self-worth and pride. These practices have left deep and painful scars. Reclaiming one's language is an important means to combating the colonial legacy.

Healing implies overcoming trauma, and sadly there are too many people around the world who have suffered traumatic experiences where use of their language is concerned.

People who have had direct experience in boarding or residential schools were often actively punished for speaking their language, which was painful for them and a driver behind language shift, as they actively avoided teaching their language to their children so as to protect them from these painful experiences. They suffered further damage by being separated from their families; in many cases children returned to their home communities as strangers, unable to speak the local language and having forgotten the local culture. The impact of the residential system cut to the very core of local societies.

Research has shown that many people in North America do not recognize the term historical trauma per se, but speak about it in their own words, referring to it as "disturbing times" or "the events the ancestors went through." They also speak about trauma with specific reference to language ("I don't understand my talk, my language") and talk about sorrow and loneliness of the soul (Reinschmidt et al. 2016: 69). Language revitalization can be a direct goal, with reclamation of the language as healing. And it can be the means to an end, since language is a vehicle for culture.

Healing through revitalization goes beyond language-specific trauma, it is an important means to building resilience. Using a language can be a means of reclaiming and regaining control of one's fate, it can be an act of political resistance, resistance against linguistic

and cultural assimilation, against the very act of colonization. The United Nations Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous Peoples declares that all peoples have the right to self-determination: language revitalization can be a deliberate reclamation of that right.

For some concrete examples about current work and successes, see the *Healing Through Language Project* at http://www.healingthroughlanguage.org/

3.   Building community and social change

People often begin revitalization with the goal of learning to speak their ancestral language, but then find that the benefits extend far beyond linguistic abilities. Often the very act of revitalization brings people together, creating closer community ties.

In Native North America, people used to say how the video rental truck was a major cause of language shift. Instead of coming out of their homes in the evenings to talk to one another, people would rent videos and stay home and watch them. The videos were eventually replaced by the internet and Netflix, but the effect has been the same. Community-based revitalization programs bring people together: in classes and workshops, in planning sessions, and events celebrating the language. Even where groups of people convene to practice a few phrases, the very act of coming together builds stronger social ties and a sense of shared purpose and therefore community.

Active engagement in community language revitalization also helps create leaders and build research capacity in the community. Some community language activists—Daryl Baldwin of the Myaamia Tribe, and Jessie Little Doe Baird of the Wampanoag, both in North America—have gotten formal linguistics training to help them do the language work more effectively. They have brought these skills to their communities and put them to work in supporting youth to create future leaders.

4.   Knowledge and culture

Language and culture are deeply intertwined, and knowledge of all kinds is packaged in language and cultural practices. Certain kinds of knowledge are packaged in the words of a language, and other kinds of knowledge are packaged in larger communicative practices. For example, a large number of studies have been done documenting knowledge and use of plants in traditional medicine; this work is of interest to scientists and health care specialists searching for cures for diseases that are still unknown in Western medicine. Oftentimes, knowing the name of a plant will tell you about its uses. In many languages, the common name for *Euphrasia* gives a clue to its usage: in English it's 'eyebright'. In my

fieldwork in Greenland, I found that many people knew its name but not its use. It's called *isiginnaq* < *isi* 'eye' in Kalaallisut (Greenlandic); the name does give a clue here even though the usage was forgotten, but people would guess that it has something to do with eyes or vision just based on the word.

Reindeer herders have a rich vocabulary for referring to the reindeer and to the herding practices themselves, and these vocabularies can and do vary across different herding cultures. It is not just that the words vary, but what is named, and how it is named, can vary from language to language. The Evenki people of Siberia have a complex vocabulary for different kinds of reindeer varying with age, sex, and their use in the herd, while in the Northern Sámi of Norway, the labels include categories for color, body shape and size in addition to age, sex, and use. In both cases the complex lexicon encodes important information for identifying different animals for different purposes. The peoples often say that in order to be a reindeer herder, you need to know the language in order to know how to herd reindeer.

Food terminologies tell what people eat, how they collect it, prepare it and how they serve and eat it. Many cultures have food taboos, some for particular life cycles (foods that are banned during pregnancy), some in general (items that are eaten in other communities but banned by one group), and in some communities women cannot eat certain foods, or only royals can eat certain foods. Food preparation in many cultures connects mothers to daughters, older women to younger women, in communities where it is women who prepare food. These specialized lects provide all kinds of information about cultural practices involving an important aspect of human life, and the knowledge that accompanies these practices.

Cultural practices are often encoded in language practices, not only the words people use, but also the ways people talk about things. This can be as basic as the ways you greet people, joke with them (or not), or how you thank others or express gratitude, or praise. A more complicated is child rearing practices and the ways of speaking (or not) to children, a core part of transmission of culture, in addition to more sacred ritualized uses of language that are found in religious contexts and provide information about the gods, cosmology, and greater spiritual and philosophical questions. Cultural practices vary from very elevated to what may be seen as everyday and mundane and language. In many places, language is used to communicate with spiritual beings, be it a shaman's special language found in many different communities in Siberia, or the use of Hebrew.

People often talk about languages as providing windows into ways of thinking and different world views. Language is powerful, and using language can access the knowledge and some kinds of information can only be accessed by using the language. Language

revitalization is not just about language, but accessing these different ways of living and being, connecting with culture and with the world.

5.   Well-being

Both physical and mental well-being are known to be affected by language revitalization. Improved mental well-being is probably more obvious. People who actively participate in language revitalization report better a better mindset and higher levels of self-esteem than before revitalizing, even when they do not learn much of the language, maybe even just a few words or greetings. There are good reasons for this. Many groups who have lost (or are losing) their language suffer from trauma. This trauma can be the result of a host of causes, but frequently in endangered language communities the trauma involves a history of colonization that has had deep psychological effects and low levels of self-worth. Language revitalization means taking control, reclaiming something that was taken from you, something that was lost. It means taking time to invest in yourself and your family, your circle of friends, your community.

Moreover, language revitalization often brings people together, unites people in a common goal of learning and using a language. It usually involves building stronger community ties, with a shared purpose. In North America, many peoples report that people who are committed to using their language meet more frequently, coming together to practice and learn the language. This shared experience of doing language work together connects people, and that helps create an overall positive sense of not only of yourself, but of your culture and heritage.

Thus it is no surprise that people have access to their language have improved mental health, lower suicide rates and lower rates of substance abuse than do comparison groups in similar communities who do not use their language. In addition, there is evidence that having access to your ancestral language improves physical health, in terms of reducing the rate of cardio-vascular disease, lowering blood pressure and hypertension, and lower rates of diabetes. These benefits are tied to many things, including living a traditional lifestyle (and thus following a traditional diet, which is generally healthier than a Western European diet higher in fat, sugar and salt), more physical activity in engagement with the land and traditional life, and more access to the land. Perhaps some of the health benefits to revitalization come from the fact that it helps (re)connect people with *place*. (See Beltran et al. 2018 for more discussion.)

But even studies in Australia and Canada that control for these factors show that active engagement with language improves both mental and physical well-being at the individual level and at the larger societal level. This is a strong motivation for language revitalization.

People in many parts of the world speak of "taking back" their language when they revitalize their language. It is an active process that involves taking control of their lives and their own well-being. Jane Juuso, a Sámi researcher and educator in Norway has done much to advance Sámi language learning for adults that makes use of Cognitive Behavioral Therapy. Juuso identifies certain language barriers that hinder learners from actually speaking, and thus dubs them silent speakers. Originally published in Norwegian and Sámi, her informative how-to book (Juuso 2009), has been translated into Swedish and English, and the program is being implemented by First Nations Peoples in Canada.

Children who receive mother-tongue education show improvement in overall well-being across the board. A 2012 study by UNESCO shows that they have greater self-confidence, higher test scores, and lower school dropout rates, and are less likely to repeat grades. These are advantages that extend to their broader community, with improved social well-being and a greater integration into society. Studies in different parts of the world—Māori in New Zealand, Mi'kmaq in Canada, Hawaiian in the—show that Indigenous language immersion programs improve acquisition of English.

Programs that are embedded in the local language and culture are highly successful in improving the well-being of children and parents. Consider, for example, the Martin Aboriginal Education Initiative in Canada. When it was launched in two Ojibwa (Anishanabeeg) schools in southeastern Ontario in 2009, the schools had very low success rates in reading proficiency: only 13% of the children in Grade 3 at the two schools met or exceeded standardized tests for reading in Ontario (called the Education Quality and Accountability Office or EQAO test). Within a few years, that number had soared to a 81% , which is higher than the average rate for Ontario. Results were also startling for Grades 4-6, where the reading proficiency rates went from 33% to a whoppoing Moreover, the number of "special needs" students in kindergarten through grade three dropped from 45% to just 19%, and in grades 4-6, the number went down to only 4% (from 24%). The children did not really have special needs, they just needed better teaching. (See Martin Family Initiative 2016; Geddes 2015.)

These are measurable successes because they involve standard tests. But there are numerous less tangible benefits: increased parent engagement, increased family and community engagement, and increased pride in the local language and culture, and overall heightened value of local community practices and ways of knowing and learning.

6.   Cognitive benefits

Linguists often hear that parents opt to raise their children to be monolingual speakers of the majority language so that they will perform well in school. They are afraid that bilingualism will disadvantage their children, or afraid that knowledge of the home language will in some way interfere with learning the majority language, and will inhibit a child's performance. There is ample evidence that this is not the case at all, that quite the opposite is true. Studies repeatedly show that there are cognitive benefits to a bilingual brain. These benefits include a shorter processing time, an increased attention span and a greater ability to multi-task than monolinguals. A number of experiments have shown that bilinguals perform better in tasks requiring focused attention. This probably comes from a kind of necessity: current research indicates that in the bilingual brain, both languages are activated and accessible at the same time, Rather than interfering, this helps bilinguals think in a more focused manner, with faster processing than monolinguals.

These advantages add up to improved performance in school, including performance in the majority (and non-home) language, even when initial education is in the home language. There is some controversy as to why this is the case: does knowledge of the home language provide some sort of cognitive ladder that enables performance in the other language? Or are children who receive initial schooling better adjusted (emotionally, socially) so that they are better situated to benefit from formal education and able to perform well on tests?

Parents often fear that education in a native language will hinder the child's progress and acquisition of the majority language, but studies show that the opposite is true. Children who are educated in immersion and bilingual programs outperform children in monolingual educational programs in standardized tests. (Note here that these programs use the native language as the language of instruction, it is not a secondary subject or a tool to get children to perform in monolingual programs; rather, these are immersion or what are often called dual language instructions (DLI) programs.) Although much of the research focuses on the use of a national language and a major immigrant language (such as English and Spanish DLI in the US, English and French in Canada), there is ample research with the same findings for Indigenous languages: Sámi in Northern Norway, Cherokee and Navajo in the US, as just a few examples. (The American Council for Teaching of Foreign Languages has compiled a number of resources and a bibliography of representative research: https://www.actfl.org/advocacy/what-the-research-shows.)

Another long-term benefit is that bilinguals show fewer effects of dementia and Alzheimer's disease than do monolinguals of the same age, suggesting that the bilingual brain is more resistant to this kind of decline. More research is needed to determine

whether bilingualism is preventative, i.e. that bilinguals are less likely to suffer from Alzheimer's, or (what is more likely) that the processing advantages of bilingualism offset the effects of the disease: bilinguals have improved cognitive capacity that enables them to function normally for longer even with Alzheimer's or dementia. That is, bilingualism appears to have an inhibitory effect on mental decline. Regardless, it is clear that bilingualism brings an advantage of improved mental capacity and quality of life throughout the lifespan, an advantage that extends well into advanced age. It is a lifelong gift and a strong motivation for revitalization and multilingualism.

Conclusion

Language loss often occurs because of a combination of stressors on speaker populations and those stressors are potentially numerous. They include displacement from one's homeland, which can involve forced migration due to colonization patterns, cultural disruption, and historical trauma. There are, in turn, multiple potential benefits to revitalization, which is an important means to offset these stressors to reclaim one's rights to self-determination.

Further reading

Documentation of traditional knowledge: A toolkit. World Intellectual Property Organization (WIPO). Available online at:

http://www.wipo.int/tk/en/resources/tkdocumentation.html

Healing through language. http://www.healingthroughlanguage.org/

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1.1. Endangered languages and wellbeing

General findings in language endangerment indicate that it is always dominated communities that undergo language shift, and that there is "nothing to gain" in language loss. Every community undergoing language shift has its very own history of "not being well" and "not doing well". An interesting contribution to how to study such problems has been promoted in Japan in recent years. Sociolinguists in Japan have been pondering about the establishment of "welfare linguistics". Welfare linguistics starts from the view that language diversity *is always* related to some kind of inequality. Therefore, welfare linguistics identifies (1) the mechanism of oppression or exclusion and (2) studies strategies for how to cope with this. (3) It acknowledges alternative practices and (4) promotes them. Welfare linguistics is an emancipative endeavour. Language can promote or inhibit wellbeing ("welfare"). That is to say, an endangered language in itself is not the solution to the problems of a shifting community, but it can be made into a solution. This requires insights into the four points outlined above.

Studies in wellbeing conventionally distinguish between economic, physical and psychological aspects. Language maintenance and revitalization can contribute to all of these three components. In Okinawa (Japan), we can witness a new wave of products, services, and media outlets that employ Okinawan, and hand in hand with this trend, there are new employment opportunities for speakers of Okinawan. For example, nurses and caregivers speaking Okinawan are much sought after because older people with dementia respond better to their first language, Okinawan, and many of those whose Okinawan skills are lacking volunteer for Okinawan language classes. Okinawa is also known for having the highest life expectancy in the world. Longevity is usually portrayed to be the result of a healthy diet and a relaxed lifestyle. However, life expectancy in Okinawa has been sharply declining for more than three decades now, and it is dawning on many that those who "eat and live well" are actually speakers of Okinawan. The decline in physical health is concurrent with a decline of Okinawan language, culture and lifestyle. Finally, the connection between an endangered language and mental wellbeing is seen to be strong enough that a project studying this link in the case of the Barngarla community in Australia received one million Australian dollars of funding in 2017. This is un-conventional, because "the cure to the ills" of minorities was traditionally seen to lay in their closer assimilation to the majority (e.g., more and "better" English). Now reviving the Barngarla language is seen as a means to improve Barngarla wellbeing.

Focussing on language and wellbeing is not simply a new research perspective. It's potentially a game changer. Modernity brought social mobility, and with that came a focus on "merits", that is, acquiring the necessary skills to climb the social ladder. Smaller languages and their speakers do not fare well in such a setting. Indigenous languages became marginalized and relegated to (non-threating) functions such as "tradition", "heritage" or "local identity". We know that language revitalization does not fare well when endangered languages are only attributed such folkloristic functions. One way to improve the prospects of an endangered language and its speakers is to link it to "wellbeing". A number of factors affecting wellbeing have already been identified. They include income, work, marriage, health, education, housing, job satisfaction, community relations, leisure time or crime rate. The fast that so many factors can affect wellbeing implies that the exact role of language in wellbeing will differ from case to case. In general, however, we can assume that Indigenous languages function as a protective layer for the wellbeing of community members. Loosing them decreases wellbeing. In 2007, I asked my Okinawan language teacher, Chie Inamine, if she sometimes regretted not having raised her children in Okinawan. She gave me the following answer: "We live in a merit society, and all we care about is merit. Merit, merit, merit. And then language has to adapt to this fixation. With my grandchildren I will not fall into this trap. I will provide them with Okinawan language skinship." Here we have it in a few words, the welfare perspective on an endangered language. It needs promotion, and further study.

1.2. Benefits for Communities: The case of the Black Tai community in Thailand

Several years ago I started a sociolinguistic project on linguistic and cultural rights in a Black Tai community in Phetchaburi province, Thailand. The community represents a typical marginalized ethnic group where suppression and stigmatization is present. Thailand is a hierarchical society where ethnic minority peoples are placed at the lower end of the social hierarchy. Belonging to the lower end of the hierarchy means that ethnic minority communities face stigma and discrimination, socially, ideologically, and linguistically. The Black Tai people in Thailand are descendants of former captives of wars from Muang Thaeng during the reign of King Thonburi, in the Rattanakosin period, circa 1779. Today, this is the location of Dien Bu Phu in northwest Vietnam. The Black Tai people refer to themselves as "Lao Song", however they prefer other out-groups to call them "Black Thai" as the word "Lao" has connotations of suppression, insult, and disdain. Incidents of discrimination, abuse, and rape were also recorded in the history of the Black Tai.

My project started out with the aim of examining the Black Tai linguistic and cultural reclamation movements in terms of the rights that social groups claim to express themselves linguistically and culturally. I also wanted to investigate the psychological outcomes of these movements in terms of well-being.

As an outsider researcher, I was concerned about whether the Black Tai, both adults and youths, would be willing to share stories of their history and talk about acts of discrimination or prejudice they have faced. However, despite my initial concern over how to elicit such stories in a non-threatening way, responses to a simple question: "Could you tell me about the Black Tai people in this community?" unexpectedly revealed so many stories describing discrimination and historical stigmatization experienced by all generations. Adults talked about how they were discriminated against by non-Black Tai and how embarrassed they were about their own identity as a Black Tai in Thai society. Younger generations talked about how they were teased at school by their peers who belonged to different ethnic groups. All the stories about incidents in their everyday lives came out naturally in their narratives.

After years of working with different ethnic communities in Thailand, my colleagues and I shared a similar observation, namely that most of the people we worked with were elder members of the community. Our big question was: What if there is no

next generation to inherit all of this invaluable linguistic and cultural heritage. Subsequently, a long-term Participatory Action Research (PAR) project was initiated in ethnic communities in Thailand, including Black Tai. A number of local community members, particularly youth members, were actively engaged in all stages of the project. Through planning, conducting, observing and evaluating the research process, local participants absorbed and learned through direct experience how to be an active learner and how to conduct local research by themselves.

The overall outcome of the PAR project can be divided into two levels: community and self. At the community level, the community network is stronger than ever before. The PAR approach provided an opportunity for a range of people - including local government officers, community leaders, members, elders and youths alike - to engage in all stages of the research. This created a sense of ownership among participants, and community ties and networks were restored and strengthened as a result. After the PAR project was complete, the wider community, including those who did not participate in the project, became more active and interested in learning local knowledge. Additionally, the community was able to write a successful proposal for a community development grant. Other local organizations and media have taken an interest in working with the community, or sharing stories of their success. The community now talks about their heritage with pride and encourages others to be proud of their own roots as well.

At a personal level, all members have a better attitude towards their language and culture and more self-esteem. They have also learned to be active thinkers and learners through the PAR process. Not only did youth members learn about their linguistic and cultural heritage through the PAR project, they also learned other life skills like decision making and team-working etc. From informal interviews and observations over five years, the overall well-being of the community has increased. For example, the elderly people, are a resource with essential knowledge and skills, yet there skills were forgotten thanks to a formal education system that distances learners from their immediate learning environment. These resources are now recognized once again. The greatest benefit of all, however, lies in community human resource development, and witnessing the seeds of youth participation sprout from the young people who no longer avoid eye-contact when talking, and are no longer ashamed to be who they are. They now serve as youth leaders who represent their community and continue to work on its development in school, university or community projects, sharing their priceless linguistic and cultural knowledge with the whole of society.

Justyna Olko

1.4. Reading ancestral texts in the heritage language

Awakening historical memory and legacy of minority communities may be quite essential for strengthening their identity and raising both their self-esteem and the prestige of their heritage language. This has proved especially promising in the case of the speakers of Nahuatl who do not have an easy access to the histories written by their ancestors, including writings going back many centuries ago, to the sixteenth century. It was then when the Nahuas adopted alphabetic writing for their own purposes. This knowledge is not part of the Mexican educational program, while documents, kept in archives, are usually only explored by professional scholars. Therefore, our team began to organize workshops in which native speakers could read the colonial Nahuatl documents written by their ancestors and discuss them. During these events all participants speak in their own variants of the language, which additionally contributes to language revitalization.

Our activities have been carried out since 2014 (since 2015 in the Mexican National Archive - Archivo General de la Nación) and the last workshop took place in October 2018. Each time some thirty to forty speakers of Nahuatl from diverse communities in Mexico City and the states of Mexico, Puebla, Tlaxcala, Guerrero, Oaxaca and Veracruz take part in the activities, which are conducted entirely in Nahuatl. They not only work collaboratively on the transcription, translation and interpretation of the texts, but also, in what turned out to be a deeply emotional experience, personally examine the original documents. Situations related by the colonial texts we choose for collaborative reading are vivid testimonies of Indigenous forms of agency; for example, defending local autonomy and rights, demanding removal of Spanish officials, etc. Exposure to this information can be an important source of empowerment for modern activists. These ancestral writings allow Indigenous readers to experience a degree of continuity with the past by giving them the opportunity to see their ancestors' actions as examples for their own individual and collective agency in the present. In other words, they make it possible for them to "empower themselves to come to grips with the conditions of their living"[3]. When planning these activities, we intentionally attempt to select texts from the regions or places from which specific groups of native-speaking participants originate. Connecting to the past through places allows Indigenous people to personally experience the degree

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[3] Kalela, Yorma. 2012. *Making History. The Historian and Uses of the Past*. London: Pallgrave Macmillan, p. 164.

of continuity between older and modern heritage tongues and culture. During these encounters the Nahuas from different regions often compare their vocabulary and joyfully experiment with terms unknown in their own variant. Yet another aspect of language use that these sessions have stimulated is reevaluation of purist attitudes shared by many speakers of Nahuatl today. Participants often recognize that Spanish influence goes back many centuries and that some loanwords have become part of their language a long time ago.

Links with the past are of vital importance in Indigenous communities: ancestors are conceived of as the source of knowledge and strength for the living. Severing links with the past more distant and broader than a family's or a community's recent memory has caused profound consequences for identity, self-esteem and self-awareness. Therefore, opening a dialogue with the ancestors and the testimonies they left can provide an empowering stimulus to reclaim historical identity and inspire social change in the present, including the revival of language use.

Julia Sallabank and Jeanette King

Chapter 2

What do we revitalize?

Introduction

The question 'what do we revitalize' may seem a rather unusual one. After all, isn't the answer obvious? We want to revitalize our language. But in order to do so, we need to think about the kinds of questions that are tackled in Chapter 1, such as who wants to 'save' the language, and for what purposes?

For example, do we want to expand the scope of the language to be able to use it in schools, or to talk about new technology, for example? That might require new terminology: in which case, who should decide on it, and how? Should we try to recover 'traditional' language, or should we try to re-invent our language for a new generation - or something in between? If there is a range of varieties of our language, should we focus on just one? Should we try to create a standard language (copying majority languages), or support linguistic diversity in its fullest sense? Such questions are ore often related to political struggles and ideological debates about language ownership or authenticity (see Chapter 00) - and there may be bitter arguments about what is the "correct" form of a word or expression. If a language is highly endangered, it may only be used infrequently and in a fragmented way, so it may need to be reconstructed.

In Chapter 00, Justyna Olko and José-Antonio Flores Farfán discuss the varied range of people who may be involved in language revitalisation; we need to consider all their diverse needs and wishes when planning what to revitalise. An *endangered language community-* consists not only of people who speak the language; it includes others who have an interest in what is to be revitalised, and whose views need to be taken into account. For example, people who would like to claim an association with the language by learning it or by supporting revitalisation efforts (e.g. by helping to develop an app) may have other ideas on what to revitalise than people who grew up speaking the language but have lost its use through many years of disuse. Members of the wider community also have a stake in policies directed at language (even if only through paying taxes that fund public policy measures).

In broad terms, there is frequently a distinction between *traditional* speakers and *new speakers,* whose views on what to focus on and how may diverge significantly. Diplomacy may be needed to reconcile all the points of view; one possible way of handling conflicting agendas is to see a range of activities as a complementary parts of an overall plan, rather than as mutually exclusive.

We also need to remember that decisions that we make now will affect how the language is used in the future - not only by people who want to use the language now. Do we want to focus on specific areas of use, or look at language revitalisation in a more holistic way? It is important not to limit future options by restricting language to particular areas of life; even if we don't use all the variations or topics now, we should ensure that there is a safe record of all the rich diversity of a language. But we also need to bear in mind that language revitalisation is not only, or always, just about language, as we discuss below and in chapters 00 and 00.

There are many different types of languages. While we typically think of language as being oral, or spoken, other means can be employed to convey information, such as sign languages and whistling languages. Whatever type, people try to revitalize languages because they are regarded as being endangered, and because they feel an emotional link to that language. All types of endangered languages have both similarities and differences in why they are endangered and how we go about it, so it is important both to look at our own contexts and to learn from what others have tried (see chapter 00 on links with other groups).

Contexts of use

Every language variety has a number of forms; that is, the ways language is used will change according to who is using it, when, where and for what purpose. For example, language used to interact with children will differ from that used in formal contexts. This is not just a matter of using alternative words, but there will also be differences in the ways sentences are constructed. Languages aren't single, unchanging entities; because they are used in a wide range of forms by a wide range of people in various places for distinct purposes, they naturally change and evolve. There are often debates in language revitalisation movements about how much change is desirable; this is discussed more below.

The task of revitalization can seem overwhelming when viewed in its entirety, so some prioritisation may be necessary (see chapter 00 on planning). Assessing what resources are available, and to what extent your language is still spoken or not, will help you decide

where and how you want to concentrate your revitalization efforts. Settings where language is used include the home, school, the workplace, social media, religion, bureaucracy, political life, sports commentary, etc. Some of these require specific types of vocabulary or levels of formality (called *registers*); often minority languages don't have, or have lost, parts of language that are needed for particular settings or registers. Critics of language revitalisation may claim that this is proof that our language is inferior and not capable of being used in all areas of (especially modern) life, so many language supporters want to expand the spaces in which their language is used. Many language promoters focus on useful or practically-oriented areas such grammar terminology for teaching; others may focus on high-status areas to increase the language's prestige.

Language revitalization often focuses on transmitting language to children; the home and school are therefore key spaces of use. We need to be aware that there is a particular kind of language in those situations, that of adult-child interactions. In Guernsey, where most fluent speakers of Guernesiais are now aged over 90, Julia Sallabank has been involved in trying to collect examples of adult-child interaction, as well as children's rhymes and games, from older speakers. This has proved difficult, as there are now very few people alive who have experience of raising their children in Guernesiais. So this may be a way of using language that has to be reconstructed. Where there are still children learning the language (or people who remember raising children in the language), it is important to record this type of language.

One effective and widely used and respected revitalization focus is to implement preschool language immersion centres. These were pioneered in 1982 in New Zealand with the Māori language. The idea behind these centres is to transmit the language directly from an older generation of speakers to a new generation of child speakers. However, if the older speakers are few in number and quite elderly, this option needs to be thought out carefully. To begin with, not all older people have the stamina and desire to interact with preschoolers for many hours a day. In addition, older speakers need to understand that their role is to speak the target language, and only the target language, with the children. That is, it is not necessary or desirable to sit the children down and overtly "teach" the language. The type of language used with small children is usually quite basic, often consisting of descriptions and commands. But as the children grow and get older a more sophisticated repertoire is required. Ideally, if possible, children should also be exposed to adult interactions in the language. Everyday interactions between adults such as greetings, apologies, requests etc. are often surprisingly lacking from linguists' records, but they are important if you want to use your language for conversation and social activities.

While developing new uses and new words for a language, it is important not to forget traditional areas of life, especially home, socialising and child language (including games, nursery rhymes, etc.). When schools take over the role of passing on the language, children might only learn school language, and not know how to make friends and be intimate in their language – and so they may not speak the language outside school, or with their own children in due course (as has been found in Wales after 30 years of immersion teaching). It has also been found in Brittany that children who learn a formalised Breton at school are unable to converse with older speakers who use regional varieties and more informal speech.

Most language use outside basic conversation involves reading and writing. If the language you are working with is not written, creating an agreed writing system is an essential area to tackle. This will be dealt with in chapter 00.

Variation and standardisation

It is not uncommon for one variety of a language to be quite vibrant but for other varieties of it to be under threat. Minority varieties are particularly vulnerable because they are often regarded as being of lesser value than the dominant or 'standard' variety, which has more status. Even speakers can believe that their way of speaking is not as important or valid as more prestigious variants. In Jersey, regional varieties of the island language Jèrriais are called accents. Some accents are disappearing because language teaching focuses on one accent, which has been formalised with a standard spelling which doesn't always take into account other accents, and which is seen by some as the "correct" variety.

Many people get involved in language revitalisation because they want to reconnect with their roots. They want to learn the variety that they identify with; for them learning another version would not fulfill that requirement. For example, most speakers of Māori live in the North Island of New Zealand, but the Kāi Tahu iwi (tribe) in South Island are working to increase the numbers of speakers of their local variety.

In many cases, an endangered or minority language is perceived as "only a dialect" - or designated as a dialect by the national government. This may have little to do with the degree of linguistic difference, but more to do with status and identity. In this book we prefer to use the word 'varieties' when we talk about how ways of speaking differ across regions, age groups, etc., since"dialect" has negative connotations of "incorrect" and "low status" and is so often used to denigrate minority languages. Language activists often campaign to have the linguistic variety that they identify with recognized as a language in

its own right. These issues are discussed in more depth in chapter 00 on policy and chapter 00 on ideologies.

There is often pressure to create, teach and learn a standard version of an endangered language. In the process of standardisation of national languages, a standard is usually based on the variety used by an urban intelligentsia. However, urban varieties of endangered languages typically disappear at an early stage, leaving the choice of prestige variety unclear. Minority and endangered languages usually have extensive variation, and there is often no obvious prestige or standard variety, which can lead to disagreements. In many cases there is no tradition of written literature, or authors may write in a wide range of styles, varieties and spellings, or even different types of script.

It is often assumed that endangered languages have to copy the model of national languages, which have a standard 'correct' way of writing and speaking, especially if we want to teach our languages in schools. But this can lead to local ways of speaking being minoritised again. Some language supporters argue that it is better to prioritise more widely used varieties. But there are other models, such as in Corsica, where different varieties are recognized as equally important, and learners are given a choice of which they want to identify with.

What is it for?

Often when we talk about language revitalization, our ultimate aim is for the language to be used again by a range of community members from young to old. (This may be the long-term, ultimate aim, but there are probably many steps to be taken before you can reach it - see chapter 00 on planning.) Being aware of what resources are available puts us in a better position to know what sort of language revitalization is possible and achievable and for what purposes; if not, we run the risk of activities that fail due to lack of planning. The important thing to remember is that there is no right or wrong in what aspects of your language you focus on, and not to limit future options.

But full community use is not the only form of language revitalization. Your language may have very few, if any, remaining speakers. Such contexts are termed *post-vernacular*: that is, the language is not now used as a *vernacular*, for everyday purposes. However, even in these situations there are productive things that can be done. In the USA the Breath of Life programme addresses situations where the language hasn't been spoken for several generations but where there is documentary material, collected by linguists or anthropologists, which is housed in libraries and archives. Working together, language learners and scholars pair up with graduate linguistics students to locate relevant material

and work on useful language resources, which can range from (re-)creating a prayer through to working on a spelling system for the language.

Because endangered languages are no longer widely spoken in everyday life, it can be difficult for learners to find people to converse with in their language. Many people in language revitalisation movements turn to activities such as songs, theatre and other performances in order to find ways to use their language, as well as a sense of community endeavour (see chapter 00 on arts and music). Or they may wear a T-shirt or jewelry with words in the language on, to demonstrate identity and solidarity.

Many revitalisation movements want to celebrate their language. They sing songs, perform plays, organise festivals, etc., which are often very enjoyable occasions that bring together the community and raise awareness of the language and culture. A recent press release described how a school play was being performed entirely in Māori, a language which was banned in schools for over hundred years. The article mentions that not all of the performers are fluent in Māori, which could be interpreted negatively (they don't know the language properly), or positively (they are engaging with the language and trying to learn).

Another common focus of language activists is the "linguistic landscape" - supporters campaign to have signage, public announcements etc. in their language: to raise its status, increase its presence in public life, and to make non-speaker or tourists aware of it. If politicians or businesses support such measures, it is often in order to highlight local distinctiveness.

These types of activities may not require fluency, but instead use pieces of language symbolically or emblematically, to express identity. For many people this is a valid and adequate way of engaging with language, but it is only one way of looking at language revitalisation; for others, the aim may be to re-create a fluent speaker community, or to reclaim culture.

We are not suggesting that prioritising certain areas of language means that revitalisation should be one-dimensional; different registers and spaces of use can be complementary and mutually reinforcing, and individuals or groups may want to focus on different areas. It is important not to see these as mutually exclusive. There is a threat that if only a narrow spectrum of a given language is "revitalized", the result may be perceived as artificial and not be sustainable.

We argue that it is important to have conscious aims (see the chapter on planning) and to be aware of the ideologies that underlie these aims, as well as different people's motivations for language-related activities (see the chapter on attitudes and ideologies). If

not, we run the risk of losing a language through focusing only on symbolic activities. As Adrian Cain, Manx Language Development Officer, has commented: 'Language awareness raising isn't an end in itself, and if it doesn't encourage people to learn and speak, then it hasn't worked'.

Who is it for?

In many situations, revitalization efforts begin when there are still at least a few older speakers in the community. This leads to a paradox of language revitalization in that the momentum for revitalization typically emerges from those who did not grow up as speakers of the language. The younger language activists, because they did not grow up with the language, are keenly aware of what they have not had access to in respect of their culture and identity (some learners of Guernesiais have said they felt "robbed"). In the words of the Joni Mitchell song, "you don't know what you've got 'til it's gone". But to be able to revitalize the language, these "new" speakers will want and need to involve older speakers. However, the needs and desires of these two groups of people may differ, and interactions can lead to some tricky social and political issues. One effective way of getting older and younger speakers together for mutual benefit is the Mentor-Apprentice model, where an older or fluent speaker is paired with a person committed to learning and passing on the language (see chapter 00 on teaching and learning for details).

As discussed in chapter 00 on types of communities, in many endangered language communities there is a significant number of people who can understand the language but not speak it fluently. In Guernsey, an informal group who call themselves "The Rememberers" (in Guernesiais, *Les Rallumeurs* or "re-kindlers") meet weekly to chat in Guernesiais and reactivate their passive language knowledge into active use, improving both fluency and accuracy – topics often include obscure words or grammatical points. They are mainly aged 55–70 and some have not used Guernesiais for 50 years. In some cases, parents used Guernesiais to each other but not with the children, or in other cases Rememberers stopped speaking Guernesiais after discouragement at school. The Rememberers is a rare example of effective bottom-up language planning which focuses on rebuilding social networks and increasing participants' frequency and fluency in everyday conversation and language use (rather than formal teaching). However, their conversations often focus on 'how the old people would have talked' rather than 'how we might talk in the future'. If this goes unnoticed, it might impact the ideas and possible choices about the kind of language that should be brought to the future, taught and revitalized. So even in an informal conversation group, it is important to think about our ideologies and goals of interaction, as well as elements of language such as topics,

registers, and vocabulary to focus on: for example, in one session a member of The Rememberers asked others to help recall/reconstruct words for movements such as leaning forward. (This is not to say that informal sessions should become formal grammar lessons, as seems to be happening in some Mentor-Apprentice programmes.)

Language change

All living languages change over time, especially across generations. Languages also change due to the influence of other languages. Languages don't become endangered without another language that people are shifting to; and bilingual people always mix languages. You need to be aware of and accept the dynamic nature of language: the language you revitalize will not be the same as it was in the past, and that is completely normal. Some older speakers in Guernsey have expressed concern that if Guernesiais is taught in schools, "it won't be the language we know". They feel a strong connection to the language of their youth, and worry that it might become "corrupted". But if it is not taught to a new generation, it won't be a language that anyone knows. And that new generation needs to be able to pick it up and run with it, and to develop the language for whatever they want to use it for.

Change and growth are signs of life and health, not of decline. English, for example, has been enriched by many words from other languages: well-known examples include *pyjamas* from Hindi, *robot* from Polish or Czech, *chocolate* from Nahuatl. Indeed, the only languages that don't change are truly dead languages, which may only exist in archives. Linguists have found that ironically, endangered languages change faster than larger or more vital languages. This is often due to influence from other languages, especially the dominant one(s), which can be difficult for some language supporters to accept, although it is impossible to prevent.

In the case of Māori and Guernesiais, practically all speakers have English as their dominant language; and most speakers under the age of around 60 are likely to have learnt Māori or Guernesiais as a second language (there are young neo-speakers of Māori, who have been brought up to speak it as a first language, but their parents are probably second language or 'new' speakers). As with all languages, we have observed differences in grammar and pronunciation between the speech of younger and older speakers (you can see this in English too, e.g. 'I'm like ...' instead of 'I said ...'.)

Linguists have observed that endangered languages undergoing change may seem to be simplified or to become more regular (e.g. in verb forms). But there can also be additions and new borrowed words or structures from a dominant language, especially given that

people who are bilingual inevitably mix their languages (which is also frequently lamented, but can't be prevented). Sometimes direct translations can bring new and useful ways of saying things, such as *bailler a hao* in Guernesiais, a direct translation of English "give up". The pronunciation or accent of younger or new speakers may differ from that of older speakers, which again older speakers may find difficult to accept.

When the spaces where a language is used become restricted, its vocabulary and forms can also reduce, as some ways of using it become forgotten. When community members assimilate to a dominant culture and language, some of their cultural expressions may change or be lost, including traditional greetings, politeness and kinship terms, and counting systems. In the Isle of Man, a decision was taken to use the English number system rather than the traditional Manx one in the Manx-medium school, to enable the children to follow the mainstream curriculum.

We also find that highly endangered languages can fragment into many small varieties, which may be only used within one family or by one individual - all of whom may consider that they speak the correct way!

These changes are often not new - for example, some can be seen in 19th-century Guernesiais literature; in the Americas, such changes go back to the sixteenth century and are often well documented. But by the time they are noticed, it is not possible to stop them (if it were ever possible). It is also known from research into language learning that there are intermediate stages before a learner acquires the whole of a new language; the processes of language contact and revitalization can resemble some of the stages of language learning.

Purism

An important part of language and cultural reclamation involves collecting and documenting the knowledge of elders and devising ways of expanding that knowledge. However, it is common to focus on the heritage aspects of the language, that the language is a link with the past. Even linguists are not immune to this, with one linguist recently confessing to not including borrowings from other languages when he documented a language in the 1970s in an desire to represent only the "purest" version of the language.

The idea that there is an "authentic" way of producing your language can lead to ideas that there is only one right way of speaking or writing your language. While it can be helpful to remember that all living languages change, it must be remembered that the sort of change a language undergoing revitalization may go through can be extreme and challenging to older speakers.

One thing that hampers many revitalization initiatives is language purism. "Purism" is the idea that there is a "pure" or "real" or "authentic" way of using your language. Typically language purists are older speakers of a language who don't like the new pronunciations or simplified grammar of "new" speakers of a language (see chapter 9 for more about language attitudes and ideologies). Along with this type of thinking comes the idea of ownership: there may be strong feelings about who owns the language and who gets to say what is right and what is wrong. In a revitalization situation there are usually limited resources, so you need to include everybody who has an interest (see chapter 00 for discussion of power dynamics).

It is worthwhile thinking about what "authentic" really means: genuine, valid, real. If someone uses the language for a real purpose, whatever that use is, it is a valid, authentic reason for using language. For example, in Guernesiais there is a word, *warro*, which is used as informal greeting (like 'hello' or 'hi'). Although it has been documented as used by some of the oldest speakers and appears in a highly respected dictionary, the authenticity of this word has been called into question by some community members who say that it was not used in their families.[4] But whether or not it was used in the past, people nowadays feel an authentic need for an informal greeting in Guernesiais. Using this word will encourage them to use Guernesiais more, and facilitate real communication.

If your aim is to have the language spoken by younger generations, you need to be aware that the language will often need to change to be relevant to their interests and needs. All too often older speakers criticise younger ones, which can put them off speaking our languages entirely. It is more productive to encourage them to use the minority language, in whatever form it takes. In any kind of learning, we have to learn to walk before we can run; once new speakers become confident with what might be seen as 'simplified' language, they can start to tackle more complicated traditional forms if they want to. It has to be remembered that young speakers are the future of any language; and if it survives, it will belong to them.

New words for new uses

If your language hasn't been used as a community language for a while, it will need a big input of new vocabulary. Just think of all the technological words which have entered the major languages in just the last 10 years: words for *smartphone*, *app*, to *tweet*, to *unfriend*. Not only might you need vocabulary for these concepts; if your language is to be

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[4] Fragmentation into small varieties, even between neighbouring families, is another common feature of highly endangered languages.

used as a medium of instruction in schools, you will also need words for concepts such as *graph*, *molecule*, *colonization*, and *curriculum* (see chapter 00 on teaching and learning).

Often simply borrowing words is the easiest default option for new terms such as *refrigerator*. Some older speakers find it difficult to conceive of their language being used in new ways, and simply use the new language to describe new things. So their speech may be peppered with borrowed or *loanwords*, which some zealous new speakers may dislike. Some language planners (e.g. Irish) have been criticised for using mainly loanwords in non-traditional contexts, while others (e.g. Quechua) have been criticised for being too purist.

Languages have always had ways of creating new words, which can be studied and reproduced. If there are historical language records, traditional literature, accounts, poems, or documentary archives, one option is to rediscover, reintroduce or repurpose some terms and structures that have fallen out of use. An example of this in English is the word "broadcast", which originally meant to throw seed outwards in a field. It fell out of use with the mechanisation of farming, but was reintroduced as a metaphor when radio was invented. There are many ways of creating new terms in a language. In the late 1980s when revitalisation of the Māori language was well underway, the Māori Language Commission (Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori), in response to many community requests, coined a large number of new words using a variety of approaches. Their main aim was to avoid loanwords, so strategies included circumlocutions, for example, *hekerangi* to mean 'parachute' (literally *heke* 'to descend' and *rangi* 'sky'). Another frequent strategy was *calquing*, where the literal meaning of an English word was translated, for example, bisect is *weherua* (*wehe* meaning 'to split' and *rua* meaning 'two'). Sometimes existing words were combined, for example *pūhiko* for battery, where *pū* means 'origin' and *hiko* means 'electricity.' In fact *hiko* originally meant 'lightning' and its meaning has been extended to include electricity. Another strategy was to repurpose archaic words (for example, *ngota* for 'atom' where the original meaning was 'fragment, particle').

In several languages, such as Manx and Māori, there are committees of people seen as language experts who are tasked with creating new words; but sometimes they take too long to decide and to disseminate their decisions. For example, teachers of Māori needed a word for "number" to use in lessons, and did not want to borrow a word. By the time the language committee had decided on a term, each teacher had their own different word.

Another way of developing new terminology is an inclusive "crowd-sourcing" approach: to encourage groups of people to talk about the topic - both face to face and online - and

collect the most popular terms. This can even be done together with the oldest speakers to reduce possible tensions in the community about "what to revitalize".

Not just about language

Jeanette King's research has found that many people are not only (or principally) interested in revitalizing a language for its own sake, but they often have a personal reason such as getting in touch with their family roots, joining a language community, or gaining a sense of achievement or well-being.

Language, culture and identity

Language is deeply linked with culture. Most of those involved in language revitalization talk about how culture is intrinsically linked to language. When you learn and speak a language you are learning and speaking culture. Some of this cultural expression may be in the form of cultural values which are important to the culture, such as terms of address, etc. In addition language can be a close part of cultural practices. For Māori in New Zealand, for example, the rituals of encounter in a *pōwhiri* (formal welcome) have to be delivered in Māori, with opening calls being performed by women, followed by speeches which necessarily contain much ritualistic language and expectations, such as paying respects to the dead. There is also the requirement for each speech to conclude with an appropriate song.

Most of those involved in language revitalization are involved in reclaiming aspects of identity as well as cultural practices. This means that revitalization is just as much about revitalizing people as well as language. In other words, it's not just about what you are revitalizing but who you are revitalizing.

Language revitalization often involves campaigning for someone else to do something, e.g. for a local government authority to erect signage, or for schools to teach the language. Such campaigns are valuable, and can be a way for people who don't speak the language to get involved and to contribute to revitalization. However, we need to be aware that it can be easier to focus on what others ought to do, rather than alter one's own behaviour, especially if one is not very confident in one's language competence. So, for example, some language promoters have reported that they find it easier to perform a poem or help in a classroom, which involves less impromptu language than speaking it with their own children. So increasing the self-confidence of language supporters is a vital part of language revitalization.

Conclusion

Different people in language revitalization movements have different aims and motivations. Some have a nostalgic, purist ideal of the kind of language they want to preserve. Others want to extend the areas where their language is used and have it recognized as a fully developed, modern language which can be used for all purposes. Others want to enjoy using their language with friends and family, while others want to affirm their identity through using a few words and phrases in greetings, rituals, songs, etc. Others may find that re-connecting with their language can enhance personal and community wellbeing .

All of these (and more) are valid elements of an overall language plan; but different priorities are too often a source of disagreement. It is therefore important to discuss openly what we want to achieve, and why; and also what is achievable - in the short term, medium term and long term. Plans should be regularly evaluated and revised, so that that different functions, uses and spaces can grow and be added with time as part of a longer sustainable plan. This involves recognising the strong feelings, attitudes and ideologies that people have about language. Above all it will involve compromise. These are all considerations when you are thinking about what sort of language will you be revitalizing.

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Tiöma Fum Dökter (Tymoteusz Król)

2.1. What do you revitalize

When I first started working on the revitalization of Wymysorys, I was focused on the language. The other elements of Wymysorys culture seemed safer. I thought, for example, that you could collect traditional costumes and lock them in a wardrobe in a museum in order to preserve them. When we were children or teenagers, our task was to document everything that we understood as "Wymysorys": language, folk dress, recipes, old buildings, folk tales etc. Those activities were successful, but they did not guarantee our goal – keeping the language alive.

I realized our naivety as I started to write a dictionary of Wymysorys. I had read all the dictionaries and grammars of Wymysorys that I could find, but not a single one of these books described my language well enough to satisfy me. Later, I started to read poetical texts and I saw that poetry is only one part, one point of view on our language. It was then that I realized that is only by speaking a language that you can keep it alive. It is the same in the case of Wymysorys dress – when documented and closed behind glass in a museum these garments become artifacts of the past.

Documentation is very important: it is the basis of revitalization but it is not the final goal. Also, we have to take care of what we document. I often used to think about collecting a "pure" form of the language that was not Polonized or Germanized, which could be used later to create teaching materials. But after a couple of years I stopped being so concerned with this, compared to many of the linguists who studied Wymysorys – I gave up looking for "the pure Wymysorys language" and I started to listen to what people were actually saying.

I noticed the same problem in the case of Wymysorys costume. It is created from materials and patterns brought by Vilamovians from Vienna, Paris, London, Graz, Lviv and many other cities in Europe. Nowadays, many people continue the tradition of bringing the different elements of the folk dress from other cities as well, although these modern textiles and their patterns are very different from traditional ones. Some anthropologists (and some Vilamovians as well) believe that this change is negative and that we cannot say that these new garments are truly 'Wymysorys attire'. I agreed with them at first, but then I thought, 'who am I to judge'? Is the pattern on these new textiles more important than the fact that they were imported from the same cities as hundreds of years ago? Maybe the fact that they were brought in from abroad is the most important tradition? Judging these things as a scholar is, for me, a form of neocolonialism. A similar example of this is when Germanists argue about whether or not Slavic wordsfrom Polish or the

Silesian language should be used in Wymysorys, or when linguists judge on what is a language and what is a dialect.

I think that, as language activists and revitalizers, we can ask those linguists who feel that they have right to judge that a language is in fact not a language, but "only" a dialect: "Who are you to judge a language in this way? Why are you able to reach this conclusion? What about the views of the people who speak it? Who are you to judge?"

2.2. Language purism in Nahua communities

Back in the 1970s, when Jane Hill and Kenneth Hill[5] did extensive research in Nahua communities around the Volcano Malintzin in Tlaxcala, they discovered interesting facts about how Nahuatl was classified with regard to Spanish. Some speakers believed that *mexicano* is an *idioma* ('language,' always used in reference to Spanish), but most people identified Nahuatl as a 'dialect'. The reason given for that was its mixing with Spanish, which results in *tlahco mexicano, tlahco castellano* "half Nahuatl, half Spanish," no longer having the legitimate status of a self-standing language. Today more people in Tlaxcala seem to identify Nahuatl as a 'language,' which is probably a result of a more positive ideology arriving from the outside. However, in more secluded mountainous communities most of the speakers believe their tongue is a 'dialect', even if they cannot explain what a dialect is. And the clear majority is deeply convinced that mixing with Spanish is negative because "Nahuatl is disappearing if it has Spanish words" and "if people mix languages they no longer speak Nahuatl." But at the same time, for this very reason many speakers think their way of speaking is bad, very different than "the legitimate Nahuatl" spoken once by their grandparents and great-grandparents. In other words, they are often convinced that the jumbled ('cuatrapeado') nature of the results of Nahuatl-Spanish contact is reflected in how they speak.

Accelerating language shift is accompanied by purist attitudes, often manifest among specific individuals or a more restricted group within a given community. Such persons act as 'owners' or 'guardians' of the heritage language, advising others which terms should be used and which must be avoided. They sometimes criticize both older speakers for their loanwords from Spanish and youngest speakers for their limited language skills and vocabulary. Purists would focus on eliminating all loanwords from Spanish (but inadvertently accepting lexical and syntactic claques!), including some words incorporated into Nahuatl already several hundred years ago. They would also 'test' speakers for their knowledge of 'good' Nahuatl, for example asking them to say complex numbers (the traditional vigesimal system has only partly survived till now and Spanish numerals are ubiquitous). Certain degrees of purism are found not only with intellectuals and professional teachers, but also with community members such as farmers who are not 'professionals', but became very careful about their way of speaking.

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[5] Hill and Hill 1986: 98-99

Purist attitudes often have quite counterproductive effects on language survival. A good example is that of the community of Santa Ana Tlacotenco, where 'legitimate' Nahuatl has become a tool of internal politics. In the second half of the twentieth century this community suffered strong criticism of the locally spoken variant by members of the academy promoting the use of 'Classical' Nahuatl as the only legitimate version of the language. Today Nahuatl is spoken by very few people, most of them in the oldest generation. This decline in language use is accompanied by purist attitudes represented by members of a middle-aged generation, but their approach hasn't been particularly helpful in keeping the language alive. Some activists, however, would take a less restrictive approach, encouraging young people to explore the traditional vocabulary of the oldest generation rather than resort to substitutive borrowing from Spanish. They also engage in the creation of neologisms. Creating new words from within the language for new things has always been an important response of the Nahuas to contact with Spanish, and especially in the colonial period where the vitality of Nahuatl was high. This kind of purism, in fact, can stimulate the development of language skills and encourage speakers to explore and learn vocabulary and registers of the heritage language that almost got forgotten or fell out of use.

3.1. The USAI Research Framework: research driven by urban Indigenous communities

The Friendship Centre movement in Canada came into being as a response to the needs of Indigenous people migrating from reserves and rural communities to cities and towns in search of a better life and a safe space where they could practise their culture. Founded in 1971, the Ontario Federation of Indigenous Friendship Centres (OFIFC) is a Toronto-based, non-profit organization that supports 28 Friendship Centres across the province in areas such as program design, policy, training and research. The OFIFC has formed a culturally diverse environment, where Indigenous people with distinct community affiliations as well as non-Indigenous allies representing different cultural backgrounds work together to advance the goals of the Friendship Centre movement (OFIFC, forthcoming).

The USAI Research Framework (2012) was developed to guide all Indigenous research projects conducted by the OFIFC and urban Indigenous communities supported by the OFIFC, and to ensure that the communities have full control over research process and deliverables. The acknowledgment of all relations that make the "everyday good living" possible and the desire to create a lasting social change lie at the core of the OFIFC's orientation to research (Sylvia Maracle, personal interview, 2015). The USAI framework is a value-driven, trauma-informed decolonization tool and it emerges from the inherent validity of multigenerational Indigenous knowledge. It is guided by the four principles of Indigenous ethics:

- Utility: research arises from collective priorities. It must be relevant, practical and directly benefiting communities while creating immediate resources that build local capacity.
- Self-Voicing: research, knowledge, and practice are authored by communities that are fully recognized as Knowledge Creators and Knowledge Keepers. Research generates a process of decolonization of Indigenous knowledge and praxis.
- Access: all life manifestations are valid in research. All local knowledge, practice, and experience in all their cultural manifestations (community narratives, personal stories and spiritual expressions) are recognized as reliable forms of research, accessible by all research authors and Knowledge Keepers. No mediation or cultural translation is needed to validate local knowledge.
- Inter-Relationality: research is historically situated, geo-politically positioned and explicit about the perspective from which knowledge is generated. All knowledge

and practice are situated within the complex web of interconnected relationships (OFIFC, 2012).

Since the inception of the framework in 2012, the USAI principles have been operationalized by the OFIFC in various research projects, including Gidizhigiizhwewinaanan: Our Languages (2015), "Ask me about trauma and I will show you how we are trauma-informed": A Study on the Shift Toward Trauma-Informed Practices in Schools (2016) and Gwayakwaajimowin: Truth Telling. Police Responses to Sexual Violence in Urban Indigenous Communities (2017). The OFIFC is currently focusing its research efforts on the following priorities:

- Indigenous community-driven evaluation approaches,
- Indigenous understanding of prosperity and responses to local poverty reduction,
- Cultural determinants of health,
- Cultural approaches to service delivery,
- Wholistic cultural approaches to child support,
- Trauma-informed institutions and practices,
- Ending violence against Indigenous women and girls,
- Indigenous approaches to leadership,
- Indigenous understandings of gender and masculinities (OFIFC, n.d.)

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Chapter 4

Planning a Language Revitalization Project

In the world of language revitalization, the importance of planning should never be under estimated; the need for good language planning is critical on many levels. Ideally, communities who are engaged in reclaiming their languages should put a large scale 'strategic language plan' in place. Such a plan specifies short and long term goals over several years and provides a structure within which to plan and implement a wide range of projects which support those goals. Within each project are a set of activities that help reach the goals for that project. However, as Hinton (2001:52) points out, this does not mean that a community need wait for s a large strategic plan to be in place before attempting any project. Every project aimed at language sustainability counts as a learning experience for all involved and may serve to better inform and advance the efforts of the community.

Having an over-arching strategic language plan for a revitalization program contributes to the larger vision of language sustainability for the long term in important ways. But the careful planning of individual projects is equally important. Individual projects can be positioned and implemented to help best meet the long term goals The best language planning entails P-I-E (Planning, Implementation, Evaluation). Hinton (2001:54 ???) credits Lucile Watahomogie, Hualapai educator and pioneer in language revitalization, with this approach and it is certainly tried and true. Every individual project is best served if these three pieces are carefully put into place.

To focus on project planning, let's begin by thinking about what a 'project' really is. At CoLang 2016 (Institute on Collaborative Language Research) , Margaret Florey taught a course on project planning. Students were asked to generate ideas for projects. Here are a few of the ideas they shared: 1) start a Master-Apprentice Program; 2) record songs in my language; 3) create more language resources for my community; 4) develop a writing system for my language; 5) change the names of geographic landmarks in my community to their indigenous names 6) create an app for my language 7) raise literacy efforts for my language; 8) start a language nest; 9) write a grammar; 10) make an online dictionary; 12) get young people involved in language work; 13) make signs and public materials in my language and more 14) raise public awareness about indigenous languages; 15) teach my language. These are all good ideas for projects! But, there are many more. Remember

that a project needs to be an achievable activity and planned to meet the language needs of the community.

Some of the ideas listed above may seem more like 'projects' to you than others. Strictly speaking, most of us think of projects as a carefully planned set of activities within a specific time frame and with well defined outcomes. Florey (2016) explains that a project must, ideally, have the following characteristics:

- Definable and realistic goals
- Clear objectives
- Outcomes that can be measured
- Responds to a specified need
- Fits into a larger strategic plan
- Has an identifiable target audience
- Sets out a work plan with stages and a timeline and with an end date

There are a number of well-respected sources which address and define the necessary steps involved in language project planning (see, for example Hinton and Hale (2001), Hornberger ( ) , Brandt and Ayoungman ( ). A particularly useful resource is also offered by the First People's Cultural Council of Canada and titled "A Guide to Policy and Planning." This resource specifically targets British Columbia, however it offers a wealth of ideas for communities who are engaged in planning projects aimed at revitalization. It is available online at http://www.fpcc.ca/files/PDF/Language_Policy_Guide/FPCC_Policy_Guide_2013.pdf.

Planning a successful language revitalization / reclamation project must entail, at least, the following steps:

Step 1: *The beginning of any good project begins with a good idea*. This is an idea that can be molded and shaped to fit the resources of the community and the capabilities of those involved. It is an idea that can be understood and shared with others and leads to something that will have understandable and useful outcomes when completed. A good idea which will motivate participants and guide the activities can go a long way toward developing really important projects for communities. Such ideas are sometimes the work of a very motivated individual, or something that results from group meetings, standing committees, and the like. Regardless of their origin, a good idea is usually recognized by the excitement it generates. Community settings where 'brainstorming' is encouraged are good places to generate valuable ideas for language revitalization projects.

Designing such meetings to generate ideas is a process that can occur often in revitalization contexts and can breathe new life into existing projects as well as launch new and exciting ones. Start by asking broad, general questions like "What can we do that would help with our immediate goals?" or "What activities do you want to see continued" –which may or may not language specific – and see where these lead. Perhaps it will become clear what is most important to community members, how they want to see language efforts proceed, and then more focused activities can be built around those interests.

Let's further this discussion by generating a possible project. Let's say that the community is very concerned about losing traditional agricultural practices. A language project might be initiated which would try to identify how much information about agriculture is in the existing documentation for the language. Maybe it would also be possible to document how agricultural activities are or were talked about? This would entail plant names and uses, terminology for tools, seasons, understanding how the labor was divided, planting methods and activities such as harvesting and related ceremonies. It might be good to ask who taught these traditional practices and when? Using current information gathered through interviews with speakers, added to what information is already documented, could lead to the building of a large corpus of language related to agricultural practices that could then form the basis for generating materials for language teaching. As well, any one of the above questions could lead to a specific project which would require all the same planning steps, on a smaller scale. For example, maybe beginning language students could learn a short dialogue about planting seeds and learn to incorporate new vocabulary related to tools or agricultural practices. Perhaps students or teachers could create a children's book about harvesting activities, or organize a field trip to agricultural areas and have a hands-on demonstration, augmented or immersed in relevant language about traditional food sources, etc. All of this, and more, could be generated from just one good idea!

Step 2: *Decide what is already in place and what is needed*. A project can be started by an individual or a group (such as a language committee) but in any case it should respond to what is already in place within a speaking community and propose what else might be needed. If possible, begin by writing up a 'background' statement, a 'needs' statement and a 'purpose' statement. These can be as simple as saying "Our language has (x) remaining first language speakers. We need to start offering classes to adults to reclaim our language." This last statement establishes both language status and existing work (and gives some background, need and purpose). Then, look at what is *specifically* needed and propose how to accomplish it. For example, "To continue revitalizing our language, we need to create a language nest (or an online dictionary, or

classes in schools, and so forth). These basic statements are important for several reasons: 1) they position the project you choose within any existing work that might be going on 2) they form the base line information that will be needed for any proposals (grants or other funding requests) 3) they make clear the basic goal of the project and explain why it is needed to others in the community.

Step 3: *Putting the idea into action*. An idea is an abstract entity until it becomes a reality in the form of a serious project which has expected tangible outcomes. This transformation usually happens when the interested parties begin to set specific goals. Goal setting is perhaps the most critical step in all language planning endeavors. It requires careful thinking and realistic considerations. If you are creating an over-arching strategic plan, then you should think in terms of short term goals such as what can we accomplish in 6 mos? 1 year? Or 2 years? And long term goals like, what should have been accomplished by 3 years? 5 years? 10 years? Within each of those time frames would be a series of individual projects, also with goals and within each project, specific activities that will lead to the resulting goal. It is a nested way of creating a framework to accomplish goals: the bottom tier are activities, which support a specific project, which forms a critical piece of the larger strategic plan.

Step 4: *Outline your project*. To help get started, do the write down the following things:

a) In a short paragraph, describe your project and give it a title. Write this as if you were trying to explain it to someone else who knows nothing about it. This short paragraph is very important. It might become part of a grant proposal, part of a letter of request for help with your project or the basic statement you use to tell everyone and anyone who needs to know what you are planning to do (maybe a tribal council? School officials? Funding agencies?). It should be concise and clear and begin with a sentence that states what the project is about such as "The purpose of this project is _____ "

b) List the needs your project addresses. The needs that your project responds to can be

one or many. Your project should, however, clearly respond to needs stated in the larger strategic language plan (if there is one) or at least be needs that the community has already identified. There is always one very broad need: "We need to revitalize our language.." But individual projects respond to more specific needs. For example, a more specific need might be state as, "We need to develop better teaching materials for the existing language revitalization classes." Whatever the case, make it very clear which needs your project is addressing and as you write them down, explain why it is important to address these needs at this particular time.

c) Consider the target audience for your project: Having a clear idea of who the project

Is intended to serve in mind will help shape the project and the activities needed to complete it. For example, if you are hoping to provide language classes to adults, your project resources, locations, leaders will be different than if you are planning language classes for school children.

d) List at least three clear outcomes your project will achieve. Any journey is made

easier if there is some clear idea of where it is leading you. Stating outcomes accomplishes several things. It helps you plan for success. It helps keep the project manageable (there shouldn't be too many outcomes). It Informs people about the value is of this project in terms of community goals for revitalization. And, it sets up the structure needed to evaluate the project. Well-established outcomes set the stage for more work – they create building blocks toward the larger, long-term goals.

e) List the steps needed to achieve these outcomes. When you are beginning to plan a

project, it is helpful just to make lists of what you need or plan to do. These can be expanded, revised, and changed in a number of ways, but they give you an initial overall picture that is really important to have. That may seem like an obvious thing to say but really, at this point, what you are creating is an outlined plan of the project you have in mind. You need a complete plan, in outline form, to start with. It helps set a picture in the minds of you and your team of the project from beginning to end in its entirety.

f) Consider what resources will you need. Its one thing to have a good idea, and another

thing to make your project happen smoothly. Any community-based project is dependent on the locally available resources. Is there someone or some group you might want to partner with? Resources can include people, equipment, food, teaching materials, travel vehicles, local institutions (schools, libraries, museums) and more. Anything that will help you develop and carry out your project is a 'resource'. There may be additional resources available outside the community – maybe there is a nearby university, or museum, or help from other similar communities. Maybe there are financial resources available in your state, province, district, county or other government agencies at the federal level. Whatever funding you need to carry out your project will have to be secured. There may be funds available through your community-level government.

In the planning process, its at this point that you need to consider how you will fund your project and how much it will all cost. It might be that you will want to consider

a grant (unlike a loan, grants don't have to be paid back). There are a number of online resources which can help you find grants that support specific types of work. There are other options too – often local government and non-profits will help support community-based projects. Remember that first paragraph you wrote describing your project? You can put it to use as a way to introduce what you want to do to people who might want to financially support it! Its also possible that people will be willing to donate – this is especially true when it comes to food. Most community events are more successful if there are, at the very least, refreshments involved. As you plan, the need for food, the amount, source and type, must also be taken into account. Plan carefully for anything that might incur costs: food, salaries, honoraria, meeting space, travel, materials, equipment, etc.

g) Create a potential timeline with a clear beginning and end dates – be realistic Because
an individual project is usually part of a bigger strategic plan, creating a realistic timeline is critical. There may be several projects launched at the same time which need to be articulated together. Even if that's not the case, planning a project around a timeline is very useful. It allows for a clear beginning and a clear ending. This helps all those involved understand what is expected of them over the course of the project. The timeline should allow for a planning stage, and implementation phase, and an evaluation phase. Again, these three things – P-I-E – compose the foundation of any project.

Step 5. *Implement your project*: On the surface, implementing you project should be as simple as following the plan. However, we all know that things don't always go as planned. As you begin to implement you project, remember to be flexible, ready to make changes as you go, and keep track of the challenges you face. The first time through any endeavor may be a bit rough – there is always a lot to learn. Be sure you have some alternative choices such as other possible locations to hold activities, a longer list of resource people than you actually need, be ready to change activities, if needed, but not to the extent that you lose sight of your original goals. You have carefully outlined and developed Plan 'A' – make sure to also have a Plan 'B' –a set of possible alternative activities if other fail. If carefully outlined, the implementation of a project should go smoothly.

Step 6. *Plan how you will evaluate or assess your project*. Ask what assessment strategies will you use? There are both formal and informal approaches to assessment. Both can be *formative* (used to provide feedback as the project moves forward and they help shape the project—this is information that contributes to the *formation* of the project) or *summative* (done near the end of a project to provide feedback on the entire results of the project). Generally, a formal assessment means that you choose to involve

someone unrelated to the project, an objective observer, to do an 'external' evaluation. This might be someone who does similar projects in other communities, or a professional who is familiar with language projects. Formal evaluations are sometimes costly and therefore may occur just once near the end of a project. Its good to do a formal evaluation if you need to prove the worth of your project for large grants or other major sources of funding. For the purposes of the community, informal evaluations are always important. These are done by the project organizers or even by the project participants and take the form of a casual questionnaire or even verbal feedback. Informal evaluations can occur at any stage during a project and should occur whether or not a formal evaluation is planned.

Finally, the project director or coordinator and the project team need to do their own evaluation. Take time to look back on various aspects of the project. Consider what worked well, what didn't and why. Write it all down so that if you decide to repeat the project it will probably go smoother than it did the first time. It is crucial to take the time to review the strengths and weaknesses of the project, as a project team, and to discuss what the next steps should be. Remember that revitalizing a language is just a step toward sustaining it for a very long time. Consider how your project has contributed to this effort and how will it lead to other projects aimed at this same long range goal.

Sometimes it is useful to create a project template, which can guide the outline/ planning for any project and which includes at least the following items (as discussed above);

Title of your project:

Description of the project: (That short paragraph mentioned above).

Purpose: (Why are you doing it?)

Objectives: (What you hope to accomplish. These also appear as expected outcomes.)

Activities: (How many? When? By whom?)

Target Audience: (Who is the project intended for?)

Dates: (When will it take place – beginning and end)

Location: (Where? What community or facility?)

Format: (Is it a class? A meeting? A workshop? A field trip?)

Budget: (Plan for all of the costs)

Partners: (Other organizations or groups to work with or who could be a resource)

Funding: (Decide if you need a grant or can get donations in time or money)

Marketing / Publicity: (How will you advertise this project? How will you recruit

participants?)

Evaluation /Assessment: (Both summative and formative)

Language revitalization or reclamation takes a lot of commitment, vision and just plain hard work. It really never ends so it is important to keep generating fresh ideas and implementing new projects. Projects should connect with each other or build on each other as they are all, ultimately, supporting the same long range goal of keeping the language alive.

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Chapter 5

Getting funding and support

In the course of developing an endangered language revitalization project, one must eventually face the most basic of logistical problems: how to pay for it? The costs associated with language revitalization projects vary greatly depending on their size, duration, goals, and products. Some involve the creation and publication of dictionaries, educational materials, or websites, while others require expensive technical equipment. Salaries for community language experts, travel budgets, and space rentals (or even the construction of a language center) can also be important investments.

As the field of language revitalization has become increasingly visible over the last couple of decades, new avenues of funding have emerged to meet these costs. However, the demand for funding has grown just as quickly as the supply, and the competition remains stiff. Long-term funding remains difficult to secure. Furthermore, while the process of applying for academic research grants regarding endangered languages is, by now, relatively formalized and streamlined, funding sources for community-based work often comes from a wide variety of places and can be difficult to identify.

This chapter offers some practical guidance for funding language revitalization projects. Consistent with the handbook's orientation, the chapter focuses on support for the work of language activists and community members. However, since language revitalization efforts are often closely related to language documentation, these two fields are considered together where appropriate. This chapter is divided into two parts: 1) identifying sources of funding, and 2) how to write an effective proposal.

Identifying sources of funding

Many language revitalization programs are sustained by a mix of funding sources. This is because the available funds tend to be small, and because they are usually limited in duration. For language revitalization, which is a long-term process that takes place over generations, the short-term nature of most grants and fellowships presents a particular problem. Some funding sources are limited to citizens of particular countries or members of particular tribes or ethnic groups, others are open to students or members of academic institutions, and a few have no eligibility restrictions at all. In cases where language documentation and revitalization efforts are linked, it can be helpful to consider how to

make academic research funding work in the service of language revitalization. For instance, some major research funders in Europe and the United States inquire about a project's "broader impacts," defined by the National Science Foundation (U.S.) as "the potential to benefit society and contribute to the achievement of specific, desired societal outcomes."[6] Language revitalization certainly qualifies as one such broader impact in many academic projects (though, despite these stated goals, some funders limit the amount of money that can actually be used to support revitalization efforts). Alliances with universities, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), and businesses can also be fruitful, while in other cases, informal fundraising through games and contests (e.g. raffles and bingo) and online crowd-funding has proven effective. A good place to start in the search for potential funding sources is to research or contact other successful language revitalization programs, and to learn about how they acquired their funding.

To begin with, a handful of funding organizations specifically devoted to endangered languages have been established in recent decades. While some of these organizations only support language documentation, the Endangered Language Fund (ELF) and the Foundation for Endangered Languages (FEL) also accept proposals for language revitalization projects. The first organization is particularly committed to funding collaborations between communities and university researchers. However, these organizations make small grants (~$2,000 - $4,000 for ELF, ~$1,000 for FEL), and even these can be quite competitive. ELF also offers larger scholarships for members of some U.S. tribes seeking academic training in linguistics, which is another important mode of community-university partnership.

Some government bodies offer larger grants for language revitalization, though these are more common in the U.S. and Canada than in other countries. For instance, the Administration for Native Americans, part of the U.S. federal government, supports "the planning, designing, restoration, and implementing of native language curriculum and education projects to support a community's language preservation goals."[7] Similarly, Canada's Aboriginal People's Program offers one funding program for "the preservation and revitalization of Indigenous languages through community-based projects and activities," and another for "the production and distribution of Indigenous audio and video content."[8] One benefit of these funding sources is that they offer larger quantities of money than the small NGOs mentioned above. More specific opportunities are offered by

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[6] https://www.nsf.gov/pubs/2016/nsf16617/nsf16617.htm

[7] https://ami.grantsolutions.gov/index.cfm?switch=foa&fon=HHS-2018-ACF-ANA-NL-1342

[8] https://www.canada.ca/en/canadian-heritage/services/funding/aboriginal-peoples.html

other institutions, such as the Smithsonian's Recovering Voices Community Research Program, which funds visits by community members to "examine cultural objects, biological specimens, and archival documents related to their heritage language and knowledge systems, and engage in a dialogue with each other and with Smithsonian staff, as part of a process to revitalize their language and knowledge."

Moving beyond funding sources that are explicitly designated for language revitalization, communities and activists need to be creative. Local, national, and international NGOs that might be receptive to the issue, but had not considered it before, are a good possibility. Communities can create their own NGOs, which can be an important step in applying for funding. Tribal funds often support language revitalization programs in the U.S. Collaborations with educational institutions can be helpful as well. For instance, an innovative partnership between the Miami Tribe of Oklahoma and Miami University operates a successful program to "assist tribal educational initiatives aimed at the preservation of language and culture" while "expos[ing] undergraduate and graduate students at Miami University to tribal efforts in language and cultural revitalization."[9] In some cases, speakers and language activists have gotten grants and fellowships to study and support their languages within academic institutions. Other communities might benefit from local trust funds, or companies with funds for local initiatives.

Some language revitalization projects do not require large budgets for their operations. In these cases, communities might be able to cover their costs through crowd-funding. For instance, a group of students at SOAS raised more than £2,000 for a storybook in the Sylheti language (spoken in Bangladesh and India, as well as in European cities), which compiles stories told by Sylheti speakers in London. In another case, at the time of writing, members of the Okanagan Salish language revitalization program had raised a few thousand dollars for the construction of a small, new modular building on the website www.gofundme.com. Some efforts, such as community conversation clubs or master-apprentice programs, may require no more than a bit of funding for administrative time to match lists of potential participants. Fundraising efforts need not be digital—some revitalization programs are supported by the kinds of games and contests mentioned above. These modes of fundraising have the additional benefits of raising awareness of the language revitalization program and involving the wider community. Some communities have also generated revenue by offering language courses and extended visits to non-community members.

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[9] https://miamioh.edu/myaamia-center

Writing a good proposal

The procedures for acquiring language revitalization funding are as diverse as the sources themselves. Some of the funding sources described above require detailed proposals, while others just involve informal coordination among a few community members. This section considers the requirements of funding institutions that review formal proposals. These tend to be organized around a few common elements. First, reviewers must determine whether the project is likely to have a significant impact, whether it is more important and urgent than the many other proposals they're considering, and whether it is well designed and ethical. Second, they need to know about the applicant(s) and their relationship to the community, and whether they have the experience, personal and institutional contacts, permissions, approvals, and other bureaucratic prerequisites that are necessary to complete the project as it is described. Third, they will examine the budget and determine whether it is appropriate, and if so, whether it is a "good deal" in light of the anticipated outcomes of the project. Finally, they will consider whether your project furthers the specific goals of the funding institution, which vary greatly from one to the next.

Given the demanding and highly competitive nature of this process, applying for funding can feel like entering a hopeless bureaucratic labyrinth. However, one point of consolation is that there is not, in fact, a great deal of difference between preparing an effective project and preparing an effective funding application. If your project is worthwhile, carefully planned, and consistent with the goals of the funding institution, and if it enjoys the support of the community, all that remains is to convey these facts through clear writing. Conversely, a funding application can be a helpful tool for thinking through the practical aspects of your project. Just as importantly, some funders provide reviewers' feedback to the applicants, whether or not the application is approved. Receiving the thorough and candid assessment of a panel of experts is a rare and precious opportunity (even if it can sting a bit). If you receive feedback, you should use it to help improve your project.

Funding applications vary greatly in their details, particularly in a field like language revitalization which draws in money from a range of sources. However, applications tend to ask for a few general types of information, along the lines of what is mentioned above. I now take a closer look at three of these: the value and design of the project (Section 1.1), the applicant's connection to the work (Section 1.2), and the adequacy of the budget (Section 1.3).

Is this a good project?

If a funding institution accepts formal proposals and consults reviewers, the first question that a reviewer will need to consider is whether the project itself is worth funding: is it important, feasible, ethical, and likely to generate valuable outcomes and impacts?

To begin with, how important or urgent are the outcomes that the proposal promises? For example, a language revitalization project might have an impact on a critical situation of language endangerment, or its value might lie more in developing new methods or technologies, or in moving the broader field forward in some other way (such as an attitude study). Institutions that fund language documentation efforts sometimes try to prioritize work on the most critically endangered languages, particularly in cases where little high quality documentation already exists. Your proposal should have some substantive and clearly defined practical outcome, and you should explain it in as few words as possible at the beginning of the project description. Identifying the planned outcomes requires a good sense of the situation on the ground, and it is also helpful to demonstrate knowledge of how language revitalization projects have worked in other places and how these might be relevant to your project. In the case of a project with an academic dimension, it is important to demonstrate a strong command of the relevant scholarly literature.

Once you have identified a clear and substantive goal, reviewers will want to see that you have thought through what is required to achieve it: your methodology. What kind of work will need to be done, and who will do it? For a language revitalization project, what kind of activities will you engage in (e.g. training workshops, the development of educational materials or a website), and what kinds of technical considerations will they require? If the project involves documentation, what kinds of data will you collect, and how do these data relate to your aims? Will you make audio or video recordings? Of what, and how many? How will you select the participants? How will you obtain their informed consent? How will you process the material, and with what kinds of software? What other practical considerations might be relevant? Do the planned activities fulfill your desired outcomes? Is your timeline feasible? In all cases, the methodologies that you propose must be tightly connected to the goals.

One of the most common problems with funding applications is that they often promise too much. Reviewers want to know that you are motivated and ambitious, but that you are realistic about the logistical constraints of the work. For instance, don't assume that you will be able to implement a large and well-functioning revitalization program right away. [**Cross-reference to chapter on planning.**] Nor, in a documentation project, are you likely to arrive somewhere you've never been before, encounter a language for the first time, and return home after a few months with a large corpus of

data and a sophisticated grasp of the language. The best way to develop a feasible agenda is to approach it step by step, with an exploratory or pilot first phase, and elaborating or expanding the work over longer periods. This will reassure reviewers that you know what you are getting yourself into.

Projects that involve scholarly research with living humans, and that are conducted under the auspices of an educational institution, usually require the approval of an ethical review board before you can begin the work. [**Cross-reference to section on ethics?**] Projects through NGOs or communities generally do not require such approval, but it is still important to think through how you will conduct your project ethically. If your project is subject to an ethical review board, you will need to explain how you will go about getting informed consent from anyone you record or video, protecting their anonymity, and storing the data. These must be developed in close coordination with community members, and must be responsive to local expectations about privacy and research ethics. These procedures can take some time, so be sure to get started early.

Finally, reviewers will want to know what the products and outcomes of the project will be. Will you publish educational materials, or will a training program for community language workers be established? Will you organize a radio program, or add to the community's digital presence in the language? If you conduct academic research, some funding institutions require that you deposit the products of your research with them, including recordings and field notes. It is also good practice to make those products available to the community, for instance at a local library, school, or community center. Some funders may ask you to adhere to Open Access archiving standards, by which data must be publicly available on the internet (a requirement that must be made clear to the participants before the project begins). Demonstrate that you are aware of such policies, and that you are prepared to abide by them in a way that is consistent with your plan for ethical research.

What is the applicant's relationship to the project and the community?

Once a reviewer has considered the value of the proposed project, they must next consider the applicant. Applicants who are community members themselves have a clear connection to the work, as well as a personal investment, base of knowledge, and network of contacts that will help the project succeed. Meanwhile, scholars who are not part of the community will have to demonstrate that they have the support and approval of the community, the relevant academic training, official government permissions, and ethical approval, and that all manner of other practical aspects of the work are in place.

Many applicants for language revitalization and documentation grants are affiliated with local NGOs, tribal governments, or language support groups; some are simply individual community members. Others are affiliated with universities, particularly as M.A. or Ph.D. students. In all of these cases, it is important to demonstrate one's preparation for the project at hand, whatever that might be. If the application requires letters of recommendation, these will attest to this sort of preparation. It may also be helpful to demonstrate your personal experience with the cultural, scholarly, and methodological issues at stake. Have you worked with the revitalization program already, and in what capacity? What kinds of work have already been carried out in the community, and how does this project build on them?

For non-community members, a crucial part of preparing for some fieldwork projects is attaining the kinds of local permissions necessary for the research. For instance, non-tribal members who work on a Native North American language usually need an official invitation from a tribal government, and failing to follow the proper procedures on such matters can derail the project. In some places in the world, e.g. Vanuatu, you might also need a visa or other sort of permission from an embassy or a local government. Some grants also require affiliation with a local university or other institution. To avoid complications down the road, some funding agencies require that you submit copies of some types of permissions with your application.

Does the budget look right?

Every proposal requires a budget, in which you give a detailed itemization and justification of your expenses. Some funding institutions give small grants to cover a plane ticket or the printing of education materials; others give huge grants that pay the costs of graduate school or the salaries of several people for years. The parts of the budget relating to the work itself are a concrete expression of your methodology, so you should make sure that the expenditures you list (equipment, personnel, etc.) are closely connected to the activities you describe in the proposal. Most funders provide information about what they expect to see in their budget categories. It can also be helpful to use a colleague's successful grant application as a guide as you draw up your budget.

Funding institutions categorize expenses in different ways, but there tend to be some general similarities. In the box below are some of the most common categories, with brief explanations of each.

Common budget categories

Travel and subsistence: How will the project participants get around? For people who live locally, this might include bus fare, gas, or buying a bicycle. For people who do not live locally, it might involve plane or bus fare, as well as expenses for meals and lodging. For some grants, this category also includes day-to-day living expenses throughout the period of the grant.

Personnel: Who will be paid a wage, stipend, or salary during the project? This category will likely include compensation for community language experts, research assistants and, if there is an academic researcher involved, perhaps stipends or money for teaching replacement. Technology consultants like app developers might be compensated as well. You will need to find out an appropriate rate for each such recipient and calculate how much time they will be paid for.

Equipment: Revitalization and documentation projects often require new equipment, including recording devices, microphones, computers, software, hard drives, solar panels, and the like. Refer to the funder's guidelines about what kinds of expenses are allowed and consult with colleagues about what kinds of equipment they recommend.

Consumables: These are disposable supplies and day-to-day expenses such as batteries, fuel, data cards, internet and phone usage, notebooks, etc.

Part of preparing a feasible project is requesting enough money to cover all of the relevant costs. For this reason, you shouldn't cut corners or compromise on important expenses. However, keep in mind that funding is tight, so unnecessary costs might take away from someone else's project, and will likely be noticed during the review process.

Useful resources

Endangered Language Fund General Resources

www.endangeredlanguagefund.org/general-resources.html

First Peoples' Cultural Council (no date) *Grant Writing Toolkit*. http://www.fpcc.ca/language/toolkit/GrantWritingToolkit.aspx

Foundation for Endangered Languages (FEL) (small grants)

http://www.ogmios.org/home.htm

Zepeda, Ofelia and Susan Penfield (2008). *Grant Writing for Indigenous Languages*. University of Arizona.

http://jan.ucc.nau.edu/jar/GrantWriting.pdf.

5.2. Doing things with little money

Doing linguistic activism without funds is possible. It may happen that when a volunteer in this area wants to start making his first efforts he will be confronted with the ghost of lack of economic resources; however, it just take to observe well to recognize that a nice launching platform is closer than we think. Below are a series of tips that have as common point the maximum use of emotional resources and the minimum use of money. The purpose of these tips is to open possibilities to anyone interested in the revitalization of languages to begin his work:

1. LOOK FOR PEOPLE WHO THINK LIKE YOU. People with the same interests with whom practice and study the language. Coincide in direction, actions and results, regardless of the type of skills they have. It is also important that they all solve problems in the same way you do.}

Organize. Focus on talking about strengths and about what can be done togheter and begin to believe in that goal.

2. EMOTIONAL RESOURCES OF THE GROUP: Have commitment, enthusiasm, identification, affection, respect, admiration, care, time, perseverance (credibility comes very close to it). Use all your ingenuity also.

Build closeness and confidence. Always remember that working with minority languages involves the feelings of their speakers.

3. INSTRUCT YOURSELF IN THE BEST POSSIBLE WAY ON THE SUBJECT. There is enough information on the internet to understand as much as possible the history and the phenomenon (or phenomena) of your language to benefit. The damage a language could suffer occurs through multiple actions so the answers must go as well in many ways. Half understanding just gives us half answers.

4. GET A COMPASS. Consult criteria as those in Unesco's document "Language vitality and Endargement", Paris 2003 (free material on the web). Tabulate and diagnose: This table will help you to have a vision as a whole. It is important to know where to go.

Knowing the general score will give you an idea of the state of your language and the effort you will need to apply. Then choose which efforts are the first that must be done. Point your standards towards real and achievable results, both short and long term.

Update your table and compare the steps given from time to time. Take out the best conclusions.

5. VISIT OFTEN THE COMMUNITY if you can not live in it, have nexus. Think with the people in the community to give the answers that the group needs. Avoid messianism.

6. GENERATE SPEAKER NETWORKS. Open spaces to visualize and practice the language: conversation clubs, hours in a local cafe, chats and public walls in social networks. It is important that both activists and speakers share a sense of community.

Being close to the speakers and being aware of activities, dates or situations that attract them the most is highly recommended to have the best guidelines.

7. WORK ON SELF-ESTEEM AND SELF-CONCEPT. Keep sharing constant news of the appreciation of other people towards their language and towards the speaker's efforts.

8. ALWAYS THINK OF THE YOUNGEST. Propose many games that involve language for children; build an endearing link between game and language. Help teenagers to ensure effective intercultural contact, without trauma and without self-refusing.

9. GOVERNMENT ATTITUDES AND POLICIES. Echo the community work. The efforts must awake positive enthusiasm in the speakers so that attracts the favorable attention of decision makers. Look for spaces to communicate to politicians the speakers perspectives.

10. NOTICE IN THE PREVIOUS POINTS and check how many you had to use money and how many you had to use attitude.

5.3. Attitudes of NGOs in Guatemala towards the inclusion of indigenous languages in the workplace

In 2012, I conducted a survey to investigate the role of NGOs and international organizations in the preservation of indigenous, minority and endangered languages. Individual representatives of the organizations which participated in the study were at the time key figures involved in the language revitalization movement in Guatemala as they pushed for the inclusion of indigenous languages in the workplace.

The Republic of Guatemala has a population of approximately 12,710,000, of whom 55% areIndian [Indigenous], and 45% *Mestizo*[10]. Linguists such as Charles Hoffling and Valentin Tavico agree that the total number of languages spoken in Guatemala is 25 including Spanish. These languages belong to four language families: Indo-European, Mayan, Lenca, and Arawakan. Spanish is the national language and the one which carries the most prestige, being the language of wider communication. It is closely followed by the four *mayoritarios,* or 'major ones'*:* K'iche, Kaqchikel, Q'eqchi' and Mam. These four languages have the largest number of speakers and are the languages which are regarded as having the most vitality in Guatemala, with over 100,000 speakers.

Not unsurprisingly, the survey found that both NGOs and international organizations whose targeted communities did not include indigenous people, were not interested in discussing language issues and did not respond to the open call for participation. Those who did respond were organizations with an interest in working and collaborating with indigenous people. These organizations can be divided into two groups: local and international.

The survey found that although international organizations whose headquarters were based in a different country were sympathetic to the promotion of indigenous languages and were willing to promote their use via national policy change or education, they were not enthused by the idea of incorporating their use in the day-to-day workplace. Some of the reasons given for this were that too many languages would lead to confusion, a lack of transparency and difficulties in communicating with headquarters back in their home

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[10] The term *mestizo* refers to non-indigenous communities, although in recent years the terms has been adopted by indigenous people who have rejected their language, culture and heritage, choosing to become part of the Latin and Spanish speaking culture instead. Something worth noting about the terminology used here, the term Indian, though it does not have negative connotation in English, its translated Spanish term *Indio* is often used in a derogatory manner. Indigenous communities therefore prefer the Spanish term *Indigena*, one which I will be using throughout this work. Similarly, the term Mestizo is not commonly used, rather often replaced by the term *Ladino(s)*, one which generally refers to mixed race or "Westernized" communities).

countries. In contrast, it was found that despite the more limited reach and influence on a national level of local NGOs with headquarters within the country, these were more open, willing to consider and encourage the use of indigenous languages in the workplace. This was especially the case with those organizations which sought to establish and strengthen strong and stable relationships with an established community. The NGO Wuqu' Kawoq, for example, saw a need to provide better quality healthcare in the town of Santiago Sacatepequez in Guatemala, a town that speaks predominately Kaqchikel Maya. To improve access to rural healthcare amongst Maya communities, the healthcare NGO was founded with the provision of services in local languages at its core.

I have since observed a similar tendency in neighbouring El Salvador. Local organizations and institutions with a vested interest in local people were more likely and willing to interact with, participate in, and support language revitalization movements. Despite limited funds, local institutions like universities, museums, language schools, and even banks were willing to provide some sort of support. Universities and their students can be key in the creation of a public voice and ally. A museum might provide an exhibition hall and printing services in which to hold a public event to raise awareness. Finally, banks and other companies with a local interest often have a corporate policy to have a 'social impact' and have specific funds allocated for projects that may help achieve this. While it is unlikely that a bank may support an entire language revitalization initiative, such a funding opportunity might be useful for the printing of a book or the creation of a podcast series which can result in better outreach and new funding possibilities. In an environment where support is likely to be limited, thinking creatively and developing a varied network of interested individuals and institutions is key to making progress within the revitalization initiative. Finally, understanding what motivates individuals, organizations or institutions to engage with local languages and cultures is beneficial to understanding how to approach and engage with a wider network.

Further Reading

Hawkins, Richard J. (2005) "Language loss in Guatemala: A statistical analysis of the 1994 population
census". *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, Vol. 9(1) pp. 53-75

Hoffling, Charles A. (1996) "Indigenous revitalization and outsider interaction: The Itzaj Maya case". *Human Organisation*, Vol. 55(1), pp. 108-116

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Chapter 6
Types of communities and speakers in language revitalization

In this chapter, we look at diverse communities who struggle to preserve their heritage languages or who might be interested in launching revitalization programs. We reflect on what it can mean to be a minority or endangered language community and how we can characterize different types of communities. We also look at the implications and challenges for language revitalization that should be considered when taking into account distinct types of communities. The concept of 'community' requires some clarification. As a starting point for this discussion, the community, for the purposes of language revitalization, can be considered as any original or newly formed group or network of individuals. These individuals may live in a specific place or may be geographically dispersed, but they are linked by various kinds of interactions and relationships (including those based on both face-to-face and virtual social networks), and share some aspects of their identities and goals. Each community is inherently heterogeneous, variable, highly dynamic, subject to change and sensitive to all kinds of different factors and circumstances. Communities are usually comprised of distinct groups of speakers, and are maintained or reproduced by different interaction networks. We have to point out that the 'concept' of revitalization is also blurry and by no means well defined in the literature. Let us just stress that revitalization, as well as several other similar metaphors derived from the biological sciences, have been loosely applied to a wide range of situations, which often differ significantly. They vary from scenarios where only few speakers prevail with a very limited use of the language (e.g. the Peninsula of Baja California, Mexico, where for example Kiliwa has some 5 speakers left), to communities with about a million speakers and a still pretty robust use of their language and future viability (e.g. Yucatec Maya in the Yucatec Peninsula, Mexico). Some languages are spoken in large communities, some in very small or dispersed ones. Some are still used in relatively isolated areas, while some are used in urban zones where they are exposed to intense contact with other languages. Some languages are valued and recognized, others are associated with trauma, shame or poverty. In dealing with different communities we must be sensitive, flexible and open to discussion and deep reevaluation of related attitudes in order to start any revitalization project. A strict definition of revitalization is less important than finding effective ways to recover the use of an endangered language in a specific community.

'Revitalizing' a whole community is a fiction or a utopia. Linguistic and cultural revitalization is usually developed by specific groups or individuals from a community, who take the lead in 'reviving' the language. Such activists are motivated by a range of diverse language ideologies, which may, at times, be contradictory and conflicting. For example, plans for revitalization may be met with opposition, indifference, skepticism or, on the contrary, overenthusiasm, depending on distinct stakeholders.

In order to provide a general typology of such highly heterogeneous language revitalization communities, we will first attempt to provide an overview of their complexity. The field of language revitalization is directly linked to the process of language endangerment and language communities, each with distinct types of 'speakers'. Endangerment refers to a continuum of language use in a specific tongue; the threat of extinction is always a matter of degree. Endangerment is, in fact, faced by most of the languages of the world, which is extremely telling of modern social and political conditions of multilingualism and globalization. Current estimations of the number of tongues spoken vary between roughly six and eight thousand, the majority of which survive in different states of at least some sort of precariousness. They range from 'dormant' languages with very few, if any, speakers, to those with some levels of vitality, most of which comprise communities with a couple of thousand or hundred speakers or even fewer. 'Stable' languages are usually national languages, protected by law, institutions and other forms of infrastructure as provided by a specific state or political organization. It is estimated that they constitute only some 30% of the world's linguistic diversity. Estimates regarding the number of languages still spoken in the world are based on a number of criteria, many of them being imprecise, ideological and/or political; deciding on where a language or a dialect begins often stems from political and ideological notions. For instance, within the Maya family, Yucatec Maya, Mopan and Itzá are considered separate languages, mainly because the speakers of the first group dwell in Mexico, whereas the other two reside in Guatemala. In Scandinavia, Norwegian, Swedish and Danish are recognized as distinct languages, spoken in three different countries, yet linguistically they form a 'dialect continuum' of regional variants that are mutually intelligible to differing degrees. Another interesting and less known example is the Wymysorys language in Poland, which faces obstacles to achieving official recognition, since the basic criterion in the law is that a regional language cannot be a dialect of any other national language. The argument employed against the recognition of Wymysorys is its alleged status as a dialect of German, despite a unique historical trajectory, linguistic features and a low degree (or even lack) of intelligibility with German.

The causes of endangerment encompass a broad range of factors, including the historical consequences of colonialism, genocide, the slave trade and exploitation, accompanied by discrimination, racism, political domination, economic disadvantages,

etc. Postcolonial heritage and the effects of globalization have resulted in a global crisis for languages, the worst that the world has ever experienced. Its effects can be compared to 'the great dying' of species in the remote past as well as to modern processes of accelerated reduction in global biodiversity. Nonetheless, these global trends also provoke grassroots responses from local communities. Such responses provide an especially important starting point for any revitalization project. However, revitalization efforts should consider the specific conditions and situation of the group or 'community' in question. These conditions include not only the degree of language endangerment, but also the motivations, ideologies, goals, aims, desired benefits and internal politics of its members. Thus, awareness of the diversity of communities and linguistic situations needs to be considered while planning and undertaking any (re)vitalization strategy. We must emphasize that there is considerable overlap between distinct types of communities and their speakers: any typology should be considered a continuum or even a kaleidoscope of continua. In the following sections we describe certain general features and characteristics that many communities share. However, we should not forget that the complexity and combination of factors that affect each group, in fact make each community unique.

'Original' or ancestral communities with different forms of transmission

Groups, which continue to live in traditional lands and territories and were established in a more or less remote past, can be considered 'ancestral communities'. In the present time of linguistic unification, most communities that use their own heritage tongue or language variant that is different from a national or dominant language, face the threat of language loss. They may have different degrees of language transmission as well as different forms of language socialization. Many of them suffer displacement and linguistic conflict, that is, an ideological, functional and political struggle between the use of the local tongue and the imposed, dominant language. In some of these communities the ancestral language is still spoken, but younger generations have lost interest and proficiency; the natural transmission of the language is weakened or broken. Skills in the heritage tongue vary considerably; there are groups of speakers who have become monolingual in a hegemonic national language after passing through a stage of substitutive or replacive bilingualism. This may, for example, be the result of school trauma, especially in residential schools where students were forced to leave their communities and home territories, and abandon the tongue that they learnt at home, as in Australia, Canada or the USA. Imagine literally having your mouth washed out with soap or standing in the burning sun as a punishment for speaking your language. Unbelievably, these practices still occur in some countries. Latin and North America are particularly good

examples of the impact that school policies have on language. Across these continents boarding schools and, more recently, 'bilingual schools', have become efficient tools for eradicating indigenous languages. Similar practices have occurred in other parts of the world, especially in postcolonial contexts or countries which adopted strong nationalistic policies aimed at cultural and linguistic unification of their citizens (as Russia, post-war Poland, China, Japan, etc.). Additionally, pressures on shifting communities are often linked to economic motivations, including the linguistic requirements of the job market and individuals' desire for social advancement. Typically, parents will also be pressured not to pass the heritage language to new generations.

Yet there are interesting cases of resistance to language displacement, including the vital use of an endangered language in settings such as religious rituals, the market place and other public domains.. This type of situation is fertile ground for a particular type of (re)vitalization project that we describe here as 'communities of learning or practice' (see below). Moreover, there are also emblematic cases of language recovery and resilience, as in Euskara ('Basque') and Catalan, which were forbidden in Spain in the era of the Franco dictatorship (from the late 30s until the mid-70s). Both are now co-official languages in their respective autonomous regions, yet still face serious threats and challenges. Maori, spoken in New Zealand, is another interesting case, with its famous 'language nests' – a methodology consisting of speaking the ancestral language almost from the womb. Even though Maori's vitality is now a fact, with official recognition, support, and institutional use, that does not mean it is no longer endangered. This is telling of the difficulties in stabilizing a threatened language; despite its relatively successful revitalization, the Maori language is not free from constant challenges and conflicts, even from within the community. For instance, the vitality of Northern Maori varieties is much higher than that of the Southern ones, known as *Kai Tahu,* which are in an advanced state of shift. The Maori community has been trying to recover *Kai Tahu* for over two decades, dreaming to replenish the South with Maori and reversing language shift. Yet, one of the main problems is the conflict between the so-called 'obsolescent' Southern Maori varieties and the vital Northern ones.[11] This can be seen in the fact that some Northern speakers even mock Southern varieties. This intolerance can happen within language communities, but also in mainstream society. In our work with indigenous communities we have come across laymen, and even anthropologists, who value certain varieties more than others. These are often varieties which exhibit influence from the dominant language and are viewed as 'impoverished' or 'inauthentic,' etc.

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[11] See O' Regan, Hana, 2009. "A language to call my own". In *Speaking of endangered languages*. Goodfellow, Anne Marie (ed.). Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars. 184-198.

Thus, in 'ancestral communities' we often find complex situations when it comes to language maintenance and shift, a continuum with clear internal differences within the same language. Many sub-varieties can be associated, for instance, with different generations, as is the case of several Indo-American languages. These range from 'monolingual' or traditional varieties, to highly innovative varieties that may borrow heavily from the dominant language. Such differentiation within the larger language group, as it occurs in specific communities, depends on various factors, including the status of the heritage language, the territory where it is spoken, contact with other languages, the role of migration and the nation states' language policies, etc. Other key factors include the specific ideologies, motivations, attitudes and goals of speakers. It is important to emphasize that in the same region there may be distinct types of situations of language retention and shift, ranging from conservative groups of speakers of monolingual varieties (e.g. the elders), passing through high levels of bilingualism (e.g. younger generations), to groups within the same community who now use the hegemonic or national language as their first tongue (e.g. children). In the same geographic area we can also find ancestral communities that have already lost their heritage language entirely or in part. Often strong traces of the 'lost' language are left in the so-called interlanguage. In this scenario, speakers have not completely acquired the colonial or national tongue, but rather developed a version of the dominant language. Examples include Indo-American Spanish or First Nation peoples' English, which exhibit strong (lexical, phonetic and structural) influences from the indigenous languages that were previously or are still spoken in the area. Such scenarios are abundant in almost all parts of the world. In the case of ancestral communities whose traditional tongue has been reduced to an emblem, for symbolic use only, or who have lost the tongue entirely, revitalization efforts must be oriented toward awakening a 'sleeping' language, which had not been spoken for a while and is thus 'dormant'. In these cases the few last speakers often belong to the eldest generation. One example of awakening a sleeping language is the revitalization of Manx on the Isle of Man, which was brought back to use only after the death of the last speaker, Ned Maddrell—a poet who lived in a mountainous village of Cregneash on the island—in 1974. This case shows that the commitment of a group of activists can change the fate of a language, at least in the short- or mid-term.

Even today ancestral communities are typically under intense pressure from dominant languages as well as discriminatory or even racist language ideologies. The latter usually come from mainstream society and can also be adopted by speakers themselves. Such ideologies are usually linked to the presumed lack of economic value of the language, which leads speakers to question its utility and even its status as a self-standing language. These kind of ideologies are evident in self-destroying stereotypes such as "it is only a dialect, it cannot be written, etc.". This is often the case for variants

that are heavily influenced by the dominant language, which are therefore considered 'corrupt' and 'mixed', lacking 'purity', 'authenticity' and/ or 'legitimacy'. Communities may also experience internal political struggles regarding language ownership, local language policy and language choices; for example, what the future language of the community should be, and if there is any value in keeping or restoring the heritage tongue. A frequent phenomenon in communities experiencing language shift is purism, an ideology focused on eliminating any features coming from the colonial language. Purism can become an extremely negative force in language maintenance, since purists, who are often people with a powerful status in the community (for example teachers), propose to eliminate any feature coming from the national language. This often hinders the use and development of the local tongue in the way that it is commonly spoken, increasing linguistic insecurity and favoring language shift. For example, both younger and older speakers can be reproached or stigmatized for their way of speaking, depending on the situation and the policy that local purists try to enforce. Yet, purism can be turned into a positive force in revitalization programs, depending on specific local conditions. This seems to be the case with the Maya rappers in Yucatan, who have recovered the *hach,* or 'real Maya', due to its presumed wider repertoire and 'authenticity'. The best recommendation is to avoid favoring any variety or register of a language and promote community members' acceptance of different contact varieties so that they can contribute to the richness and ecology of the language.

Exiled, dispersed or resettled communities

Some ancestral communities were forcibly exiled or dispersed for historical reasons; some have been completely exterminated due to invasion and aggressive colonization. This happened to the Taino during the Spanish invasion of Cuba in the sixteenth century, and in Tasmania, where the last person of Tasmanian descent died in 1905. In cases of almost total genocide, the few survivors that speak the ancestral tongue are the so-called last speakers of a language. Examples are found in many parts of the world, including the native groups of Australia, the USA, Salvador, Chile, Argentina and Uruguay. Some of those groups are survivors of genocide, as in the case of Nawat/Pipil speakers in Salvador. After the genocide of 1932 they were relocated to other areas of the country, and the traumatizing experience resulted in language loss and forced change of identity. However, even in such dramatic historical circumstances, speakers of Pipil have been identified among the oldest generation, which permitted the launch of revitalization activities. In such cases, however, awakening a language must be closely linked to dealing with historical and personal trauma as well as social healing. For example, in the case of the Pipil it was common to deny speaking the heritage tongue to avoid being killed. Yet,

bringing back the ancestral language is often a powerful source of healing and empowerment. One such the example is the Diné/Navajo in the USA, for whom language cultivation at schools has become crucial to the recovery of the language. Another case is that of Lemko communities in Poland. Lemko speakers were exiled from their ancestral territories in the Carpathian Mountains almost overnight during the Operation Vistula of 1947. Some were sent to Ukraine, but most of them were resettled to the western region of Poland and the post-German territories, while others were confined to post-war concentration camps where the death toll was dramatically high. They were purposefully settled among Polish speakers to foster their linguistic and cultural assimilation. Only a few managed to return to the ancestral region: their houses and lands were occupied and they had to purchase land in their own home territory. They now are a minority in an increasingly Polish-speaking area, which, along with political pressures, has made language maintenance very difficult. Those who stayed in the new lands in the western part of the country experienced even more challenges due to dispersion and severing bonds with their homeland, which was a fundamental part of Lemko identity. Similar situations have been experienced by many groups of Native American nations, allocated to reservations that were often away from ancestral land and divided among several locations assigned by the US government. Such resettled or dispersed communities are particularly exposed to language loss due to the severing of links between an ancestral tongue and ancestral land, which has a number of devastating consequences. Such groups and communities present continua of language maintenance, with different types of speakers who range from monolinguals in the heritage tongue, to bilinguals and monolingual speakers of the imposed language. In such communities there is also a common type of survivor who does not speak the heritage language; in these cases revitalization efforts would have to be based on reviving the language (the most famous case is Hebrew).

Diaspora and migrant communities

Forcibly resettled and dispersed communities are in many ways similar to diasporas of immigrant communities living in urban or other areas (e.g. Veneto in Chipilo, Mexico, or Mennonites in Latin America). These also include Romani, the so-called "Gypsies", who live in several parts of the world. They are often openly discriminated against both by mainstream society as well as the state, and not officially recognized (e.g. France, Colombia, Mexico, Poland, etc.). A common scenario in diasporic groups is language loss within one or two generations, due to the lack of opportunities to use the ancestral language outside of the home. However, at least some of these communities keep their languages as secret codes, which is also a form of 'spontaneous revitalization',

meaning an unplanned form of revitalization, that does not have an 'external' agent instigating or accompanying it. In these cases, groups maintain their language as a form of 'in group' communication, as in Romani. These types of communities are remarkably diverse. Some keep strong ties with their homeland (e.g. Mexican indigenous communities in the USA or Polish communities in the USA and the United Kingdom). Some retain their languages, as is often the case of the Chinese diaspora, and some keep the language partially or create new varieties. The latter includes the para-Romani varieties within the Roma diaspora in Europe, such as the so called "Caló" in Spain. Linguistic rights of such communities are not recognized by states and therefore they usually do not appear in any censuses.

Different patterns of mobility are associated with diverse types of exodus. These range from permanent migrants (e.g. several Mexican indigenous groups in the USA or the Turkish population in Germany or the Netherlands) to temporary migrants. An ethnic group can also exhibit mixed patterns and strategies of migration that change over time and in response to political or economic circumstances. Examples include several groups in the USA or the Central American population who relocate to Mexico but then return to their homeland periodically or at least occasionally. In this case, due to the sociolinguistic environment and the languages to which they are exposed, the diaspora situation often leads to reduced repertoires in the heritage language. It also results in the creation of: neo-speakers of neo-urban varieties; 'receptive' speakers, who can understand but do not speak the language, e.g. children. Another term that has been proposed with regard to persons who grew up listening to the heritage language but did not become active speakers is 'latent' speaker[12]. There are also 'remembers' of dormant languages, and several types of bilinguals (e.g. incipient to almost coordinate bilinguals, that is, speakers who master the two languages almost perfectly and are able to separate them). They continuously face the colonial heritage as it manifests in many forms of discrimination, economic and social disadvantage, as well as covert, and often open, racism. Within the great diversity of migrants, we can also identify 'voluntarily assimilating' speakers who want to abandon their heritage languages as soon as possible to integrate into mainstream society. However, we also find groups of speakers who, on the contrary, reaffirm and even empower themselves as immigrants in countries like the USA. This is the case of the Maya of Yucatan, who form a vigorous enclave in the San Francisco bay area, with around 15 thousand speakers.

Communities of practice and learning

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[12] See: Charlotte Basham and Ann Fathman. 2008. "The Latent Speaker: Attaining Adult Fluency in an Endangered Language", *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism* 11 (5): 577-597

'Communities of practice'[13] and 'communities of learning' comprise a further category of community. They are a newly described type of group, which deliberately develops social revitalization networks. In the area of language maintenance and revitalization the focus of these groups is on collective efforts to reverse shift, enhance mutual learning and communication, and mobilize available resources. A central goal of such initiatives is to design and carry out specific activities out that can positively influence existing practices and situations. Such communities include individuals from different fields who are united in their goal to stop and reverse language shift. Most notably, but not exclusively, these include language activists, linguists and anthropologists. They may create partnerships with members of the ancestral community who are interested in language revival, or form multidisciplinary and multiethnic teams who are interested in achieving the same goal: language revitalization. Challenges they face involve finding novel ways to empower speakers, creating revitalization methodologies through diverse types of collaborations between several stakeholders and generating external support for revitalization programs. Such groups can also include activists from one or more of the ancestral communities, who are united by the goal of keeping their language alive, despite adverse ideologies, attitudes and educational policies.

An example of the creation of this type of community is the Revitalization, Maintenance, Language and Cultural Development Project in Mexico, led by Flores Farfán. This project attempts to improve and develop participants' communicative performances and mastership of different language genres, going beyond language abilities per se, to generate highly proficient professionals, such as actors. By engaging in the production of professional videos or creative writing, the project aims at reactivating speakers' language competences so that they can become proficient speakers and professionals. For instance, after participating in the project, one of the female participants on this program went on to work in the indigenous education sector in the Balsas region of Guerrero as a bilingual teacher, where she developed community workshops for relearning Nahuatl. The project actively engaged activists and language leaders from around Mexico in practical training on a range of subjects, including: coaching revitalizers, creating language activists' self-documentation with revitalization in mind, script writing, planning and producing their own books, managing illustration programs, and producing local, culturally sensitive educational materials. This resulted in the creation of language games, animation videos and books, which are disseminated to children during community workshops led by language leaders (see more on p. XX). Also in Mexico, John Sullivan and Justyna Olko carried out a series of interdialectal encounters for the speakers of Nahuatl as well as

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[13] See: https://web.stanford.edu/~eckert/csofp.html

participatory workshops for reading historical texts created by the ancestors of modern Nahuas and discussing them in modern variants of this language. These initiatives have resulted in the creation of networks of engaged language activists (see p. XX). Another similar initiative has been the Engaged Humanities project aimed at extensive capacity-building and connecting engaged scholars and language revitalization activities all over the world (see p. XXX).

This discussion of course does not cover all possible scenarios. There might also be communities who are only interested in a very reduced use of their languages, often described as symbolic or post-vernacular use. In such cases the active presence of the heritage tongue can be limited to greeting formulas, selected culturally-relevant terms or songs. There are also such communities that do not want to use or revitalize their traditional language at all and it is only linguists who are interested in doing so.

Speakers of heritage languages

It is very important to emphasize that language communities are not abstract entities. They are composed of many different kinds of speakers of endangered/minority/heritage tongues and, very often, include individuals who no longer speak them. In much the same way as an awareness of diverse community types is important in processes of language shift and language revitalization, the role of distinct kinds of language users is also key. Even in communities where the language is still spoken by the majority, it is not uncommon to find families in which the grandparent and parent generations are fully proficient in the heritage language, while the children have different levels of proficiency. For example, teenagers may, speak the language with varying levels of proficiency, their younger siblings may understand the language but not speak it themselves, while the youngest siblings may neither speak nor understand the heritage language, having shifted to the dominant or national language. In contexts where language transmission has been broken in this way, scholars have identified 'semi-speakers,' 'rusty speakers,' 'receptive' or 'passive' speakers 'terminal speakers', 'latent speakers' or 'remembers, 'pseudo-/quasi-speakers', etc. In revitalization efforts, however, 'labeling' individual speakers can be counterproductive and even discouraging or harmful for people struggling to speak or learn their heritage language. Speakers who struggle to develop their language skills do not want to be categorized by scholars implying their 'incomplete' knowledge and use of a heritage language. In addition, such 'labeling' does not reflect the potential they have for developing their language competence and use. Therefore, any such classifications should be treated with extreme caution; their utility is limited to an assessment of the challenges facing a given revitalization project and they should not stigmatize speakers.

The exact profile of speakers will vary from community to community, despite some common characteristics. Similar to the profile of communities, these categories should be viewed as having blurred and dynamic boundaries, existing within a broad continuum of language proficiency. Here we give an example of a general typology of speakers that is based on the different communities we have worked with in Mexico, especially Nahuas. However, the typology can be applied, to a certain extent, to other communities, depending on their unique situation.

(1) Selected speakers with a very high Nahuatl proficiency are often the 'top owners' of the language. They are specialized in specific types of discourses, such as bride or rain petitions or shamanic activities conducted through chants by healers or enchanters. Members of conservative, traditional communities pay high respect to this type of speakers and hire them on special occasions. Recovering such genres of speech in communities that have lost them might be one of the ways of revitalizing the language, giving it prestige and expanding its linguistic repertoires. In these cases specific revitalizing methodologies can be developed.

(2) Fully proficient speakers—often scholars, students, writers or activists—who are conscious users of the language and who reveal a huge capacity in the language in any domain; some of them hold purist attitudes towards the language and avoid loanwords and code mixing. They are usually bilingual with different degrees of influence from their mother tongue in their Spanish. Some use an almost "standard" Spanish, while others clearly exhibit at least some influence from Nahuatl.

(3) Quasi/almost monolingual speakers whose proficiency in Nahuatl is very high and who have limited contact with the Spanish-speaking mainstream society. These speakers are usually elders and often females, although they also include adults, young speakers and even children who only start learning Spanish when they begin attending school. Empowering these speakers is an important strategy for revitalization. This can be achieved, for example, by legitimizing them at the school level and reestablishing intergenerational language bonds that might be weak.

(4) Fluent speakers from traditional communities with unbroken transmission who either still use the language in their home community or who have migrated but continue speaking whenever they visit the community and sometimes even when they are abroad. The use of language and adaptation skills in different domains varies, but generally their proficiency is very high. There is even a trend to acquire a third language, such as English as in the case of Maya Yucatec speakers in the San Francisco area in the USA. This type of

migrant shows that migration is not always a displacing feature, but can in fact be a revitalizing force due to the strong identity ties speakers develop while living far away from their homeland. Depending on the region and community of origin, some of these speakers resort to heavy code-mixing in certain situations. For example, this is sometimes seen in teenagers or young adults who learned the language when growing up and use it at home and among their peers but who received no school instruction in it. Sometimes it is impossible to differentiate this category of speaker from less fluent speakers. Furthermore, their proficiency may vary depending on the domain or the topic of conversation.

(5) 'Nearly fluent' speakers who are socialized in the heritage language in increasingly bilingual homes, sometimes learning it from their grandparents or other family members. Their use of the language is limited to basic domains and their vocabulary and use of grammatical structures is reduced; some of them purposefully omit loanwords and code mixing, especially in the presence of teachers or researchers. Spontaneous speaking on a wide variety of topics requires considerable effort on their part. As with other categories, the distinction between this type of speakers and other kinds of asymmetrical bilingual-speakers is fluid. Such individuals' proficiency exists on a continuum. Some of them learned the language at a later age, when they were teenagers or young adults. This may have been due to pressures from the community and their expected participation in domains such as commercial or ritual activities. Alternatively, they may have been motivated to learn the language for personal reasons. Speakers who are self-motivated to learn the ancestral tongue later in life often become committed teachers and can be important agents in revitalization efforts.

(6) Insecure or 'dormant' speakers who learned the language as children but have not been using it regularly or for an extended period of time; some use it in very limited domains and on specific occasions. These language users are typically members of communities with broken language transmission and/ or migrants with a recessive use of the heritage tongue. This broad category includes speakers who only use the language under pressure or for specific purposes (for example in commercial exchanges). We can also find second language learners who try to recover their mother tongue or, on the contrary, individuals who decided to stop using it. In general, their speech is characterized by heavy borrowing, code-mixing and code-switching. They often exhibit difficulty and insecurity in expressing themselves. Such speakers are frequently ashamed of their reduced language skills, a possible prelude to language loss if revitalization actions are not taken.

(7) 'Receptive' or 'latent' speakers whose competence is restricted to understanding the language to differing degrees. In specific communicative situations they may function

adequately with no difficulty understanding. These situations include farming or other work places, family reunions, (often religious) festivities, and the market place. Depending on the degree of contact with other more fluent speakers, this type of speaker has different degrees of comprehension of the endangered language Activating' such speakers can become an important part of revitalization efforts, helping them move from 'listeners' to 'speakers', who then may develop a high level of fluency in the language.

(8) New speakers who are already monolingual in the colonial/dominant/national language but attempt to recover their mother tongue and use it as a second or even third language. In the case of Nahuatl, this type of speaker has varying degrees of Spanish proficiency. In turn, this can have varying degrees of impact on their Nahuatl use, affecting all levels of the language (for example pronunciation, morpho-syntax). New speakers are very important, often essential, for language revitalization projects. As with other continua, this group of speakers also includes a diversity of individuals, encompassing people who are 'symbolic' speakers, that is, Spanish monolinguals with no real intention of recovering the language, who use only a few formulaic words and phrases for political reasons (for example being identified as an in-group member). Such symbolic speakers are in contrast to new speakers who are really committed to recovering their mother tongue.

Conclusions

As we have shown, language revitalization efforts take place across very broad and diverse situations and communities, and involve many types of speakers. All endangered languages and their speakers are in a permanent state of flux, existing in complex language ecologies where heterogeneity is the norm. This should be taken into account and respected; all revitalization projects must understand and deal with such complexity in order to design and develop well-informed and efficient strategies to reverse language shift. In addition to pointing out the diversity of situations, linguistic variants, speakers, proficiencies, attitudes, motivations, and goals that exist, we also want to warn against applying biological metaphors to the context of language endangerment and revitalization. Such metaphors can be harmful when we consider, for example, that in the biological sciences, revitalizing a species can be done through intervention and even genetic reconstruction. However, when working with people and their languages, we should focus on the agency of human beings as a fundamental aspect of recovering endangered languages. For this reason, when considering any revitalization project it is important to account for the cultural strategies and practices of communities and speakers, as well as the different goals and outcomes they aspire to. By comparing distinct kinds of communities and speakers, we can conceive (re)vitalization as a continuum

ranging from dormant languages to highly vital and viable language which are, nevertheless, still threatened.

Therefore, the range of possible, and often complementary, efforts made by different actors, including academics, can be envisioned as attempts aimed at (re)vitalizing, (re)covering, (re)claiming, (re)evaluating, (re)versing, (re)creating, (re)activating endangered languages. The many scenarios and kinds of 'communities' and 'speakers' we have outlined in this chapter can hopefully serve as useful starting points for developing additional recommendations and points of reflection for future revitalization projects, focused on good practices and sensitivity toward local diversity. One of several possible practical goals could be, for example, to engage with many different kinds of speakers in joint and collaborative revitalization efforts, creating a sense of 'community' by reestablishing and strengthening language bonds and identities between different generations and diverse types of speakers.

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6.1. Types of communities - Wilamowice

Wymysoü/ Wilamowice was founded in the thirteenth century by Western colonists of Germanic origin. It was a small village, then in 1818 it became a town with around 2000 inhabitants. The number of people in Wilamowice did not increase as rapidly as in the surrounding villages because of a relatively large amount of students, who studied in other cities and then remained there. Many of them were Catholic priests, so they were sent to parishes far from their hometown. Moreover, Vilamovian merchants used to travel all over Europe and stay in big cities, where they had their beneficial interests. The biggest colony of Vilamovians was in Vienna, where there were a couple of hundred people, and in Cracow, where there were about a hundred people.

The Wymysorys language has never been spoken outside Wilamowice and the two colonies of Vienna and Cracow. Today in Vienna there are some people who speak Wymysorys, but those in Cracow were Polonised. The community of Wymysoü before World War II was complex: there were five social strata: intelligentsia, big farmers, merchants, small farmers and servants. In the nineteenth century there were also weavers, who used to have their own sociolect. Marrying people outside of Wilamowice or even outside of one's own social stratum was not favored, but merchants used to marry Jews and people from Vienna. Servants were often Poles and Germans from surrounding villages, and they married the Vilamovian servants. There were also strong Jewish and Roma communities.

The occupation of Poland by the Nazis and the following time under communism destroyed this multiculturalism. Jews and Roma were murdered in concentration camps or escaped the Holocaust. After World War II, the Vilamovians were sent to labour camps in Russia and Poland. The Polish communist authorities issued a decree forbidding people from speaking Wymysorys and wearing Vilamovian folk dress. They also expelled the Vilamovians from their houses for 13 years. At that time their Polish neighbors developed highly negative attitudes toward Vilamovians. The oldest generation remained Wymysorys, but the younger one used to inform their children that they should be Poles, and not reveal their Wymysorys identity. Many people married Poles because this provided protection against persecution. This was also a response to negative ideologies, which said that Vilamovians should mix their blood because, due to their previous endogamy, they were mentally handicapped. Even Vilamovians said that it would be better if their language and identity would die.

But in the beginning of the twenty first century the young generation "woke up" and started discovering the past of their parents and grandparents and developing their own identity. As a result, the language and other elements of Vilamovian culture started

to become present in the public life again. Now, they are plenty of Wymysorys/Vilamovian identities, people feel Vilamovian and Polish, Vilamovian and Austrian or just Vilamovian. Some people say that the young people do a great job. But many local activists and politicians say it is dangerous to bring the old Vilamovian identity back - an identity that is not Polish. They do not understand that the young generation doesn't copy the old standards. The young Vilamovian create their own identity, they select parts of the old Vilamovian culture and take inspiration from other cultures – thanks to the visits to such places as Nahua communities in Tlaxcala and the Isle of Man. They build a new Wymysorys identity, which is not the same as the one at the beginning of twentieth century. And they have a right to do it, even if they work against Polish nationalist mainstream, or even against the standards held by the older generations.

6.2. The Yanesha ethnic group & language

Yanesha language revitalization is aimed at indigenous students located in rural areas who are part of the bilingual education program. It aims to strengthen the cultural identity of students and revitalize the Yanesha language so that they develop communicative compentence in both languages. It takes place on the explicit request of the community and school.

Among the Yanesha population overall, the level of education is low. School education plays an important role in the formation and running of communities. There is a formal system of education at primary level in all Yanesha communities, but secondary only in some. Bilingual education is provided at primary level in Yanesha communities according to Law 27818, the "General Law on Intercultural Bilingual Education". Even so, in these communities knowledge of the Yanesha language only reaches 40.9%, a very alarming index regarding the conservation of the Yanesha language as a culture of knowledge. At the end of primary school, some students continue their secondary education in the schools closest to their community or sector.

At present an increase in migration and urbanization tend to lead to the disappearance of traditional ways of living, and to great pressure to speak the dominant language which is necessary - or perceived as such - in order to fully participate in society and progress economically.

The school system which currently predominates is "unidocencia", whereby one teacher is responsible for all grades. This teacher is supposed to teach both in Spanish and Yanesha. As a consequence, both teaching quality and teaching time are limited. Our cultural identity is becoming extinct in the face of factors such as: a lack of training in intercultural methodology amongst teachers, a lack of competence in the Yanesha language (regarding both writing and reading) among the bilingual teachers, and a lack of training programs in intercultural bilingual education for the Yanesha.

Preventing languages from becoming extinct, on the other hand, means preserving the family unit through the continuity of traditions, legends and myths that are passed from generation to generation. It means combatting the phenomenon of children dropping out of school, implementing bilingual education programs so that indigenous youth can develop their oral and written skills both in their native language and in Spanish, and thus access higher levels of education. It means disseminating regional and local stories so that people know them and feel proud of who they are, strengthening their self-esteem. When

people have self-esteem, their personal relationships tend to be healthy and balanced, and they can contribute to the building of a fairer society.

6.3. An introspective analysis of one year of revitalization activities. The Greko community of practice

Greko is a critically endangered language of Greek origin, spoken in southern Calabria (Italy). Today, there are very few hundreds speakers, mostly aged above 70s. In this capsule, I shall briefly describe a series of actions recently taken towards its revitalization which favoured the constitution of a community of practice.

The first attempts to revitalise Greko began in the 1960s, when a group of mostly young people started to actively campaign for the safeguarding of this language and its culture. Since then, many associations have been founded, and very many cultural activities and local/regional programmes have been implemented with great opportunities for local development. All this has brought about a very significant change in the attitude of the community towards its own language which moved from being hidden and despised to being a source of pride. However, associations have not been able to secure the intergenerational transmission of Greko at home, resulting in a continuous decrease in the number of speakers. Furthermore, in the last 10-15 years, there have also been a progressive reduction of the activities in support of the language.

For this reason, four years ago I launched a new summer school "To Ddomadi Greko – the Greko week" thanks to the support of the old but still-active association Jalò tu Vua. In my idea the Ddomadi Greko had to be a one-week injection of language, enthusiasm, and stimuli to shake up once again the interest of the community for Greko and to draw attention to its critically endangered status. My ambition was to (re-)create a strong connection between local people, especially young ones, and their heritage language, making them discover the richness of their own native place. For this reason, the school included four hours of language teaching every day, a one-hour cultural seminar and one afternoon excursion. The result was extremely positive, to the extent that last year, I gathered together a group of young participants, potentially interested in engaging with language revitalization.

The first thing I proposed was a WhatsApp chat to practice Greko every day, favouring particularly the use of voice messages. Whoever joined the group had to use the Greko words that knew even inserting them in an Italian phrase, and if there was a mistake, someone had to correct it and give a grammatical explanation for it. A very useful tool which enormously facilitated texting in Greko was Grekopedia, the smartphone application with an Italian-Greko Greko-Italian dictionary, that my father and I had launched a year before. To avoid, however, the creation of a dead chat, I suggested undertaking several tasks, the first of which was the setting up of the Facebook page "To

Ddomadi Greko" (following the success of the Nawat case – see W. Hernandez), which would cover grammatical topics, traditional songs, stories, memes, and gifs in Greko.[14]

As trivial as it might seem, this process immediately got great results since it gave big visibility to the group, encouraging other people to join in, including Calabrian emigrants and foreigners. Most importantly, however, the management of the page required the group members to practice Greko every day to find/create Greko material to post and, crucially, to communicate with the rest of the group. This continuous exchange enormously accelerated their learning process, and fostered great collaboration within the group. Tandem activities too, even carried out on Skype for those living outside of Calabria, facilitated team building, a crucial and sensitive part in a revitalization programme. To this end, we also used theatre, being a key tool to quickly improve language skills, and a great space for teamwork. The most important result were not the activities per se but the fact that the management and supervision behind them was fully carried out in Greko among people living in different parts of Italy/Europe. In less than a year, therefore, we managed to build up a community of practice whose main goal was the revitalization of Greko.[15] Crucially, all this was actively supported by many old Greko speakers who constantly joined us in any event. The collaboration between a new young community with an old restored community of speakers was our strength as it fostered the creation of strong affective bonds among the young members of the group and across generations and this became the driving force of our work. This has had a huge impact in terms of language learning, since the members of the group have progressively stopped learning new words and grammatical rules from books as they began learning them by transmission, by living the language in this new kind of community.

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[14] Before publishing something the students have to upload everything on a Dropbox folder so that I can check for grammar mistakes.

[15] I soon realised that we also had to give Greko an economic value, to make all our efforts sustainable over time. For this reason, we launched the crowdfunding campaign "If you speak me, I live - adopt Greko", in order to secure funds for revitalisers to teach and work for the language and to do so by remaining in Calabria, which is per se a big challenge, Calabria being the poorest region in Italy. At present, establishing a link between people's knowledge of Greko and job opportunities in Calabria is our top priority as it might bring to substantial changes in the long run.

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6.4. What is community? Perspectives from the Mixtec diaspora in California

If we define "community" broadly as a group of people who share certain linguistic, cultural and/or social practices, then the notion of community is fluid and dynamic, and the relationship between people and communities may be many to many. In language documentation and revitalization, community has traditionally referred to a village or set of villages that share a common language or set of language varieties. However, especially in the digital age, even this narrower notion of community is not bound to physical topography, and in the post-colonial age, communities may find themselves physically dispersed over distant and non-contiguous spaces and modalities. Here we briefly consider the notion of community in the context of the Mixtec diaspora in California, which may serve as an example or point of comparison for other diasporic communities around the world.

Traditional Mixtec communities in Mexico are many, and they are situated across large areas of western Oaxaca and eastern Guerrero states, and in a few adjacent communities in southern Puebla. The political, social, economic, and environmental fallout of exploitative colonialism and neoliberalism precipitated large-scale emigration of Mixtec and other Indigenous peoples to other parts of Mexico in the 1930s, and immigration of Indigenous peoples from southern Mexico into the United States increased during the U.S. Bracero Program of the 1940s to 1960s and increased even more in the 1980s. In California, large and diverse Indigenous populations have settled in and around San Diego, Los Angeles, Ventura County, Santa Maria, Salinas, Fresno-Madera, and other locales. The settlement of large numbers of Indigenous immigrants from Mesoamerica has led to the emergence of a new, diffuse, and multi-ethnic community that Michael Kearney coined *Oaxacalifornia*.

Indigenous workers are now an integral part of California's enormous agricultural economy. However, inequality and discrimination often migrate along with the people that suffer them; Indigenous immigrants are on the one hand marginalized as immigrants, and then further marginalized and discriminated against within the immigrant labor force for being Indigenous. They are largely invisible to U.S. public institutions, being lumped into "Mexican" or "Latino" groups with whom they do not identify, and they lack adequate linguistic and cultural access in medical, educational, legal, and labor domains. Indigenous language varieties are falling out of use due to shift to Spanish in many origin communities in Mexico, and language shift is equally or even more accelerated in the diaspora. Many youth and children that do speak their native languages choose to

abandon them because of bullying and discrimination by their peers and due to the society's lack of recognition of their language and culture. The result is that youth have been uprooted and disconnected from communicating in their languages, which threatens the linguistic and cultural continuity of their communities.

In response to the economic and social challenges and discrimination that they face, Indigenous immigrants have created binational organizations for leveraging collective efforts and resources, such as the Frente Indígena de Organizaciones Binacionales (FIOB) and the Centro Binacional para el Desarrollo Indígena Oaxaqueño (CBDIO), as well as local social activism organizations such as the Mixteco/Indígena Community Organizing Project (MICOP) in Ventura County. Even though ethnic and community identities in Oaxaca and Guerrero traditionally center around municipalities—which often enjoy a degree of political autonomy (*Usos y Costumbres*)—larger, collective Pan-Mixtec, Pan-Zapotec, Oaxacan, and Indigenous ethnic identities have crystallized in the diaspora.

Ventura County is now home to as many as 20,000 Indigenous people, most of whom are Mixtec, but significant numbers of Zapotec, Otomí, Triqui, Mèphàà, and Purépecha people are also present. At least 15 Mixtec varieties are spoken in the community, with varying degrees of mutual intelligibility between them. Each individual person has their own unique linguistic profile with varying degrees of familiarity or fluency in their indigenous language, other Indigenous language varieties that they are exposed to, English, and Spanish, and these profiles are shaped by the amount of time they have lived in the county, their social networks, the work they do, and their personal interests. Most folks identify with a "hometown" community in Mexico, but for many, the community they know and experience most is the multi-lingual, multivarietal, and multi-ethnic Indigenous community of Ventura County. Only by broadening the notion of community and acknowledging that people may belong to multiple communities can the linguistic and social needs of communities be understood and addressed.

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Chapter 7

Relation of language attitudes and language ideologies to potential language revitalization

Introduction

*Many language revitalization projects are started with common sense notions of why the language in question needs preserving. While it is true that you can be fully Irish and not know a word of Irish Gaelic, or be Jewish and not speak either Hebrew, Yiddish or Ladino, it is still the case that **language** is central to being human, and to have a language used only with certain other people is a powerful tool for connections and a sense of community. Few would deny, for example, that Jews who still speak Yiddish in the home are a more tightly knit community, less assimilated into the life of the majority community and less at odds with questions about Jewish identity, than Jews who speak only English or French or Russian.*

Secondly, languages are scientifically interesting even if they don't refer to cultural traits. They offer variety equivalent to the diversity of the world's fauna and flora, and many other categories besides. For example, a New Guinean language, Yeli Dnye, has 11 different ways to say "on" depending on whether something is horizontal, vertical, on a point, scattered, attached and more. As with any other feature of the natural world, such variety tests and expands our sense of the possible, of what is "normal", and adds to the speaker's critical thinking skills.

While there are many reasons which we might initially think of for preserving a language, as detailed in earlier chapters of this volume, there are many underlying assumptions that people might have for revitalizing a language which might go unexpressed. These are generally known as language ideologies, discussed in the present chapter. These ideologies can often be expressed in the form of language attitudes and below we show how these attitudes can affect attempts to save an endangered language. Indeed, it is difficult to plan any positive language revitalization without changing people's attitudes to minority languages (people must actually *desire* to use a language if it is to be thoroughly revitalized). These attitudes are strongly related to language ideologies, understood here as 'a set of views, beliefs, and values that influence the way an individual or group view and interpret the word surrounding them'.

One of the most important tasks, then, for any language revitalizer, is to listen to the attitudes expressed in the community towards the endangered language, and to then try and work what motivation ('ideology') is behind the attitude. Only then can potentially successful language revitalization take place. Moreover, it is very important that attitudes in the majority language community are taken into account as well, and countering some of the negative impressions, which non-minority-language speakers might have, is an equally important task for language planners. Majority, consensus views affect minority language speakers as much as the views which are prevalent within the minority language community, since they can trickle down into the community and prove discouraging for actual and potential speakers. In this chapter, we explore some of the more prevalent ideologies and attitudes to be found in many minority language communities, with the aim of bringing them into the awareness of language planners and minority language activists, and helping them in the task of revitalizing their local endangered language.

Language ideologies

Pick up any text book concerned with minority language sociolinguistics or start reading an article which discusses the situation of any given minority language anywhere in the world and, in all likelihood, it will not be long before the concept of 'language ideology' is encountered. Therefore, we start this chapter with a consideration of the term 'ideology' as it relates to language and, in particular, to minority languages. There have been many attempts to define what a language ideology is (some of them quite complex) and which can be quite confusing for activists engaged in revitalizing an endangered language. At the opposite end of the scale, however, some writers have used the term without any careful consideration of what they actually mean when they say 'ideology', sometimes using it as an alternative for 'attitude'. We consider that there is a significant distinction between the two terms and that for minority language activists working on preserving their languages for the future, an understanding of the difference is very important in helping them plan their revitalization strategies.

For our purposes here, we understand language ideologies as those beliefs, feelings and conceptions about language that are socially shared and which attempt to make sense of different forms of language (for example, dialects in relation to a standard language, minority languages in relation to majority languages, youth speak in relation to older generations' way of talking, etc.) and what place these different forms have in a given society. Most importantly, ideologies of language represent assumptions about particular linguistic forms say about the speaker who is using them. We can attribute certain social values to a speaker who uses one language in preference to another, one who uses slang or swear words regularly, or who speaks with a particular accent. In this sense, language

ideologies are closely connected to language stereotypes, where languages (and their speakers) can be attributed as having certain characteristics, even when these characteristics cannot be objectively demonstrated. For example, claiming that language A sounds more beautiful than language B, or that someone 'hates' the sound of a particular language, are both claims rooted in language ideology, and which can emerge through voiced or written statements which we call language attitudes. See below for the difference between language ideologies and attitudes.

This idea is best demonstrated by considering an often mentioned language ideology that can be found in many societies, namely the so-called "**standard language ideology**." The standard language ideology refers to the belief that a particular form of language (usually the variety that has its origins in the speech of the most powerful group in society) is superior in some way to other ways of speaking the language. This standard variety of a language is often based on written forms, which have been unified in some way, and which is often acquired after many years of formal education. Even though this variety may be actually spoken by only a minority within a given population, the vast majority of speakers of the language recognize it as somehow 'superior' and 'prestigious' in a number of ways. Even if many of the European national languages have been standardised only recently (e.g. Finnish or Czech languages), they gain the status of the language that should be used and protected by the state. Ability in this standard language justifies the privileged positions of its speakers in society, and lack of ability in it or familiarity with it often means that non-speakers/users of it are excluded from such positions. Thus, standard language ideology can make it seem fair and equitable — both to those who benefit from it and to those who are disadvantaged by it.

Differences between ideologies and attitudes

It can thus be seen that ideologies operate at a sub-conscious level and that people who hold a number of language ideologies may not be aware of their existence in their psychological makeup. They can become apparent in seemingly contradictory attitudes towards a given language or language variety. Language attitudes are, then, the active evaluations of particular languages and language varieties by people, expressed as opinions and beliefs and, more negatively, as prejudices against particular linguistic varieties. They influence both people's minds and specific language choices. We refer to the Irish example here. In the Republic of Ireland, the Irish language is viewed favorably by over 60% of the population, who agreed with the statement that 'without Irish, Ireland would lose its identity as a separate culture'[i]. However, according to the Irish Times, quoting 2016 census figures, the percentage of people using Irish as a daily language in

the Gaeltacht (officially designated Irish-speaking areas) has fallen by 11%, and outside of these areas (with a population of just over 90,000, or 2.1% of the total population of the Irish Republic), some 53,000 people use Irish as a daily language in the rest of the Republic (1% of the population)[ii]. Given that Irish is a compulsory subject at school, we might expect more people to be using the language for identity and cultural reasons. But it would appear that being favorably disposed to a language does not translate into actual use.   We should furthermore question the construction of the survey itself – if the questions had embraced a more complete spectrum of attitudes (including the perceived usefulness of the language, and its economic worth), then the results might have looked very different.

Common language ideologies in minority settings

Researchers working on a number of minority languages have identified a number of ideologies, which seem to be commonly held by members of a minority speech community and which can be found in a number of situations. We list the most prominent here.

The ideologies of authenticity and legitimacy link the perceived value of a language in its relationship to a particular community. To be considered authentic, a speech variety must be very much 'from somewhere' in speakers' consciousness, making its meaning particularly local. Thus, in many minority language situations, one of the markers of a good speaker in many people's eyes is the ability to use a particular dialect, or to speak using a recognizably local accent. If such markers are absent, a linguistic variety can be seen to lack value in the local community. In revitalization contexts, authenticity and the link to identity can prove to be a problem when the acquisition and use of a minority language by a larger population happens. These learners of a minority language can therefore see themselves at risk of not sounding sufficiently natural compared with native speakers. Traditional native speakers may in turn 'close rank', which functions as a form of identity control, which makes their position as 'authentic' speakers a privileged one. This statement of affairs can often lead to frustration on the part of newcomers to the language, sometimes deterring them from using it altogether.

The ideology of anonymity holds that a language is valuable as a neutral means of communication equally available to all users. This view is universalist in nature and seeks to include all members of a speech community, however they have acquired the language in question. Anonymity is the opposite of authenticity, in that membership is not evaluated by how 'local' a speaker sounds, but more on how well or how often they use

the minority language. This ideology is closely related to the ideology of standard language, in that some users of a particular minority language actively avoid using dialectal or local forms and instead use the standardized variety. In this way, the ideology of anonymity promotes a shift away from an 'authentic' or 'native speaker' identity toward a civic' identity that regards the minority language as a resource for constructing a cosmopolitan, modernized identity.

These two ideologies can clash with each other in minority language situations between different sets of speakers. For example, the spread of Irish outside traditional Irish-speaking strongholds and into spaces previously dominated by English has in many ways complicated the traditional ideology about authenticity. While the ideology of authenticity is seen to identify traditional native speakers as the 'owners' of the language, this ownership can be rejected by newcomers to the language outside of traditional heartland areas who perceived Irish as a symbol of a newly constructed national identity. Thus, when Irish was being revitalized in the early years of the state, language planners gave those remaining traditional native speech communities a high prestige status based on their perceived authenticity. The result was the native Irish speaker was considered the 'ideal' user of the 'purest' form of language and this has remained a deeply rooted language ideology.

Since traditional, native speakers, very often from very rural areas and whose language reflected a rural background (highly localized dialect forms, very developed vocabulary in the traditional occupations of the west of Ireland [fishing, farming]) were put forward as the ideal speakers to be imitated and emulated, the rise of a more conventionally educated, urban set of speakers, following a more modern lifestyle in places such as Dublin, Galway, Cork, etc., caused a series of tensions to appear.

Very often connected to the concept of authenticity is a related sense of **ownership** of the language**.** Thus, in the view of some people, a language is 'owned' by its native speakers. This means that their instincts and intuitions regarding the 'correct' forms of language are seen as authoritative. They have the final say on what constitutes 'good' language, a 'good' accent, etc.

While the ideology of authenticity could be seen to position traditional native speakers of many minority languages as the 'owners' of the language, language learners and enthusiasts contest this ownership on the grounds that they too have a 'right' to the language. Traditional areas where the language is spoken can be perceived as the repository for the language and provides them with a means of experiencing it in its

'natural' environment, to provide them with an authentic language-learning experience and to become 'real' speakers. However, this commodification of the language creates tensions between those who were seen to produce the commodity and those who wished to consume it.

Language ideologies based on authenticity can also relate to the perceived usefulness of a language. For a language to be perceived as authentically useful, very often it needs to have a pervasive presence in society – it needs to be seen and heard everywhere – and in that sense normalized. A normalized (majority) language is seen as the common sense, default option in day-to-day and official interactions. In a sense, it is the common property of all community members, including those members who also speak another, minority language. The normalized language thus comes to be seen as the most appropriate, the most useful means of communication in a given society. Thus transgressing community norms by using a minority language in public can be challenged by non-speakers, who see such behavior as 'rude' or inappropriate. These ideologies can filter through to the minority community as well, and can be subconsciously adopted by minority language speakers, who then choose to use the language privately, out of the public domain. In Brittany, it has been noted that older Breton speakers, out shopping in the supermarket, and talking Breton quietly to each other, will switch to French when a stranger walks past them, switching back to Breton once they are out of earshot.

The challenge for many minority language activists is to deal with these ideologies and work with speakers to help them overcome these ideological barriers. If these psychological issues go unchallenged and unexplored, the problem is that they can add to the pressure on minority language speakers to switch to the majority language in all situations, including intergenerational transmission to the younger generations. A sense of shame develops, which is often accompanied by a feeling of uselessness as far as the minority language is concerned. The majority language thereafter comes to be seen as the language of advancement and betterment, the way to secure a better job and the language to raise children in. Linking minority language use with a sense of purpose, a sense of pride and above all, as an essential identity factor are the keys to securing a future for the endangered language. Furthermore, and perhaps just as importantly, the awareness of the majority community needs to be activated and raised with regard to the minority language and to somehow enlist majority language members as allies of sorts in the preservation of and expansion in the domains of use of the minority language. There is no magic formula which can be applied universally in all minority language situations and one of the main tasks of activists and concerned speakers in the minority language

communities is to work out just exactly how to do this, given local conditions and local language ideologies.

Language attitudes

Language attitudes are opinions, ideas, and prejudices that people have with respect to a language. They are made manifest through people's reactions to different language forms, practices and varieties expressed through words and actions. Therefore, language attitudes may be called bridges between ideologies and behaviors: they influence directly language choices and as such are the key elements of any revitalization programs. A speaker's accent, patterns, the vocabulary used, the language chosen (especially in the situation of unequal bilingualism) serve to evaluate who the speaker is, what is his/her personality, social status, even appearance. This evaluation is based on stereotypes and on language ideologies that function in a given society and are being learned from early childhood.

Everybody has beliefs and feelings about languages based on the way the society/community perceive these languages and what stereotypic image is related to them. Language attitudes touch on two dimensions of the speech community: its status (internal and external; e.g. if language speakers are perceived as educated and intelligent) and solidarity (to what extent the use of a specific code is associated with being a part of a group). Both status and solidarity dimensions may have positive or negative connotations for listeners. Language attitudes are socialized through various agents, such as teachers, peers, family, and the media. Some may think that a language which does not have a written form is not a real language; others may relate a specific accent to an uneducated person; certain may feel shame when using their language in a public place or feel attacked when other people speak a minority language in their presence; or, on the contrary, people may feel proud of their language and perceive it as more beautiful than any other; they may – as in the case of Basque claimed to be the oldest language of the world – underline the uniqueness of their language to create more positive attitudes towards it and to strengthen the collective responsibility for its future. As we can see, language attitudes are based on often covert language ideologies which have been internalized by the community and individuals and are perceived as a norm.

Language attitudes should be indentified and addressed as a core element of any language revitalization effort. When a community has strong language ideologies against their own way of speaking and therefore their beliefs and feelings about using their language in different domains are negative, reversing the language shift may be very

difficult or impossible. The positive attitudes towards minority languages may, on the other hand, give necessary impulses for language activists and community members to act against the language shift. Just like language ideologies, the language attitudes can also be changed, although this is a long and difficult process that should be planned at many different levels at the same time: speech and the dominant community, top-down language policy and language recognition. Through some examples, we will explain what language attitudes are and how it is possible to attempt to change them.

(1) negative attitudes/negative language practices (-/-):

Language attitudes evoked by the dominant society may have serious consequences for the minoritized speech community when they influence prejudice and discrimination. The most difficult to change are negative language attitudes internalized by the speech community resulting from a long-term language trauma related to a group's language discrimination–unfair and humiliating treatment of people because of the language they are using. The force of language ideologies and related language attitudes is based on the fact that they become the instrument of domination. The belief that one way of speaking is of lower prestige than the other can go very deep and, by the use of different methods (banning, media discourse, physical punishment for the language use, psychological abuse), can be instilled in people's minds so that they start to treat them as an objective truth. People linguistically discriminated against often perceive their language as rubbish and a source of shame, the reason for their own suffering and misfortune. As a consequence, they often feel compelled to abandon their own language and not to transmit it to their children, wanting for them a better life, free from humiliation and deprivation.

This is the reason for many languages' intergenerational transmission breaking down. A good example of this is represented by the Breton language in France. The language trauma there was so strong after Second World War that the number of speakers decreased from 1,100,000 at the beginning to 200,000 at the end of the 20th century. It was the result of a combination of several factors, including strong language ideologies associating Breton with the language of uneducated people and poverty ('it is shameful to use it when in public places'), language discrimination of Breton speakers on the political and social level (social exclusion and hindered access to the labor market), but also to direct persecutions of Breton speakers at school (the beating up of children, the punishment of wearing the so-called 'symbol' when being caught by the teacher when speaking Breton) and other spheres (the Breton soldiers traumatic experiences during First World War when they become cannon fodder).

This internalized language trauma may be represented by the statement: "I spoke the language X and it caused only problems. I want to forget this language and I do not want my children to use it". When language trauma resulted in language shift, the process of language revitalization must be accompanied by a cessation of discrimination, and creating positive language attitudes both in the speech community and outside of it. Often the generation of language speakers who suffered because of direct language discrimination and did not transmit the language (so, who are the last 'native' speakers of a language) would not be willing to participate in the language revitalization efforts but they should not be left behind. This situation can often be accompanied by a sense of guilt, for not having transmitted the language, and this generation can downplay or even deny that linguistic discrimination against them took place. It should be stressed that the language trauma is inherited by next generations so any community work is sensitive. Efforts to augment language prestige should be linked to top-down language policy, recognition of the language as well as with bottom-up activities showing people that their language is in no way worse than the official one. Language ideologies and related language attitudes should also be deconstructed in order to make people aware that they are only social constructs created to deprive them and not the reality.

(2) Negative attitudes/positive practices (-/+)

Negative language attitudes and language discrimination based on various language ideologies may lead to different behaviors of the speech community which may be understood as the adaptation strategies of a community and individuals. These strategies include also identity and language choice. In many cases, as the way of accommodating to the dominant society and avoiding discrimination, people abandon their language and choose the dominant one in order not to be disadvantaged on the social, cultural and political levels. However, social and linguistic inequalities may lead to people's resistance against humiliation and deprivation of the right to use their language. This may be illustrated by the attitude: "My language is oppressed so I have to do my best to protect it".

The motivation for endangered language activists is often due to a feeling of a threat (to their community, language, freedom), grievances, rejection of discrimination, and persecuting people who are disadvantaged. Language activists take on responsibility for the language and the future of the speech community and undertake different activities aimed at maintaining the language. An important part of these activities is to change those negative language attitudes already internalized by many community members. This happens at different levels: discursive (describing this language as equal to the dominant one and which can be used in any situation), behavioral (actual use of an endangered language in the public spheres where its use was for a time forbidden or perceived as

inappropriate), militant (undertaking different kinds of direct and indirect actions of social disobedience in favor of a language), and political (demanding language recognition and respecting people's rights to use it). These activities may be undertaken both at the public and the private level and act as personal 'testimonies' of those people for whom the language is of great value and who want it to be saved. Through all these activities, and by reversing the negative image of a language, it gradually becomes also possible to change language attitudes.

(3) Positive attitudes/negative practices or absence of practices (+/-)

Changing the language attitudes of a speech community is a multi-layer process and does not necessarily lead directly to reversing language shift. In other words, sometimes negative language ideologies are so deeply internalized that even when erased on the conscious level, they still resonate in the actual language practices of people. This attitude may be represented by the statement: "I support language revitalization but I will not learn this language/I will not send my child to the bilingual school". Such behavior may have negative consequences for revitalization efforts.

To illustrate this process, let us take an example of the Kashubian language in Poland. This language belongs to the same language family as the Polish language and therefore (and for political reasons) was treated as a 'dialect' of the Polish language (-> language ideology). Its prestige was low: it was not recognized by the state and its speakers were associated with rural life, a lack of education and job opportunities. Moreover, after the Second World War, Kashubian speakers suffered language discrimination and many of them had traumatic experiences at school with regard to their language. Although efforts to maintain the Kashubian language started two decades ago and it is now recognized as the regional language of Poland, the negative attitudes and ideologies still influence people's language practices. For many years and until today, there has been no social acceptance for establishing schools with Kashubian as the language of instruction, the argument being that those children would have language problems in the future life. Gradually, with numerous efforts undertaken at different levels and thanks to language activists who gradually break down further Kashubian speakers' mental barriers, the effects of language trauma and language ideologies are being eliminated.

(4) Positive language attitudes/positive language practices (+/+)

The speech community may also have positive attitudes towards their language and states that their language should be protected and practiced by people in all possible domains and places. In the context of minoritized languages, these positive attitudes may result from resistance to negative ideologies ("I am prevented from speaking my language but I do it anyway because I want it to survive"), strong positive ideologies related to this

language ("I speak my language and I am proud of doing so") or undertaken previously revitalization efforts. This can be expressed by the sentence, "I have learned the language of my community and I speak it to my partner and children". When there are numerous people with such language ideologies, there is hope for the future of a language. First of all, we are dealing here with a person who did not get the language in conventional family transmission but needed to learn it (at school, on special courses, through contacts with a speech community). Moreover, this person has enough motivation to use this language and to make it the language of everyday life. And thirdly, she/he has decided to make it a language of her/his family despite its minor status and probably lower position on the language market.

Paraphrasing François Grin, we can say that for a minoritized language to be revitalized, three conditions must be met: people must be capable of using it (to know the language from the home and/or have access to minority language education), have the opportunity of speaking it (the use of this language in both private and public life is permitted and supported), and they must have the desire to use it, all of which lead to positive attitudes towards the language. To be able to achieve this, there is the necessity of a strong language policy: the possibility of learning the language, the existence of a language infrastructure, with schools, support for families who want to bring up their children in the minority language, creating job opportunities to increase people's motivation to learn it and to use it, and other types of top-down language support. Also, the role of media must not be underestimated. Both the language and the speech community must have a wider positive image. It is also important, especially for the younger generation, that the use of a language is not uniquely linked with the past and tradition, but also with what is perceived as 'modern' and 'cool'. Therefore, for people to have positive attitudes toward a language, it should be used in all domains of their daily life: from the family domain, through school and work, to social media.

(5) Positive attitudes for multilingualism

When planning language revitalization, once the intergenerational transmission of the language has been interrupted or broken, it is important to take into consideration not only the language attitudes of language active speakers. A contemporary minority language community includes native-speakers who use it or not, people who have learned the language of the minority and practice it, and those who are indifferent or have negative attitudes towards it. Moreover, those who may be considered as members of the speech community are surrounded by and/or mix with those who do not identify themselves with any particular group, but may be interested in learning and using the language. The 'speech community' may therefore also include 'potential speakers', who should also be targeted by revitalization activities.

Therefore, enforcing positive attitudes towards multilingualism becomes one of the aims of revitalization efforts allowing new speakers of an endangered language to become part of the community. In this regard, an education system, which is open to both native and non-native speakers, can play an important role. There should be a place where children can learn a language, preferably also to learn through the medium of this language. The latter is important also for changing language ideologies which claim that it is not possible to express everything in the minority language or that learning in this language causes harm to children. Moreover, these educational settings should be of the best quality in order to encourage parents to send their children there. One of the possible ideas is to provide teaching in three languages: minority, dominant/state and English as today's lingua franca. Another factor is based on promoting (through institutions, social media, associations) the consciousness of benefits from multilingualism, which include: the child with at least two languages has higher language skills; it is easier for him/her to solve problems; to distinguish meaning from form; to listen and remember; multilinguals learn any additional language faster; multilingualism raises cognitive abilities and creativity; therefore, the child's chances increase of obtaining a better job in the future and to cooperate effectively with other people. These arguments based on more intellectual than emotional (identity-based) advantages of learning a minority language may help to get more new speakers and to convince parents from the speech community that is it good for their children to learn and to use their heritage language.

Conclusion

Language ideologies which operate at a sub-conscious level express themselves in peoples' attitudes, opinions and beliefs towards a given language or language variety. Both language ideologies and language attitudes are fundamental because they affect any revitalization process. Therefore, the first step when planning new revitalization strategies should be based on examining the existing language ideologies and language attitudes in a given society or community. Without this knowledge, some community efforts could fail. Recognizing language ideologies, such as the ideology of the standard language, of authenticity, and ownership gives revitalizers the necessary foundations to overcome them. The same concerns language attitudes. There is a need to understand the attitudes towards the minority language of both minority speech community members and neighbors.

Changing language ideologies (whose power lies in the fact that they are innocuously and deeply imprinted in people's brains) is a long-term process. The best method to do so is to make people aware of their provenience and how they function.

The anthropologist Kathryn Woolard has dissected the term 'ideology' into four strands: 1) ideology as mental phenomena - the domain of the ideational and conceptual; 2) ideology as the foundation of metapragmatics (the discourse of the effects and conditions of language use); 3) ideology as linked to positions of power through discursive practices—the struggle to acquire or maintain power; and 4) ideology as distortion, maintaining the relations of power by disguising or legitimating those relations. We offer some practical ways for language revitalizers to explore these four strands below.

Formal and informal education can be helpful here. One of the primary goals of any revitalization program is to activate speakerhood and to produce more speakers of an endangered language, and a part of the curriculum should consist on familiarizing people with the fact that language ideologies are socially constructed and that they can be changed. Informal education also plays vital role in producing positive attitudes towards the language and therefore in motivating people to use it. Creating different events and activities where people who are learning a language and its speakers may meet and participate together, actively encouraging them to use an endangered language even if it is difficult for them, contribute to building a common language identity of speakers and consequently to create positive attitudes towards the language.

Media and their power to transmit a positive image of an endangered language, of the speech community and the speakers (both native and new) play also an essential role in strengthening people's positive attitudes toward the language. The fact itself that a language otherwise considered 'not useful' or 'backwards' is present in digital media, exists in computer games and can be learned online, can make (young) people perceive it as attractive and modern. The other role of media is to create a positive image of the speech community and thus to minimalize the effects of a negative identity of minority culture members and their reluctance to use the language in public life. When a speech community's image transmitted to the world presents this community as full of life, new ideas and resistance, this may also contribute to changing language ideologies and attitudes and therefore also language practices.

To change language ideologies and attitudes, it is also helpful to strengthen the presence of the endangered language in the linguistic landscape. Bilingual inscriptions are the signs of a collective identity of a people and a place, as well as of the equality of an endangered language with a dominant one. Their presence in the written form augments this language prestige, and highlights the significance of a minority thus breaking the symbolic domination of the dominant group. Numerous studies on "linguistic landscaping" have demonstrated how minority language spaces are symbolically defined by using the medium of writing, particularly on certain privileged sign carriers such as street signs,

billboards, signs in public buildings, etc. Furthermore, we should keep in mind that some languages have much more of an oral presence, and that they are more likely to be heard rather than seen in written form. The use of media to claim a geographical space linguistically also extends to its "soundscape" (e.g. public announcements in train stations and airports), the availability of of radio and TV in the minority language, etc. These are important considerations when engaging in language revitalization planning.

To conclude, when speakers' and community members' language ideologies and attitudes are negative, this could jeopardize revitalization efforts. In order to prevent this, a community should identify existing ideologies and their basis, as well as defining community and individuals' language attitudes. They should establish programs to diminish the resonance of language ideologies (through, for example, community campaigns and activities) and reinforce positive language attitudes with the use of social movements, cultural animation, language policy in favor of endangered languages, their presence in the language landscape, and last but not least, formal and informal education.

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7.1. Nahuatl language ideology and attitudes

Today Nahuatl is still spoken in several Mexican states in both rural and urbanized (much less frequently) settings. The Mexican National Institute of Statistics and Geography (INEGI) reported in 2010 an official population of as many as 1,544,968 native speakers of the language. None the less, in most of Nahua communities intergenerational language transmission has been drastically weakened or has broken down entirely over the last few decades. This was accelerated, and—in many cases directly provoked—by pervasive ideology of racism and school policies. While Indigenous children were subject to many forms of violence and discrimination at school, the negative ideology was internalized by community members. Today such community-driven racist attitudes are remembered by formerly monolingual children raised in 1980s, such as a community member from Tlaxcalancingo in Puebla raised in Nahuatl by his mother. It took him a long time to learn the dominant tongue well and he was an object of prolonged mockery and humiliation by his peers: "Everybody was saying that it sounded funny or that I made them laugh. [I only knew how to say] 'Good bye' and 'give me the permission to go to the toilet.' All my friends with whom we studied together, were laughing [at me]. I was taking a long time to learn well [Spanish]. They were insulting me, mocking me, [saying] I was an *indio*, stinker, that [I] bathe myself in a steam bath, that I carry a spittle of cactus and saying other things (2014)."

The heritage language is seen as the most visible sign of the previous, 'uncivilized' state of existence, associated with backwardness, positioning *indios* as the lowest, disadvantaged and retarded social group. As remarked by one of the few remaining elderly speakers in the community of San Pedro Tlalcuapan in Tlaxcala: "Because they are ashamed, they do not want [to speak], they tell as we are *indios*, one who speaks Nahuatl is an *indio*" (2017). When Nahua people from more isolated (especially mountainous) communities come to nearby urban centers to sell their goods to earn a basic living or when native children commute to regional schools, they often experience abuse and discrimination. Language and way of dressing are perhaps the most frequent identification markers, so they take efforts to hide their ethnic attributes in order to avoid mistreatment. This discrimination affects members of marginalized Nahua-speaking communities by residents of more 'modernized' Nahua towns. According to the testimony of a woman coming from a little village in the Sierra Norte de Puebla, who married into a central Tlaxcalan community and has been living there for twenty years, she was mocked and discriminated against because of her origin even by members of her new family who

are themselves the speakers of Nahuatl.

As expressed by a community member from the Contla region in Tlaxcala, people feel 'denigrated' and 'ashamed' to speak Nahuatl, while scarce conversations in this language are limited to the themes of agriculture and communication with workers who often come from more mountainous communities: "We barely communicate in Nahuatl. We speak Nahuatl very rarely with my wife and kids. Sometimes we speak Nahuatl when we talk about farming and the field, when we talk with the workers. We can have a conversation with the people we meet [on the street] if they do not feel ashamed, but there are people who feel very ashamed. One denigrates himself for speaking Nahuatl. Sometimes we speak Nahuatl with the people from the *sierra* (mountainous regions) who speak Nahuatl, but when it is just us here, well, we don't.[16]

Thus, members of native communities situate Nahuatl at the very bottom of the language hierarchy. Spanish is in the middle as a national language and that of the dominant 'modern' society. Most recently, English takes the place at the very top as a symbol of upward social mobility and opportunities. It is associated with technology, business, young age and popular culture. For community members with high rates of migration to the US, it is also the language of remote opportunities and a symbol of a better life. Spanish, in turn, is linked to all basic dimensions of social life, as the unique language of education, politics, work, legal and public services. When compared with these two languages, Nahuatl's unique domains include household, family and agriculture as a lower-status tongue of *campesinos* (peasants). These attitudes are closely linked to deep negation of reasons of language shift, especially in the generation of speakers who decided not to speak Nahuatl to their children. Community members remain largely silent about the reasons and circumstances of what occurred. Some spoke some Nahuatl to their children or speak it occasionally to the grandchildren, but they say the failure is on the side of children and grandchildren who refuse to speak the heritage language. Some elder speakers deny anything really happened: they declare there was no pressure or discrimination, just everybody in the neighborhood started to speak Spanish. This erasure of recent and painful experiences fits well into a widely shared image of modernization and peaceful transition for a 'better status'.

Children who acquire their heritage tongue at home, usually learn at school and/or

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[16]. Interview recorded by Aleksandra Bergier in San Miguel Xaltipan, Contla, Tlaxcala. See: Bergier and Olko 2016.

in the community it has no value. They often choose to pursue a path for achieving a higher social position than their parents by learning English. Most of them will never go back to speaking the mother tongue. But exceptions and new role models are possible. These are the words of a young and successful engineer from a Nahuatl-speaking family in San Miguel Tenango, Puebla, who, decided to invest in his skills in Nahuatl and started to promote in his home community among the younger generation:

"And at school they say that if you want to find a good job, teach yourself to speak English. So I started studying English. When I started, I said to myself one day, "This English is indeed difficult." Then I said to myself, "So I am learning to speak English, and what about Nahuatl? I also know how to say [something], and I only do not know how to write it. I do not know how to write it, but I know how it sounds." And I said. "So, if I have studied to speak English, I should also teach myself to speak, to write and to speak my language well." (San Miguel Tenango, Zacatlan, Puebla, 2015)

7.2. Change of attitudes in Wilamowice

Wilamowice is a small town located in southern Poland. It was established by settlers from western Europe at the turn of thirteenth and fourteenth century. Until the end of World War II most of inhabitants of the town used *Wymysiöeryś.* It is a language which emerged at the basis of the one(s?) used by colonists, but also was influenced by contact with Slavic environment.

There are numerous historical sources from medieval and modern age describing Wilamowice. We know exactly equipment of the church there, names of owners of the place, its priests or even many ordinary citizens. We can sympathize with a local youth who unintentionally shoot himself in 1677; get angry at a nobleman, who stole fish from ponds a few decades earlier or admire enterprise of local merchants and weavers. There is however virtually no information concerning Wymysiöeryś older than nineteenth century even though the place constituted a Germanic-speaking enclave in Slavic-populated territory!

An explanation of this situation, striking from today's perspective is the fact that for the most of human history multilingualism was a norm. People divided themselves according to religion or social status rather than at the basis of languages or nations (which except aristocracy didn't attract many attention). The situation changed at the turn of eighteenth and nineteenth century. Ideas of German romantic philosophers opposing a dominance of classical (but also French) patterns in culture and exhorting to research of folklore, in which 'a spirit of nation" was supposed to be hidden gained a popularity among European intellectuals. A nation started to be imagined as a historically embedded community of a certain culture, for which a language is a distinctive feature that forms its character. It is thus not a coincidence that in the first half of nineteenth century Wilamowice were 'discovered' by scientists, travelers or seekers of antiquity. They were all seduced by the speech "snatched from the Middle Ages and frozen in time" and "retained much of its harsh gothicness".

Introduction of compulsory education was one of factors spreading ideology identifying language with nation and state across European societies. As a consequence, at the beginning of twentieth century multi-ethnic empires gave way to nation states. One could suppose that as a consequence Wilamowice, with its own distinct language, should be isolated. Actually the opposite happened. Basing on views of linguists, who at that time were not intellectually capable to consider such a small language as Wymysiöeryś a language, thus recognized it as a dialect of German, some members of the German

intelligentsia considered inhabitants of Wilamowice as super-Germans protecting their culture language, or even "cleanness of blood' in "the see of Slavicness". Polish intellectuals undertook symmetric actions, for obvious reasons stressing elements different than language itself. Both sides were unsuccessful, as Wilamowice remained a pre-nationalistic community. The attempts to force them to clearly define their nationality was imposing them a certain definition of ethnicity, which was considered irrelevant by the community itself.

World War II was the biggest challenge to *Wymysiöeryś.* First, inhabitants of Wilamowice were being forced to declare themselves as Germans and as a consequence many of them were enlisted into *Wehrmacht*. Some of them managed to desert, more died. After the war Germaneness of the language was used as pretext for sacking estates in Wilamowice by local communists, neighbors from surrounding villages. People were killed, raped, beaten, resettled for the fact they spoke *Wymysiöeryś.* As a consequence, they stopped to transmit it to children and used it only secretly. The number of speakers decreased steadily. Just a few decades later in Wilamowice there were people unaware that any language other than Polish is/was used in the town. If the language attracted any attention it was ridicule. For a long time it seemed that the language will disappear.

Fortunatelly, in the year 2000 Tymoteusz Król, who was then seven years old (!) decided to save the language of his grandparents. He mobilized the last native speaker of Wymysiöeryś to use the language again and started to teach younger children. The engagement of scholars helped to change attitudes toward the language, which now is seen rather as an asset than the reason for fear an shame.

Looking retrospectively one can distinguish two basic periods in the history of Wymysiöeryś. In contrary to the first one, in the other one the language was a subject of interest. I claim that it was a result of a complex of beliefs identifying language with nation. This ideology is shared by many people in different part of the world and is sustaining for a long time, thus I call it linguistic macroideology.

7.3. Language ideologies in an endangered language context: A case study from Zadar Arbanasi in Croatia

Language ideologies can be defined as socially, historically and politically shaped ideas about language which often have far-reaching and irreversible effects on language attitudes and linguistic practices. This is the case in the context of Arbanasi, a language spoken by approximately 300, mostly elderly, people in the city of Zadar, Croatia. The language has been classified as highly endangered by UNESCO. Based on the Gheg dialect of Albanian spoken by Catholics fleeing the Ottoman wars in the early 1700s, Arbanasi underwent significant linguistic influence from Venetian, Italian and Croatian, especially in its vocabulary. Today it is not institutionally protected as, among other reasons, its speakers do not claim a separate national minority status. Furthermore, having been classified as intangible cultural heritage in Croatia along with around twenty other minority languages and dialects grants its speakers only symbolic recognition.

The ideologies behind the loss of Arbanasi reflect several highly interrelated features which are all related to the devalued role that many minority languages have in society. The pervasive attitude among Arbanasi speakers and the wider community that Arbanasi is not a proper language is due to: a) a high level of "mixing" with other languages, b) a high degree of variability in both grammar and vocabulary c) a lack of written tradition accompanied by the absence of standardization. Such attitudes are based on the ideology that languages are abstract, stable, pure, countable entities with clearly defined borders; at the same time, this belief views all other language varieties as less valuable. This view often ignores the fact that languages are always a form of social reality and that the selection of a language norm is usually historically and politically motivated. Proponents of this ideology question the idea that languages marked by a high level of "mixing" and/or variability can be perceived as fully legitimate. Consequently, many Arbanasi speakers are reluctant to call Arbanasi "a language", and prefer to refer to it as "a dialect" or "a speech". For others, however, it is precisely this linguistic hybridity i.e. the fact that it is so highly interspersed with Croatian and Italian (Venetian) influence, that functions as a source of pride and leads them to refer to it as a language in its own right; one that is different from modern standard Albanian (based on the Tosc variety).

Since languages proper are often equated with standardized and written varieties, many believe that Arbanasi, not having been written down, cannot be accorded the same rights as developed national languages. However, the desire to prescribe orthographic norm for Arbanasi is only marginally present in the community since not everyone considers it

necessary for language learning, and much less so for (occasional) informal texting and similar. A recent attempt to write down Arbanasi using the Croatian orthography also caused heated discussions since many believe that traditional Albanian-based orthography is more "correct" and more likely to grant Arbanasi a legitimate "language" status.

At a more personal level, linguistic insecurity is visible in Arbanasi as speakers become increasingly aware of language decline manifested mostly in numerous lexical gaps, with words missing even for everyday concepts. Moreover, due to reduced language productivity to create new words in Arbanasi, it is the lexical level that serves as an ideological battlefield; by endorsing either the modern Albanian standard variety (Tosc) or Croatian, (groups of) community members promote their view of a "correct" language. Moreover, occasional instances of insisting that there is an original, genuine version of Arbanasi that some, mostly senior speakers use, only increases the reluctance of many Arbanasi to speak their language. Such a feeling is especially pronounced among those who tend to code-switch a lot and/or insert Croatian and (to a lesser extent) Italian lexical borrowings into their speech. At the same time, the myth that speaking Arbanasi at home will cause its young speakers to make mistakes in Croatian has contributed to the interruption of intergenerational language transmission in many families. This reflects an ideology of monolingualism, which is usually based on the fear that an official, national or a language of a majority cannot be properly mastered if the traditional language is still in use.

Today, the youngest known speaker is in his early thirties and, to our knowledge, the language is not being transmitted in families (there are no children who are growing up with Arbanasi). There are a few places where the language can be heard in public and one of them is a language course in the city library. This course is a community-based initiative, where mostly traditional and latent speakers gather because it is the only chance for them to use the language. It is also an arena where the different aforementioned ideologies often come into play. Bearing in mind the decisive role that language ideologies and attitudes play in language shift in the Arbanasi context, it is clear that addressing language ideologies at the grassroots level should therefore be the starting point in any revitalization effort.

7.4. Attitudes towards Guernesiais

Guernesiais is the indigenous language of Guernsey, Channel Islands (between Britain and France). Traditionally, Guernesiais was seen as a "poor relation" of French. French was used in the government, the judiciary, religion and education, while Guernesiais was used between family and friends. Although the Channel Islands have been associated with Britain since the 11th century, it is only since the 19th century that English has become widespread. English spread quickly (especially once radio brought it into homes) and it is now the dominant language, while Guernesiais has only a couple of hundred speakers: most fluent speakers are aged 80 or over, and there are very few speakers below the age of 60.

One commonly expressed attitude towards Guernesiais is that it is 'not a proper language' but either a dialect of French or a mixture of English and French. In response, language supporters point out that Guernesiais is a variety of Norman, which has a prestigious history – reclaiming prestige is an important principle.

Until the late 20th century, even in areas where the language was spoken most widely, people assumed that if children learnt Guernesiais they "would never know English". One woman remembered how in the 1950s neighbours told her mother that "when she goes to school she won't be able to learn" if they spoke Guernesiais (she is now an accomplished musician).

By the early 21st century however, it became clear from media reports and anecdotes that attitudes towards Guernesiais were becoming more and more positive. Speakers started to express pride: "In certain company you didn't speak it – because it made you feel a bit inferior but now it's the other way round – you don't feel at all inferior if you know it, it's completely the opposite you know?".

I conducted a representative survey in 2004, and found overall strength of support for Guernesiais even higher than anticipated: for example, 50.5% disagreed strongly and 25.3% mildly with the statements 'It doesn't matter if Guernesiais dies out' and 'Guernesiais is irrelevant to the modern world'. Attitudes towards bi/multilingualism were also much more positive. Although these results were the same across gender, job sector and geographical origin, as well as proficiency in Guernesiais, people higher levels of education had marginally more positive attitudes. When the results were analysed by age group, under-18s were found to be marginally more likely to have negative attitudes. Although the difference was minimal, the attitudes of young people are of course key to a language's future. However, several interviewees commented that it is common to reject

traditional values in your teens and twenties, but some become enthusiastic about Guernesiais in middle age or later.

This survey included not only Guernesiais speakers but reflected the general population in that only 2% speak the language, and 36% were born outside the island. A crucial factor in this apparent majority-population support for a minority language may be that many of the majority population see Guernesiais as part of their heritage too, not only that of the dwindling number of native speakers; this is even true of respondents who are not of local origin.

On the face of it, such majority support would appear to bode well for the future of the language. Yet not all older speakers have fully accepted a higher status for Guernesiais – some still unconsciously perceive Guernesiais as lacking in prestige. In addition, there is an influential minority who cherish Guernesiais as the language of their youth, and who seem unwilling to hand over control to a new generation or to non-native speakers. It is often assumed that young people and immigrants will not be interested in Guernesiais, and language maintenance activities can perpetuate this stereotype by focusing on traditional culture. Language activities need to be inclusive to attract people of all ages and backgrounds. It should be remembered, however, that attitudes are not actions: positive attitudes cannot save a language without concrete measures. However, they can lead to public support and funding for such measures.

Adrian Cain

7.5. What's the point of Manx?

I don't get asked the question 'what's the point of Manx Gaelic' too often these days and that probably reflects a change in attitudes towards the language; however, if I do my usual response is, 'What's the point of the Isle of Man?'

Having lived in London for a number of years I'm aware that most people outside of the Island have a very poor understanding of the Isle of Man which at best consist of a series of clichés such as 'tax haven' 'TT races' and 'cats without tails'. Unfortunately, many such clichés are peddled by the supposedly liberal press in London too.

In this sense, the revitalisation of the language here is as much about changing perceptions towards the Island as it is about getting people speaking the language. Moreover, if the Island is to rid itself of these misconceptions and lazy journalism it needs to be telling a different narrative about itself, its history and its culture: the revitalisation of the language in this sense is a positive news story about the Island and one that tells such a different narrative. We are more than just a well-regulated 'off-shore' tax jurisdiction but an Island entitled to our independence and which has a positive story to tell the rest of the world about language revitalisation and identity.

A follow up question might indeed be 'who are the Manx?' these days. The Island has changed fundamentally from that of the last native speakers. Much of the change has been good but not all and the reality of the fact is that less than half of our community were born here now. 'What is the language to them?' Ironically, the language is one of the few things that the last native speakers would recognise about the Island but if the language is to mean anything these days it needs to be seen as a language of modernity – more the Internet than thatched houses and fishermen – whilst it has to be open to anyone who wants to make this Island their home: it doesn't matter if you were born in Portsmouth, Port Moresby or Port Elizabeth the language and the culture that accompanies it can belong to you as much as it can belong to someone born and brought up in the Island from a longline of Manx descendants.

The Island has changed and will continue to do so; however, the language and culture is stronger than it has been for over one hundred years and although the future is still challenging there is a growing acceptance from the politicians and business people in the Island that the language and culture tells a different narrative for our Island and that the language is forward-looking and welcoming to new learners and speakers of different backgrounds.

What languages need therefore is a vision. A sense of what has gone and what is possible but this vision needs to eschew the debates on grammar and corpus and what could have been but offer a sense of what our languages can be in a rapidly changing world.

'What is the point of the Isle of Man?' Therein lies the future of our language.

Chapter 8

Empowerment and attitudes in linguistic revitalization

It makes no sense to prevent a tragedy when this has already happened. Even less crying about losses when the resources to prevent the tragedy where always there. This scene could looks familiar to those in contact with minority languages.

This article is about the approach of the importance of attitude and the favorable differences that can occur if it is included as a capital element in the efforts of linguistic revitalization, and the positive results that it brings. This is based on an experience of just over 15 years supporting the process of revitalization of Nawat language in El Salvador.

There are also in this article some reflections that have occurred in this process from the perspectives of the two fields that I know the most: as a language activist and as a mental health professional. Both approaches in my opinion, very related in the understanding that language is the reflection of thought.

From the clinical chair I have had the satisfaction of seeing how people resolve their once problematic situations when, among other points, they take the right attitude.

If a human being is able to change the course of their destiny with this change at the level of mind, it was inevitable to apply some questions in a biggest context as at a group level : What about if the speakers of a minority language took a right attitude towards their language? Could it maybe change their destiny? Could be possible to prevent a tragedy?

A little about the case of El Salvador

Salvadoran Nawat is currently the southernmost of the Nahua languages and the only one spoken outside of Mexican territory. It is spoken by a minimum number of dispersed population in the central and western areas of the small Central American country. With the loss of nawat, El Salvador would become the first monolingual country in its region.

From the Spanish colony and with the establishment of the nation in 1821 the language did not enjoy good status. The salvadoran nahuas turned out to be the dominated group and their language has since then entered in a weakening process. For the weakened language it was lapidary when a big event occurred in 1932: a peasant uprising by and in the area of nahua villages resulted in an excessive response from the state with a genocide of some 25,000 people (approximately 2% of the country population at that time). The once political matter soon turned to an ethnic issue. The nucleus of speakers

disintegrated to a large extent and speaking the language could be a sign of mortal danger whether the person with or without political involvement. The event was also constituted in a linguicide.

The speaker fell into a kind of hopelessness where he identified himself as the least desirable of salvadoran society along with all his knowledge, including language. In that order and to achieve their survival many of them changed their native surnames, they separated from their housing nucleus, they changed their clothes and finally they changed the use of their language (most of them completely). With the lost attitude towards themselves the intergenerational transmission of the language was also lost. They would spend a little more than 80 years surviving so that nawat language could live a new moment of promising times.

Auschwitz, Nawat and a solution

It would be limited to read situations of this type just from the social, the historical or the political point of view. To an important extent, these events also have a clinical part. The impact of that moment events and its consequences can turn vulnerable a person into depression or anxiety. Being this a clinical condition, although it is evident, deserves solutions that are attached to that interpretation.

Although developed for individual experiences the logotherapy approach, by Viktor Frankl, lends itself to be applied to other individual and/ or group contexts such as those that occurred in the case of nawat, since they do come from a very similar context because it was developed facing the most extreme adversity in the genocide in Auschwitz. Threats, death and despair were a common scenario shared by both histories in different decades and latitudes.

Logotherapy approach proposes that even when we face a superlative adversity we still have a range of freedom in decisions that can always be taken and that are determinant in the course of indiviual responsibility that each person has for their very own well-being, because there is a certain category of issues that can not be delegated to anyone else but must be resolved by ourselves. The addition of personal meaning of events is the core of this current.

Thus, in the same scenario a person could resolve to abandon himself or to enter in the frequency to find the best qualities of his own and obtain a better and more satisfactory result while knowing why he proceeds the way he does as well he knows its benefits in a short and long term. The point explained in this paragraph is desirable to be shared among all members participating in a process of linguistic revitalization.

As it is usual during adversity people can be pushed to focus on threats and vexations suffered instead of using that same time, passion and energy to try to know everything they could do. It does not sound very logical to want to achieve a success story if we only look at the complaints and not at the solutions. This does not mean that the proposal is to obviate the problems, of course not, problem causes must be known if we want to make the best decisions but it may surprise us all the resources that we might have lost in having spent focusing on a problem when we could begin to believe in joint efforts and in our very own organizational capacities and in a magnificent story to be writen.

The sublime option to get focus on the solutions and on the aspects that we can modificate is the key to build answers about them. Problems are only our starting point and nothing more than that. It was what Viktor Frankl promoted among the survivors of Oświęcim but it is a lesson that also traveled to El Salvador and to the world.

Attitude as a basic resource

The number of speakers is a desirable criterion when checking the state of a language. On its document "Language vitality and endangerment" Unesco details the factors 2 and 3 in the evaluation of language vitality: Absolute number of speakers (Factor 2) and Proportion of Speakers within the Total Population (Factor 3). But in the order of a way in which these advantages are not availables, whatever the situation has been, we must look for strengths to make differences. In this condition the attitude has a lot to do because of a very practical fact: Talking about attitude it's talking about probabilities.

It is possible that when occurs a project planning the attitude fact is not been taken into account as one among the list of resources, however it deserves attention beyond a superficial view.

Seen from the opposite angle, we can get resources in favor but if there is not a proper attitude resources could get lost.

Circumstances can be explained in the interaction of two types of events: external ones, outside our control and internal ones, under self-control. The way in which we focus on the internal variables leads to emotional and behavioral consequences. This is one of the approaches proposed by emotive rational therapy. If we do not reach it successfully we can develop pessimism but in the other hand we can start from the same experience with the great option of going forward with optimism and enthusiasm if we get focus in a right way.

Why is it important to notice this? Because minority languages are not in that condition by mere chance but by a situation of adversity and those of us who are interested in them must be aware of the need for an approach that leads us to the most modifiable variables in order to move towards solving the situation in a positive way. Assuming this aspect and teaching it to the other figures in the process will be desirable.

A simple way to achieve this is under the easy strategy ABCDE, where A means "action" (our current situation), B comes from "behaviour" (we must provide at least two behaviors after the action), C means "consequences" (one for each behavior), D is for "discussion" of each consequence and finally E means "efficiency", where we make the choice of the best answer after the discussion.

How can this be reflected in a specific case of linguistic revitalization? To get an idea we can check between these two simple examples:

Case 1 Action: My local language is in a critical situation; Behavior: languages are lost on the planet every 15 days, the situation is done, it is better to give rise to more booming languages; Consequences: defeatism and loss of cultural knowledge

Case 2 Action: My local language is in a critical situation; Behavior: my language expresses very beautiful forms, caring for my language is good for my culture and for humankind, adversity let us to savor achievements by double account; Consequences: appreciation and enthusiasm.

Case 1 and case 2: Discussion: a correct approach leads to better ways of facing reality and opens the door to more positive possibilities to solve this particular situation. Efficacy: If we want to revitalize a language, we choose the route of case 2.

As can be seen, this leads to the individual responsibility to make differences in our favor, which Frankl (already quoted) established regarding the human being even if he could be in adversity. Although the previous example offers just two cases, more can be proposed. Plurality of answers gives options of more quality.

Take over of that situation have permitted in the case of Nawat elaborate thoughts in the style as "Against the firm hearts there is no one who can beat them. From our hearts we will continue speaking Nawat "," They gave us death but we will give flowers and new life to words", or the very popular "Ne nawat shuchikisa" (nawat language is in bloom).

Why is this consideration important? Because it enters the list of aspects that can make big differences and that really does not cost a penny. Just as it does not cost to coincide and get organized with people who are interested in the language, join efforts together

and solve conflicts in the same way. This reasoning allows us to see the attitude as an inmaterial resource that helps us manage or optimize the material ones.

The aforementioned UNESCO document establishes attitude as the basis of criteria 7 and 8 in the language vitality assessment (Factor 7: Governmental and Institutional Language Attitudes And Policies, Including Official Status and Use; Factor 8: Community Members' Attitudes toward Their Own Language). There is ample reason to pay attention to the attitude as a resource and as it is seen, there is an emotional clinical component that deserves approaches in that order.

Help from the outside to help inside

Even it might sound a bit paradoxical this way reports efficiency and perhaps is one of the fundamental points to obtain changes in the attitude of a native speaker. A person who has been discriminated for a long time because of his language, ethnicity and/ or culture enters in a kind of inverted ethnocentrism that deserves the efforts to counteract for different reasons such as: ethics, debt, dignity or mental health. It is important that people in the language revitalization team cares about this point, not to play the role of a messiah, but to coincide as human beings with the experiences and feelings of the human being that is next to them.

In a recent educational project in El Salvador that involved the state, an educational institution, language activists and some native population members it was a nawat speaker, Andrea López, who in personal communication said: "Your team is looking after everything in school, you also take us and bring us safely and the classes are funny so we want to participate too because is evident the interest and good treatment you give to nawat language and its speaker". She pointed out in this way that the effects of the posture explained above have an emotional resonance that is translated into attitudes.

If we add joy and enthusiasm the combination becomes unbeatable in the moment we want to revitalize a language.

Some ways of attitude changes

For the past 5 years in El Salvador it is witnessed a boost in the work of linguistic activism by citizen groups, which in the last moments has been joined by the interest of different universities to give spaces and offers of nawat language studies as independent courses.

Regarding the major changes with respect to the Nahua population the involvement of native speakers stands out, despite the advanced age of several of them, in the process of language visibility and dissemination which has allowed the presence and appreciation of

these ones in scenarios inside and outside their towns. With the attitude gained they have become figures in the changes they wanted to see.

It is also worth mentioning about the celebrations around the language that are held today, such as the annual day of the mother tongue, which in simultaneous moments and places already requires open spaces and the use of sound equipment, whereas previously the nawat was spoken just in a few homes for a few moments.

The nawat lives an initial process of revitalization of which the experts will agree that there is nothing yet gained but it gives enough encouragement to continue in the line of "An awakening has begun, as intellectually capable and socially aware young adults start asking questions and discovering their capacity for effective action and exercising choices" as it is described by Alan R. King in chapter 23 of The Oxford handbook of endangered languages (Rehg, KL and Campbell, L. 2018; Chapter 23. Language Recovery Paradigms. Alan R. King).

The mutual accompaniment between the new speakers and the native speakers communities is an outstanding achievement that has given mutual assistance in the attitude to both groups.

Conclusions

The issue of people's attitude towards a language is closely related to emotional aspects which makes it worthy of attention from a psychological point of view particularly in those situations in which the environment was a determining factor in the disease process because substantial changes in this can have a precisely healing effect. Humans have the great ability to influence their destiny, even in the face of adversity, and to develop positive attitudes in different ways such as when taking on a commitment in a language revitalization process where attitude is an authentic resource that must be assumed by the revitalizing community even if they do not count on material resources to start the task to prevent the tragedy of the loss of a language. The dignification of the language and ethical treatment from the external figures to the speaker community can work to mobilize the appreciation of the speaker for their own language and thus change their attitude to it. By doing so he could make more widespread use of his language.

The population of nawat language is still small today but this places it precisely in an interesting position: if this process runs successfully can be a regional model in Central America about how to go forward with the resource of attitude letting us to overcome when the story once said we should lose.

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8.1. Empowerment, and motivation in the revitalization of Wymysorys

When I started my activities in revitalizing Wymysorys, many Vilamovians in their 50s, who were too young to have learned Wymysorys but old enough to remember people speaking it, told me a number of stories. They were about people who could not speak good Polish or had Wymysorys accent in Polish, about the last woman who used Vilamovian folk dress as casual dress to her death in 2002 – Baranła-Anielka, about a man whose surname was changed from Schneider to Sznajder (to make it more Polish) and then how after many years he changed it back to Schneider. Another story was about a woman (Küba-Hàla) who was expelled from her own house. After having spent a couple of years in a labor camp where she was sent because she had been reported by a Pole who had taken over her house, she has never taken up Polish citizenship and died in penury as a stateless person. All those people were shown as stupid, backward, underprivileged or stubborn. Persons who passed me these stories thought that I would make fun of characters therein. But for me those people were a symbol of commitment for Wilamowice, such as my own, though living under other conditions and in other times. And it was not a commitment to kill a person or to organise an uprising, as the ones made by Polish national heroes about whom I was taught at school, it was a commitment of their own life.

The older Vilamovians told me stories about Vilamovian professors, bishops and merchants, who used to live in Cracow, Lviv or Vienna, but when they came to visit Wilamowice, they spoke Wymysorys. These stories revealed that Wymysorys was a language of educated people as well. Then I realised how important changing local ideologies was. Several factors contributed to this change. In 2012I received the EUCYS prize in Poland for a text about Wilamowice and afterwards more and more activities were supported by Tomasz Wicherkiewicz from the UAM in Poznań by Justyna Olko from the Faculty "Artes Liberales" of University of Warsaw as both institutions got engaged in the revitalization of Wymysorys. The attitudes of the municipal government changed. Also the theatre plays and the information that Wymysorys was being taught at the University of Warsaw started to positively influence the ideologies in the society: not only in Wilamowice, but in the entire Poland as well. The same holds true for the acknowledgment of our language by SIL in 2007 and UNESCO in 2009.

For me a big motivating factor is when I can show other people how we conduct our revitalization activities as well as experience what they do in their communities. I had an opportunity to do it for example in Mexico during a summer school of the EngHum project. Another important factor are the critical texts about Wymysorys. Tomasz Wicherkiewicz wrote in 2001 that Wymysorys will be extinct by 2010. Then, in 2011, I

wrote him an email, saying that our language was still alive. After that, he came to Wilamowice and engaged himself in the revitalization process.

But the most motivating three moments of my life happened after I heard these three statements by three Vilamovian women: first: "I want to invite you for my 90th birthday party, because I want to have somebody there to speak Wymysorys to"; second: "If they expel you from your house as I was expelled for speaking Wymysorys in 1945, come to me, I have chickens, they lay eggs, you will not starve in my house."; third "When I see these children wearing Vilamovian folk dress and speaking Wymysorys, I think that they are my parents and my grandparents, and aunts, and uncles. They are dead since such a long time, and here I can see their clothes waving and hear their voices speaking."

8.2. Language activism

Activism can be understood as intentional, usually vigorous or energetic actions that individuals and groups undertake to bring about the desired goal. This goal may be defined as political, social, and cultural change. Activists, people who engage themselves on behalf of their communities, develop workable strategies for the future of their communities and languages, focus a collective spotlight onto particular issues, sometimes move other people into action and change indifferent people's language attitudes. Language activism embraces specific happenings, methods of acting, protest slogans, manifestation, advocacy for causes, and information dissemination serving to raise people's consciousness. The scope and the strength of actions undertaken on behalf of a specific language depend on the situation of this language, the degree of its protection offered by the state, the attitudes of the minority community members towards it as well as the attitudes of the dominant society.

Language activists work at a grassroots level and attempt to influence native and potential speakers of the language to use it. They try to persuade governments and policymakers to support their plans. They do not possess authority nor decisive power; therefore they depend on acceptance of their acts by those whom they try to influence. When the minority community and its language lack recognition, their only spokesmen, policy makers and officers are language activists.

There are different forms of language activism depending on times and contexts. Actions in favour of a minority language do not have to have a spectacular form. There are situations where progressive assimilation poses the most significant threat to minority languages, when language ideologies encourage an opinion that minority languages are regarded as an inferior form of communication, and when current and potential users of the language remain indifferent. When this happens, activism may start with individual language choices such as learning an endangered language, using it even when it seems not to be accepted by the dominant society, and showing the pride of using it and of being identified as a member of a speech community. Such an attitude may positively influence other people's minority language attitudes. The other type of a minority language activism, more conscious, is organisation and participation in the cultural, social, and public events related to the minority language and culture. Not only does it help to strengthen the community, create new possibilities to use a language, and to identify strongly with other community members. It also gives people a power to move to a higher level of activism and struggle for the speech community language rights. Here, there are actions organised to show the movement's strength, such as demonstrations and

manifestations. Parades, which gather together many individuals and groups, communities and associations supporting language and culture, are an essential part of any minority language movement. The next type of language activism expresses itself in direct actions. It often involves only a small part of a minority language engaged community because it demands a higher consciousness of the importance of fighting for language rights, and maturity connected with taking responsibility for others. Direct actions are the most visible forms of language activism and are strongly linked with thinking about engagement as a form of collective action. The most common way of this kind of commitment is involvement in different activities of social disobedience. Their repertoire concerns mainly destroying public properties to draw people's attention to the problem of the absence of the minority language. The "Cymdeithas Yr Iaith Gymraeg" provides an already classical example of such activities. The Welsh Language Society exists from the beginning of the 1960s. By their direct, often illegal activities and campaigns, this pressure group contributed to establishing the Welsh language as the co-official language of Wales.

The role of bottom-up language activism is significant on many levels. It encourages other people to use a language and it gives them the opportunity to engage themselves in the cultural and language life of a community. On a higher level, language activism counteracts the lack of minority languages recognition and can influence the state language policy to be more favorable for endangered languages.

8.3. "I'm revitalising myself!"

I am not Māori, but have been participating in and observing the revitalisation of the Māori language which started in earnest about 40 years ago with the formation of *kōhanga reo* (preschool language immersion centres). I raised my children bilingually; they went to Māori immersion preschool and schooling options until they were high school age, and I have been teaching Māori in schools and tertiary institutions since the 1980s. With this wealth of experience I can remember feeling encouraged in what I was doing because I felt I was part of a larger movement of people who were revitalising the Māori language.

However, in the late 1990s, when I mentioned how I felt to a colleague, noted Māori academic Dr Te Rita Papesch, she told me that she didn't feel like she was part of any 'movement'! This stopped me in my tracks and made me think. So when I was interviewing Māori adults for various research projects I started asking them about why they wanted to be able to speak Māori. Te Rita was right - hardly any of them mentioned that it was because they wanted to revitalise the language.

Instead these "new" speakers of Māori talked about how the Māori language was important for their identity as Māori – "I am Māori, so I want to speak Māori." Often they talked about wanting to be able to participate in and understand Māori rituals at *hui* (meetings, gatherings). Those I talked to also described how the Māori language was important for their spiritual wellbeing. In other words, personal identity needs were their main motivator. And boy, were they motivated! Many of those I spoke to have gone on to become noted speakers and cultural agents. This makes sense, since one of the earliest language revitalisation academics, Joshua Fishman, says that language revitalisation will often involve identity (re)formation.

Apart from a focus on personal identity needs, those I spoke to, most of whom were parents, also mentioned the importance of ensuring that their children were speakers of Māori. In other words, they recognised their important role in establishing and maintaining intergenerational transmission of the language. I remember how one person, when asked to write down their three main motivating factors, wrote the names of their three children. Others also mentioned how they felt that the revitalisation of Māori was important to the survival of their *hapū* (sub-tribe) and *iwi* (tribe).

The people I talked to did sometimes mention that they were motivated by the need to revitalise the Māori language, but this was in third place after their identity needs and desire to support others, in particular, their children.

In the 2000s I noticed that national and tribal language planners in New Zealand were using promotional material to encourage people to learn and speak the language

which used phrases such as "every generation has a role to play in saving our language." In other words, they were making the same mistake I did, where I assumed my motivations for being involved in the revitalisation of Māori were the same as those of others. I thought that the promotional material may have resonated more with potential speakers if it emphasised the positive associations of the language with personal identity and wellbeing.

The message here is that you should never assume that your motivations in language revitalisation are the same as others – in fact, if you're reading this book you are quite likely focussed on revitalising a language. So don't forget that identity and belongingness needs are highly motivational and that for many they aren't revitalising a language as much as they are revitalising themselves.

8.4. "It's good for your heart" Three motivational steps for revitalization

To be honest, in all these years I realised that there are very few reasons why people should keep a minority language alive. It is certainly fascinating, it brings a different worldview together with it, it allows you to reason differently. But concretely, when you live in a very poor region which does not offer any opportunity to young people, a region whose only mantra is "learn a (dominant!) language and leave", what should your motivations be to actually pass it on to your children or - for young people - to lose much time learning a useless endangered language (which is not easy to learn)?

The only words that come to my mind when I think about sharing my motivation, were those that I wrote at the end of my doctoral dissertation: "As a linguist, I could list hundreds of reasons why we should keep Greko alive, but to date these have not led to any significant change. Therefore, I choose to conclude with Tito Squillaci's words, the driving force of this work: na platezzise greka kanni kalà stin kardìa 'speaking Greko is good for your heart'".

Starting from this quote, I shall, therefore, share here three main steps that I consider crucial when undertaking a very frustrating revitalization process (as phrased by Lenore Grenoble), which can turn into a lot of fun (as claimed by John Sullivan) only with very good motivations as foundations.

People start learning or revitalising minority languages for several reasons: cultural heritage, curiosity/interest, research, and many others. I noticed, however, that the big difference comes when they feel connected to the language, when they realise that speaking this language make them feel better to the extent that they transform their choice to study or occasionally speak the language into a decision to live the language, that is to constantly speak it and fight for it. This change usually occurs when people start spending much time listening to the speakers talking (even without understating a word initially), – who are the living language. When this happens, new potential revitalisers concretely see the treasure of the language stored in these people's mouths and they feel that the responsibility of the transmission has moved from the old speaker down to them, to their kardìa - heart. This adds a strong affective value to language, the first step towards its revitalisation.

The second crucial step is to build a team. It is difficult for revitalisers (either native or new speakers) to go against the flow and keep speaking the language when the rest of the community has stopped using it on a daily basis. Particularly, once the initial enthusiasm fades away, revitalisers too began forgetting the reasons for their choice. By contrast,

being at least two or even more people is a big motivation to move forward, it allows you to be always more creative and incentivises new actions when frustration takes over.

The third step is very much linked to the potential outcomes that the decision of speaking a minority language can bring with it. In most cases, when we tackle with critically endangered languages, economy – for instance – is a major factor to take into consideration, in as much as precisely the lack of an economic value of the language, the fact that "it does not give you a job" is usually among the root causes for its abandonment. Therefore, it is important to foresee social and economic outcomes that can result from speaking the language and that can lead to concrete improvements for the community.

These three steps are a summary of what I (un-)consciously promoted in Calabria, with my community. Regardless of any "more objective" motivation, I must however go back to the title of this text and admit that the engine for each of my actions has always been a profound love for my language and for the people who speak it.

8.5 Indigenous research and methodology

The books and articles that have been written recently on the topic of indigenous research and methodology have two things in common. First, they are written in dominant languages, such as English and Spanish, rather than in the indigenous languages themselves. And second, they are largely theoretical; in other words, they talk about what indigenous research and methodology should look like and what it's political function should be, but they don't actually do it. At the Instituto de docencia e investigación etnológica de Zacatecas (IDIEZ) we have been conducting curriculum development and research in the area of Nahuatl language and culture for the past seventeen years, and we have done it monolingually, in Nahuatl. We work on the premise that for research and methodology to be considered 'indigenous', it should be performed from within the unique worldview and cognitive structures of each specific culture. And these can only be accessed, understood, developed and expressed through each culture's language. Here are four examples of how we perform research at IDIEZ.

Example 1: During the course of writing *Tlahtolxitlauhcayotl. Chicontepec, Veracruz*, our monolingual dictionary of Modern Huastecan Nahuatl, we created a tremendous amount of neologisms for grammatical terminology. But we never simply translate terminology from European languages, as is common with the Mexican bilingual school system. We always begin with a concept, discuss it collectively in Nahuatl, and when we understand what we want to express, we use the morphological resources of Nahuatl to create a term. For example, Nahuatl nouns have subjects; rather than a simple label, they constitute a process for providing a subject with a name. So we took the verb *tocaxtia* 'to name something' and turned into a gerund *tlatocaxtiliztli* 'the act of providing something with a name', in other words, a Nahuatl noun.

Example 2: At a conference in Chihuahua in 2016, a panel of native speakers of different Uto-Aztecan languages gave talks in Spanish about color terminology in their culture. During the question and answer session I explained that Modern Huastecan Nahuatl, also a Uto-Aztecan language doesn't employ the concept of color; rather it uses *ixnezcayotl* 'something's surface appearance', which includes colors, but also such things as stripes, polka dots, stains and certain types of visible textures. The panel participants responded that their languages worked in the same ways, but they had just uncritically assumed that the Western concept of color was universal.

Example 3: Eduardo de la Cruz Cruz wrote his Masters Thesis in Nahuatl on corn at the Universidad Autónoma de Zacatecas in 2016. When we were discussing how to

organize his work, I suggested a typical Western model with chapters on land, planting methods and tools, deities, etc. But Eduardo responded that as an indigenous person this didn't make sense to him at all. He proposed chapters on each one of the ceremonies that comprised the yearly agriculture cycle, with each chapter discussing the aspects of land, planting methods and tools, deities, etc., that it employed.

Example 4: We are beginning to prepare a monolingual, multivariant encyclopedia of Nahuatl civilization, past and present. As part of this project we are discussing how Nahuas organize knowledge (as opposed to Western taxonomy), so that the structure of our encyclopedia will issue from the Nahua world view. There is no word in Modern Huastecan Nahuatl for animal: *tlapiyalli* is 'a domesticated animal' and *tecuani* is 'a wild animal', literally 'a people-biter'. The students at IDIEZ proposed an interesting set of categories for classifying wild animals: *tlen tetetzahuiah* 'those who announce bad omens', *tlen tlaihtlacoah* 'those who destroy crops' and *tlen temahmauhtiah* 'those that are dangerous'. It is evident that in contrast the Western thinking, that classifies animals based on their physical characteristics, Nahuas classify them according to their interaction with people. During five hundred of contact with Europe, Nahuas have never been purists: they have adopted foreign things that are useful and ignored those that are not. At IDIEZ we do not seek to discard all foreign ways of perception and principles of organization. Rather we conduct research to discover what in today's Nahuatl culture is native and what is foreign, so that native speakers can make informed decisions about how they wish to generate and organize knowledge.

Chapter 9
Economic benefits: marketing and commercializing language revitalization

One of the most frequent statements heard in communities experiencing shift to a dominant language is that a local language does not have any value in the modern world. As retold by one of the native speakers of Nahuatl whom I met during our empowerment activities, he could not learn the heritage language from his parents, because they would tell him that it is not useful anymore:

> *Neh oniczaloh nin tlahtol ihcuac nicpiyaya mahtlac huan ce xihuitl huan oniczaloh inahuac nocihtzin. Notahtzin huan nonantzin amo nechittitihqueh tlica yehhuan oquihtoayah 'yocmo, yocmo sirve, nin tlahtol yocmo sirve.'*
>
> I learned this language when I was 11 years old. And I learned it from my grandmother. My father and my mother did not teach me because they were saying it is not useful anymore. This language is not useful anymore. (2014, Contla/Tlaxcala, male speaker in his 50s)

A somewhat similar statement comes from the writings of Florian Biesik, the famous poet originating in Wilamowice and author of *Uf jer wełt*, the Wymysorys version of the *Divine comedy*:

> "I know different world languages, I have lived for half the century in exile, but the dearest to me remain the Polish and Wilamowicean tongues, although with neither of them did I earn even a piece of bread." (1924)[17]

The lack of economic usefulness did not stop Biesik from writing in Wymysorys and creating an important masterpiece of literature in this language. Nonetheless, he did it while living far away from his community and having a profitable occupation as a railway official in Triest, Italy. Clearly, for Biesik the importance and utility of the language was not affected by its perceived low economic value abroad. However, the vitality of Wymysorys in the community of that time was high: language was spoken and transmitted to children.

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[17]After Tomasz, Wicherkiewicz, *The Making of a Language. The Case of the Idiom of Wilamowice, Southern Poland*, The Gruyter Mouton, 2003, p. 48. I thank Barłomiej Chromik for pointing this quote our to me as well as for his other valuable comments on this chapter.

And the situation changed after the World War II not because of lack of usefulness, but because of a language ban and percussions of speakers. This is very much different today: the lack of economic value is one of the most salient arguments the revitalizers of Wymsorys have to face, even if there are also other essential benefits and assets that the local language can offer for the community. And numerous groups, in different geographic and cultural contexts, share this situation.

Therefore, when you engage in language revitalization, you have to be prepared to face strong counterarguments, coming both from communities themselves and from potential founders or sponsors. Unlike linguists and other academics, who usually have a stable economic situation, members of minority communities often lack job opportunities, face highly insecure and harsh material conditions as well as a lack of perspectives. Their primary goal would not be to keep the language, which has been the source of stigmatization, shame, discrimination and disadvantage, but to secure better living conditions. How to respond to such arguments and encourage local communities to engage in language revitalization? On the other hand, founding institutions, politicians or state agendas—despite superficial declarations recognizing the value of linguistic-cultural diversity and minority rights—are rather unlikely to offer serious commitment to language revitalization based on arguments of the beauty of diversity, human rights, social justice, or even cognitive benefits. The market value of standard languages and bilingualism is widely appreciated and promoted in educational and language policies, and this is true not only for officially bilingual countries. However, the perceived and recognized economic value does not usually refer to minority or immigrant languages and non-standard language varieties. Nonetheless, the commitment and active collaboration of language communities is absolutely vital for successful revitalization efforts. Also the support of sponsors and positive impact on policy-makers are additional essential factors increasing the chance of long-term success and sustainability of any project. Therefore, it is definitely worthwhile to focus on marketing language revitalization and developing ideas and solutions increasing the economic value of an endangered language. Such strategies should take into account the real problems and needs of specific communities where language revitalization efforts would concentrate.

While opportunities and solutions will differ from place to place, in the present chapter I discuss some general paths as well as specific examples of generating economic benefits for communities in relationship to local linguistic and cultural heritage. Closely related challenge is that of 'marketing' language revitalization, both with regard to community members and external actors or institutions. Economic benefits and commercialization is an often neglected dimension of language revitalization programs, even if it is of key importance: many languages cease to be spoken precisely because of

their perceived lack of utility and economic value. However, such negative attitudes can be challenged in a number of ways.

Use of traditional knowledge for subsistence and environmental strategies

An important path for generating economic benefits is promoting the role of traditional knowledge and local languages in shaping sustainable relationships with the natural environment. As is well known, both biological and linguistic diversity is often threatened at by the same factors, such as urbanization and industrialization around the world. Likewise, high numbers of endangered species in these areas correlates with considerable linguistic diversity. Some of the most salient examples include New Guinea, the Amazon rainforest, the Congo basin forests and the North American deserts. As shrinkage of the natural landscape leads to the endangerment of certain plants and animals, it also makes it difficult for Indigenous minorities to practice their traditional ways of life and, consequently, their languages. And traditional Indigenous models of management of natural resources are known to indirectly support biological diversity and balanced economic activities. However, because of policies of cultural and linguistic assimilation Indigenous minorities lose their knowledge of the environment and thus their ability to interact with it. Such losses can be disastrous for the whole ways of life, like abandoning agriculture as the base of existence or losing access to certain kinds of animals and plants (because of their extinction or due to forced resettlements as was the case of Indigenous people in the USA moved to reservations). Often, as in the case of the Nahuas in Tlaxcala, Mexico, losing the language and accepting national culture is accompanied by switching to wage labor. At the same time, members of Nahua communities explain the increased levels of diabetes and obesity by the introduction of artificial fertilizers and non-traditional foods. And the access to modern medical services does not seem to recompense the diminishing role of traditional healing. As the oldest speakers say, many of the beneficial plants, accessible before, ceased to grow in the community, while the knowledge about them, conveyed in the heritage language, wanes with it. Such changes—and many others—have severe consequences not only for local communities, but also for entire regions and should thus be of interest for policy-makers at regional and state levels. Therefore, language revitalization can be seen as an efficient strategy for maintaining, promoting and exploiting local knowledge and managing the environment. This, in turn, should be recognized as an important asset for both local sustainability and its attractiveness for visitors and entrepreneurs. And all of these assets and arguments can be used by revitalizers to deal with institutions, politicians, entrepreneurs and the communities where they work.

But what can be done in practice? It is widely known and documented that local languages are valuable reservoirs of environmental and very practical knowledge. They are often keys to local ethnobotany and ethnozoology, as well as very practical applications of local knowledge. The latter is for example crucial for the use of herbs and medicinal plants, balanced management of crops and eatable plants, or wise exploitation of animal resources respecting their reproduction cycles. This kind of knowledge, ordered, classified and expressed in heritage languages and combined with traditional practices, is often essential for maintaining sustainable relations with local flora and fauna. On the other hand, cultural practices related to the environment include the ways in which natural resources are extracted and used. The study of this dimension can be an essential part of language documentation and langue revitalization projects, be they driven by the community or in partnership with external actors. This knowledge, in turn, may be recovered and reintroduced—also taking into account new contexts and dynamic environmental, social and economic conditions—in the community. Its potential in fact reaches beyond a specific place and should become an important element of marketing language revitalization outside the community. Specific strategies can embrace a very broad scope of activities, approaches and economic goals, depending on the environmental and cultural context. They may include balanced approaches to agriculture and ecological crop production, fish economy, herding, pasturing, raising livestock and associated production, collection of fruit and plants, combining traditional subsistence modes with small-scale production (textiles, ceramics, wood products, etc.).

A good example of such an approach is provided by linguistic-cultural revitalization programs run by the Sámi people in Norway and Finland and particularly in Kautokeino. Language instruction and academic research are closely linked to local food production and conservation modes, reindeer herding, fishing and traditional medicine. It was in Kautokeino that in 2005 the Norwegian Government established the International Centre for Reindeer Husbandry. It aims in maintaining and developing a sustainable reindeer husbandry in the north, foster cooperation between the reindeer herding peoples as well as document and apply their traditional knowledge. This has spurred other related initiatives. For example in 2016 a calendar called 'Boazojahki' entirely in the Sámi language was created and launched by Karen Marie Eira Buljo. Aimed primarily at children and youth, it details the calendar year in terms of what it means for reindeer, reindeer herders and the activities prescribed for a specific time of the year. Each month unveils rich insights into the cyclical world of reindeer husbandry based on the natural environment (http://reindeerherding.org/blog/boazojahkki-reindeer-calendar-year/#more-12463).

Importantly, theoretical and practical aspects of food production, reindeer herding and traditional environmental strategies are an important focus of classes and seminars in

Sámi Allaskuvla, or the Sámi University of Applied Sciences. Students learn the heritage language through active participation in traditional activities, such as fishing or preparing food. They also become familiar with subsistence strategies and food production modes of traditional cultures in other parts of the world. This example may serve as inspiration for developing educational programs aimed at a deeper understanding of the role of the local environment. Ideally, like in the Sámi case, they should combine learning of the ancestral language with environmental studies and practical knowledge.

A useful framework for this kind of approach toward language, environment and economic strategies is that of social economy. It addresses consumer behaviors and needs in the context of social justice, ethics and other humanitarian values. Initiatives in social economy are run by cooperatives, NGOs (associations, foundations), social enterprises and institutions. They often focus their efforts on the ideas of solidarity and responsibility, fostering socially-inclusive wealth or developing new solutions for social or environmental challenges. An important principle is that of not-for-profit aims, while gains and resources are reinvested for the benefit of disadvantaged groups or communities. Such an approach, contributing to a more sustainable and inclusive society, ideally fits the situation of marginalized communities struggling to preserve their languages. Thus, a possible strategy to link the improvement of environmental and/or subsistence issues with language maintenance or revitalization is through community-based cooperative and/or associations as well as external NGOs or institutions interested in developing partnerships. When viewed this way, language revitalization can be directly linked to increased environmental, economic as well as well-being and health-related awareness of a specific community. This, in turn, should translate into greater emancipation and agency of the group that can be reflected in specific projects combining economy, environment and language use.

Linguistic, cultural and educational tourism

The economic potential of linguistic-cultural heritage as well as local agency can be specifically oriented toward tourism. Recent processes of globalization and homogenization have created a demand for unique and original products and services. Many people are no longer interested in highly commoditized and standardized forms of experience and massive tourism. Rather, they seek for uniqueness and authenticity, experiencing the history, culture and natural environment of less explored places and their inhabitants. Research on tourism in Europe reveals that 'cultural visitors' usually have higher education and good professional status. Many of them look for local cultural traditions and styles of life, which they wish to experience themselves. Such needs are for example addressed through the creation of 'cultural villages' in South Africa

(www.places.co.za/html/cultural_villages.html). Located in different environments and on territories of different ethnic groups, such 'villages' offer unique opportunities for experiencing their lifestyles, cultural and religious activities, crafts and food – and also for hearing different local languages. Thus, DumaZulu Lodge & Traditional Village (Hluhluwe) is advertised as "A unique cross-cultural experience in the authentic Zulu Village and Hotel. Traditional Zulu customs, tribal dancing, tales of ancient lore". Lesedi cultural village lures visitors with an "amazing multi-cultural dance show. As the sun sets over the African bush, you're escorted to the Boma for a very interactive affair of traditional singing and dancing, which depict stories dating back to the days of their ancestors". Of course, visitors are offered comfortable lodging and exquisite restaurants, rather remotely, if at all, resembling traditional life in the region. And local languages are usually present as an exotic label or veneer on a ready "polished" touristic products and services. However, this idea can be adapted for a more economically accessible touristic experience, where local ways and languages are not reduced to merely decorative functions. And if the communities can be in charge of this 'offer', then the income can support directly and indirectly language revitalization activities and the general well-being of the inhabitants.

The concept that relates to such tendencies and needs has been called the experience economy. It focuses not on offering commodities and commoditized services, but on different forms of experience, often based on 'memorable' events. In other worlds, such special experiences are envisioned as *memorable*. When thinking about language revitalization and commercialization of linguistic heritage, experience economy can be seen as a particularly useful concept for tourism, cultural and artistic activities or even linguistic-cultural landscape. Given that products offered in the market can range from entirely standardized and undifferentiated to highly differentiated 'special' goods or services, those related to a endangered heritage will definitely be at the latter end of this continuum. And because of high interest among consumers in unique experiences, more and more businesses take this demand into account. Emotional responses, experience of uniqueness, exposure to local stories and local knowledge – all this can be brought into play when thinking about commercializing endangered linguistic and cultural heritage. Being exposed and, ultimately, learning an endangered language is an important venue for experience economy. No wonder, heritage marketing has become a growing branch of the tourism industry where local and lesser-known languages are employed. However, this often is done quite superficially and merely at the level of limited (and usually bilingual) 'labeling' as an easy way of providing nostalgic or authenticity-seeking tourists with experiences of 'traditional culture'.

The real challenge – and opportunity – is to link those experiences to genuine language revitalization and marketing efforts, without reducing them to purely symbolic

or folkloric dimensions. Folklorization has been seen as 'identity for sale'; it has also been deemed 'self-folklorization' as the result of prolonged symbolic violence and colonization which reduces cultural differences to the level of esthetics, but replicates social inequalities and divisions. Thus, self-folkorization has been described as an expression in the language of colonizers by those who are in fact unable to challenge their subordinate position.[18] However, it can also be a strategy against social degradation and cultural annihilation. Hylton White, who did extensive anthropological research in the Republic of South Africa, relates the case of one of the groups of Bushmen, who lived in slums but earned their living performing the traditional skills and cultural activities of nomads in the scenery arranged for tourists. Of course, this can be interpreted as gain-motivated performance designed to meet the expectations of visitors and detached from the way of life of its actors. However, the words of the leader of this group shared with the anthropologist seem to challenge this perspective: "I am an animal of nature. I want people to see me and know who I am. The only way our tradition and way of life can survive is to live in the memory of the people who see us".[19]

Therefore, keeping in mind the threats of folklorization and commodification of local heritage, we should rather look at the potential of challenging economic marginalization of local communities. This can happen if they become a driving force in initiatives developed according to their own rules and goals. Such initiatives can focus on developing tourist enclaves distinguished by a unique language spoken in the area — minority languages are in fact almost never part of 'folklorization-based' enterprises, or, at best, reduced to a symbolic dimension that does not threaten 'smooth communication' in the national or dominant language. Preserving a local tongue may be combined with creating both physical 'living' museums in the community as well as virtual digital museums. What would distinguish such places over other local or regional museums, would be precisely the focus on an endangered language, its speakers and their unique histories, local knowledge and traditions expressed in the heritage tongue. And the language can actually be heard in those spaces, including traditional songs or poems. Digital tools and solutions, such as interactive displays or games, will certainly be an important component of this kind of initiatives, greatly enhancing their attractiveness.

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[18] Ewa Klekot, *Samofolkloryzacja. Współczesna sztuka ludowa z perspektywy postkolonialnej*, „Kultura Współczesna" 2014, vol. 1 (81), p. 86-99.

[19] Hylton White, *In the tradition of the forefathers: Bushman traditionality at Kagga Kamma: the politics and history of a performative identity*, University of Cape Town Press, Cape Town, 1995, p. 17.

Such places are also excellent venues for organizing regular house workshops and artistic or educational activities linked to local heritage, both for the community and for outsiders. The participation of the latter would generate an economic gain for local activists. Thus, the envisioned spaces can used both to foster language learning or use, increase community engagement, generate funding by attracting external visitors and, finally, stimulate positive language attitudes and become an important venue of marketing language revitalization. Of course, both the physical space and digital tools are a large investment and require substantial funding. When a community or municipality is unable to secure funds, they can be looked for outside. Creating cultural infrastructure and digital tools is often supported by programs that are offered by regional, federal, or state agencies and institutions, or even private foundations. In the countries of the European Union it is possible to compete for funding within special programs available both a state and pan-European level; in some of them it is useful to have an academic partner to apply; some, however, are only available for municipalities, cultural institutions and NGOs. Such initiatives linked to the creation of local language spaces are also likely to increase the sense of community and ethnolinguistic vitality of a given group, to promote local activism and language specialists as well as deepen the awareness of linguistic-cultural diversity in the region and beyond. Examples of linking local languages to tourism include Gaelic in Scotland and Ireland, Manx on the Isle of Man, Maori in New Zealand, or Welsh in the United Kingdom. However, it is difficult to estimate to what degree touristic interest in these languages in fact increased their vitality and use. Certainly they have received more visibility and at least some of the local communities have benefitted from tourism.

No doubt, showing usefulness and value of an endangered language would be an important outcome of these initiatives and can foster actual language use. One can also hope for mobilizing the community and attracting new speakers. An example of such an ongoing initiative comes from the town of Wilamowice in southern Poland mentioned in the beginning of this chapter. Its unique language, Wymysiöeryś, developing since the thirteenth century (see p…..), almost became extinct toward the end of the past century fue to persecutions and the language ban of 1945. Now, however, Wymysiöeryś is a focus of vigorous revitalization efforts. In a parallel way to other components of the revitalization program, one of its most engaged participants and researchers, Barłomiej Chromik, along with local activists Justyna Majerska and Tymoteusz Król, launched in 2015 (with the support of the Foundation for Polish Science) the project *Creation of a touristic cluster in the Wilamowice Commune at the basis of Wymysiöeryś*.

The basic reason for undertaking this project was the concern that developing positive trends in sociolinguistic situation in Wilamowice may reverse when new users of Wymysiöeryś would decide to move out of the town after completing their education.

With an aim of preventing this situation, project members designed a strategy for creating workplaces that would stimulate the usage of Wymysiöeryś by the development of tourism. The basic assumption was that the creation of a cluster embracing the whole municipality (both Wilamowice and surrounding villages) would not only bring economic impact to language revitalization activities, but also help to create a more sustainable, long-term strategy for the community. Young Polish designers, ethnographers and an IT specialist were invited to collaborate on this initiative. Together with local activists, they designed and created the prototypes of souvenirs inspired by the culture of Wilamowice as well as board and computer games and the system of plaques with tourist information (http://etnoprojekt.pl/2.0). These products are being sold during all events focusing on Wymysiöeryś and organized or co-organized by the local NGO. They will also be soon available for sale in the bookstore on the main plaza in the town and in the museum of local linguistic-cultural heritage that is under construction. The concept of this museum was in fact developed during a collaborative international field school of the Engaged Humanities project of the University of Warsaw, SOAS/University of London and Leiden University in 2016 held in Wilamowice. After the field school local authorities decided to support the idea of a 'living museum' which would serve both as the focus of tourist cluster and as an artistic and educational space linked to the revitalization of Wymysiöeryś. The selected architectural design of the museum envisions a large space for the local amateur theatre group performing in Wymysiöeryś and for educational workshops for local and external participants.

Developing linguistic tourism can also be enhanced by commercializing handicrafts and ethno-design products, especially when they can be explicitly linked to the local language. In Wilamowice these products embrace T-shirts, mugs, badges and bags with word plays in Wymysiöeryś, a wide range of woven products (a traditional industry in the town), including items of clothing and accessories as well as a language game. On the Isle of Man, widely distributed products include T-shirts, home textiles or stands for cups and glasses with texts in Manx. All traditional communities have their own craftwork, be it ceramics, basketry, wood carvings or textiles – they can be linked to the heritage language in numerous ways as can be their distribution, marketing and sale.

The activities in Wilamowice also involved marking out touristic paths and preparing plaques in Wymysiöeryś, Polish and English about spots of historical and present importance. These plaques organize the movement of visitors and provide rich information about the town and its heritage. In addition, they form important components of local linguistic landscape that has strong impact on improving previously negative attitudes toward Wymysiöeryś, giving more visibility to ongoing revitalization activities. The project also created a touristic guide and available in Polish and English. It is downloadable from a special webpage focusing on tourism in Willamowice

(www.turystyka.wilamowice.pl). This website serves as a virtual substitute of a more traditional tourist information point and it can encourage visitors to come to the town. To make city tours even more attractive the team led by Chromik created and tested a quest game based on the topography of Wilamowice. It was developed together with local teenagers who learn the language and want to be involved in the development of tourism. The description of questing is also available on the same touristic website, which also provides information about activities and workshops that can be of interest for both community members and visitors. In fact, scenarios of workshops focusing on the local language, traditions and handicrafts (costume, weaving, dances etc.) were also developed during the same project. In addition, young new speakers of the language were trained to serve as guides in the town for tours based on linguistic-cultural heritage.

Taken together, complementary initiatives and activities are expected to create permanent work places associated with language revitalization as well as permanent forms of social/community engagement. These mutually-reinforcing components also include permanent language classes in the local school (initiated in 2013 as a result of collaborative efforts of local activists and engaged researchers from the University of Warsaw and Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań), the production of local souvenirs and ethno-design merchandize, a soon-to-be-opened living museum, creating of infrastructure for touristic groups as well as workshops and artistic activities with a strong potential for commercialization. The latter embrace a local theatre group operating under the patronage of the Polish Theatre in Warsaw, which also hosts special plays in Wymysiöeryś performed by Wilamovian youths. Such spectacles (along with media campaigns launched in all our collaborative projects) are essential for the positive marketing of minority languages in Poland. They increase the awareness of linguistic diversity of the country (despite post-war homogenization and dominant national ideology) and create more supportive attitudes within a broader society. The example of Wilamowice shows that such strategies can matter on a small scale and for one relatively small community. However, they are also valid and can be applied on a larger scale for languages with larger numbers of speakers. For example, in Wales, and especially in its northern part, in the domains of local and national government and administration, education, tourism and media the proficiency in Welsh is seen as a valuable asset of an individual in the labor market. Creating work opportunities for Welsh speakers in their communities has shown the economic potential of the language and contributes to its growth. The language is also seen as an opportunity for manufacturers and retailers, and thus as one of the driving forces for the economic growth in Wales.

Marketing language revitalization

Both the management of environment and linguistic tourism should become essential elements of marketing language revitalization. This, in turn, is essential for improving language attitudes, language use and levels of activism or support both inside and outside a specific community. Marketing a specific minority language is needed to increase its social status and to encourage a higher level of commitment from native speakers, language learners, potential new speakers as well as a broader society. The awareness of this necessity is growing. Already over two decades ago, it was pointed out that although in New Zealand the government started to spend large sums of money on preschool language nests, immersion primary schools as well as other initiatives, its language policies were not accompanied by marketing a sufficiently good image of the language. This lack of marketing hindered some of the investments in language revitalization, even if promoting the Maori language has been one of the major tasks of the Maori Language Commission established in 1987. The important addresses of Maori campaigns has become the wider population of New Zealand, but promoting intergenerational transmission among Maori families and learners of the language has been seen as yet another key necessity. [20]

Marketing language revitalization is also crucial for generating funding for language revitalization. Thus, what kind of solid arguments can you give to skeptical community members, parents, grandparents remembering language discrimination and violence, policy-makers, academics or sponsors? Connecting language revitalization to local tourism and to sound environmental knowledge is not everything we can refer to: there are also other benefits with important economic impact. As we learned in Chapter 1, multilingual individuals have increased cognitive potential, reflected in greater flexibility and capacity for task-solving as well as higher intellectual and social skills. It works for children, adults and the elderly – for the latter the usage of more than one language hinder cognitive decline and possibly delay the onset of symptoms of dementia. Research also shows that language revitalization and the use of the mother tongue throughout the stages of an individual's development are not only closely linked to improvements in self-esteem, but also to better health. We know that a strong correlation exists between language loss, deterioration in Indigenous health (e.g. the presence of diabetes), symptoms associated with post-traumatic stress, elevated suicide rates and alcoholism.[21] Preserving the heritage language helps to prevent these problems and to deal with them if they are present. As numerous studies and testimonies have shown, speaking a mother tongue or

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[20] Rangi Nicholson, Marketing the Maori Language, in: *Teaching Indigenous Languages*, edited by Jon Reyhner (pp. 206-213). Flagstaff, AZ: Northern Arizona University. http://jan.ucc.nau.edu/~jar/TIL_16.html
[21] e.g. Chandler & Lalonde 1998; McIvor, et al. 2009; Ball & Moselle 2013

going back to it in the process of 'individual revitalization' in connection to ancestral roots and ethnic identity, greatly improves psychological well-being. It also allows to better deal with stress, illness and experienced trauma or discrimination. Thus, if the negative forces of language loss are reversed, we can expect beneficial results: not only better health, but also better functioning in the society and in the job market. And this, in turn, has impact for the cost of medical healthcare and the general economy. Indeed, an argument language revitalizers are looking for is that a relatively modest (in the scale o state's expenditures!) investment in an endangered language can substantially lower costs of healthcare and social services. And, as argued before, it can generate economic assets for marginalized, often poor communities, reducing the need of the state's help. Put in the economic jargon, language revitalization has the potential to contribute to a reduction in the direct and indirect costs of many diseases, improving human capital of a given region.

Speakers of non-standard and non-national languages can also positively influence the labor market. We already know that multilingual individuals, including users of languages other than the dominant/national ones, are important assets for employers because it means an investment in the diversity of the cognitive potential of a company. And individuals with high-esteem and proud of their ethnic origin will perform much better than those who are ashamed of their identity and hinder communication in their heritage language. The promotion of multilingualism may also help to reduce negative labor choices driven by racism and dominant linguistic ideologies. Persons with lower self-esteem are often underemployed or employed for positions below their actual potential. This also happens because employers are sometimes driven by prejudice based on the origin or ethnic affiliation of potential workers. Thus, the efficient marketing of minority languages can bring economic benefits not only to their speakers, but also to other sectors or groups of a broader society.

The positive image and recognition of a minority language can sometimes do more good for language use then concrete revitalization or teaching activities. And, conversely, the lack of its presence in the spaces of prestige, the absence of positive marketing, may efficiently hinder an actual use. To give an example of such a situation I will quote the words of one of young speakers of Nahuatl in the Mexican state of Puebla:

> *Quemman, quemman polihuiz nahuatlahtolli naltepeuh, tleca tlacameh ihuan cihuameh amo quimatih ihuipan sirve para qué, para qué sirve, tleca, tlen ipatiuh. Nochtin tlacameh ihuan cihuameh amo tlahtoah ipan iyolloco centro, ipan Ayuntamiento [...] Porque tleca personas amo tlahtoah nahuatlahtolli, entonces amo patiyoh. Amo patiyoh quimatih nahuatlahtolli.*

'Yes, yes Nahuatl will perish in my town because the men and the women do not know what it can be used for, what it can be used for, why, what is its value. All the men and the women, they don't speak [Nahuatl] in the town center, in the municipality. Because those people do not speak Nahuatl, so it has no value. They know that Nahuatl has no value.' (Cuetlaxcoapan, Puebla, 2015, speaker in his late 20s)

The absence of the language in municipal offices is a powerful, negative sign for the speakers, denial of the value and utility of Nahuatl. However, even a small investment in the visual recognition in a public sphere or the presence of the language in public services not only creates jobs for speakers and gives their language some prestige, but also it conveys a message to the community that this language actually *is* useful. Therefore, our next step in Wilamowice will be to hang a huge banner on the municipal building located in the main square and communication route in the town. It will announce to the inhabitants and visitors that *S'Wymysiöeryśy śtejt uf,* "Wymysorys rises to its feet*."*

9.1. Benefits for community

When we started our actions related to the revitalization of the Vilamovian culture, we encountered three main difficulties. The basis for them were different approaches among the inhabitants.

The youngest generation was of the opinion that Wymysioerys is not a practical language so there's no point in learning it. The middle generation saw the Vilamovian culture as ground for ridicule – as had been repeated since the 50ties of the 20th century by the neighbours from surrounding villages. The oldest generation, the one that was most hurt by their fate, the one that still remembered repressions related to Wymysioerys (which translated into an ever-renewed approach of the local authorities) did not want to use Wymysioerys because of a fear that the persecutions will return.

What did not help was the attitude of the local authorities who descended mostly from the surrounding villages and took the same approach toward Vilamovian culture as those shared by their inhabitants.

The situation would probably stay the same until today if the Faculty of „Artes Liberales" of the University of Warsaw did not get engage in the revitalization activities. It started in 2014 when the first international conference was organised in Wilamowice – and parts of it were in Wymysioerys. It raised the prestige status of the language among the local inhabitants and authorities who until then considered our activities, nothing but a flash in the pan. It also fell to us to change the attitude of the oldest generation – members of which we invited to present on Vilamovian culture and their histories during our various meetings and events.

Thanks to that they became aware of the interest in their culture and realized that the public use of Wymysioerys – and in front of other people – is not only unpunished, but even welcome.

It helped them work through their trauma related to the persecutions. Through various actions we've managed to make Wymysioerys trendy among our youth who also started understanding our actions as their contribution to the conservation of their cultural heritage. They derive joy and happiness from continuing the tradition and the heritage of their ancestors. The oldest inhabitants are visited by the youth to talk together and it makes them feel needed. They not only get practical help from the young people but also feel needed and heard – they can count on people who will gladly listen to them.

We have also managed to awaken the Vilamovian identity in the youngest and oldest inhabitants – and this is one of the most important markers of Vilamovian culture. Thanks to that people have gotten a better acceptance regarding their own feeling of belonging.

The biggest work is still left to be done regarding the middle generation, the one that was brought up in compulsory Polishness. They are the parents that have the greatest influence on an efficient learning of Wymysioerys among the youth because they can either forbid or allow them to attend the classes. Thanks to several meetings and psycho-linguistic lectures they no longer consider learning Wymysioerys a waste of time, but are more conscious of the benefits of multilingualism (rare in Poland). A different approach to being Vilamovian was also helpful – we reclaimed those aspects that previously subjected us to ridicule, changing them into our assets.

We have also taken it onto ourselves to disseminate the knowledge about the persecutions and the dire fates of inhabitants which have hitherto been tabooed. This subject has been brought up many times in the public sphere and recently work has been done to collect documents and memories of the inhabitants regarding this time period – thanks to that we can hope that (at least to a certain extent) the sufferings of the people who had survived the persecutions will be repaid. We can also hope that others will be more aware of this problem and will understand that it is not a reason for shame. The actions of Vilamovian organizations related to revitalization also have a significant effect on the wellbeing of Vilamovians. They are very strongly mobilized and engaged in those actions of the community – thus maybe conforming to the archetype of Vilamovians being mostly integrated in a closed circle. Those organisations are the only one that meet the cultural needs of the inhabitants because the offer of the local authorities is lacking in that regard.

The participants create bonds but also feel happy because through their actions they create something for Wilamowice – and this is one of the markers of the local ideas of wellbeing for Vilamovians. Such actions also results in measurable benefits – like in the case of the Song and Dance Ensemble „Wilamowice" whose members get the chance not only to participate in its performances and travelling with the group (for many members these are the only trips they get the chance to participate in) but also to foster their own personal development through visits in museums and places of interest. Membership in such organizations also allows elderly people to remain physically fit longer and becomes a way of detaching oneself from problems as a well as a means of relaxation. We also know about cases where the help that the older generation provides in the revitalization process has stopped the progression of dementia and served as a kind of rehabilitation.

The last part of the benefits is economic. The local authorities have finally noticed the chance for the development of the region on the basis of Vilamovian culture and thus more and more local initiatives related to this subject are founded. Huge support was provided by the project related to the commercialization of research findings related to the linguistic revitalization and the related idea of the creation of a tourism cluster – all authored by Bartłomiej Chromik MA.

The actions have also enabled the inhabitants to develop language tourism – and consequently economic activity. Thanks to the projects related to linguistic documentation, the youths who know Wymysioerys can be employed therein and so they begin to see the knowledge of Wymysioerys as an economic asset.

Chapter 10

Local power relationships, community dynamics, and stakeholders

Among the lessons I learned from my late grandfather, Miami Tribe of Oklahoma Chief waapimaankwa (White Loon, 1925-2008), is the importance of understanding relationships – among people, places, ideas, and institutions – and the associated community dynamics. He knew that in order for the Miami people to be successful, the efforts of our tribal government had to be aligned with the values and norms of our community, and he thus spent a lot of time talking to community members and asking about their perspectives. My grandfather's wisdom combined traditional Miami tribal knowledge with Western education, along with years of experience in leading our tribal nation toward economic sustainability and reclamation of our culture and language, myaamia, the revitalization of which he championed. myaamia was erroneously labeled 'extinct' in the categories of Western science because it went out of use almost completely in the 1960s. As such, a foundational means of fostering relationships within our community – through our language – became compromised. However, myaamia was well documented in a large body of written records prior to its dormancy, and from these records the Miami community started learning myaamia so we could build stronger relationships with each other, with our tribal lands, and with our ancestors. I did not have access to myaamia until I was a young adult in the 1990s, when revitalization efforts began, but am proud that I now hear Miami children speaking it.

In this chapter I offer a synthesis of key ideas that have emerged from the application of my grandfather's wisdom to my language revitalization experiences within the Miami community and in other Indigenous communities, primarily smaller groups in the United States and Canada. I began this work in the late 1990s as a Miami tribal member and a (then nascent, now professional) linguist, and write from this perspective. I offer this commentary with the caveat that lessons from my experiences will not apply to all communities that are engaged in language revitalization. Indeed, communities and language situations are diverse; each must be examined in its own context because revitalization is ultimately a local phenomenon, even though it occurs with global influences. This noted, as also shown throughout the other chapters in this book, there are recurrent themes in language endangerment and the associated responses. The key theme for the current chapter is that language revitalization occurs among people who have relationships with each other and with their languages. It is important to focus on these relationships when planning, implementing, or assessing a revitalization effort.

I begin this discussion by clarifying my use of certain terms: POWER, POWER RELATIONS,

and COMMUNITY DYNAMICS. Often, particularly in discussions of politics or economics, 'power' refers to the authority, and the associated ability, to *control* people and resources. For the current discussion, I adopt a more general definition of 'power', one that is more representative of my grandfather's approach to leadership: the ability of individuals or groups to produce an effect, including *guiding* the behavior of others.[22] I use 'power relations' as it is commonly employed in social sciences to refer to relationships in which one person or group has higher ability, by virtue of their social positions and resources, to influence the behavior of another person or group. By 'community dynamics', I refer to the totality of relationships and power relations in a given community, as well as the underlying historical, cultural, legal, and other factors that inform how people relate to each other.

Understanding power and community dynamics

A general principle of language revitalization is that it concurrently builds and disrupts community dynamics. To understand why this is so, it is useful to consider two questions that are closely related conceptually, but whose answers can be very different:

- What are the social dynamics within a given community?
- What do the members of a given community believe to be their ideal social dynamics?

While language revitalization occurs within a context of actual community dynamics, it is very often linked to broader efforts to restore traditional values and community health – that is, to move toward a different community dynamic. In other words, language revitalization is a response to a misalignment between a community's actual practices and its ideal practices, and although it ultimately restores community wellbeing, the mismatches that occur during the process can be a source of significant tension.

The disconnect between actual and ideal community dynamics can be particularly severe when a language has gone out of use completely, as occurred with myaamia. In these situations, the traditional norms of language transmission and socialization that many people believe to be ideal must at least temporarily be modified. For example, an ideal I have frequently heard articulated in Indigenous communities is that languages should be transmitted through everyday cultural practices from older generations to youth. In my community, this ideal of course could not be realized in our initial stage of

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[22] 'Power' is meant neutrally here, but in contexts where it has come to have specific (especially negative) connotations, one might instead use different terms or clarify power relations through questions such as, 'Who is expected to guide whom, who listens to whom, and why?'.

revitalization, which entailed learning myaamia from documents. In communities where the only first-language speakers are elders, a different problem sometimes results: 'speaker' may become overly associated with 'elder', although this link exists only because of language endangerment. Such thinking can work against revitalization if it fosters a situation in which younger people are deemed to never be legitimate speakers, even when they learn a language to a high level of proficiency. The role of writing presents another noteworthy example: The ideal may be for a language to *not* be written. However, given that revitalization responds to a situation in which traditional language transmission mechanisms have been compromised, writing may become necessary. Ideas about gender provide yet another example: Community members' ideas about gendered cultural roles may clash with the values held by other community members, and might also conflict with practical needs even when there is agreement about gender roles. For instance, there may not be any speakers of the appropriate gender to perform a given language activity.

I have found two interventions to be useful for addressing conflicts that arise in these situations. First is open acknowledgement and discussion of the idea that language revitalization often entails engaging in social practices that are different from an 'ideal' community dynamic, but that can serve as a means of moving toward different social norms should community members want this. Second is recognition that conflicting opinions about community dynamics, while challenging to deal with in the moment, provide evidence that people are invested in their community's future, and this is a good thing.

Power also can guide beliefs about language structure (grammar and vocabulary in particular) and norms of use.[23] Describing, researching, and especially learning and speaking languages promote certain ways of understanding, and by extension of thinking about, language. A common phenomenon is that whatever is true for the people who have social power becomes the 'correct' grammar and pronunciation for a given language, as well as the 'right' way to think about it. Key for revitalization planning, therefore, is the identification of the underlying community dynamics in a language revitalization effort and consideration of how these play out in guiding language beliefs and practices.

The same principle also applies to language resource materials. Even something that is called 'language description' and has no intent of imposing a certain way of speaking may nevertheless have this effect, especially when the person creating the

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[23] Here, I refer not only to the possible ways a given idea could be expressed in a given language, but also to whether an idea would be expressed at all, and if so, who would be expected to say it to whom in what context.

description has higher social status than the person learning from it. Commonly, this happens in language revitalization contexts with published language materials, such as grammar reference books whose descriptions can take on a level of truth, though they are arguably examples of possible analyses by experts trained with particular tools. A strategy for minimizing this problem is to acknowledge (and celebrate) the specific backgrounds of individual speakers and researchers who have contributed to creating language resources. For language speakers, this includes mention of where they learned the language (particularly if it reflects a regional dialect) and other factors that inform how they speak and think about language. For researchers, this includes noting how their training influences what they notice and conclude, as well as how they present their analyses.

Another important issue arises with outside researchers, such as linguists, which is that their credentials and expert status often co-occur with racial and socioeconomic privilege, both of which enhance social power. Even researchers who are themselves members of language communities, as is the case for me, often enjoy relatively high social power, though of course equally important as professional credentials are their other traits such as age, gender, membership in a given family, and previous community engagement. As a general lesson, one might say that everybody involved in a language revitalization effort benefits from being aware of these issues, and that the people with higher social power have an increased responsibility to acknowledge how what they say and do may guide others, regardless of intent.

Identifying and respecting all stakeholders

Recognizing that tribal community dynamics do not occur in a vacuum, a general practice of my grandfather was to look beyond our tribal community and to foster alliances with members of other communities. This practice has come to characterize myaamia language revitalization programs, which ultimately are for Miami people but nevertheless include non-Miami people in a variety of roles. That is to say, myaamia language revitalization, similar to other cases of Indigenous language revitalization, has many STAKEHOLDERS – people and institutions with a concern and interest in the process. In this section I address types of stakeholders and the importance of identifying and considering their perspectives.

For this discussion, I call attention to two major categories of stakeholders in situations of language endangerment and revitalization: COMMUNITY-INTERNAL STAKEHOLDERS and COMMUNITY-EXTERNAL STAKEHOLDERS. Within the former group are the community

members with language knowledge,[24] current and future language learners, community leaders in language programs and elsewhere, and others with various levels of community engagement. Within the latter group are researchers whose professional work engages with Indigenous languages, various governments, funding agencies, educational institutions and educators, and the wider public.[25]

Frequently omitted in discussions of stakeholders, but very important for understanding Indigenous language revitalization and related work, is that many communities also recognize stakeholders beyond living humans. Ancestors, for example, may be stakeholders; my late grandfather is among the stakeholders of Miami language revitalization. A higher power, however conceived of or named, may have provided the gift of language to the community and thus becomes a stakeholder that must be thanked and honored. Similarly, beyond being the literal foundation on which people speak and transmit languages, land may be a key stakeholder. Indeed, specific landscapes are reflected in the grammar and vocabulary of Indigenous languages, and this reflects the relationship between communities and places. To ensure that the full set of stakeholders in a given context can emerge, it is important that 'relationship' be defined broadly.

After identifying all stakeholders in a given language context, I have found it useful to consider the following areas to understand their engagement and perspectives: NEEDS, RESOURCES, and GOALS. For ease of presentation, I discuss each area separately, though they are interrelated (as with everything else) and thus must be evaluated together.

Needs: Community needs will presumably include language resources, but I omit a discussion of this point because, in my experience, it is generally self-evident to most stakeholders (though the usefulness of the resources that get provided varies significantly). Somewhat less self-evident, in my experience, have been needs that go beyond language such as a means to earn a living, whether direct (a salary for language work, for example), or indirect (as might occur when university-based scholars are

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[24] In much of the literature on language endangerment and revitalization, there is strong emphasis on fluent speakers who acquired the language as children through prototypical intergenerational transmission, with much less recognition of the linguistic knowledge held by others who do not meet this 'speaker' prototype. I use the term 'language knowledge' in recognition that speakerhood exists in many forms, all of which have value.

[25] In real-life situations, there is rarely a clean split between community-internal and community-external stakeholders. Community members can take on the interests of outside institutions that they are part of, and so-called 'external' stakeholders, despite lacking heritage in a given community, may have very strong community relationships.

expected to publish about the revitalization work they are engaged in). Identifying and responding to these kinds of needs is crucial for revitalization program sustainability over the long-term. Also tremendously important, and in my experience missed the most by community-external stakeholders (though sometimes also by community-internal stakeholders), is that language revitalization requires great emotional and spiritual work, thus creating the need for appropriate support. For example, I have found learning myaamia to be very empowering, but it also serves as a reminder of the colonial violence that my ancestors experienced. I thus seek support through relationships with other Indigenous people, both within my community and beyond, who are also reclaiming their languages of heritage in the face of ongoing colonialism.

Resources: While there are sometimes expectations about what one *should* give to a revitalization effort, I argue that focusing instead on what one *can* give, and *wants to* give, is a better practice. Linguistic knowledge is often highlighted as the key resource, and indeed many discussions of language endangerment emphasize language speakers and their importance. However, there is a problem with reducing full persons, who have a variety of roles and relationships, to 'speakers' and evaluating them accordingly. Speakers, as with other stakeholders, have various types of knowledge and experience beyond language, and bring pre-existing relationships and networks into revitalization projects. They also have diverse needs, which are easy to overlook when a person is reduced to a single trait, such as being a speaker. Putting the focus instead on full persons and all of their relationships is thus called for.

Goals: I have frequently observed a difference in the goals of community-internal stakeholders, especially those who are most actively engaged in language revitalization programs, compared to community-external stakeholders, especially those that are large and less directly connected to Indigenous communities. A recurrent pattern is that they all claim to support language revitalization, but have notably different understandings of what 'language' is and also of what constitutes successful language revitalization. This has significant implications for understanding goals.

Among many community-external stakeholders, there is recognition of language's social value and how it reflects and shapes culture, but often in a less direct way than is commonly expressed by members of Indigenous communities. In linguistic science, for example, there is a tendency to adopt structural definitions of 'language', where the emphasis is on grammatical patterns. While the discipline of Linguistics is increasingly emphasizing cultural approaches to 'language', it is nevertheless still common for

endangered languages to be analyzed and talked about without reference to the people who claim them. Also common with community-external stakeholders, particularly large groups such as governments and funding agencies, is a tendency for languages to be talked about as if they are objects that can be counted, organized into scientific categories, and preserved.

This contrasts significantly with community members who define 'language' in terms of their peoplehood (for example, saying 'language is us' or 'we would not be [community name] without our language'), in terms of spirituality, or with respect to responsibilities they have to acquire and pass on their cultures. I have also heard that 'language is power' from many people in revitalization contexts. This may refer to the idea of social power as discussed earlier, or it could refer to 'power' in a different way (and of course the definition in a specific context should be clarified) – but the general idea of language's importance is clear regardless.

It is only after the different stakeholders in a given effort have clarified their definitions of 'language' that it becomes feasible to understand their language revitalization goals, which tend to be driven both by definitions of 'language' and ideas about what constitutes successful revitalization. For second-language learning of major world languages, 'success' often entails proficiency in speaking and/or writing. However, while the ability to speak is a widely articulated goal of Indigenous communities – perhaps the most common – it is problematic to assume that world language norms map onto those of endangered language communities, or that it is appropriate to overly focus on a revitalization endpoint that will take multiple generations to achieve. Instead, I argue that it is more useful to conceive of smaller, measurable goals (for example, 'I aim to be able to _____ in my language by the end of the summer' or 'I want to be able to pray in my language') that may be located within larger objectives (for example, 'I want to honor my ancestors').

In summary, when cultural marginalization has led a community to shift away from its language, revitalization goes far beyond mastering vocabulary and grammar because it includes restoring cultural practices, beliefs, and pride. In other words, it entails building better community dynamics. I conclude this discussion by returning to what I best understand to be my grandfather's general goals as a tribal leader of the Miami people, and also specifically for myaamia language revitalization. His general goals for the Miami people focused on creating a positive future, which he saw as emerging from a healthy, sustainable community based in strong relationships. His language revitalization goal was the same: a healthy, sustainable community based in strong relationships.

Tomasz Wicherkiewicz

Chapter 11

Dealing with institutions and policy-makers

Revitalization of a language is a combination of ideas and actions that focus on the language system itself, on language users, their attitudes to the language, as well as the methods and domains of language acquisition and usage. Language communities, though, never function in isolation and rarely can fully decide on the future of their languages. Most revitalization efforts are eventually confronted with authorities and high-ranking policy-makers. These higher institutions usually represent the state, whose dominant language is different from the language being revitalized. Obviously, the language policies of these institutions do not deal solely with endangered languages. What is more, they usually focus on maintaining and supporting the national, official, dominant languages of the state. The communities who endeavor to revive and strengthen their languages often launch their own strategies, i.e. they also have a language policy.

Language policies are decisions, positions and principles regarding language, its nature and role - any actions that affect language use and usage. This might include language education, writing and spelling, or the choice of language(s) in the public space

When we think about language policies, we usually mean state or administrative language policies, or '**top-down**' policies as they are known. On the other hand, all parts of society have language policies, e.g. schools, commercial companies, communities, language movements, families and even individuals. These are called **'bottom-up'** language policies. Both kinds of policy may be either overt or implicit and unstated, and they are often based on language ideologies (see chapter XX). Nevertheless, the most powerful and influential parties are often seem to be **institutions** and/or other 'top-down' **policy-makers**.

A prototype for the modern statehood has been based on the 'Nation-state' model. The political concepts and practices of nation-states were born and developed in Europe, and are commonly reproduced in other parts of the world. The simplistic image of a 'nation-state' functioning in just one 'state-national' language has been destructive for language diversity; **top-down** language policy has been widely used as a crucial part of nation-building, and these '**top-down**' policies have largely been based on the imposition of one 'superior' language over lesser 'vernaculars' or 'dialects'.

As Eva Codó has pointed out, traditionally, 'nation-states' have been key players in the design and implementation of language policy. In fact, the role of the state has both increased and become more nuanced , as new 'agenda-setting' political actors have emerged, both in supranational institutions and agencies, and in subnational (regional, interregional, municipal) administrative bodies and organizations.

The relationship between states, societies, and the economic sector has altered profoundly; social-economic factors now play a much more prominent role in institutional negotiations and affect power relations in language revitalization, maintenance and planning. For example, recently there has been growing interest among large (global) retail chains, some financial companies and local small businesses, in using non-official, co-official, and semi-official languages (languages recognized and used only in some domains) as part of their promotional strategy. Using **bilingual product names,** or offering **menus or commercials** in regional languages contributes to the promotion of these language varieties as they could be used as an argument in favor of further language planning negotiations that aim to promote these language varieties. Therefore, the economic sector might become a valuable ally in language revitalization, regardless of the official attitude of the authorities.

Because some aspects of language are commonly held to be symbolic, i.e. emblematic of identity, dealing with language policy can arouse strong feelings and highlight the politics of language(s). The politics of language is firmly based on, and also reflects, the relationship between state, nation, ethnicity, language and identity. It also relates to other issues, such as **language rights**, (referring also to the phenomena of language exclusion, restriction, or protection), enforcement of monolingualism or promotion of multilingualism, migrants' languages, suppression of dialects, etc. Language rights are often treated as a part of human rights, and can be addressed by **non-governmental organizations** or **international institutions** (see below).

For many people, language policy refers to the goals and intentions of a group or institution, expressed in statements of a political nature. Language communities, activists and revitalizers can of course express such **political statements**, too.   While such statements vary with time and according to the political constellations of individual languages and their communities, they might include:

- public petitions, including those on social media
- media campaigns, including those supported by famous people/celebrities
- nonviolent protest actions, rallies and demonstrations
- political lobbying through parties or individual MPs

- lobbying through the MEPs (Members of European Parliament), some of whom have formed the Intergroup for Traditional Minorities, National Communities and Languages

Language planning involves concrete actions or measures to implement policy decisions. Language planning as a concept is less political than language policy, although in practice, all aspects of language planning can become political when combined with power relations, and when requiring negotiations with institutions and policy-makers. Both policy and planning need to take into account linguistic and extra-linguistic factors. **Linguistic** factors refer to features of the language itself (such as vocabulary or grammar), while **extra-linguistic** factors refers to external influences such as politics, laws, economic factors, attitudes and ideologies, etc.

Traditionally, language **planning** is subdivided into some domains: corpus planning, status and prestige planning, as well as acquisition planning. These sub-categories are distinct but interdependent, and each needs to be taken into account when planning language revitalization.

Corpus planning aims at adapting the language in order to meet the needs and objectives defined in policy-making. Usually, it seeks to increase the usage of a language by developing its linguistic resources, including vocabulary, grammar, and often writing conventions.

For example, the *Académie française was* founded in 1653 to act as France's official authority on the usage, vocabulary, and grammar of the French language. Following the example of nation-state language planning activities, , minority language communities often establish **academies**, **language boards** or **committees** of their own, with the objective of developing literary standards and eliminating 'impurities' from their language. The very existence of such language agencies is often a prerequisite for language-status recognition by authorities or amongst the general public. Authorities, for example, often require that minority language communities standardize their dialect-clusters or linguistic continua in order to resemble 'developed' nation-state languages, while public opinion tends to consider non-standardized language varieties as sub-standard, e.g. dialects, slang, *patois*, etc. Even though it is not strictly necessary for the revitalization or maintenance of endangered languages, **standardization** might constitute a decisive argument in negotiations on official recognition of a language.

An increasingly essential aspect of language planning is designing and establishing **language corpora** (structured collections of written and/or spoken texts) and/or **language archives** (the latter are of particular importance for endangered languages). As numerous dominant languages backed by nation-states and their agencies already have

institutionalized language corpora, similar initiatives undertaken by or on behalf of minority language communities usually provoke less opposition on the part of policy-makers than most other actions. In addition, programs or projects which aim at documenting and archiving heritage languages, seem to be rejected less frequently than other language planning activities in various government subsidy or grant competitions. Regardless of policy-makers' generally negative attitudes, archiving and preserving of local/regional heritage languages might be accepted at most language policy levels, as are various research programs launched in cooperation between minority communities and academia. Therefore, a project to create and develop a language archive for one or more endangered languages or varieties can win favor with decision-makers and receive (financial) support, even if the variety in question is commonly regarded as 'just a dialect' (of another recognized language). From a documentary linguistics' perspective, a good archive is a good archive, thus a representative and accessible corpus is an efficient instrument for archiving and revitalizing 'languages' and 'dialects' with no difference.

Status planning aims at changing the functions and uses of a language by influencing who uses it, in which situations and for which purposes. The status of a language can be raised or lowered in relation to other languages, and this often involves the change of its political/legal status.

Negotiating the status of a language variety usually starts as a 'bottom-up' initiative by a grassroots actor, and it is this aspect of language planning that most often involves intense power-negotiations and deals with institutions and policy-makers at various levels.

Grassroots movements and organizations use collective action at the community level to effect change at the local, regional, national, or international level. Grassroots movements are associated with 'bottom-up' decision-making and are considered more 'natural' or spontaneous than 'top-down' initiatives by more traditional power structures. Grassroots movements self-organize to inspire and encourage community members to engage and contribute to actions for their own community. The very character and guidelines of grassroots activities also match language revival programs. It is also more and more frequent to have the active participation of engaged outsiders, be it non-native new speakers of endangered languages or invited experts or researchers of revitalized language(s). Nevertheless, most studies of language revitalization programs stress that revitalization efforts must not be undertaken without the community of (potential) speakers, let alone against their wishes.

Grassroots movements not only represent (minority) communities in terms of language-related campaigns or negotiations, they can also advocate environmental issues

of vital importance to local, indigenous communities, such as the Ainu in Hokkaido Japan, or communities in China or Brazil who all oppose construction of dams on their life-giving rivers, or the Sorbs in Lusatia, whose land has been badly damaged by lignite mining.

Good leadership is of great importance in 'bottom-up' language status planning actions vis-à-vis policy-makers. Grenoble & Whaley (2006: 34) stress that successful leaders have good organizational abilities and are sensitive to both individual differences and collective needs. According to Grenoble and Whaley, the following factors must be taken into account:

● an honest assessment of its own level of autonomy and the possibilities or limitations offered to it by its national structure,

● an honest assessment of human resources, as well as

● a clear articulation of what community members want to do with their language, along with an honest assessment of the attitudes, beliefs, and other obstacles that may prevent them from achieving their goals.

At times, it is the authorities themselves who resolve to settle the political status of a language variety through 'top-down' measures. However, it would seem much more common for 'top-down' language policy to favor the state official language and subordinately rank non-dominant languages as co-official, auxiliary or heritage, usually refusing any status to languages spoken by immigrants or to varieties that are labelled as dialects.

There are, though, counterexamples to this rule of the thumb. A case in point might be the arrangements undertaken by the Portuguese state in reference to the Mirandese language. This geographically peripheral variety of the Astur-Leonese language continuum, which is divided by the Spain-Portugal state border, had been used in a diglossic context with official Portuguese. Its community had not striven for any particular status or undertaken language-planning activities until the 1990s. At the time, (Western) Europe was intensifying institutional efforts aimed at protecting and promoting the continent's language diversity. Portugal, despite being an active member of the European community, was nevertheless reluctant to support such institutional initiatives, when e.g. refusing to sign or ratify the below-discussed *European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages* or to accede the European Bureau for Lesser-Used Languages). As a sort of replacement for the European initiatives for endangered languages, in 1999 the Republic of Portugal implemented an arbitrary set of legal and sociolinguistic measures in support of Mirandese, creating an entirely 'top-down' language maintenance program as far as corpus, status, prestige, and acquisition planning were concerned.

Prestige planning is, in some ways different from status planning. It aims to make a language acceptable in contexts with high(er) prestige (like science, arts and literature, media) or to creating opportunities for use in these types of settings e.g. by establishing new institutions (scientific, educational, artistic, etc.) which function in the language. Prestige planning is also about trying to influence language ideologies and language attitudes (see chapter 00). Both 'top-down' and 'bottom-up' actions may aim to influence a language's prestige. Prestige planning also requires good public relations to ensure that policy and planning measures are accepted by the public; if this is not done, they are unlikely to succeed. It is also important to pay attention to the attitudes of majority populations, especially if public money is requested to support minority languages, as their taxes will be spent on it.

Dealing with policy-makers in order to build up and strengthen the prestige of a community language might be quite challenging in the case of varieties that are perceived as ugly, un(der)developed, poor, corroded, spoiled, transitional, uneducated, etc. Throughout modern history many, if not most, non-dominant languages all over the world have been stigmatized by nation-state societies with the above labels. Therefore, it is crucial for there to be a sustained **destigmatization** of non-dominant language varieties, as well as the promotion of multilingualism and language diversity. For some communities this includes destigmatization at the lowest level of linguistic variation (e.g. dialectal).

Destigmatization may sometimes lead to a **change of status** of language varieties. For instance, a long-term 'bottom-up' campaign in favor of the endangered Ryukyuan languages has recently resulted in a 'top-down' agreement amongst most Japanese linguists and government to revise and restructure the hitherto linguistic classification of Ryukyuan as dialects of Japanese. Ryukyu is a southern archipelago of Japan, where each of the islands used to form a separate speech community. Recently, the term 'Japanese language' has been replaced in English by 'Japonic languages' (or 'Japanese-Ryukyuan language family'), to include Ryukyuan as a complex of individual languages. Admittedly, the corresponding terms in Japanese have been coined in a slightly different manner: 日本語族 ('Japan's language family'), 日本列島で話 ('tongue[s] of Japanese archipelago'), or a neutral borrowed term ジャポニック[語族] ('*Japonikku* language family'). This change of terminology, however, clearly resulted in a reinforcement of revitalization efforts by some of the Ryukyuan insular communities.

In Europe, there has been a significant change in the prestige of individual language varieties, which were previously considered 'dialects', 'patois', 'platt', or 'speech'. This has been anresult of the introduction of the term 'regional languages' by the European Charter for regional or Minority Languages (see below). Following the introduction of the Charter, Germany decided to recognize Low German as

Regionalsprache, Poland declared Kashubian a *język regionalny,* the Netherlands sanctioned Low Saxon and Limburgian as *streektalen*, while Scots and Ulster Scots gained recognition as regional languages in the United Kingdom. Other language communities, such as Venetian, Piedmontese or Sicilian in Italy, or Latgalian in Latvia, have actively sought the same status when strengthening their language revitalization efforts.

It is common for top-down policy and planning actions officially (but very superficially) promote minority languages among minority communities themselves. This is often done instead of adopting a more inclusive and multifaceted campaigns which simultaneously address minority speakers, government administration, societal authorities (experts, specialists, celebrities, distinguished activists), non-government organizations, and other policy-actors. An example of the former may be the relatively ineffective *Campaign promoting the use of national/ethnic minority/regional languages*, carried out by the Polish government in 2014. This action was actually required by the *European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages* Committee of Experts' Report, so ministry officials hastily, and with little consultation, prepared and published some web materials and printed texts regarding minorities. These materials were then sent out to the very same minority institutions, who had actually been involved in preparing them. As might be expected, the next report that the Polish authorities sent to the Council of Europe referred to the "effective promotion of use of minority languages".

Achieving an internationally recognized language status should also be a valuable argumentation for a community when negotiating other language planning issues and policies with decision-makers. One possible option is to apply for an **ISO-code**, also known as *Codes for the Representation of Names of Languages*. These codes are used to classify languages by the Library of Congress in Washington, DC (USA) and by the *Ethnologue.com*. They are a standardized classification, where each language is assigned two or three letters (ISO 639-1, -2 and -3). The most common three-letter codes are allotted by an institution called SIL International, who receives and reviews applications for requesting new language codes and for any changes to existing ones. Languages are eligible for a code if they are "in use by a group of people for human communication, and [...] have been in use for a period of time". For example, previously unrecognized language communities in Poland, including Kashubian, Silesian and Wilamowice's Wymysiöryś, have been successful in receiving the codes: *csb*, *szl*, and *wym* respectively. Kashubian is now a recognized regional language, while the two latter communities strive for state recognition as a part of their intense campaigns for language maintenance and revitalization. Although some applications for ISO-codes are rejected they are often given suggestions on how to modify proposals for resubmission.

Acquisition planning focuses on language transmission, language learning and teaching, (re)gaining language skills, language shift, bi- or multilingualism patterns, plus - in a wider context - foreign and second language learning. Occasionally, acquisition planning is considered to be the same as language revitalization and maintenance, as people assume that because schools are so good at killing languages, they can also save languages. Therefore, many minority communities perceive teaching their endangered language in school as THE objective and a tool of language planning at the same time.

Acquisition policy is often not compatible with educational policy (e.g. of a state, region, group, denomination, etc.). However, every so often, an institutional language teaching curriculum is an important factor when negotiating language planning strategies such as revitalization. Granting the right to **teach** a language often means giving access to the education system, and providing **teaching of** or **in a language** (usually) means that it has official recognition. Therefore, communities often strive to have their language used in the school system as proof of the status of their language.

All over the world, educational authorities as well as communities themselves, delude societies and international institutions responsible for language diversity into believing that a couple of hours of lessons a week in a school curriculum is effective for language acquisition. This overlooks the difference between the teaching *of* a language (usually on a much less effective base than the official or and foreign languages) and teaching *in* a native language. Many minority-language communities, not to mention the dominant society majorities or decision-making authorities, are not aware of issues relating to language acquisition in minority-majority situations, the bi-/multilingual development of a child, or effective teaching methods. Therefore, more information and education are basic requirements when negotiating and developing a model of language teaching. Furthermore, when planning teaching provisions for minority languages, it also seems quite common for both minority groups and educational authorities seem to ignore the achievements and findings from of psycholinguistics, multilingualism and language acquisition studies.

On the other hand, many promising grassroots teaching initiatives are being rejected as non-official or non-professional. As in many revitalization efforts, community engagement is crucial when designing language acquisition strategies,. One should remember that it is not the school itself that helps the young members of a community to acquire the language; when negotiating educational provisions with the policy-makers, special attention should be devoted to the particular language teaching methods that will be used, such as (early) **immersion**, **language nests**, **bi-/multilingual teaching**, or **CLIL** (*Content and Language Integrated Learning*, which can be understood as 'culture-and-

language-integrated learning'). Not infrequent are cases when schools put children off the minority language, by teaching them in a mostly ineffective and boring way.

There are some minority-language teaching programs that were started entirely on the initiative of the communities, e.g. the *Diwan* Federation of Breton-medium schools in Brittany/France, or *ABBA* - Association of Belarusian parents (now active as the Association for Belarusian-learning children and youth) in Podlachia/Poland. Through intense and far-sighted activity, both organizations managed to get recognition from educational authorities and introduce their community languages into mainstream school curricula.

The most effective teaching programs seem to be those that not only offer teaching *of* and *in* the community language, but also try to (re)create, (re)describe, research and (re)interpret holistically the indigenous universe with innovative scientific and pedagogical tools, based however on traditional worldviews. Innovative curricula have been implemented at *Sámi allaskuvla* (Sámi University of Applied Sciences) in Guovdageaidnu/Kautokeino in Sápmi Scandinavia, *Ka Haka ʻUla O Keʻelikōlani* (University of Hawaiʻi College of Hawaiian) at Hilo, and in native Northern American institutions, who act in accordance with the Indigenous Nations' Higher Education Program as part of the World Indigenous Nations University initiative. Such institutions themselves become productive and influential policy-makers, acting as language-planners and community representatives- at both regional and international levels. .

Teaching of an (endangered) language must include all the aspects and objects of language planning and not solely independent and unalloyed acquisition network. A language should possess a developed corpus, have an established status and a stable or growing level of prestige in order to function efficiently.

Of course, some forms of language planning in revitalization contexts go beyond the simple three-part classification described above. One example is so-called *language normalization,* which involves incorporating many aspects of language planning into holistic socio-linguistic projects aimed at language empowerment (e.g. the *normalización lingüística* in Spain as adapted for e.g. Basque, Catalan, Galician, or Asturian Another example is the **standardization** of a language (described earlier in the chapter), which involves both corpus and status planning. – .

A common opinion is that different human societies speak, or at least ought to speak, distinct languages with clear boundaries. This belief is strongly influenced by ideas of state-nationalism originating in Europe. According to this belief, linguistic boundaries involve a clearly defined grammar, vocabulary, sound system and rules of usage, and, if possible, a writing system. Moreover, it is commonly believed that linguistic boundaries

should correspond to a particular political and geographical context. Generally, many societies and authorities would gladly see the world neatly structured into distinct nation-states, each with a fully-fledged nation-state-language; a stable communication system, with clear territories, numbers of speakers, norms, language names, and status, etc.

Historically, the term standard language was established over the course of the 19th century. It is only in the 21st century, however, that this otherwise technical term has become more prominent in modern discourse. The standard language ideology suggests that certain languages exist mainly, or only, in standardized forms. This belief affects the way in which speakers' communities think about their own language and about 'language' in general. One may say that speakers of these languages live in **standard language cultures**. A widely held common-sense view considers languages to be organized systems with centrally defined norms, each language ideally expressing the spirit of a nation and the territory it occupies. In fact, in many nation-states, only the status of selected languages is recognized or regulated.

Given these widely-held beliefs, it seems important to have regular information campaigns addressed to the authorities, policy-makers, and also the dominant speech communities. These campaigns should shed light on the diversity of languages, demonstrating how linguistic variation occurs over time and territories, and according to social factors. This is especially important for minority, lesser-standardized, and endangered languages. Majorities should be systematically familiarized with terms and ideas such as language revival, maintenance, spread, modernization, and normalization etc.

Since the mid-20th century, language planning processes have gained a supra-national or trans-national dimension, particularly in the light of a global interest in (linguistic) human rights. Minority language communities and, sometimes, individual speakers, may refer to certain international legal instruments s when dealing with state-level authorities.

Worth mentioning are the following:

- United Nations ***Universal Declaration of Human Rights***
- United Nations ***International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights***
- United Nations ***Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples***
- United Nations ***Declaration on the Rights of Persons belonging to National, Ethnic, Religious and Linguistic Minorities***.[26]

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[26] The 1996 **Universal Declaration of Linguistic Rights** has not gained formal approval from UNESCO

These can be referred to or invoked when (re)claiming rights to native heritage and indigenous languages. It should be mentioned, however, that the international language rights regimes has, in recent times, come under harsh criticism for their vagueness, ineffectiveness and lack of consistent legal instruments of enforcement.

Nevertheless, one useful outcome of the UNESCO programs concerning endangered languages and linguistic diversity is its 2003 framework for assessing the relationship between attitudes as articulated by government policy and language vitality. It differentiates six levels of explicit policy and/or implicit attitudes toward the dominant and subordinate languages (vis-à-vis the national language) by governments and institutions:

Equal support: All of a country's languages are valued as assets. All languages are protected by law, and the government encourages the maintenance of all languages by implementing explicit policies.

Differentiated support: Non-dominant languages are explicitly protected by the government, but there are clear differences in the contexts in which the dominant/official language(s) and non-dominant (protected) language(s) are used. The government encourages ethnolinguistic groups to maintain and use their languages, most often in private domains (as the home language), rather than in public domains (e.g. in schools). Some of the domains of non-dominant language use enjoy high prestige (e.g. at ceremonial occasions).

Passive assimilation: The dominant group is indifferent as to whether or not minority languages are spoken, as long as the dominant group's language is the language of interaction. Though this is not an explicit language policy, the dominant group's language is the de facto official language. Most domains of non-dominant language use do not enjoy high prestige.

Active assimilation: The government encourages minority groups to abandon their own languages by providing education for the minority group members in the dominant language. Speaking and/or writing in non-dominant languages is not encouraged.

Forced assimilation: The government has an explicit language policy declaring the dominant group's language to be the only official national language, while the languages of subordinate groups are neither recognized nor supported.

Prohibition: Minority languages are prohibited from use in any domain. Languages may be tolerated in private domains.

Minority language communities in European states might also use and invoke some of the legal provisions concerning the rights of Europe's minorities and their languages. In the 1990s and 2000s, institutionalized and legally binding protection and promotion of ethnic and linguistic diversity in Europe dominated the agenda of institutions like the Council of Europe, who prepared and promoted three significant documents:

- ***European Convention on Human Rights***,
- ***Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities***, and particularly the
- ***European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages***.

The latter has been proclaimed the first international instrument directed solely at the question of language, setting language rights firmly in the context of the value of cultural diversity for its own sake. The preamble to the Charter states, for example, that "the protection of the historical regional or minority languages of Europe, some of which are in danger of eventual extinction, contributes to the maintenance and development of Europe's cultural wealth and traditions". Another innovation has been an empowerment instrumentation included in the Charter, which seemingly ensured its effective application for languages in quite different situations. Member-states of the Council of Europe have been vigorously encouraged to sign and ratify the Charter, and countries that have implemented it have been submitted to periodical monitoring by the Committee of Experts. The selection of provisions adopted for each individual languages depended on their situation, and the experts representing the states in the Committee were independent specialists.

After more than twenty years, views on the Charter's efficacy are divided. It is in force in 25 states, but the attitudes of individual states vary considerably - from diligent fulfillment of all the commitments (in states which already had developed systems of support for endangered language communities) to propaganda and simulation (as in the above-mentioned case of Poland).This is not to mention the states who refuse to apply the Charter in the foreseeable future (as in the interesting case of Portugal, referred to earlier). Indeed, some state authorities, in accordance with their general language policies, refuse to officially recognize (or to support in any form) languages and language communities (such as Wymysiöryś or Silesian in Poland, Rusyn in Ukraine). Hardly any appeals made by language communities in Europe regarding the legal obligations set out in the Charter have proven successful.

Therefore, in many cases, effective language revitalization may result mainly from cooperative and inclusive strategies and programs, which include negotiations with authorities and official policy-makers.

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Carmen Hernández Martínez, Eric W. Campbell and Griselda Reyes Basurto

11.1 MILPA (Mexican Indigenous Language Promotion and Advocacy): A community-centered linguistic collaboration supporting Indigenous Mexican languages in California

In response to the social and linguistic challenges faced by Ventura County's Indigenous immigrant community (see Reyes Basurto; Hernández Martínez & Campbell, this volume), the Mixteco/Indígena Community Organizing Project (MICOP) has teamed up with linguists from the University of California, Santa Barbara (UCSB) to create programs that foster language maintenance, multi-literacy, social justice, and Indigenous pride in the community. We refer to these activities collectively as the Mexican Indigenous Language Promotion and Advocacy project (MILPA). MILPA brings together methods from linguistic anthropology, sociocultural linguistics, and documentary linguistics in a community-based research model to offer a range of programs: (i) Tu'un Savi (Mixtec) literacy classes; (ii) collaborative documentation of multiple Mixtec varieties; (iii) linguistic anthropology courses offered to Indigenous youth; (iv) a community language survey that explores language use and attitudes; and (v) the creation of Indigenous language materials for community use.[27] We briefly discuss each of these activities.

In 2016, the Mexican National Institute for the Education of Adults (INEA) contracted MICOP to carry out their first Indigenous language literacy course (MIBES) outside of Mexico. MICOP elected to focus the course on the plurality Mixtec variety spoken in Ventura County: San Martín Peras (Oaxaca) Mixtec. Gabriel Mendoza of San Martín Peras and Griselda Reyes Basurto of Tlahuapa, Guerrero were selected to lead the course with support from UCSB linguists. Class outcomes included basic vocabulary documentation, phonological analysis (including tone), orthography development following Ve'e Tu'un Savi (Mixtec Language Academy) norms, and revision of the course materials to match the San Martín Peras variety. The course also served as a starting point for documentation of other Mixtec varieties spoken by participants.

In 2017, while Gabriel Mendoza taught a separate literacy course for San Martín Peras Tu'un Savi using the revised INEA materials, Griselda Reyes Basurto and UCSB linguists continued with biweekly workshops to further document five Mixtec varieties: San Martín Peras, Tlahuapa (Guerrero), San Juan Mixtepec, San Sebastián del Monte, and San Martín Duraznos. Community members lead the workshops, and the team collectively works on live online shared spreadsheet files to compile a multi-variety Mixtec-Spanish-English dictionary, sheets for each variety that organize words by tonal melodies, a comparative

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database of verbal aspect inflection, and orthography and literacy primers for each variety.

Another component of the MILPA project is a linguistic anthropology course for the Tequio Indigenous youth activist group as part of UCSB's School Kids Investigating Language in Life and Society program (SKILLS). The course is facilitated by UCSB graduate students in the MICOP offices, and high school and college youth earn college credit at California Lutheran University. Youth design and carry out ethnographic and linguistic research projects such as making documentary films about Indigenous youth identity and creating multi-lingual podcasts, poetry, and Indigenous language materials for the community.

The first survey of Indigenous language use, language attitudes, and linguistic diversity in Ventura County is being carried out by community leaders of the MILPA program and trained Tequio youth, with support from UCSB linguists. The survey explores community members' and their families' multi-lingual practices, linguistic challenges, and language attitudes, in order to better understand if and how Indigenous languages are being maintained, lost, or discriminated against in the community. The goal is to get a clearer picture of language use and linguistic diversity to inform initiatives that foster language maintenance and justice.

Community members gain advanced training while collaboratively documenting their particular language varieties in UCSB's year-long graduate field methods course. From there, community members go on to lead MILPA programs while advancing their own language-related goals (see Campbell; Reyes Basurto & Hernández Martínez, this volume).

The multi-variety documentary linguistic workshops, Tequio SKILLS courses, and UCSB field methods courses produce Indigenous language materials for expanding domains of language use and visibility in the community. Some examples of MILPA products are trilingual story books, coloring pages, card games, *lotería*, vocabulary activities, films, podcasts, and online language pedagogy activities soon to have a Tu'un Savi interface on *Educaplay*. Multi-media and multivariety materials foster Indigenous pride and language use in the face of language shift and the challenges faced by a diverse and marginalized community.

MILPA offers one model of community-based and multifaceted language advocacy work. While designed to meet the various needs of a diverse and multi-lingual diasporic community, aspects of the project may be applicable for similar projects elsewhere.

Chapter 12

Making links: Learning from the experience of others in language revitalisation

1. Introduction

We begin our chapter with some observations. First, there are many initiatives for language revitalisation worldwide. Second, there are many initiatives that work towards cooperation and communication between "oppressed peoples": for example, the Basque organisation Millaray that works towards Basque-Mapuche solidarity. Yet there is not much overlap between these two types of initiative. In many cases it seems that endangered language (EL) activists carry out their work in relative isolation from other EL communities, despite the fact that thousands of other language-communities worldwide are in the same situation.Similarly, most cooperation initiatives do not address language endangerment and revitalisation.

In this chapter we draw attention to those few initiatives that are working in the intersection between language revitalisation and international cooperation (using "international" in the broadest sense, to include unrecognised nations). In §2 we explain why working in this intersection is a good idea, and in §3 we identify seven factors that distinguish these types of initiatives and describe   , what we think, are good examples of each. Lastly in §4 we suggest some of the factors that can help EL communities to engage in cooperation and communication with other EL communities.

2. Advantages to cooperation and communication

We propose four ways in which EL speakers/learners/activists can benefit from communication and cooperation with other EL communities.

Firstly, language endangerment can be hard emotionally, and language revitalization can be hard work with little reward. This emotional hardship is often made worse by having to bear this emotional burden and hard work in relative isolation: EL communities are often "isolated" in some way, even if not always geographically. In fact it may be thanks to this isolation that the language has survived up until now, but isolation can also mean isolation from other EL communities. However, when one EL

speaker/learner/activist connects with another, they may realise "I am not the only one in this!".

Different EL communities go through different stages of activity and passivity: connecting a community that has little "revitalization momentum" to another that is full of activity can inspire enthusiasm for revitalization in the first community. For example, language activists in the Basque Country, where some people perceive revitalisation momentum to have stagnated, have cited this as a benefit of connecting with indigenous language activists from Latin America, where language revitalisation is, in some ways, a more recent phenomenon.

Second, the field of language revitalisation is very young in human history. There is no "ABC" of language revitalization, and there are few success stories. Therefore it is vital for those involved to learn from each other.

Third, revitalisation may be easier if EL communities share resources (methodologies, staff, materials, software, etc.) and/or even implement initiatives together (e.g. applying for major funding together).

Fourth, and linked to the third point, revitalisation efforts that involve more than one EL community can improve prospects for lobbying large institutions, helping to put language revitalisation on the political agenda.

3. Factors to think about in cooperation and communication

We give the following seven headings to guide thinking about this topic and to help to distinguish cooperation-oriented initiatives from other kinds of language revitalisation initiatives, although we recognise that different people in different EL contexts may consider different factors relevant when thinking about cooperation. These seven headings also highlight ways in which initiatives can vary. Under each heading we also provide suggestions for starting,or furthering, cooperation and communication.

3.1 Direct contact between EL communities

We consider cooperation to involve direct contact between representatives of different endangered language communities, for example between members of the Navajo and Unangax nations (one author witnessed such a visit during an Unangax language camp in Alaska). We believe it is important to hear about the experiences of other communities

"from the horse's mouth", rather than through the filter of a third party, especially since this third party is often associated with an institution of power built upon European colonialism (certainly in the Americas, Australia, and Aotearoa). In saying this, we would like to bring language revitalisation a little more in line with discourse on decolonisation and grassroots solidarity in other fields (see an excellent talk on Youtube entitled "Decolonizing Language Revitalization" by Khelselim Rivers, speaker of Sḵwx̱wú7mesh-Kwakwa̲ka̲'wakw).

Nonetheless, a third party can play a valuable role in bringing about direct contact - for example, where speakers from different EL communities meet at university-organized events, such as Foundation for Endangered Languages conferences or the Congreso de Lenguas Indígenas in Chile. In such situations we recommend being aware of the historical relationship between EL speakers and the institution in question. For example, at academic conferences we have heard some speakers acknowledging that they represent a colonial institution at the very beginning of their talk; this acknowledgement is a good start, at least.

It is worth considering whether cooperation occurs between just two EL communities, or between three, four, or even more. For example, there have been links for many years between Basque and Mapuche language activists. In terms of three-way cooperation, links have also been made between Mi'kmaw, Gaelic, and Acadian revitalization efforts in Nova Scotia. Other initiatives are designed to create links between members of many different EL communities, such as HIGA! 2nd Summit of Young Speakers of Minoritized Languages. This was held in July 2018 in the Basque city of Gasteiz (funded by the city council) and for four days 70 young language activists from 32 different language communities from around the world attended workshops, shared their experiences, and strengthened relationships that could promote future cooperation in language revitalization.

We suggest: Take advantage of any existing opportunities to meet activists from other EL communities (often through third parties), and/or take the initiative in making links yourself. It may take several tries before you find someone who you can establish a good relationship with: don't give up!

3.2 One-to-one contact? NGO-to-NGO contact? Ministry-to-ministry contact?

As soon as a member of one EL community begins a conversation with a member of another, this could be seen as communication or cooperation. Indeed much valuable

exchange of experiences occurs from such encounters (in English "networking" might be a more common term for that situation). However, it seems to us that the majority of cooperation initiatives probably occur with the involvement of NGOs or similar organizations, such as The Language Conservancy, Mugarik Gabe, or the Endangered Language Alliance.

There are also some instances of communication and cooperation at a more institutionalized level, such as the First Peoples' Cultural Council, which coordinates much language revitalisation work in British Columbia, Canada. One rare example on an international scale is the agreement to cooperate on language policy, signed between the CONADI in Chile and representatives of the Vice-secretariat of Language Policy from the Basque Autonomous Community. While many initiatives are thought of as more "top-down", e.g. The Network for Promoting Linguistic Diversity, others are more "bottom-up", e.g. Mapuche language camps.

We suggest: Think about what kind of institutional framework (if any) is best for communicating and collaborating with another EL community. Is it helpful, or necessary, to work through an organisation? If it will be helpful, how exactly? Sometimes it is politically necessary, although not helpful; but accepting this (at least for the time being) is better than having political controversy jeopardise the initiative. How much time and effort will you need to invest in the institutional framework (e.g. communicating with a government ministry, following all of their procedural requirements, etc.) and will this be worth it?

Each of these levels of cooperation can help in different ways, and it will depend on the specific EL community which level is most appropriate and most valuable. One author's experience in both Mapuche and Yanesha territory (in South America) provides an example of this. In the Yanesha case, everyone considered the Yanesha Federation a crucial institution for any project involving the Yanesha language, and the Federation seemed to have widespread recognition as legitimately representing the Yanesha. By contrast, in the Mapuche case there is no such organization, and contacts are much more on a one-to-one basis.

3.3 What is the aim: training, reflection, materials, art, language policy?

Key to our understanding of cooperation is that it aims for language revitalisation. We make this point mainly to distinguish cooperation from academic activities which may

involve contact between different EL communities but do not have revitalisation as their immediate goal.

Different resources are needed in different situations for success in revitalisation. For example, some EL activists may be full of enthusiasm for teaching the language but lack effective language teaching methodology; others may be the opposite. Some people may be so caught up in the day-to-day activities that they have no time to reflect on whether they are putting their time and energy to the most effective use; others may be the opposite. So it is important to assess community needs first, and design cooperation so that it addresses the most urgent needs. This might even mean choosing which EL community you cooperate with based upon whether it has expertise in the area needed: for example, the Catalan initiative Taller d'Espai Linguistic Personal (TELP) seems to be unique in offering workshops focussing on the psychological, interpersonal, level of language choice.

Once you have identified these needs, you can then think about what activities best address them. We have identified at least, five kinds of activity - training, reflection, materials development, art, and language policy - each of which aims to address a different need.

Training can aim to further any and all aspects of revitalisation, from second language learning/teaching to awareness-raising. An example of training is the diploma in language revitalisation strategy run by the Basque NGO Garabide, which has been attended mostly by participants from Latin American indigenous groups.

Whereas training programmes are designed to share existing knowledge on revitalisation strategy, other initiatives focus instead on reflecting upon and furthering this knowledge. Many academic initiatives have this aim. One such example is Hitzargiak (Summit of Good Practices in Language Revitalization), a project designed to encourage the exchange of ideas between EL communities in Europe. Slightly less academic is Hitz Adina Mintzo, a seminar on minoritised languages organized by Oihaneder, the House of the Basque Language. However, similar initiatives organized by EL communities are scarce.

A project of the UNESCO Chair on Linguistic Heritage for the production of materials in Nasa Yuwe and Embera (two Colombian languages) with Basque cooperation is an example of materials production. In a case like this, participation from speakers of the language in question is clearly essential.

A rather different kind of approach is seen in artistic or inspirational activities, where participants from different language-communities reflect on the situation of their language and draw motivation from hearing about other experiences. Examples of this include the Last Whispers project, TOSTA (a music band from different language communities of the Atlantic Ocean), Wakiponi Mobile, European Capitals of Culture (a more top-down initiative), Europa bat-batean (Summit of Sung Improvised Poetry genres, a more bottom-up initiative), or Celtic Neighbours/Y Fro (a culture-related regional entity).

Lastly, we consider language policy as a distinct field of action, which could include demonstrations against oppressive language policy, initiatives to monitor language policy, or efforts to change language legislation. Examples are the European Network for Language Equality (ELEN) or Linguoresistencia.

There can be a lot of overlap between training, reflection, materials development, art, and language policy. For example, a given event focussed on the language may raise awareness, provide opportunities for speakers to meet each and use the language, stimulate people to reflect on revitalization strategy, AND include artwork to inspire people.

3.4 What will come out of the cooperation? Training, media, legal documents

Initiatives also differ in the outputs that they aim for. This is closely linked to what we describe in section 3.3, since the "aim" may be more or less identical with the "output", e.g. training. Other initiatives aim to exchange ideas between EL communities through media outputs, as well as raising awareness both in minority and majority communities, rather than arranging face-to-face meetings, e.g.:

- Beltzean Mintzo and ArNasa TxiKitxuak, two documentaries by Garabide on the sociolinguistic situation of Latin American indigenous communities.
- The documentary Don de Lenguas, similarly, is an attempt by Spanish state TV (RTVE) to inform Spanish citizens about language diversity within its territories.
- The documentary Yezhoù, by the Breton language activist Morgan Lincy Fercot, who travelled around Europe for almost a year visiting minoritized language communities, discovering local language revitalization initiatives and interviewing local people.

Although media outputs may also be designed to influence majority communities, we have observed that they have an important impact on other EL communities. For example, Basque documentaries on language revitalisation have probably been influential in revitalisation in Latin America.

Other initiatives are, or result in, legal documents, such as the Protocol to Ensure Language Rights or The European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages, developed by the Council of Europe, which has played a fundamental role in language revitalization in Europe. We consider these a form of cooperation since they result from an exchange between EL communities on their language rights.

We suggest: If you are producing these kind of outputs with other EL communities in mind, consider which will give most "bang for your buck", i.e. be most useful to as many other EL communities as possible. For example, in producing the documentary ArNasa TxiKitxuak, filmed in Spanish, subtitled in Basque, and covering a wide variety of Latin American indigenous groups, Mondragon University created an output accessible to EL activists throughout Spanish-speaking Latin America.

3.5 Regional, national, or international cooperation: Who to cooperate with?

Cooperation and communication may occur on-site, i.e. in the place where endangered languages are spoken. This is particularly relevant in cases where EL communities live in the same or nearby territories, e.g. Tehuelche, Mapuche, and Welsh in Chubut,Argentina, or Mi'kmaw, Gaelic, and Acadian in Nova Scotia, Canada. Some instances of cooperation and communication occur at an international or intercontinental level, such as solidarity between the Basque Country and Latin America. Others occur at a more regional level, such as the many instances of solidarity within North America (Canada and the US), within Latin America (e.g. FUNPROEIB in the Andes, or between peoples of the Atlantic coast (e.g. the Atlantic Meeting). Others operate at a national level, in cases where there are multiple EL communities within the country, e.g. FPCC Canada or FEL Canada. Still others occur between EL communities of a particular language family, e.g. the Celtic League or North American Association of Celtic Language Teachers, even if not geographically defined, e.g. cooperation between Scotland and Nova Scotia or between Wales and Chubut. Solidarity may also happen in geographical locations alien to EL speakers/activists. For instance, the First Symposium of Minority Languages and Varieties of the Iberian Peninsula was held in Alcanena, where mainly Portuguese is spoken (Minderico is spoken a few kilometers away).

We suggest: Consider carefully which community you can keep up a long-term connection with. We have seen cases where indigenous language activists were in touch with Basque revitalisation efforts but were unaware of revitalisation efforts for immigrant languages going on in the very same town. Not only is a more local connection more sustainable ecologically (avoiding international flights etc.), but it is likely to be more sustainable socially. A long-distance trip might be exciting, but realistically how much will you be able to keep up long-distance contact? Activists operating in the same place also understand the context that eachother faces: to give a simple example, Mapuche, Quechua, and Haitian activists in Chile understand how the Chilean governmental grants for cultural activities work. Of course, they are also likely to share a common (dominant) language, e.g. English for Gaelic, Mi'kmaw, and Acadian activists.

We recognize that our understanding is strongly shaped by our geographical focus on Europe and the Americas, and particularly by cooperation between the two. At the same time, this geographical bias is not coincidental: it is a result of the uneven distribution of resources between EL communities in Europe versus EL communities elsewhere. We hope that in the future others will be inspired to undertake (and to write about) similar kinds of cooperation in other regions of the world (e.g. links between the Ainu in Japan and native American communities, about which we know little).

3.6 How much can we communicate and cooperate online?

The internet is an important site and medium for cooperation and communication - take for example the many Facebook groups created with the aim of language revitalisation. Social media is a major asset for language revitalisation and networking, as it enables individuals to interact with others and share experiences, organise activities, learn about more initiatives and important events and people, and so on.

We suggest: Think carefully about what kind of cooperation can be carried out online. This might range from everything to nothing. For example, in the case of language learning/teaching methodologies, we believe it is essential to cooperate in person, as learning/teaching is such a holistic experience. Generally, we believe strongly in the value of cooperation in person, because we believe in the continuing importance of face-to-face communication and see this as the most important domain of communication to focus on. Other contexts for language use (e.g. written, film) are secondary in promoting revitalisation, although they can be very important supports.

4. Factors that help cooperation and communication

Below we note some factors that have seemed to help cooperation and communication in the existing cases we know of. (At the same time, we wouldn't want anyone to be discouraged from communicating with another EL community just because we have not included other points) These factors are also suggestions for EL activists who would like to establish cooperation.

4.1 Finding people who are interested

This may be obvious, but there is no point trying to engage in cooperation with an EL community where nobody is interested in language revitalisation! Similarly, even if there are people interested in revitalisation, there is no point trying to engage in cooperation if nobody is interested in cooperation. Cooperation may often begin with a simple inquiry. Overtime, links between EL communities may strengthen.

We suggest: Look for people in another community that are already very active in language revitalisation (these are likely to be the people you will find anyway, since they are the people you will be able to track down). Look for people who have already shown an interest in connecting with other EL activists (but there are not many such people; so don't rule out cooperation just because you can't find anyone.) Prioritise finding the right people: if you meet someone from another EL community with whom you establish a productive relationship, this is probably more important than any other factor.

4.2 The historical relationship between the EL communities

Cooperation and communication seems to be most likely between EL communities that have suffered under the same dominant power, e.g. speakers of Mi'kmaw, Gaelic, and Acadian French under the English. However, cooperation between people who have suffered under the same power but in different ways - especially speakers of European ELs versus other ELs - must be aware of these differences and take them into account. One must also take account of the fact that speakers of European ELs were also part of the European colonisation of the Americas (and elsewhere), and that this must be acknowledged.

If the relationship between two EL communities dates back a long time (sometimes centuries), then cooperation and communication are likely to be more effective and enduring. For example, Catalans and Basques have cooperated for decades in language

revitalization (among other things) and this is partly due to a shared struggle with the same two states, Spain and France.

Nowadays perhaps the most common situation that brings together speakers of ELs is migration to the same city, in which case they share a common experience of migration. The Endangered Language Alliance in New York is an example of an initiative to facilitate cooperation in this situation.

We suggest: Look for people who have an experience of language endangerment that is similar to yours. Acknowledge any important differences in the experience of language endangerment and revitalisation, but do not let these differences stand in the way of communicating and collaborating.

4.3 A shared language

EL communities that have been subject to the same colonial power (e.g. Spain) usually also face the same dominant language (e.g. Spanish). Obviously, having a common language makes cooperation and communication a lot easier: for example, in 2016 Inuit visitors to Wales learning about Welsh revitalisation were able to communicate through English. Unfortunately, this common language is often precisely the dominant language against which you are struggling, meaning that your cooperation means spending yet more time speaking that dominant language; however this may be a price worth paying in the long term, if the cooperation is fruitful.

In a few cases people manage to cooperate without using the dominant language, e.g. Hitz Adina Mintzo in Gasteiz, the series of talks on EL issues that is usually held in Basque; or the Casa Amaziga de Catalunya (for Catalan-Tamazight cooperation) that seems to operate in Catalan. Although this is ideal, as it turns cooperation into another opportunity to actually use an EL, it may not be realistic for most EL activists to learn a second EL on top of their own.

We suggest: Prioritise cooperation where you have a shared language, even if this shared language has to be the dominant language.

4.4 Success in language revitalisation

It seems that EL communities that are relatively successful in revitalising their language are those most likely to be found engaging in cooperation (e.g. Maori and

Basque).aturally, these are the communities that others want to engage with, in order to learn from their experience. There are other communities with reportedly successful experiences, such as the Mohawk community at Kahnawà:ke, Quebec, but unfortunately we do not know enough about these to comment.

We suggest: We agree that there is much to learn from "success stories", and recommend looking for these; they are not all well known, and you will likely have to visit the area yourself to decide yourself how successful revitalisation is. At the same, there is much to learn from less successful experiences too: this may help you avoid falling into the same traps.

4.5 Degree of language endangerment/revitalisation

It seems that cooperation has happened most often between EL communities that have similar levels of language endangerment (generally, quite low levels by global standards). For example, Welsh and Basque share a similar situation, with around 3 million inhabitants and 700,000 speakers in both cases.

We suggest: EL communities facing similar levels of language endangerment are more likely to be able to help each other, so we would generally advise collaborating with such a community.

However, the opposite may also be the case, as with Professor Ghil'ad Zuckermann's involvement with Australian Aboriginal language revitalisation, in which he draws lessons from the Hebrew experience (the revitalisation of Hebrew being perhaps the most successful case of language revitalisation in human history, while Australian languages are largely among the world's most endangered). There are some lessons to be learnt about language revitalisation that have little to do with the level of endangerment: for example, recognising that influence from the dominant language(s) is inevitable.

4.6 Other shared projects and interests

Besides a shared degree of language endangerment/revitalisation, two (or more) EL communities may have other shared interests. For instance, both Corsican and Guernesiais activists advocate for poly-orthography standardization; both Asturians and Yucatec Mayas want their state to declare their languages official; there are issues with both Inuktitut and Cree languages in choosing between the Latin alphabet and Canadian

aboriginal syllabics; both Inuit and Welsh activists are concerned with regional autonomy in connection to language policy, and so on.

We suggest: Look for specific shared interests. Being specific about these interests, and starting with specific questions, may help both communities to support each other more efficiently.

4.7 Other cultural factors

Besides the shared experience of oppression by a particular power, and besides sharing a common language, two EL communities may have other cultural features that ease,or complicate, cooperation and communication. For example, although there is a shared history of Spanish-speaking oppression in Chile and Colombia, there are significant cultural differences between the two countries which may create challenges in communication between indigenous groups from each country. Conversely, two EL communities may find communication easy despite not sharing much history.

We suggest: These other cultural factors are rather hard to define or anticipate, so we can only suggest being aware that they may arise, perhaps unexpectedly.

4.8 Resources available

Resources are a deciding factor in being able to engage in communication and cooperation. Travelling, accommodation, material resources, taking time off paid work, delivery costs, and so on require a certain economic position. It is no surprise that EL communities from Europe are vastly over-represented in this chapter, as economically they are by far the best-off communities in the world (with perhaps a few other candidates).

We suggest: It is important to realistically evaluate the resources you have available to engage in communication and cooperation. Moreover, it is an ethical responsibility for EL communities with greater resources to cooperate with less well-resourced communities, especially since these well-resourced communities in Europe were also implicated in the colonisation that led to language endangerment in the Americas and elsewhere. These well-resourced communities also tend to have access to precisely the resources that less-resourced communities want, such as expertise in second language teaching/learning or language documentation.

4.9 Globalisation and "connectedness"

The EL communities that are best connected seem to be the most likely to engage in cooperation and communication. (The best-connected communities also tend to be the communities that are best-off economically, although this is not always the case.) For example, Mapuche language activists are probably some of the best connected within South America. These well-connected EL communities may already serve as regional "hubs" for language revitalisation activity to some extent.

We suggest: Take advantage of any such "hubs". For example, for a non-Mapuche language activist in Chile it may make sense to connect with Mapuche language activists first in order to then connect with other EL communities. This is simply because Mapuche activists in Chile are well connected to the "wider world" of language revitalisation.

Some international funding bodies even actively encourage EL communities to engage in solidarity, as is the case with the SMiLE funding scheme. In fact, some of the projects that have previously been awarded SMiLE funding involve cooperation between communities, and this was even encouraged in the call for applications.

5. Summary

In writing this chapter we have aimed to (1) create awareness of cooperation for language revitalisation, a phenomenon that has been little recognised; (2) argue for the benefits it can bring to language revitalisation; and (3) suggest factors that make cooperation and communication easier and more productive.

We hope that this inspires EL speakers/learners/activists who are not yet involved in cooperation to think about the possibility. In particular we are thinking of cases that offer good opportunities for cooperation that have not yet been taken up. For example, in Quebec there are many people with experience in the revitalisation of French and with a successful story to tell. Quebec is economically well-off; and Quebecois of European descent share a common language (French) with indigenous people in Quebec itself, as well as French Guyana, and French-speaking Africa. Yet we know of no initiatives to share that experience with other groups facing language endangerment (although we would be very happy to be corrected on this).

In our experience cooperation and communication are possible for any EL speaker/learner/activist who has the opportunity and motivation to contact other EL speakers/learners/activists: one author knew other EL speakers before working in the field

of language revitalisation, and in recent years has met a range of language planners, artists, leaders, teachers, and others involved in the field.

Similarly, we hope that this chapter also provides encouragement to those few initiatives who are already engaged in such cooperation, as we believe they are doing invaluable work. We also hope to bring the world of language revitalisation a little closer to a global conversation about cooperation, or solidarity, between peoples or social groups suffering oppression and discrimination. We believe that this too is essential for avoiding any tendancies to ethnocentricity (e.g. "I want to speak my language but those immigrants should stop speaking theirs") and for ensuring the ethical foundations of language revitalisation as a field of thought and action.

6. Additional material

- https://www.ehu.eus/es/web/mho-unesco-katedra/proiektuak
- http://hitzargiak.akting.eu/
- http://www.garabide.eus/
- http://hitzadinamintzo.blogspot.es
- http://www.npld.eu/
- http://www.proeibandes.org
- http://protokoloa.eus/en/
- http://redeibchile.blogspot.com/2015/01/tercer-congreso-de-las-lenguas.html
- v-g.eus/HIGA
- https://whereareyourkeys.org/

12.1 Networking and collaboration between languages. Yezhoù, Europe tour of minoritized languages

Yezhoù is a video project about minoritized languages speakers all-around Europe, with the objective of giving a voice to the people who daily defend and bring to life their language.

I'm a young Breton broadcast journalism and documentary student and last year I did a ten month road trip through Europe with my backpack and my camera.

I traveled through Galicia, Basque Country, Catalonia, Occitania, Corsica, Frioul (Italia), Kaszëbë (Poland), Frisia (Netherlands), Lapland (Norvegia, Sweden, Finland and Russia), Wales, Scotland, and Ireland.

The goal was to meet people who work concretely on the vitalization and/or revitalization of their languages through education, media, artist, association, activist, journalists, politics, etc.

By meeting all these people I wanted to collect good practices, understand the process, bring back the good ideas to Brittany and, of course, share with the international network community of minoritized languages.

I collected all their testimonies and made a trilingual (Breton/English/French) documentary web-serie, avaible for free on YouTube.

When I started my trip, back in January, with my backpack and camera, I had no contacts at all. I thought "if it's the same as the Breton speakers network, I will move along easily through the people I will meet !"

My first contact was a Galician journalist, Xurso Salgado, who created an online media by abonnement, *Galicia Confidencial*. This meeting was for me a sort of a « crash test ». Will people have an interest in my project ? Will they want to contribute ?

Fortunately, Xurso was very enthusiastic, happy to make me discover his work and also curious about how people fight for our language in Brittany!

He introduced me to a few artists, an ? activist, a ? professor, a ? journalist, a ? student and an ? association. Thanks to a Galician writer, Sechu Sende, I had the contact of two activists in Euskal Herria : Txerra, a sociolinguist who was working for the revitalization of the Basque language in companies and who helped me a lot thanks to his incredible network, and Porrotx, a very famous clown who welcomed me in the clown crew tour and

in his home. It **seemed like we had known each other for a long time**. I also had the chance to meet people from the *Garabide association* who work with people from South America, like Mapuches or Quechua, to help and advise them on the revitalization process. Since that moment, I just realized to what extent the networking and collaboration was international between minorized languages, all around the world. I continued my way through Catalunya, Occitatia, Corsica, helped by the website *Hitzargiak*, which collects good initiatives all around Europe. It was a great tool for me to find first contacts.

In Corsica, I met the singer of the song *Liberta*, a Corsican song translated in Breton and known by heart by all the Breton speaking children. It is a true and powerful symbol of cultural diversity, and it talks about freedom.

Then Friuli, Kashubia, Frisia where I met Lysbeth Jongbloed, PhD researcher who studies the use of Frisian on social media. I learnt about the very positive development for the language, as the social media has introduced Frisian in the written domain.

In Lapland, I stayed with a couple who created a Sami only language magazine, they also hosted me just like is I was a family member.

On the way back to Britanny, I completed my tour through Wales and Scotland.

Now, I try to transmit all the testimonies through the web-serie and conferences in Brittany (in university, school, high-school and cinemas) and soon in the Basque Country.

12.2. Networking and collaboration between speakers

Our first interdialectical encounter for Nahuatl was held at the Instituto de docencia e investigación etnológica de Zacatecas in 2011 We invited about twenty native speakers representing ten different variants of Nahuatl, as well as a few non-native speakers who had attained fluency, to participate in a five-day workshop.

There were three goals:

1) allow speakers from different regions to experience the monolingual space we had been developing at IDIEZ;

2) test the commonly held belief that the many variants of Nahuatl were mutually unintelligible; 3) open a forum for speakers from different regions to share their experiences, thus breaking down the barriers of geographical distance that had prevented this in the past. We began our activities by issuing two rules for participation in the workshop: first, everyone must speak in their own variant of Nahuatl, with no use of Spanish; and second, no fighting (over contentious topics such as orthographic standardization). We then proceeded, in Nahuatl, to propose, discuss and set the topics that would be covered during the five days. This was especially important, because in the past, meetings of speakers of indigenous languages in Mexico had always been held in Spanish, and organized by government institutions that determined the topics of discussion beforehand. We got off to a rocky start. The participants were not accustomed to using their language outside of their homes and communities. And those who were, had learned that this needed to be immediately followed by a translation into Spanish. Words, expressions and structures specific to the variant of one person were met by laughter and puzzlement on the part of those who spoke different variants. But in a very short period of time everyone adapted to the monolingual space. Spontaneous conversation sprang up comparing and contrasting ways of expressing different things in each variant. And most importantly, the mutual intelligibility between variants was high enough (we later estimated it at 70%) to permit five days of animated, monolingual discussion on a wide range of topics, including identity, revitalization, rituals and local festivals, ways of greeting, education, immigration, grammatical terminology, linguistic policy, intergenerational language transmission and gender issues. We have continued with the encounters, always experimenting with new formats and content. In 2014 sixty native speakers and thirteen non-native speakers gathered in Cholula for a workshop where, for the first time, we had participants read and discuss material written in colonial Nahuatl. We projected a sixteenth century document onto the wall of the church in Zoyatlán, Puebla, and native speaking teenagers from the community, whose entire formal education had been in Spanish, read and discussed the material with ease. The

same teenagers also participated in a poetry composition contest as part of the workshop. Justyna Olko, the leader of our team at the University of Warsaw initiated a series of encounters at the Mexican National Archives (2015, 2016, 2018), so that participants might not only continue reading and discussing what their ancestors have written in Nahuatl, but may actually view the manuscripts themselves. And in 2017 the University of Warsaw invited native speakers of Nahuatl to participate in a revitalization field school held in San Miguel Xaltipan, Tlaxcala, working alongside revitalizers of endangered languages from all over the world. The concluding activity was a monolingual academic conference in which speakers of many variants of Nahuatl gave papers on their current projects in curriculum development, teaching methodology, scientific research, revitalization and art. Engaged discussion followed each talk and performance. The interdialectical encounter is an important way of getting native speakers of different variants of endangered languages who are geographically isolated from each other together to share problems and experiences, exchange ideas, and plan collective projects. We are experimenting with videoconferencing technology now in order reduce the cost and increase the frequency and coverage of these encounters.

13.1. Developing innovative models for fieldwork and linguistic documentation: ENGHUM experience in Hałcnów, Poland

Hałcnów (ger. *Alzen,* alz. *Alza*), formerly a separate village, currently belongs to the the city of Bielsko-Biała in southern Poland. Until the end of the Second World War it was predominantly German, however its inhabitants spoke *Alznerish,* a variety which is hardly mutually intelligible with High German. Although most of the Halcnovians were not politically connected to Nazism, after the end of the war they suffered from severe persecutions. The majority of tem was either killed, banished to the Soviet Union or resettled to Germany. The communist regime tried to erasure all "signs of Germaneness" from public and private spaces. As a consequence, *Alznerish* also became invisible. When the political situation in Poland changed and post-war anti-German sentiment declined, most of scholars supposed that it is too late to find any native-speakers of the language. The fieldwork conducted in 2013 by scholars from Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań proved that they were wrong.

During the 2016 ENGHUM field school in the nearby town of Wilamowice (a place where other endangered language is spoken) the major task of one of working groups was to document a linguistic and cultural heritage of Hałcnów. A multiethnic group consisting of seven people developed an innovative methodological approach to the problem. In the first phase of the fieldwork they focused on tracing the (hidden) elements of the linguistic landscape of Hałcnów. These actions were an attempt to recreate the materiality of ecology of *Alznerish,* but they also attempted to establish whether the German past of the village is now seen as an integral part of local heritage. The positive externality of this work was gaining knowledge in local topography.

In the second part of the fieldwork the group was divided. While the first part started to meet the native speakers and conduct either less structured conversations in *Alznerish,* German and Polish, or some elicitation in *Alznerish*, the second group attempted to reach the most crucial social actors of Hałcnów: the priest, teachers, local historians and activists. Except for the overt aim of this work – gaining knowledge on current ideologies and attitudes toward the language, asking about some other people that may know *Alznerish,* there was also another essential purpose of fieldwork. In Poland researchers enjoy high respect of the society. Moreover, as a result of isolation of Poland in the communist period foreigners from behind the Iron Curtain, especially outside big urban centers, are treated with esteem. Taking this into account, the interest of foreign scholars in *Alznerish,* inevitably led to increasing prestige of the local linguistic variety. It was an

indirect and non-intrusive way to change linguistic ideologies. The work of this group led to some unexpected discoveries. It appeared that local school students created a short glossary of the Polish variety used in Hałcnów, which is a testimony of emergence of a new linguistic community. What is of even bigger importance, a previously unknown fluent speaker of *Alznerish* was identified.

In the third stage, the group acted together again. The meeting of all *Alznerish*-speakers was organized. Strikingly, despite being neighbors, in some cases they did not know about their skills in their mother tongue. Their joy from this discovery was noticeable. It has to be admitted that the scholars did not know *Alznerish*, but they could communicate in German or Polish. Very soon it turned out that using the latter language was more beneficial. Halcnovians asked in German, replied in German. The 'distance' between Polish and *Alznerish* was big enough to prevent constant code-switching. The conversation concerned the pre-war time in the village and its "ethnography". Currently, it is perhaps the only domain, where language can be used.

The last phase of research activities took place in Wilamowice. Halcnovians were asked to participate in an event summarizing the field school. They were treated as special guests and received an opportunity to speak publicly in their language. It was perhaps the first time after the end of the Second World War, when *Alznerish* was not only used publicly without fear, but also attracted positive media attention.

The described pilot study is an innovative methodological proposal for a short-term studies. It was focused on documentation of the language, networking of its users and either external or internal promotion of *Alznerish.* Combination of three factors may give some hope that the effects of the study will be extended in time.

13.2. Language revitalization and academic institutions: a model for linguistic field methods courses

Language revitalization can only be successful if it is community-driven, addressing the needs and goals of community members. There is therefore an inherent challenge for carrying out revitalization projects with academic institutions, where Indigenous community members are typically under-represented, and where the primary focus is on research—that is, research in the narrower sense of systematic investigation for the purpose of advancing (Western) scientific knowledge. Here we discuss one model for fostering the development of language revitalization projects through leveraging a graduate-level field methods course in a U.S. academic institution.

Not all graduate linguistics programs value linguistic fieldwork, language documentation, or language revitalization, and not all programs offer field methods or revitalization courses. When field methods courses are offered, they often operate with a single community member isolated from their community, and the goal is often to provide the desired training for students. Such a course may operate as a simulated documentation project, following a model that reinforces the divide between researchers and the research subject while cementing the inherent unbalanced power dynamics. In field methods courses that follow such a model, community-driven language revitalization may be an impossibility.

The traditional mold can be broken by using a field methods course to establish a community-based language research project, or by building the course into an existing project. For example, as part of an incipient collaboration with University of California, Santa Barbara (UCSB) linguists, the Mixteco/Indígena Community Organizing Project (MICOP) helped recruit Griselda Reyes Basurto, speaker of Tlahuapa, Guerrero Mixtec, to work with the 2015-16 UCSB field methods class. MICOP's mission is to "aid, organize and empower the indigenous community in Ventura County" along California's central coast (see Reyes, Hernández & Campbell, this volume). Two years later, MICOP helped recruit Carmen Hernández Martínez, speaker of San Martín Duraznos (Oaxaca) Mixtec for the 2017-18 field methods course, when a multi-faceted community-based language research and activism project was already underway (see Hernández, Campbell & Reyes, this volume). Both community members were already active in community programs and social activism, and each has her own short- and long-term language related goals.

In these field methods courses, graduate students and community members work in close collaboration to gain extensive training in linguistic fieldwork and language documentation in a community-based research model. While traditional field methods

activities such as phonological analysis, orthography design, lexical documentation, audio and video recording, transcription and translation, grammar-writing, and archival deposit preparation are part of the course, graduate students and community members learn these skills together. The activities and outcomes are shaped by the goals and interests of community members, and a special focus is placed on developing practical materials for language maintenance and use in the community,such as trilingual illustrated text collections, games, and pedagogical activities that are shared with the wider Indigenous community of Ventura County at MICOP's monthly meetings.

Crucially, the course provides extensive training to community members who then go on to use the tools and methods as leaders in their own language maintenance or pedagogy activities in the community. While some students pursue or continue research in other subfields of linguistics or with communities in other parts of the world, other students continue working with and supporting the local community members in their language-related activities as they themselves progress through their graduate education. While some institutions are not situated near a potential partner community, a model of building course activities and assignments around the interests and goals of the speaker is possible in any case.

Sheena Shah and Matthias Brenzinger

Chapter 14
We write our language

Introduction

Language communities and individual speakers of oral languages, i.e., languages which are not written, often express interest in the development of community orthographies. This chapter reviews practical and ideological considerations in the writing of hitherto oral languages.

Dominant languages increasingly replace oral ancestral languages even in the home environment. With that, these ancestral languages are acquired – if at all – through formal or informal teaching, and not through intergenerational transmission. While audio and video recordings can provide the means to transmit oral competence in languages, written materials are required to pass on reading and writing skills in these languages. Mother tongue based multilingual education – in which learning takes place in and through one's mother tongue – addresses the high illiteracy rates and the exclusion of marginalised communities in national development, and provides further support for the writing of oral languages.

In addition, the writing of previously oral ancestral languages often has a positive impact on the self-esteem of the speakers and with that contributes to the improvement of their wellbeing. Writing allows the visualisation of ancestral languages, which is an important instrument in the struggles for empowerment, for example, in claims for ancestral lands and in regaining ethnic identities.

Purposes and uses of writing

On 15th September 1996, at a community workshop in the north-eastern part of Namibia, Khwe became a written language. On request from Khwe speakers, linguists supported the community's development of an alphabet and other writing conventions for their oral language. When writing his first Khwe words, David Soza Naudé, one of the workshop participants who later became the key person in running community language workshops, stated with surprise and astonishment, "So we actually speak a real language". Speakers of minority languages often accept discriminatory judgments from others about them and their languages, e.g., that their tongues are merely utterances without grammatical rules which therefore cannot be written.

While reading and writing commonly do not play important roles in the daily life activities among the Khwe and other marginalised rural communities, establishing a community orthography might have an immense impact for them on a symbolic level. Writing their language can boost their self-esteem and enhance their confidence and respect for their own language and culture. For example, the Sandawe in Tanzania felt that their worth as a group increased after a Sandawe orthography was developed. Elisabeth Hunziker recalls that for many years, "they had gotten used to being looked down upon by other ethnic groups of the country as being the ones whose language was impossible to pronounce, let alone write. Now with the alphabet, this was no longer the case". Community members often desire written materials in their languages, and once developed, they are cherished and treasured. Be they books, booklets or even just small pamphlets, they are shared among community members and shown with pride to foreigners. Even outsider's views of communities might be positively changed through writing previously oral languages, as stated by Hovelmann (2000: 104): "It is important to tell our stories; It gives us self-confidence to be literate; Other people respect cultures with writing".

The practical use of community orthographies often begins with the production of sign boards with local place names that testify the ancestry of the land. These sign boards on the one hand may support community-based tourism, but on the other hand can also constitute arguments for claims for ancestral lands.

The publication of religious texts, such as hymns, prayers and the Bible, in as many languages as possible was for a long time at the core of Christian mission work in Africa, Latin America as well as Asia. With this aim in mind, missionaries wrote grammars and dictionaries of local languages. Many speakers of marginalized languages became literate by reading religious texts, which, till today, make up the bulk, if not all, of the publications in languages of smaller-sized communities.

Another level in writing community languages is reached when they are used to take memos and make notes at community meetings, to record decisions and detail agreements, etc. This is, for example, practised by the Ju|'hoan community in Namibia. The advantage of using their own language in these official contexts is that also the non-literate speakers, who often constitute the majority in many such communities, can participate and contribute to discussions concerning community affairs.

Writing oral languages can also serve as a means to document the community's intellectual heritage, namely the oral traditions on their history, rituals, environmental management, traditional economies, healing and spiritual wellbeing, etc. A critical take on the writing of and literacy in hitherto oral languages emphasizes the importance of orality in many traditional societies. While oral traditions can be recorded in audio and video sessions, they are much easier to manage and access in written form.

Writing a language is essential for mother tongue based multilingual education. This is particularly important, because literacy rates among speakers of threatened languages are often low and illiteracy is one of the crucial indicators to identify discrimination and marginalisation. Children from these communities regularly perform poorly, especially when their own languages are not used in the educational system. Countless studies have demonstrated that children learn best in and through their mother tongues (UNESCO 2008); despite this common knowledge, millions of children around the world are educated in languages other than their own. The plea for mother tongue based multilingual education is an important argument for supporting community demands on writing oral languages. Government institutions, NGOs as well as linguists may play supporting roles in communities' attempts towards developing writing conventions, producing teaching and learning materials, fostering the use of the language, establishing language rights, etc.

Finally, writing might play a crucial role for the survival of threatened languages. Where ancestral languages are no longer spoken in the family, intergenerational language transmission is interrupted, and children no longer acquire them naturally in the home environments. Because of that, ancestral languages are increasingly transmitted through formal and informal teaching. The design and production of teaching and learning materials for community languages is often considered central by language revival and revitalization movements. For that, the development and establishment of community orthographies is a prerequisite, since these materials are mainly written media, namely booklets, readers, textbooks, dictionaries, etc. For this latter purpose, i.e., "writing for speaking", orthographies have to represent the speech sounds as closely as possible, as competent speakers might be few or increasingly becoming fewer.

Designing community orthographies

Many linguists treat orthography development as a technical issue in which they identify the phoneme inventory and then aim at representing 'one distinctive speech sound with one character or symbol' in community orthographies. Hangul, the alphabetic system used in writing Korean, represents the distinctive speech sounds of that language

perfectly and words can be correctly pronounced simply by reading them, even by non-speakers. By far most orthographies, however, especially those with long traditions, do not follow this principle. For example, the idiosyncratic nature of spelling is an obstacle in writing English. Irregular spellings and pronunciation in English are the topic of many poems, including, for example, the classic English poem "The Chaos", written by the Dutch traveller Gerard Nolst Trenité in 1920. It contains about 800 of the worst irregularities in English spelling and pronunciation, questioning for example why "done" rhymes with "fun" and not with "gone". English is one of those languages in which the written forms of spoken words have to be learned in addition to the oral pronunciation. Learning to speak English from written texts alone is therefore not possible. In Korean, on the other hand, it is possible to do so, after having learnt the Korean alphabet, which in itself takes only a few hours.

Socio-political contexts and cultural traditions are often determining factors in the choice of a specific orthography convention or even of different writing systems. Socio-political conditions exist on all levels, namely on the writing systems, on orthographies or even on the use of specific characters or symbols representing speech sounds.

Speakers of threatened languages commonly speak or even write other languages which are more dominant than theirs. The orthographies and writing systems established for these languages are crucial in choosing writing conventions for the threatened language, especially when these languages are used in literacy campaigns and formal education among the community.

Religious affiliation has triggered the use of different orthographies for one and the same language in the past, for example, when missionaries of different denominations introduced distinct writing conventions, such as with Tumbuka in Malawi.

Regional distinction may lead to different orthographies being in place, as with the Western Aranda people in central Australia who want to be distinguished from the neighbouring Eastern Arrernte people by the spelling of their language name and by their language in general. For them, their orthography has an immense symbolic value, and is a symbol of their identity and autonomy.

National policies of governments may demand the use of specific writing conventions. For example, Afar, a Cushitic language, is written in the Ethiopian script in Ethiopia, in the Roman alphabet in Eritrea, and in the Arabic script in Djibouti. Similarly, the government of Botswana enforces the use of Roman letters also for the

representation of click consonants. The orthography of Naro was developed according to this directive, while the orthographies of all related languages, including the well-established orthography of Khoekhoegowab, use the click symbols proposed in the International Phonetic Alphabet.

In the past, when starting to write an oral language, it was often the case that a de facto "standard" language was imposed, which ignored the variation – be it regional, social, or contextual – that is characteristic of spoken languages. Progress in information and documentation technologies makes new opportunities available, which allow, for example, the inclusion of different types of variation, such as regional, gender and generational, when writing oral languages. Modern dictionaries and grammars are based on large corpora of oral texts and might include 'crowd-sourcing'; with that, they no longer represent "standard languages". With this focus on spoken natural conversation, linguistic diversity and variation are recognized and respected. In such projects, speakers are instrumental in carrying out this research as well as in the processing and the analysis of the language data.

Ownership and management of orthographies

The analysis of languages by linguists is the starting point for the design of any community orthography created for use by the speakers. Community members have to be trained to be able to manage and to run literacy programmes. Community orthographies can stimulate intense emotional reactions among communities, for example, on questions related to who controls and has the authority over language standardisation efforts or even more fundamentally on who owns a language. Community language boards may manage writing conventions, but in order to establish its use in writing, the speakers themselves have to hold on to the ownership of the orthographies. It is imperative that language communities head and direct these efforts to ensure that their interests and language rights are recognised.

Summary

There is no 'one or best way' to establish literacy in previously unwritten languages of predominantly oral communities. Even though one can learn from the various previous and on-going attempts to write languages, one has to highlight the fact that settings and conditions differ quite fundamentally. The level of literacy among the community members (also in languages other than their own), whether a closely related language is already written, or if national policies prescribe writing systems or alphabets are among the core factors that need to be considered when developing community orthographies for previously unwritten languages.

The possible purposes for and the uses of written forms for oral languages are numerous. In most cases, the development and production of written teaching and learning materials are essential when intergenerational language transmission is interrupted, thus when languages are learned mainly in formal or informal teaching settings. Where recordings of archived speakers or living speakers exist, such as in Australia or Hawai'i, community members can of course also relearn and regain oral competence in the heritage language.

Introducing writing for oral languages often has a positive impact on the self-esteem of their speakers and contributes to the improvement of their wellbeing. Visualising their languages in writing can be an important tool in the empowerment of marginalised communities.

Many rural communities in various parts of the world have very little or no access to electronic language resources (e.g., no electricity, no recording devices, etc.), making the use of audio or video clips in teaching efforts problematic. For that reason, in the foreseeable future, writing an oral language may still prove to be essential for the production of teaching materials, and literacy will remain the main access to knowledge and information.

Most importantly for the development and establishment of writing for oral languages, however, is the wish by the communities themselves to have their languages written. They also have to be in control of all activities that aim at establishing community orthographies for their languages.

14.1. Orthographies and Ideologies

Linguists have generally claimed that script is something that does not belong to language, it is something secondary, rather left to culture scientists or (art) historians. Even those sociolinguists, who deal with interrelations between scripts, writing systems and orthographies from one side and users' societies and speech communities from the other, claim that the former are fundamentally independent of languages. Yet, they absolutely are not independent of language ideologies.

On the other hand, scripts are thought by their speakers to be intrinsically related to their languages. That common opinion results from the apparent and deliberate visibility of writing and because of the discernible symbolic values thereof. The written form of a language is perceived usually as a symbol of high(er) prestige and a carrier of community values in space and time.

One very frequently encountered statement by language planners is their pursue for 'language purity'. With respect to lexicon, orthography and grammar they purportedly seek to follow a substantive language planning model, which rejects influences from outside languages. In the most visible - written, printed, displayed - form of language, however, it is almost impossible to preserve a 'graphic purity'; otherwise any variety considered a language ought to have an own writing.

Developing a written form (= graphisation) of a language (variety) involves not only a simple selection of appropriate orthography, but also making decisions concerning cultural, religious, political and historical matters.

Traditionally, a script or scriptal (=graphic) layout has been ideologically interrelated with culture, and even more often – religion. Many people spontaneously associate the Cyrillic script with the Christian Eastern Orthodoxy, Arabic – with Islamic tradition, Hebrew – with Judaism, Devanagari – with Hinduism, Latin – with Westernness, Chinese characters – with the East Asian cultural circle. On the other hand, those scripts designed purposely for individual languages, have a more national cultural load – examples being the Georgian scripts დამწერლობა for Georgian, the Armenian

ր ր for Armenian, the Korean한글 for Korean or the Japanese syllabariesひらが な andカタカナ for Japanese. The nation-state ideologies also stood behind using dominant scripts when creating orthographies for minority languages (no matter if linguistically related or not) in Georgia - e.g. Abkhazian, Ossetian, Svan, Megrelian; btw. the former two were changed into Russian Cyrillic-based writing system immediately after the 2008 Russo-Georgian War. The traditional Armenian alphabet has been applied for

other languages spoken by the Armenians in diaspora, even if linguistically unrelated to Armenian. This was also the case of Jewish diaspora, as many Jewish languages (Yiddish, Ladino, Judeo-Persian and many others) have continued the Hebrew עִבְרִ אָלֶף־בֵּית scriptal tradition. The same alphabet was adopted by the Karaims – a Turkic people who accepted and developed a variety of Judaism; although the Karaim diaspora in Lithuania and Poland decided to switch from Hebrew to Latin in order to visually mark their ethnic separation from the Jewish ethnicity in the 19th/20th c. – when the ethnic criteria obviously prevailed over the religious ones. Those Karaims under the Soviet rule had later to adopt a Russian Cyrillic-based orthography. Some of the Yiddish speakers in Poland, in the same period of ethnicization of languages in the 19th/20th c. thought about switching from the Hebrew script to Polish Latin-based orthography. The above mentioned Korean 한글, proudly considered as one of the determinants of 'Koreanness', is evidently and desperately searching for language communities eager to adopt it, probably due to a relatively high linguistic homogeneity of Korea. There are no minority languages in Korea, but recently the Cia-Cia - an indigenous community from Buton island offshore Sulawesi Indonesia – declared their willingness to adopt Korean for their previously unwritten, and endangered, language. Negotiations between the enthusiast Korean script donors and the reluctant Indonesian authorities are apparently under way.

In any case, however, it is the community concerned, who should have a decisive voice when adopting script, writing system and orthography.

Of particular significance are publically displayed elements of a minority language, which symbolically mark the community territory within the area of the dominant language. For the latter, the written language plays simply a communicative role, rather than ideological and symbolic – as is often the case of minority communities. The examples would include primarily the place-names – where the names of settlements, municipalities or other toponyms are displayed in two or more languages, including the local, less-privileged, or in languages, which are considered rival. The rivalry is even more remarkable if the names are written differently, i.e. with different scripts, different fonts or using (sometimes amply) graphemes, which are considered typical for just one of the languages. Not infrequent are cases, when the name in one language is either removed or painted over as a visible sign of an ethno-linguistic conflict.

Some minority language communities prefer to use a special font (as contemporary Basque *Harri* / *Vasca* or historical Gaelic script for the Celtic languages), or type style (e.g. a mixed case oblique Irish vs. capital lettered English on road signs in the Republic of Ireland). In those cases, the scriptal features became a relevant, and symbolically distinctive, markers of linguistic landscape.

One of the most salient cases of attributing a symbolic role to ethnic languages are memorials dedicated to individual letters, which are considered unique and characteristic – e.g. monuments to the Ukrainian **ï** in Rivne/Рівне or Belarusian **ў** in Polatsk/Полацк. The two landmarks were certainly to strengthen the linguistic self-confidence of both Eastern-Slavic speech communities vis-à-vis the historically, demographically and politically dominant Russian alphabet/language (also based on the Cyrillic script). The users of the latter, however, reacted quite similarly – by erecting a monument to the letter **ё** in Ulyanovsk/Ульяновск. Even if the Russian language or alphabet is not endangered at all, the latter letter is considered 'endangered', as the writers of Russian tend to ignore increasingly the diacritic which includes two dots (diaeresis). The Armenians, in turn, erected a whole monument site to all letters of their unique alphabet in Artashavan/ Ո . All over Croatia, numerous memorials commemorate Glagolitsa / , considered the only truly original Slavic script (unlike the Cyrillic а ъбоук or Latin alphabet). The growing respect and popularity of Glagolitic inscriptions is a direct expression of the Croatian search for a visibly markable identity, which could stronger distinguish them from neighboring languages and nations.

If a language community uses the same script as the surrounding dominant language(s), it is individual graphemes (letters in alphabets), or even individual diacritic signs, i.e. additional graphic marks of letters, that might become ideological carriers and visible indices of identity. Examples of the latter include e.g.

- the letters **ë ė ā** - considered the most Kashubian, most Lithuanian, most Wymysiōryś respectively (all three used as minority/regional languages in Poland);
- the letter **q** – which grammatically and visually marks plural in Võro (or Southern Estonian – an unrecognized regional language in Estonia), while Standard Estonian uses **d** in that function;
- the letter **ō** – used in some orthographies of Latgalian, but officially outlawed by the Latvian language authorities (Latgalian is a regional language in Latvia), as not-corresponding with the general Latvian graphic tradition;
- the letter **ŕ** – used traditionally in Ukrainian orthography, but forbidden by the Soviet orthographic reforms in the 1930s, as 'too much Western and too little Soviet'.
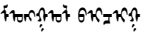
A letter may happen to be a carrier not so much of group ideologies, but individual language attitudes, as e.g. in case of the letter **h**, allegedly hated by a prominent Polish politician, as a marker of 'Ukrainianness'. As a result of that 'letter-hatred', in 1977, numerous names of villages in south-eastern Poland were changed – into what seemed to be more Polish toponyms.

The Rusyn-Lemko language community keeps discussing the usage of letter ы in their Cyrillic-based writing system. The objectors see the letter as 'too Russian' and too far distancing Lemko from Ukrainian, the argument being an inherent element of longer and deeper debate on the ethno-linguistic origins and identity of the Lemko.

Individual letters can be considered sacred in certain communities; this has been the case of the old Cyrillic letter ѣ (called *Yat'*) which allegedly contains a holy sign of cross. The letter still survives in liturgical and church texts written in the Russian Church Slavonic. It has recently found some favor in advertising or reference to religious matters in the Eastern Christian Orthodoxy.

Obviously, not all languages of the world have been recorded in writing. Also, there are much less scripts and writing systems thank language varieties in the world. If a language community want their language to get a writing system, the decisions they face concern selection of a script, writing system, and orthography. On each of these levels, many extralinguistic factors (actually probably more than intralinguistic) are (to be) taken into account.

Numerous cases in the sociolinguistic history of mankind show that any language (variety) can be written with any writing system or script, not to mention changes in orthography or individual graphemes that most written language communities have gone through. Most of scriptal reforms, however, have only occasionally followed the diachronic changes of/within the language systems; many reforms have taken place because of ideological, political, cultural reasons. If planned by the authorities, such a change of a script may aim at depriving the next generations of readers (users) access to the centuries-old written heritage. This was the case of Mongolia's shift from the Uyghur-derived ᠮᠣᠩᠭᠣᠯ ᠪᠢᠴᠢᠭ , through Latin to Cyrillic Монгол script.

A very special and stout state-building role in East-Asian countries was played by the Chinese script, which thanks to its almost entirely logographic character could represent not only various mutually incomprehensible Chinese languages (only superficially referred to as dialects and endangered on a still larger scale), but also linguistically unrelated Vietnamese, Korean and Japanese. Therefore, the Chinese script has played a much more important role than just a graphic carrier of spoken language(s); it (has) created and somehow 'constituted' a whole cultural or civilizational region of Eastern Asia. Moreover, the scriptal unity of China, in spite of its true linguistic diversity, has contributed to the internal and external image and ideology of linguistically homogenous Han supranation-state.

Non-Han minorities in China have been 'top-down' provided with writing systems by authorities, who discourage any grassroots activities in language planning; what is

more, all the systems were ideologically based on scripts other than Chinese ideograms. Some of traditional non-Chinese scripts are still commonly present in China's language landscape, even if the spoken languages are vulnerable. Ideology stood behind the Soviet plans to provide most Soviet Union's nationalities, but only those officially recognized, with writing systems that could help eliminating massive illiteracy. Initially, in the 1920s, the means of modernization was to be the Latin script. Soon however, in the 1930s, the policy of Russification prevailed, causing non-Russian languages to adopt Russian Cyrillic-based writing systems, and – subsequently – many structural Russianisms.

This process replicated those in the 19th century, when Imperial Russia intended to Russify languages of its western (mostly Catholic) conquered lands, by forbidding Latin Antiqua print for Polish, Lithuanian or Latgalian, while entirely alien Latin Blackletter print was allowed for mostly Protestant Latvian or Estonian, and of course – Baltic German. The latter case illustrates again an ideological and religious dimension of a typeface / font used by language communities. In Central-Eastern Europe, the Blackletter print has long been considered a marking feature for 'Germanness' and/or Protestantism, while Antiqua – a graphic indicator of ethno-linguistic 'non-Germanness' and usually Catholicism (e.g. Polish or Lithuanian). Thus, Protestant Masurs, being Polish-speaking subjects of Prussia, were provided and used book printed in Blacklettered Polish – which is now seen by average Poles as a cultural and ideological paradox.

Scripts and writing systems do undergo processes similar to languages – they fell into endangerment and oblivion, are engineered, planned, revived or revitalized. The above-mentioned case of traditional Mongolian (Uyghur-derived) script may be looked upon from a perspective of language endangerment and ideology of language revitalization. After Mongolia abandoned the Soviet-like communism, proposals were made to return to the traditional script. Several generations of Mongols, however, had already been brought up and accustomed to the Cyrillic-based system (which consisted of Russian Cyrillic letters + just ө and γ). The ideological arguments could not prevail over pragmatics: the 'top-down' Mongol scriptal revival has not stopped the next generations of Mongols from a continuous usage of the Cyrillic legacy.

More on endangered writing systems: http://www.endangeredalphabets.com.

Explanation of terms:

a SCRIPT is a set of graphic signs (GRAPHEMES) for writing languages, which contains information about the basic level of language to which its signs correspond: words, syllables or phonemes;

if the GRAPHEMES essentially correspond to phonemes, the script is called ALPHABET (its elements are LETTERS); a syllable-based script a SYLLABARY (consisting of SYLLABOGRAMS); while word/ morpheme writing is called LOGOGRAPHIC (and consists of either PICTOGRAMS or IDEOGRAMS);

a WRITING SYSTEM - an implementation of a script (or sometimes more) to form a complete system for writing a particular language variety;

a writing system can be standardized by means of an ORTHOGRAPHY, i.e. explicit spelling norms (arranged and published as spelling rules and orthographic dictionaries) and implicit norms, which often license a greater variation than explicit orthographies.

FONTS or TYPEFACES are graphical variants, which can be distinguished within a script.

cf. http://languagesindanger.eu/book-of-knowledge/writing for more

14.2. Writing your language - case of Wymysorys

When I was ten I became aware of a big threat to my language, Wymysorys, and so I wanted to protect it. The problem was, I did not know how to do it. Somebody told me that the more recordings and texts there are of a language the better. The first thing I did was to record my grandma and her friends speaking Wymysorys. But I knew that my recordings should include more literary forms of the language. As a child I had no access to Biesik's poetry. I knew the local songs and oral poetry, but there were very few texts which I could read, as all of them were written in various orthographies

I had the good fortune to meet Józef Gara fum Tołer, who was the only person publishing poems in Wymysorys at that time. He taught me how to use his orthography and he checked my poems for me. Another person who helped me with my first poems was Ingeborg Matzner-Danek: she translated some poems from the Bielitz-Bialaer variant of German into Wymysorys.

The goal of these first texts that I wrote was language documentation. Of course, this documentation was the work of an eleven-year old child and it was not like the documentation carried out by professionals. The most important part of the work was the inclusion of a variety of themes and grammatical forms, but I was afraid of inventing new words. Inventing new words is always a political or ideological decision: should it be a word taken from a foreign language like Polish, German, English, or maybe a new word created by myself? Those texts from when I was child are now sometimes used as teaching materials, but they are mostly kept "in the drawer".

Then, there was a request for Wymysorys texts from the local Dance Group "Wilamowice": sometimes they needed a translation of a Polish song that they sung, sometimes I would tell them a poem or some rhyming wishes for an important person and sometimes I would invent a new song for a special occasion. I often still do this.

Then I started writing some "bigger" texts, including novels and poems. But I often heard people say: "your language is not really a language. We Poles have a large and varied literature with many poets, such as Mickiewicz etc." I was angry about this, because the goal of these statements was to humiliate speakers of Wymysorys. So I decided to change this and I wrote many poems and prose in different genres. When I was sixteen, one of the stories I wrote was called, *S'ława fum Wilhelm* ("The life of Wilhelm"). It recounted the genesis of Wymysoü-Wilamowice and was printed by the Association "Wilamowianie". However, for me the most important texts are those that I wrote for the Dance Group because they are the texts that are most "alive": they are sung by the Dance Group as "old Wymysorys songs" and nobody remembers that I am the author. The Christmas carols I translated from Polish to Wymysorys are sung alongside their Polish

equivalents by children going from house to house at Christmas time. For me it is beautiful that my texts, of whose quality I was so anxious, are now a part of the Vilamovian oral poetry collection. I also find it beautiful that, for Vilamovians, I am equal with tens of authors whose names are not known anymore , but whose texts have been sung for hundreds of years.

The second piece of luck I have had is that my students started writing their own texts. I must say, when I was being taught by Inga-Müm and Jüza-Feter, I never dreamt about having my own pupils in the future. As I wrote above, I was previously afraid of inventing new words that could be used for some new things that I wanted to be involved in teaching materials which were created by me. Now, after the two successes that I have written about, I feel authorized to do so.

Janne Underriner, Lindsay Marean, Zalmai Zahir, Pyuwa Bommelyn, Ruby Tuttle and Pigga Keskitalo

Chapter 15

Language Revitalization and Maintenance Teaching Strategies

Teaching in a language revitalization context is not always about acquiring an Indigenous or heritage language as a second language; sometimes it is about awakening and strengthening the first language. Teachers of Indigenous languages come to teaching either as a first speaker or second language learner. Our desire in writing this chapter is to present teaching methods and strategies that will strengthen both types of teachers - to give the reader a solid and meaningful understanding of how language learning theories can serve teaching Indigenous languages; then present various teaching methodologies and strategies that have come from these theories to show what they look like in the classroom, at home and in the community. We are Indigenous language teachers and learners, implementing various teaching strategies in our communities, schools and homes. Each of us has years of experience learning an Indigenous language, and we bring our insights in teaching language to this chapter.

The case studies we present are applicable for both first or second language teaching and learning situations. We begin the chapter with Lindsay Marean asking if theories of second language acquisition and widely used methods of language teaching are applicable to the specific context of language revitalization; then discussing in a practical way language learning theories and how they can better inform Indigenous language teaching choices. We introduce second language acquisition terminology that we then define in a real-world way that will assist the reader to use and look for in learner's learning behaviors. Understanding these learning behaviors will help you with teaching, creating lessons and materials, and assessing.

We then ground the theory in teaching experiences written as case studies from communities. Lindsay Marean discusses distance learning in Potawatomi, and Can-Do Statements from the National Council of State Supervisors for Languages – American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages (NCSSFL-ACTFL) Benchmarks in Pahka'anil from central California. Zalmai Zahir discusses teaching and learning in language nests and reclaiming domains in the Lushootseed language from the Puget Sound region of Washington state. Pyuwa Bommelyn shares about teaching Tolowa Dee-ni' Dee-ni', from northern coastal California, with the Accelerated Second Language Acquisition (ASLA) method and reclaiming domains in their community's language programs. Also in this

section we include a master-apprentice sketch of Tolowa Dee-ni' learning based on the experiences of Pyuwa's father, Loren Me-lash-ne' Bommelyn.

We then look at homeschooling elementary age learners in Tolowa Dee-ni' in which Ruby Tuttle shares homeschooling activities and strategies. We end the chapter with Pigga Keskitalo discussing how Sámi language and culture can meaningful enhance education in the classroom citing an example of a classroom modeled after a '*goahti',* a traditional Sámi dwelling.

Introduction

Lindsay Marean is a language activist[28], both as a learner of her community's language, Potawatomi, and as a linguist working for the Tübatulabal community in California. In addition to experience working on documentation projects, such as a Potawatomi dictionary and corpus, she has also taught Spanish in public schools, supervised pre-service language teachers, and worked to connect teachers with second language teaching and learning research at the Center for Applied Second Language Studies. She says that as an Indigenous language activist, she has been lucky to meet and work with many other Indigenous language activists. Some became language activists following careers as police officers, shadetree car mechanics, tribal politicians, social workers, timber cruisers, and occasionally teachers or teachers' aids. Some became activists as grandparents, having already retired from other work before becoming language teachers. Some have been raised as language activists from infancy and are already language teachers before they have graduated high school and chosen a "career path." Few feel prepared to teach a language or design a language program when they are put in the position of ensuring the transmission of their languages to future generations within their communities.

Meanwhile, during the last fifty years, the field of second language acquisition has emerged and developed among those who are curious about how the human mind works and, at times, how our discoveries and growing knowledge base can be applied to language teaching and learning. Indigenous language activists often seek out applied linguists to guide their work, and applied linguists seek out language practitioners to test their ideas and to gather information about the experiences and needs of language teachers and learners.

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[28] Our use of the term 'language activist' (likewise see CoLang 2016, University of Alaska Fairbanks, and Florey, Penfield and Tucker 2009, ICLDC) includes both Indigenous and non-Indigenous individuals from communities and academia, typically from the fields of theoretical and applied linguistics, education and other related areas, who bring a diversity of skills, training and interests in hands-on and theoretical practices in language revitalization, maintenance and documentation.

However, Western science has a history of not valuing Indigenous ways of knowing; Indigenous people likewise are often distrustful of recommendations coming from colonizer institutions. In recent times, we have seen calls for a "productive symbiosis" between the two perspectives.[29] At this point in Indigenous community empowerment, and considering the state of second language acquisition as a field and the potential for Indigenous and western ways of knowing informing each other and being applied to the issue of language vitality, just how applicable are these theories to the specific context of Indigenous language revitalization?

The section begins with a broad overview of second language acquisition research over the last fifty years, and then follows that with a discussion of some current methodological approaches for teaching and learning languages. No one theory of second language acquisition fully accounts for all that is known and yet to be discovered about the field, yet each new perspective fills in gaps that are unaddressed in previous theories; this growth is indicative of good scientific inquiry. Also, no single "best practice" exists in language teaching and learning methodology. Each approach has its own strengths and weaknesses and is best targeted at a particular context of learner and community history, needs, and desires. Language activists can be most effective if, rather than seizing on the first method that is presented to them and implementing it without critical reflection and adaptation, they can step back from a method, situate it within its theoretical assumptions and ideal context for use, and identify strengths that are well-matched to the activists' needs and gaps that can be addressed through language activists' intentional adaptations and additions. It is necessary to emphasize that language activists, regardless of the path that led them to language teaching and learning, have the greatest impact when they feel empowered as equals to the researchers and practitioners that they may learn with and from. This section ends with a few anecdotes from Marean's experience as a language activist, both for her own community's language, Potawatomi, and as a linguist working for the Tübatulabal community in California.

Second Language Acquisition Research

Second language acquisition as a field really got going about fifty years ago, with two seminal papers. First, Stephen Pit Corder[30] noted in 1967 that second language learners' deviations from first-language speaker norms are systematic; that is, they are consistent *errors* rather than one-off *mistakes*. Also, he observed that learners' errors change over

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[29] Kimmerer, LaPier, Nelson, and Whyte (2017). Let Our Indigenous Voices Be Heard. Statement available at http://www.esf.edu/indigenous-science-letter/Indigenous_Science_Declaration.pdf.

[30] Corder, S. P. 1967. The significance of learners' errors. *IRAL: International Review of Applied Linguistics in Language Teaching, 5*(4), 161-170.

time in similar patterns from learner to learner and language to language, indicating mental processes that all humans share as we learn new languages. Second, Larry Selinker[31] in 1972 coined the term *interlanguage* to describe the version of a target language that second language learners speak; this interlanguage is unlike both the target language as spoken by first-language speakers and unlike the learners' own first languages. Like Corder, Selinker observed that learners' language is rule-governed; that is, learners are not making one-off mistakes but rather are fairly consistent in the sorts of errors they make at any given time during the development of their second language.

From there, researchers started really investigating relationships between human mental processes and the language that they are exposed to. All of this investigation can be roughly grouped into *cognitive* theorizing, because it deals with human cognition or mental processes. Researchers looked at the importance of language *input*,[32] or exposure to the target language that is at least partially understandable to the learner; language *output*,[33] and its role in helping learners to *notice* errors that hinder communication; and language *interaction*,[34] or the way that speakers and listeners convey meaning when their communication breaks down and in the process, are able to access and process more information about the target language.

In this new millennium, second language acquisition has undergone a *social turn*[35] in which researchers have started paying more attention to the lived experiences and variability of the human beings who are learning and teaching languages. Researchers are now looking at issues such as the relationships between second language knowledge and community membership, and how one's sense of identity impacts one's acquisition and use of a language. This is new and complicated territory for researchers. However, this is exactly the complicated territory that some Indigenous language activists navigate as they reconcile their upbringing apart from traditional practices and language exposure to learn

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[31] Selinker, L.. 1972. Interlanguage. *IRAL: International Review of Applied Linguistics in Language Teaching, 10*(3), 209-231.

[32] Krashen, S.. 1977. Some issues relating to the monitor model. In H. Brown, C. Yorio, & R. Crymes (Eds.), *On TESOL '77*, 144-158. Washington, DC: Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages.

[33] Swain, M.. 1985. Communicative competence: Some roles of comprehensible input and comprehensive output in its develo0pment. In S. Gass & C. Madden (Eds.), *Input in Second Language Acquisition*, 235-253. Rowley, MA: Newbury House.

[34] Long, M. H.. 1996. The role of the linguistic environment in second language acquisition. In W. C. Ritchie & T. K. Bhatia (Eds.), *Handbook of second language acquisition*, *Vol. 2*, 413-468. New York: Academic.

[35] Block, D.. 2003. *The Social Turn in Second Language Acquisition.* Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press.

an under-resourced language (one with limited learning materials and opportunities available) in communities that are recovering from historical trauma in a world that still favors settler-colonialism.

Language Teaching and Learning Methods Overview

Here are some popular, currently-used methods for teaching and learning languages: immersion (in many forms), grammar-translation, direct and audio-lingual methods, proficiency-based/communicative language teaching, and input-based methods such as Total Physical Response Storytelling/Comprehensible Input (TPRS/CI), Organic World Languages (OWL) and the Accelerated Second Language Acquisition (ASLA) approach attributed to Dr. Stephen Greymorning (Neyooxet).

Immersion is an area where we see a lot of indigenous models. The simplest form of immersion is natural intergenerational language transmission. We simply grow up speaking a language as a first language. This is the form of language teaching and learning that indigenous communities used prior to the disruptions caused by settler-colonialism. In some indigenous communities, special domains such as storytelling and speech-making are highly prized, and language proficiency is carefully and consciously developed over a lifetime of indigenous language use.

Native communities have responded to the disruption of intergenerational transmission in a number of innovative ways. Language nests, pioneered by the Maori, involve targeting children from infancy and immersing them in a nurturing environment of Indigenous language and culture, prominently featuring elders and knowledge-bearers in children's lives. Immersion schools continue or start the immersion process by educating children in their Indigenous languages. In some cases, children come to school already speaking their Indigenous language, and immersion schools help them to develop specialized and academic language use. In other cases, children's first exposure to their Indigenous language is in school. For adults, several approaches have had good results. The Advocates for Indigenous California Language Survival have pioneered the Master/Apprentice model, in which an adult (or teenage) language learner is paired with an older proficient speaker intensively over a period of several years for one-on-one immersion sessions.[36] The Nishnaabemwin Pane program offered through Bay Mills Community College in Michigan offers large-group adult immersion; proficient speakers tell stories and perform skits in a low-stress, input-rich program. Another promising initiative is the emergence of language houses, where dedicated adults choose to live in a space entirely dedicated to Indigenous

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[36] Hinton, L., with Vera, M. and Steele, N. 2002. *How to Keep Your Language Alive: A Common Sense Approach to One-on-One Language Learning*. Berkeley, Calif.: Heyday Books.

language learning and use.[37] A related approach is Zalmai Zahir's[38] (case study 3 below) method of creating language nests within the home through a process of reclaiming domains.

Grammar-translation for language learning has been around for millennia. We study texts written or spoken by proficient language speakers for other language speakers, we note key vocabulary and memorize it, and we observe language patterns, especially noun and verb prefixes and suffixes, and memorize charts of word forms to help us translate from one language to another with accuracy. In grammar-translation classes, the original text is of great importance. Teachers and learners end up spending a lot of time talking *about* the text and language in it, and less time speaking *in* the language or producing their own meaningful utterances.

On the other hand, direct and audio-lingual methods prioritize use of the target language at all times. Grammar is not directly taught; rather, learners listen to and pronounce sentence after sentence after sentence and generate grammar rules through exposure and practice. Correct pronunciation is emphasized, and students "over-learn," practicing until speaking learned phrases is automatic. Most language-learning apps that are marketed today (such as Rosetta and Berlitz) make use of the direct method; many Indigenous language-learning apps also are based on these approaches.

In the world of "foreign" language teaching, especially in the United States, professional teachers are trained to focus on language proficiency through a communicative approach. In this framework, students make ongoing gains in their proficiency, defined by standard levels across different modes (interpretive listening/reading, presentational speaking/writing, and interpersonal communication). They develop proficiency by engaging in communicative tasks with each other and by interacting with authentic materials in the target language to meet real-world objectives. For example, students might study a French-language map of the subway system in Paris to figure out how to get from one place to another. They might converse with other students to find out how many pets they have and what their names are. Curriculum is often organized thematically, and it follows the principle of *backwards design*, in which curriculum is developed by first thinking about the proficiency goals and how to assess them, and then what sorts of activities directly prepare students to meet those goals.

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[37] Sʔímlaʔxw Johnson, M. K. 2016. Ax toowú át wudikeen, my spirit soars: Tlingit direct acquisition and co-learning pilot project. *Language Documentation and Conservation 10*, 306-336. Available online https://scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu/bitstream/handle/10125/24695/johnson.pdf.

[38] Zahir, Zalmai. 2018. *Language Nesting in the Home.* Leanne Hinton, Leena Huss, Gerald Roche, editors. New York: The Routledge Handbook of Language Revitalization.

Another popular trend among language teachers is radically input-based teaching. In these approaches, teachers focus on making language input completely comprehensible to students. Students are never expected to produce language other than voluntarily. Extensive reading for more language exposure is also important to these methods. Examples include TPRS/CI, OWL, and ASLA.

Be Informed, Be Empowered

None of the above methods is the perfect method. There is no proven single best practice in language teaching and learning. Rather, there are good practices, and a good language teacher or program leader uses those which best fit the local context. Immersion can produce second-language speakers who sound very similar to first-language speakers and who are strong in their Indigenous identity. However, such programs are resource-intensive and rely on having teachers who are confident and proficient in their Indigenous language. Also, if the Indigenous language isn't used outside of school, that is, in the wider community and in learners' homes, then language gains can disappear as quickly as they came once students leave school. Grammar-translation may give students insight into language patterns and the way that proficient users speak, and they make good use of the sort of text collections that language activists frequently find in archives, but learners using this method are often unable to participate in basic conversations because they have not had any practice with interpersonal communication. Direct methods can address community concerns about how one's first language, which is typically a colonizing language, affects the learner's interlanguage and becomes fossilized or set as the new norm for the Indigenous language in future generations. However, their reliance on repetition and practice of provided language means that learners may not be able to express original thoughts in their own words and with their unique voices. Proficiency-based approaches offer a broad framework that makes it easy for learners to see their progress as language users, leading to greater retention in community language programs. However, these approaches have had little application in Indigenous contexts at this time; they remain somewhat untested in Indian Country. Heavily input-based approaches are especially good for adults who may have a number of emotional barriers around their Indigenous language, since they are not pressured to speak unless they want to. However, most adults' language goals include the ability to produce language, which is not emphasized in these approaches.

In other words, every method has its own strengths and weaknesses. Language activists must consider their own desires, the desires and resources of their communities, and the traditional worldview and lifeways that they want to situate language revitalization efforts within. We started this discussion with a question: "How applicable are theories of second language acquisition and widely used methods of language teaching and learning to the

specific context of language revitalization?" Each language activist will need to answer this question for him/herself. However, theories of second language acquisition and currently used methods can really inform the work of language revitalization and save us all time as we learn from those who have come before us. In doing so, we must be unafraid to question and challenge researchers and practitioners that we interact with. If you have chosen to be an activist on the part of your heritage language, you have already navigated a complex universe of identity, loss, relationships, and rich cultural knowledge. Your lived experience is irreplaceable and should absolutely guide you as you decide how you will proceed with your language activism.

We turn now to seven case studies to illustrate on-the-ground practices for first or second language teachers and learners of Indigenous languages.

Case Study 1:

Lindsay Marean – *Potawatomi distance learning, workshops*

Every Monday night, Lindsay skypes in with some fellow Potawatomi people, and they use the grammar-translation method as they work through recordings of their elders speaking Potawatomi, looking up words in dictionaries or asking people from different dialect areas if they have heard that word before, studying verb prefixes and suffixes, and puzzling over why certain discourse markers are used in different places. Lindsay explains, "We have these wonderful recordings, we have curious adults who are interested in how Potawatomi works, and I don't have time to prepare any formal lessons. I recognize that we aren't developing our conversational skills or learning to pray before a meal when we dissect these texts, but we are developing a feel for how our first-language speakers use our language, and we are gaining new insights into traditional Potawatomi ways of thinking as we listen, line-by-line, to our elders sharing with us what they thought merited being said in our language."

In some circles, TPRS/CI practitioners have a reputation for being dogmatic and critical of others who require their students to speak before they may be ready. Nevertheless, Lindsay, who usually favors communicative approaches, chose to use a classic TPRS approach last summer at an event hosted by the Pokagon Band of Potawatomis. She re-phrased an incident from Potawatomi history into simple sentences and presented one at time, followed by a prescribed set of questions that start with yes/no, progress through either/or, and end with more open-ended who/what/where/when type. By the end of the week quite a few people in the class could tell the entire anecdote in Potawatomi. Participants may not have learned how to express their own original thoughts during the lessons that week, but they reclaimed a little-known part of their history as part of an oral tradition that they now share.

Case Study 2:

Lindsay Marean - *Can-Do Statements in Pahka'anil*

In her work as a Practical Linguist for members of the Tübatulabal Tribe in California who are teaching their language, Pahka'anil, Marean has piloted the use of the NCSSFL-ACTFL Can-Do Statements (https://www.actfl.org/publications/guidelines-and-manuals/ncssfl-actfl-can-do-statements), a set of specific language abilities arranged by proficiency level and mode of communication. Language teachers collect evidence of their and their students' language development and maintain language portfolios showcasing their growth. This is one very small piece of what these teachers do in their work to carry Pahka'anil on in future generations, and also one very small piece of what Lindsay does as their linguist. However, their experience so far is that using language portfolios aligned with the Can-Do Statements "foreign" language standards is helpful for guiding development of curriculum and for setting goals for ongoing growth as Pahka'anil users.

Based on Lindsay's experience with second language acquisition as a research field, she finds that it can certainly inform our work as language activists, and our work can certainly inform future research. We need to keep in mind that Western science is progress-oriented, and progress often involves disproving aspects of what, ten years earlier, was regarded as truth. We must be careful to think critically about research that we do and read about and be cautious about applying it in real life.

Likewise, Lindsay's experience using and observing a wide variety of language teaching and learning methods has given her lots of great ideas for her own work that she never would have come up with in isolation. Even more importantly, based on others' experiences, she has a good idea of what will not work, or what will be missing with each method, so that she can put together an approach that is specially suited to her community, its language, their needs at this time, and their world views and lifeways.

Case Study 3:

Zalmai ʔəswəli Zahir - *Lushootseed language nesting in the home*

Zalmai Zahir is of Sioux ancestry on his mother's side, and raised by her and his Puyallup step-father. It was from them that he learned the importance of language and culture. He began learning Lushootseed from his Puyallup step-father at age eleven and began teaching it in 1989. He also studied and apprenticed with Lushootseed elder, scholar and professor, Dr. Vi Hilbert.

Using various teaching methods over the years with limited success, Zalmai developed a methodology that borrows from various approaches, including reclaiming domains and

language nesting. He has turned portions of his home into a Lushootseed language nest by focusing on using language with specific activities, thereby reclaiming speaking Lushootseed within the home. He teaches and assists other learners and language programs on how to use this approach.

Over the past thirty plus years we have seen that learning language in 'nests', in places where language is fostered, cared for as a parent cares for a child, places where learning is nurtured and respected, has proven to produce fluent speakers.[39] And in particular, speakers of Indigenous languages who are using this model to revitalize their languages are finding it vital to language use as it requires learners to speak and converse on a regular basis. Zalmai defines two types of nests that exist for language revitalization - a *nest for children*, and a *nest for language*. "A 'nest for children' is a physical location where the **children are nested** in the language. This is the primary accepted definition by language revitalizationists. A 'nest for language' is a physical location where **the language is nested**, not the learners. It is not limited to the involvement of children, and it can occur in the home."[40] Zalmai broadens the definition of a language nest to a "place in the home, or the whole home itself, where adult learners and speakers with or without children will use the language. This can facilitate the growth of language use to several hours per day, and it provides a means for language transmission to friends, family and children."[41] It allows for activates of daily living to be 'reclaimed' in the language of the home.

As we will see in other case studies below, language nesting can occur in a location in the home, or through an activity in a room, where the dominant language is not allowed to be spoken. When a physical space is created to specifically support language use, learners have to speak the language. Teachers then create learning materials for real-life activities and teaching occurs one activity at a time.

For example, choose a room where you want to use the language. If you live in a family or with friends, decide together which space you want to begin with. For example, if you eat together, cook together and use the kitchen to socialize, consider beginning in the kitchen. Many domains can be reclaimed in the kitchen (we just list a few below). Because the

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[39] Wilson and Kamanā. 2008. Mai Loko Mai O Ka 'Iini: Proceeding from a Dream": The Aha Punana Leo Connection in Hawaiian Language Revitalization. *The Green Book of Language Revitalization in Practice*, L. Hinton and K. Hale (eds), 195-198. San Diego, CA: Academic Press. 147-178.

[40] Zahir, Zalmai. 2018. *Language Nesting in the Home.* Leanne Hinton, Leena Huss, Gerald Roche, editors. New York: The Routledge Handbook of Language Revitalization.

[41] ibid

kitchen functions as a gathering space, it supports the extended learning of friends and family.

Activities to support learning in the kitchen:

Here are some kitchen activities to teach:[42]

1. Using the sink
2. Washing your hands
3. Cleaning the counter
4. Washing dishes
5. Putting away groceries
6. Making a sandwich
7. Making coffee
8. Frying an egg
9. Boiling vegetables
10. Baking

As a teacher you can see how these activities create a framework for learning and how they contribute to building your kitchen curriculum.

Once you have an idea of the activities you want to reclaim, then the next step is to identify the language phrases you want and need to teach them. We suggest you begin with self-narration, saying aloud the words and phrases as you do each of the actions. This will help you decide if the phrases you chose are relevant to the activity, and it will help you to determine the ordering of the actions in the activity. Additionally, this process reinforces language learning by physically doing what you are learning.

Here is an example activity to try if you want to reclaim the domain of *washing your hands*.[43]

1. I turn on the water.
2. (Now) I take the soap.
3. I put it on my hands.
4. I wash my hands.
5. I rinse my hands.
6. I turn off the water.
7. I take the towel.

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[42] ibid

[43] ibid

8. I dry my hands.

Zalmai has found that if he is more prescriptive with the process, i.e., "Take this activity and post it in your bathroom. Do it each time you wash your hands, increasing your daily language use by 5 minutes per day." learners have better success.

If you need help coming up with the language you want to teach, you can go to other speakers in your community; and for communities who no longer have first speakers, you can look at documented language materials such as texts, grammars and dictionaries or work with a linguist to gather words and phrases. These sentences will grow as your lesson plans develop reflecting the activities to be reclaimed.

Here is a visual learning tip:

- Make labels writing the needed vocabulary and phrases on them.
    - Write the names (nouns) of each object you want to learn
    - Write the actions (verbs) you are wanting to learn (phrases)
- Post names and phrases in areas of your home (or other places) where activities will take place, so for this activity, in the kitchen.
    - Use the labels to learn nouns.
    - Use phrases to learn actions
- Say the vocabulary and phrases aloud as you are doing the actions and teaching them.
- Ask your students do the same in their homes.

The key of all activities is using the language.

Case Study 4 and 5:

Loren Me-lash-ne' Bommelyn; and Pyuwa Bommelyn, Director of Culture and Language, Tolowa Dee-ni' Dee-ni' Nation - *Tolowa Dee-ni' Dee-ni' Teaching Strategies*

Pyuwa Bommelyn is a Tolowa Dee-ni' Dee-ni' Nation tribal member, second language speaker of Tolowa Dee-ni', an Athabaskan language spoken in coastal Northern California, at Crescent City and Smith River. He is the son of Loren Me-lash-ne' and Lena Bommelyn, and grandson of Eunice Bommelyn, first speaker of Tolowa Dee-ni' Dee-ni'. Me-lash-ne' and Lena raised their three children in the Tolowa Dee-ni' Dee-ni' language, with Me-lash-ne' speaking to his children, and now grandchildren, primarily in Tolowa Dee-ni' Dee-ni' to this day. Because of this, Pyuwa and his wife Ruby Tuttle are able to raise their three children in Tolowa Dee-ni'. Ruby homeschools their children, providing an education rich in language, culture and academics.

Case Study 4

Loren Me-lash-ne' Bommelyn - *Master Apprentice Language Learning Model*

From the time Me-lash-ne' was a child he wanted to know everything there was about plants. It was his dream to be an ethno-botanist and horticulturist. Also, he was curious about his family's language Tolowa Dee-ni' Dee-ni', as his mother was a speaker. He would go with her to visit elders and family and listen to them as they visited. He would practice and put to use the language he learned. His interest in plants and language was known in the community, and he would ask many questions of his elders on these visits.

One of the learning strategies Me-lash-ne' used when walking to school, to family and friends' homes, anywhere really, was that when looking at an object, he would replace the English word for the Tolowa Dee-ni' word, and over time he saw his environment through Tolowa Dee-ni' Dee-ni' speaking eyes.

Me-lash-ne' studied traditional dance and song with an elder and through these teachings he created his own songs in Tolowa Dee-ni' Dee-ni' to which dancers dance today. For everything Me-lash-ne' wanted to learn and know about, he found an elder to teach him, to apprentice with. It was in this way that he learned Tolowa Dee-ni' Dee-ni' and now as a master himself, learners apprentice with him. The essence of this teaching/learning method is to immerse oneself with the language in an environment with an elder relying on the environment and one's curiosity to guide learning.[44]

Case Study 5

Pyuwa Bommelyn – *Tolowa Dee-ni'* Dee-ni' *Programs and Teaching Strategies*

In this section we share about programming, teaching methods and Tolowa Dee-ni' Dee-ni' learning in HeadStart (preK), home programs, high school and community language programs that serve three year olds to seniors (+ 60 years). As language learner-teachers we use various teaching methods, in particular, the Accelerated Second Language Acquisition (ASLA) approach attributed to Dr. Stephen Greymorning (Neyooxet).

Accelerated Second Language Acquisition (ASLA)

After realizing there was no "golden egg", Pyuwa stated that in reality, what it boils down to is what one has in one's toolbox. For the Tolowa Dee-ni' Dee-ni' programs it is ASLA. All Tolowa Dee-ni' Dee-ni' teachers have been trained in the method. In every beginning

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[44] Hinton, L., with Vera, M. and Steele, N. 2002. *How to Keep Your Language Alive: A Common Sense Approach to One-on-One Language Learning*. Berkeley, Calif.: Heyday Books.

class, whether in HeadStart, high school or in community classes, students learn the first 5 skill sets where nouns, verbs, colors and clothes are introduced according to ASLA order. After learners are introduced to vocabulary, they break into pair work and then group work situating the vocabulary in domains.

ASLA teaching goals target "imprinting" nouns and verbs (the heart of the language) first, using concrete examples in the language. Once these are learned and learners can use them with each other, learners move into the more abstract part of the language such as descriptors, adverbials, and classifiers for example. Verbs are kept in the first and second person singular form most of the time to make learning more tangible.

In taking this ASLA approach depending upon what class it is, Tolowa Dee-ni' teachers make their own skill-sets which they call "Indintivities". These include commands so learners are doing the verbal motions they are learning providing a sensory input to learning; and activities include cultural notes. Once learners are familiar with the vocabulary, pair and group learning activities position the vocabulary in domains. For example, in a lesson on *Vine tea* – learners work on associated nouns, verbs of actions and commands on for example, plant identification; where the plant is located; when and how it is gathered and processed; why it is used; its health benefits; and learning includes cultural knowledge about what one needs to know before picking the plant.

ASLA in learning in domains – reclaiming the language of place

As seen above with Vine tea, ASLA learning techniques can be used to reclaim domains, to bring language into daily life in specific spaces. Vocabulary is taught with pictures in skill sets according to ASLA sequencing. Here are some examples of developing language fluency within specific domains using ASLA strategies.

Classroom - In the classroom, a domain would be speaking the vocabulary and phrases of classroom activities in Tolowa Dee-ni'. In preK and kindergarten, students learn to respond to and ask phrases like: put your coat in your cubby; come sit at the circle; please set the table; Would you like some milk?; Time to brush teeth.; I have to go to the bathroom.; Will you be my partner?; Time to clean up.

Home - Unlike Case Study 3 where a domain is an activity, here, a domain is any room in the home or a specific time, for example, the kitchen, specifically a mealtime, where learners learn vocabulary of cooking a meal beginning with a scripted conversation until enough vocabulary is learned to be conversational.

Community - In the community, a cultural location is a domain, a particular place on the reservation tied to a traditional lifeway. An example for the Tolowa Dee-ni' is the place

where smelt fish are found. Fishing occurs with a net. And it is here that smelt are dried on the beach.

High School - Teaching at the high school provides the most consistent learning environment. Students can take two years of Tolowa Dee-ni' for credit at the local high school, Del Norte High School (DNHS), taught by Guylish Bommelyn, and classes are taught daily. This structure provides a framework for successful learning in contrast to weekly community classes that can have varying attendance thus posing a challenge to consistent sequenced learning. At the beginning of the year, Guylish gives students a survey, asking them to identify their learning interests. From this he writes lessons situated in the domains students suggest. Initial lessons are taught using ASLA and include nouns, verbs, adjectives; verbs include commands in first person and second person singular. Additionally, he uses games, and incorporates body movement to learn Tolowa Dee-ni' verbs.

For example, 'ice cream' was identified as a domain students wanted to learn. Guyish brings ice cream into the classroom using language to: (a) ask for ice cream, (b) how to get the ice cream out of the container; and (c) give ice cream to classmates/each other; (d) describe taste; (e) discuss likes and dislikes. Language domains change throughout the year.

Traditional Lifeways – Dee-ni' teachers stress (because they are seeing positive results) that reclaiming domains produces situational fluency in a way that other learning does not. Pole fishing as a domain is an example. They have a word for fish, pole fishing, stream, hook, but do not have words for 'bobber, weight, spool. Thus, new vocabulary is needed for these domains. So teachers look at how nouns are formed, and using the strategy for building nouns, come up with a new word (weight, for example) so learners can stay in the language longer in the domains. Then learners can talk about, 'catch a fish, reel in, attach a weight'; all the actions needed for pole fishing. Videos of this particular unit have been created, and lessons are posted on Instagram that are linked to the Tolowa Dee-ni' Language Program's Face Book page and the Tribe's website.

Language in the home program

The Tolowa Dee-Nation's Language Program implemented a *language in the home program* over three years ago. Families are required to commit to the program, for learning Tolowa Dee-ni' for one year (at the least). A Tolowa Dee-ni' teacher goes to a home to talk about language barriers, for example, "What are the barriers to that family learning language; How does it make you feel learning language now?" Each family has a language quota (how much Tolowa Dee-ni' language they can/want to learn in a year) and a Tolowa Dee-ni' teacher and family members talk about what is realistic for them.

Teachers talk about language learning techniques. The Maori language program philosophy and the questions the Maori use to learn language are used a guide for family learning. The Language in the Home program has been successful for 5 families. An important aspect for the families is that they need to set their own goals and be responsible to their own learning. This is emphasized throughout the year of learning.

To begin, a pre- and exit assessment on each families' general attitude toward learning language was created and used to design the year of Tolowa Dee-ni' lessons, and it provides a benchmark of what families learn in the year. The first part of program engaged families in discussing their language learning attitudes. Families received a visit once a week from a Tolowa Dee-ni' language teacher. Tolowa Dee-ni' materials were made for that home by the language teacher, and families were taught how to use the materials for meaningful language learning in their home. Also, families were able to access on-line Tolowa Dee-ni' language lessons on the Tribes website. Families are using the language more with other families in the community; with Tolowa Dee-ni' language teachers and language activists. They are using the language with their family; their spouses are more invested in the language as a result of the program being in the home and they are speaking; and the kids use and want to use the language more.

Some closing remarks

The point of learning the language of many domains, and why the Tolowa Language Program emphasizes language use, and making up new words is that they want learners to use language on a daily basis. They support learners to use 'everyday' speech. What strategies are used to support daily language use? Extending immersion times in the classroom; learning in domains; building up language so learners can stay in it; working on language attitudes in the community because any negativity impedes language learning; and sharing the language to accommodate Tolowa sister dialects to be inclusive of how all folks learned to say things.

Case Study 6

Ruby Tuttle - *Tolowa Dee-ni' as the language of homeschooling*

Ruby Tuttle (Yurok/Yuki/Maidu/Karuk) and Pyuwa Bommelyn began homeschooling their children in the language of their home, Tolowa Dee-ni' in 2013. Ruby and Pyuwa made the decision prior to the birth of their children that they would raise their children in Tolowa Dee-ni'. And as the children grew and decisions needed to be made about how they would be educated, it became apparent that if the children were to be speakers of Tolowa Dee-ni', sending them to schools where English was the medium of educating was not an

option. Schooling then extended the children's Tolowa Dee-ni' language and cultural foundation and identity to embrace academic learning in their home.

Ruby began creating 'schooling' materials early on as a means to support the children's language learning. As it became obvious that she would be the teacher, material development became more intentional to meet content standards for both the state and school district, and her and Pyuwa's Tolowa Dee-ni' values. Together with a learner of a sister dialect of Tolowa Dee-ni', Carson Viles (Confederated Tribe of Siletz tribal member and learner and scholar of Tolowa Dee-ni' and Tututni), they piloted the preschool curriculum Ruby was developing. We include this point for readers to appreciate that teachers do not have to speak the same dialect in communities where dialects are similar and speakers are few. Speakers of like dialects strengthen the larger community of speakers and increase the number of potential teachers.

Homeschooling Teaching Strategies

The homeschooling space serves multiple functions. It is a language nest for early Tolowa Dee-ni' learners and for adult learner-teachers; and is a lab to pilot and test developing elementary Tolowa Dee-ni' curriculum. Homeschooling demands that teachers are skilled in numerous language immersion methods, and are facile in determining which strategy or activity to use in any given situation. One needs to be able to "pull out of a pocket" a lesson or activity that will engage students as their attention moves from one thing to the next. Ruby notes that she uses every method she knows about that promotes talking Tolowa Dee-ni'.

New vocabulary is introduced using Accelerated Second Language Acquisition (ASLA) language sets, then to reinforce language use, Ruby uses immersion language teaching strategies. She reinforces learning with the '5 steps' [45]where she introduces language to be learned; asks learners to listen as she says it; asks learners to mimic her, putting off independent production until the end of the lesson. Ruby emphasizes that if you expect learners to speak too soon it sets up disappointment when they are unable to follow through.

Ruby and Pyuwa teach their children to be autonomous learners. One way is through using the Tolowa Dee-ni' dictionary. Another way is using a *word wall* on which the children write a word in English that they want to know in Deeni', and Ruby or Pyuwa add the Tolowa Dee-ni' word next to it.

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[45] ibid

Teaching Activities:

Ruby stresses learning through pair activities, where the children work together to find solutions to language 'problems', and through kinetic learning.

Kinetic activities - Some examples of kinetic activities are:

• taping a vocabulary word to a bowling pin. The children have to say the word on the pin as they roll the ball to knock the pin down;

• beachball volley. Here the children volley a beachball (or other soft ball) back and forth to each other, saying the word taped to the ball. Two balls can be thrown at the same time, one ball with a noun taped to it and the other a verb;

• an addition to volleying two balls after learning the words on each ball, is making a sentence using the two words.

Drawing - Ruby emphasizes children need to take ownership of the language they are learning and as a teacher, she needs to help them find ways to support that. She has had success with activities that allow children to create pictures and drawings with the language that they know.

The penny game - The Baldwin family created this game when their children were learning the Miami language. It positively reinforces language learning and use. Ruby and Pyuwa have adapted it to learning Tolowa Dee-ni' and goes like this: when you 'catch' someone using a Tolowa Dee-ni' word, you give them a penny for using the word. It helps children recognize that what they are doing is a good thing and good things come from what they are learning. It also gets a little competitive and the children will inquire how to say new words so they can say them and add pennies to their jars.

Some closing thoughts:

Ruby stresses that being consistent in how one teaches and not giving up are two of the most important elements to practice in order to be prepared for teaching. The grind of creating curriculum and making sure you are meeting your own cultural standards and school standards can be demotivating, making you feel like you are not doing enough.

Kids need to have their own motivation for language learning; it has to come from them.

Ruby reminds us that the biggest thing is to just keep going. When she feels she is losing motivation for teaching, she goes back to her own motivation goals for learning and teaching Tolowa Dee-ni'. She asks, "What is my motivation for doing this in the first place?" And she answers, "Someone sacrificed for me to be here. Hearing the children

using the language. Seeing them speaking to each other." Those are some of the personal motivations that keep her going.

In summary, you have to think about what motivates you from within. If your reasons for doing it are your own, if they come from within you, they will remotivate you to start again and continue the language work.

Case Study 7

Pigga Keskitalo – *Realizing Sámi culturally meaningful education in the classroom*

Pigga Keskitalo comes from Sámi origin, born in Finland in a small village in Nuorgam living next to her grandmother's farm with extended family living nearby. She learned Sámi at home as both her parents were Sámi speaking. Ville Ásllat Piggá is her Sámi name according to her father's father, her grandfather, which means 'daughter Piggá of Aslak of Ville'.

During her studies and education work in pre- and inservice teacher education, she has been interested in developing practices that aim to develop an Indigenous schooling system. Discussions with student and classroom teachers have focused on the need to organize teaching in a culturally meaningful way, and how to teach students in a way that they understand and practice cultural traditions.

An example of cultural traditions taught to primary school pupils include *smoking meat* - here traditional knowledge is used to teach Sámi language concepts, and academic contents about the physics of smoking meat.

We see that in ideal circumstances, successful teaching and Sámi learning is based on the values of the surrounding community,[46] which considers the elements of Sámi cultural wellbeing. Cultural-sensitive teaching is realized if Sámi education is grounded on the Sámi's concepts of place, time, and knowledge.[47] In the old culture, the concept of time was sun-centered and bound to observing the nature. The Sámi conception of space is not bound to square feet, rather it is circular.[48] Sámi reindeer herding, like many other

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[46] Hollins, E. R. 2008. Foreword. Teoksessa H. Kohl (toim.) Culture in school learning:

revealing the deep meaning. New York, NY: Routledge, xi–xii.

[47] Keskitalo, Pigga. 2010. Saamelaiskoulun kulttuurisensitiivisyyttä etsimässä kasvatusantropologian keinoin [Searching cultural sensitivity of Sámi School]. Dieđut 1. Guovdageaidnu: Sámi allaskuvla.

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[48] Fjellström, P. 1985. Samernas samhälle. I tradition och nutid. Stockholm: Norstedt & Söners Förlag.

traditional livelihoods, is an example of these concepts where herders function according to time-honored environmental practices that require 'flexible' thinking, meaning one's ability to respond to one's immediate environment.

Sámi dwelling place - 'goahti'

In teaching arrangements, the Sámi conception of space would provide a wider place of learning than providing only classroom-bound learning. Information that pupils need exists also outside the school walls. The traditional Sámi dwelling place '*goahti'* is one example. The inner organization of the *goahti* can be applied to classroom organization creating a more traditional Sámi school setting. A *goahti* has several physical areas where various tasks take place, with different people carrying out the responsibilities for each task. When applied in a classroom, for example, a teacher could set up various teaching areas with individual tasks for student learning. The classroom would be divided into 'posts' with various work tasks that could be cultural and academic in nature, thereby transforming the usual classroom organization into one that represented a *goahti* both physically and culturally.

Some Concluding Words

There are things we have barely discussed in this chapter, a couple being the roles that inner motivation and teacher engagement play in teaching and in student learning. This is another chapter in itself. But we bring it up, because we (the authors) have had to address motivation, and lack of it, in our own learning and teaching, and have learned that motivation is linked to finding authentic meaningful ways to teach, learn and use language. Our goal in writing this chapter was to share teaching methods and strategies that support language use, and that the hands-on activities highlighted show how learning can be accessible and support language use in daily life. Our experience has shown us that these activities motivate learning, bridge classroom and home learning, and bring language use into the community. We hope you will try these activities and that they enrich your teaching, and that ultimately, with them and the ones you create, you will experience similar results. Please feel free to contact any one of us to discuss our case studies and teaching methods. We feel that in collaboration lies the strength of language revitalization.

Larry L. Kimura

15.1 Ka ʻOihana Hoʻonaʻauao Hoʻōla ʻŌlelo Hawaiʻi. Schooling for Hawaiian Language Revitalization

Hawaiian revitalization efforts currently engage the fabric of formal schooling employing Hawaiian language that is grounded in a Hawaiian philosophy of education as the definitive medium of a high standard of learning from preschool age three, through high school, age sixteen to seventeen. Schooling in Hawaiian medium recognizes the adverse effects of an educational system that prohibited the use of Hawaiian as a language of instruction. This of course proved seriously detrimental to the identity and language of the Hawaiian people. Hawaiian medium education now utilizes this effective framework to reverse the demise of the marginalized indigenous Hawaiian language and cultural identity. Hawaiian is being restored by teaching through the language, while teaching of the language with strong connections to the principles of Hawaiian medium learning is conducted at the tertiary levels of education to produce qualified, fluent second language staff for teaching in Hawaiian. 100% high school graduation attainment and 80%+ enrollment into college degree programs are high achievements of Hawaiian medium education. While expressive, fluent second language teachers are being generated through effective instructional approaches of instruction, Hawaiʻi witnesses the passing of the last handful of first language Hawaiian speakers who acquired their speech at home.

Ka Haka ʻUla O Keʻelikōlani, the College of Hawaiian Language established in 1997 at the Hilo Campus of the University of Hawaiʻi serves as a major source for furnishing fluent second language Hawaiian speakers. Several of the senior professors of the College who were the pioneers that created the Hawaiian language revitalization movement continue to ensure the foundations of the College's undergraduate degree program and the graduate Master's and PhD programs be grounded in Hawaiian language revitalization. The Hawaiian Immersion Teacher Licensing Certification Program and the Center for Hawaiian Language to create Hawaiian Curriculum materials are administered through the College of Hawaiian Language. The College's mission statement, *ʻO Ka ʻŌlelo Ke Kaʻā O Ka Mauli* - Language Binds Us To Our Cultural Identity, guides the work of Ka Haka ʻUla O Keʻelikōlani.

Successful Hawaiian medium education not only confirms positive results to revitalize the Hawaiian language and invigorate a positive wellbeing of Hawaiian cultural identity, it also achieves high academic standards of formal learning through the Hawaiian medium of education. New native Hawaiian speakers are being regenerated from parents of 35 years ago who selected Hawaiian medium schooling for their children, and now their children

are raising the third generation of grandchildren as Hawaiʻi's new age of native Hawaiian speakers. The promise of such an approach to schooling for Hawaiian language revitalization sets the stage for Hawaiian to reach into the economic, social, legal and political structures of society to regain its own place in the wider world.

15.2. Teaching and learning

As a child I was obsessed about thinking what would happen if the native speakers of my language die out. When I was ten, the youngest of them where over seventy so I realized, that it would unfortunately come fast. Then I would be alone in Wilamowice as if in a *fremd* (foreign) place.

I knew that the only way to change it is to teach my friends. At that time, they would rather tease me than show an interest in learning Wymysorys. As I was thinking how to deal with it, I discovered that lessons of Wymysorys were to be organized at school and led by an old Vilamovian – Józef Gara fum Tołer. He taught a few children, but unfortunately because of his age (he was about eighty) he could not do it for a long time. Then, after two years, the lessons stopped. It was the year 2006. I thought that maybe the time spent teaching children who do not learn much, could be better spent recording the last native speakers alive and creating language documentation.

Then, in 2011, I decided to start teaching the language. I thought about focusing on the documentation, but then I realized, that I did not want to feel guilty that I let the new generation of speakers not know the old native speakers. The first group were children from the Dance Group "Wilamowice", then there came their friends and I had to organize a couple of groups on different levels. They did their homework with the Wymysorys native speakers: they helped them in housework and they were speaking Wymysorys together. The old people are often alone, so they were very happy to have guests who are young and interested in their language and in the story of their lives.

There were years when I had about 12 groups and I taught about 24 hours per week. In 2011 I was 18, so my workload included the preparation for the secondary school exit exams and then the university where I also had many exams, so my parents did not like it that I would spend more time teaching than learning and that because of it I failed my university exams twice. For them and for some friends of mine it was a big tragedy and they could not understand why I kept teaching children and teens who would some time stop learning or treat me not well: what if nobody would want to continue? But I knew that it is the price and the risk we as indigenous people take every day. It was not the only decision that I took in 2011. I was thinking about it every day. There were many children who stopped to learn but there were also many scholar who abandoned their activities in Wilamowice, because they felt not satisfied with their effects. So why should I believe more in scholars than in my pupils?

There were many moments when I was in doubt, but now, when I see my students writing poems, songs, playing in the theatrical plays in Wymysorys, teaching other children, speaking Wymysorys with each other, using it on Facebook and leading some

websites about Wymysorys, I can confirm for people who think about taking such a decision, that I do not regret most of what I've decided to do. I remember all that moments of doubt but I know that this is the price that we, locals, have to pay and there is no possibility of anyone else helping us with it.

Ołena Duć-Fajfer

(translation by Joanna Maryniak)

15.3. Immersive Lemko ethnophilology

Lemko ethnophilology was a degree course at the Pedagogical University of Kraków between 2001 and 2017. It was the only higher education course in Poland designed to prepare students to deal with the Lemko language in public domains where minority languages are used in Poland i.e. teaching, journalism, cultural animation, social work, research.

A very important achievement of this course was the use of an original teaching method – one that meets the needs of minority languages and cultures. The main point of this method was full immersion from the very start. It was achieved thanks to the lecturers being native users of Lemko and thanks to them continuing the Lemko customs in their private and social lives. The students who were brought up knowing the Lemko language and culture are just as important as the lecturers. Their natural reactions in the domains of language and culture affect all the students – including those who have never had any contact with Lemko. Working in such a diverse group of people is most effective as it shapes immersion dynamically and creates a special communicative and emotional sensitivity. If there are no native speakers in the group (and it happens), contact with the broadest possible range of students and Lemko youth is needed. This should happen in an environment where cultural and linguistic patterns of behavior are continued. Such relations function well together because they bring about good results in the domains of information and emotion (and this is a priority when it comes to minority languages) as they motivate learning through approval – like in family relations. Students who aren't Lemkos are symbolically introduced into the family as they obtain their Lemko names and acquire the community language. This makes them feel special but also creates an obligation for them….. Students who are native speakers of Lemko are put in the position of teachers and supervisors. They also become aware of the systemicity and the linguistic specificity of the language passed down in their family, which enables them to use it in public spaces.

On this basis, students learn through common creative activities. During group and individual work they create texts in Lemko. These are published in a special section of Lemko newspapers and included in book reviews as well as relations from events. The students participate not only in classes but also in journalism and music workshops. They

also take part in linguistic and cultural practices in various places where Lemkos live and learn. This means that the development of the Lemko language and culture is related to the local socio-political situation. Students also have teaching practice in schools where Lemko is taught and during summer camps for Lemko youth. The most important part of these activities is the emphasis on their social meaning and utility. The positive, family-like, emotions that students get from learning creatively in Lemko-language situations combine and mutually reinforce the aspects of awareness and habit in their learning.

The alumni of Lemko ethnophilology are among the most engaged revitalizers of the Lemko language and tradition.

15.4 Integral language planning: teaching and learning to revitalize your language

Effective ways to develop projects for the (re)vitalization of endangered languages depend on the specific contexts in which a language survives, prevails, expands and eventually hopefully stabilizes. All (relatively) successful methods are forms of total immersion in the endangered languages, embracing communicative and interactive approaches. They emphasize the use of the language, expanding its domains, playing around with various theatre-like activities. An inspiring force are the language nests (LN) of the Maoris in New Zealand, which emphasize the primary socialization of Maori from the very womb to reach public domains, also strongly linked to the spirituality of the language.

In contrast to LN in terms of language vitality, other methods can be used in different contexts, including matching a grandfather/elder with younger adults or teenagers. This is a one-to-one, face-to-face interactive method to recover what is an already second language. This master-apprentice method developed by Hinton, initially for Californian languages, has been designed for a context of dormant languages. They frequently only have last speakers or remembers of a language and are a typical situation of several North American tongues. All the activities are carried out in an indigenous tongue, in familiar, informal, 'natural' interactions, deploying everyday culturally sensitive defined practices, without correcting learners but rather learning in conversational practice, and engaging speakers with "correct" forms instead of condemning grammatical deviations. Imagine someone learning English say: "She can to drive", the master would reply "Oh, she can drive!".

Total immersion revitalizing programs are also part the summer camps of language revitalization developed by Karuk activists, encouraging the use of a recessive language by totally avoiding the dominant one, which is a prerequisite for participation. There are also bilingual and the total response methods via telephone in Alaska and by radio in Japan, along with the indirect revitalization multimedia method, an indirect method of revitalization, meaning that participation is a prerogative of the audience, triggered by culturally sensitive (cartoon) animation videos. Another method aimed at 'reviving' extinct languages includes the formulaic educational method (learning of formulas) together with reclaiming languages' territory developed in Australia and starts with emblematic usages. Teaching methods do not necessarily correlate with the degree of threat. For instance, the multimedia method is applicable to viable languages and highly recessive ones too. Yet, revitalization of languages cannot be reduced to purely technical aspects. Rather, it must

be thought as part of a broader sociolinguistic ecology, embracing such dimensions as symbolic, emotional and economic empowerment.

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15.5. Kristang language revitalization in Singapore under the Kodrah Kristang initiative, 2016- present

Kristang (iso 639-3: mcm) is an endangered Portuguese creole, once spoken in various forms across archipelagic Southeast Asia from the 17th century (Baxter 1996), but now spoken mostly by older speakers in the two major extant communities of Melaka, Malaysia, where the language likely originated following the Portuguese conquest of the city in 1511 (Baxter 2005), and Singapore, whose Kristang community (today known as Portuguese-Eurasians) arose in the early 19th century following the establishment of a British trading outpost in 1819 (Baxter 1996, K. M. Wong forthcoming). Further emigration to Singapore from a Melaka declining in regional importance, as well as a longstanding association with the Catholic faith, ensured that Kristang was well-represented on the island by the late 1890s, used in sermons at the Portuguese-Eurasian dominated Church of St Joseph at Victoria Street and flourishing in a lively Kristang theatre scene with multiple Kristang-speaking troupes up till the late 1920s (K. M. Wong forthcoming). However, the preeminence of English in first colonial and then independent Singapore, the perception of Kristang as 'patois Portuguese', and the dispersal of these Eurasian neighborhoods ensured that by the late twentieth century, even knowledge of the language's very existence in Singapore was almost forgotten, even by younger Portuguese- Eurasians. It is estimated that by 2015, less than 100 speakers of Kristang remained in Singapore, with intergenerational transmission having ceased likely by the late 1960s, no teaching of the language in schools, and no use of it in media or publications (K. M. Wong 2017).

Initiated in March 2016, Kodrah Kristang ("Awaken, Kristang") is a youth-led grassroots revitalization movement presently centered around free classes in Kristang following a structured 160-hour curriculum, and more broadly aligned with a 30-year revitalization plan for the language in Singapore that seeks to ultimately re-develop space for Kristang in the Singaporean home — whether Portuguese-Eurasian or otherwise — and invite, encourage and sustain community ownership in the revitalization of the language. Kodrah's youth-led core team is multi-ethnic, with only 2 out of 5 of the present team of Portuguese-Eurasian descent, while classes are open to anyone of any ethnicity, not just Portuguese-Eurasians, as a result of the initiative's cosmopolitan Singapore context, the relatively small size of the Portuguese-Eurasian community (about 0.4% of the population, or 16,000 individuals), and strong sensitivities in both contemporary Singaporean society and the contemporary Singapore Eurasian community about language and race (K. M. Wong forthcoming). The core team works in tandem with remaining Kristang speakers to deliver lessons, with a (younger) core team member leading classes from the front and

one or more Kristang speakers present among the students to provide feedback and support; lessons are structured almost entirely around games and interactive activities to facilitate the growth of a new Kristang-speaking community founded on strong interpersonal relationships. All classes and class-related materials are free, as the initiative has cultivated a system of reusable long-term capital and strong relationships with venue partners to reduce finance-premised obstacles to long-term sustainability.

As of May 2018, about 240 individuals, including 15 children of various ages, have completed the entry-level Kodrah 1A course and associated ALKAS assessment, while 30 students from the pioneer group in July 2016 are embarking on the first advanced-level 4A and 4B courses. Meanwhile, wider public outreach has been extensive, with the initiative nominated for the prestigious Singapore President's Volunteer and Philanthropy Award in 2017 and 2018 for demonstrating Kampong Spirit, a pilot children's class in July 2017 and a successful first Kristang Language Festival in May 2017 drawing over 1,400 individuals, and media features by over 100 domestic and international publications, including the BBC, *Agence-France Presse*, *Channel NewsAsia*, *The Straits Times* and others (Zaccheus 2016, Agence France-Presse 2017, Martin 2017, T. Wong 2017). Influential Singaporean figures such as Prime Minister Lee Hsien Loong and Deputy Prime Minister Teo Chee Hean have also recognized the initiative (Lee 2017, Teo 2017), while a number of Kodrah students have independently initiated projects of their own featuring Kristang, including a film, a graphic novel, a children's book series, and a Massive Multiplayer Online Roleplaying Game (MMORPG), all currently in development (Lim 2018, Scully & Orlati 2018, Teo 2018).

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John Sullivan

15.6 Monolingual space

We founded the Instituto de docencia e investigación etnológica de Zacatecas (IDIEZ) in 2002 in order to provide scholarships to native speakers of Nahuatl who were studying careers in Spanish at the Universidad Autónoma de Zacatecas, and provide them with a place to continue practicing their language and culture. I had studied Classical Nahuatl before with James Lockhart and was now slowly learning to speak the Modern Huastecan variant. Every day I would get together with the students and we would read, translate and discuss colonial Nahuatl documents in Spanish. I had learned that the language my students spoke was a deformed remnant of Classical Nahuatl and was no longer capable of being used as an instrument for any kind of academic activity or high level thinking. As my command of the spoken language grew, it became clear that this was a lie: my students were more than capable of discussing, in their language, any of the topics that came up in our sessions. At that point I realized that every minute I spent working with them in Spanish was time contributing to the destruction of their native language. We decided that IDIEZ, from then on, would be a monolingual academic space. I played the role of 'language police' for a while, reminding them when they would switch to Spanish, to look for the appropriate Nahuatl word or to paraphrase. It's important to clarify here that we are not purists: our aim has never been to return to the time before the conquest, when Nahuatl was free of European loanwords and free of the phonological, morphological, syntactic and semantic changes that have come about as a result of contact with Spanish, as if that were even possible. The purpose of our monolingual space is akin to that of a jump-start for a dead battery. Our students have, in their brains, all of the cognitive and linguistic tools for thinking critically and creatively from the unique perspective of their language and culture, a perspective which benefits no only their community but all of humanity. They have fallen out of practice and they need to discover for themselves the richness, complexity and power of their language: the monolingual space is the instrument for achieving this. My students arrive at IDIEZ as native speakers who have gone through twelve years of formal education in Spanish, and have heard time after time from school, the government and the media that their language and culture is worthless. So they no longer use Nahuatl except when they return to their villages for short family visits. When they begin to participate in the monolingual space, many ask themselves if they will be fined for speaking Spanish, as their former teachers fined and punished them for speaking Nahuatl. And as they begin to work monolingually for extended periods, all report experiencing headaches. But at some point, each one of them realizes that their language is a powerful, complex instrument for reasoning. At that moment, a light comes on in their eyes —a light of curiosity, self-esteem and empowerment. And then, through direct participation in monolingual teaching, research

and revitalization activities at IDIEZ, they learn that their opinions matter and their ideas are valuable; they learn that they can develop curriculum and conduct research on their own, without relying on the formulas and recipes they have been taught during their formal education. In other words, they are given permission to think for themselves and express what they think, in their own language.

Sylvia Maracle and Aleksandra Bergier

15.7. Transferring Indigenous knowledge in a large urban Indigenous organization

The first Indigenous community organizations that make up the Friendship Centre movement in Ontario, Canada were formed in the late 1950s. In the early years of the movement, the work of the Friendship Centres focused on crisis intervention and providing essential services and resources, such as food, shelter and clothes to a growing Indigenous population migrating into cities. Gradually, the Ontario Federation of Indigenous Friendship Centres (OFIFC) identified the need to incorporate traditional ways into the services and programming (OFIFC, 1988). The process of cultural resurgence, also called "rekindling the fire", began with the search for Elders and traditional teachers, representing different Indigenous nations, who could reconnect the urban Indigenous community with profound intergenerational teachings and practices. These teachings, stories and high-minded principles laid foundations for the OFIFC's "neha" or bundle and have been shared with the members of the institutional community over the past several decades (OFIFC, forthcoming).

The OFIFC's collective bundle encompasses sacred objects, stories, songs, relationships, languages and concepts that represent different Indigenous traditions. Examples of entities that can be found in the OFIFC's bundle include:

- Foundational medicine wheels,
- Eagle Staffs, medicines, wampum belts, drums and Eagle feathers,
- Culture-based management practices, policy and research frameworks, training strategies and resources, publications,
- Ceremonial activities, Elders, OFIFC's Grandmother's Council and Traditional Council.

Through ceremonies and continuous care of the *neha* (e.g., Eagle feather cleaning, feasting and fasting of the sacred items, orientation teachings on traditional protocols), these components become part of the living fabric of the community and deepen a collective sense of cultural continuity. Each staff member is expected to cultivate a shared understanding of the OFIFC's bundle and follow institutional cultural protocols just as they would be encouraged to observe specific rules of conduct upon entering any traditional territory. At the same time, Indigenous knowledge transfer at the OFIFC is characterized

by respect towards personal sense of belonging and individual cultural affiliation (OFIFC, forthcoming).

Indigenous knowledge sharing at the OFIFC helps to shape contemporary urban Indigenous identity and offers a unique path to cultural socialization to individuals who find themselves in different places in terms of asserting connection to their ancestry and cultural practices. The organization applies a variety of tools and mechanisms to transfer cultural knowledge, including storytelling, the use of medicine wheels, experiential learning and transfer of responsibilities, role modelling, mentorship and written policies and frameworks (OFIFC, forthcoming).

The use of Indigenous knowledge in Friendship Centre communities is accompanied by obligations and intentionality therefore it is not freely accessible. The teachings that form part of the OFIFC's bundle were gifted to the organization for specific reasons and as such they are intrinsically connected to particular commitments and accountability within the Friendship Centre movement. The knowledge is not to be used, replicated or changed by outside parties or individuals who have no responsibilities related to the transfer of teachings (OFIFC, forthcoming).

References:

Ontario Federation of Indigenous Friendship Centres (OFIFC) 1988. *Urban Native Experience Conference "Rekindling the Fire".* Toronto: OFIFC.
Ontario Federation of Indigenous Friendship Centres (OFIFC) n.d. *Finishing the Sweetgrass Braid: Indigenous Knowledge Transfer in Urban Indigenous Communities*. Toronto: OFIFC (forthcoming).

Chapter 16

Culture place-based language curriculum for language revitalization and maintenance

Introduction

Place-based learning is not a new trend within education or Indigenous education, and has emerged in Indigenous communities as a promising approach for language learning, revitalization and maintenance. Place-based education does not have one particular theoretical tradition and has links to communicative and culturally-based approaches. Place-based education supports recommendations of Indigenous educators for Indigenous students. It incorporates culture into learning providing a meaningful educational experience for Indigenous students as it promotes authentic learning. Culture place-based language learning is proving to be an essential tool for language revitalization as it fosters community connection to traditional lifeway, builds identity and connects individual's lifeworld to surroundings, and by design, is collaborative and fosters relationship building.

Because of its value, we devote this chapter to culture and place based language learning. We will begin with a discussion of various types of language learning settings for teaching in indigenous and minority contexts, then present the background of place-based and culture place-based learning principles, followed by two case studies that implement specifically culture place-based curriculum. The special scope of the chapter allows the reader to think about culture place-based curriculum, how to write it, and how to implement it. Since the book is meant to be a practical guide, we have chosen examples with detail so readers can implement them. We, the authors, have similar curriculum development expertise, and have experience teaching and learning in master-apprentice, second language classroom K-16, immersion, home based learning and community learning situations and teacher education. In these settings, we have implemented culture and place-based curriculum. Culture place-based curriculum can be used in all teaching situations, and we suggest it to be the most meaningful type of curriculum for tribal and indigenous communities as it acknowledges the intrinsic relationship indigenous people have with the land.[49]

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[49] https://www.crossroadscrm.com/wp-content/uploads/2016/02/Deeper-Sense-of-Place-1.pdf

Assessing what is needed

When developing classroom materials, one needs to know the purpose of the curriculum and where it will be delivered/taught (public school classroom, community class, at home, for example). Teaching and learning situations range from formal classroom settings to informal in-home language learning. Some teachers see their students five days a week, others only for a half-hour a week. Knowing the learning setting and purpose will determine curricular design. The discussions that follow are examples of curriculum have shown success in revitalizing language, and are adaptable to most learning situations, such as home learning/schooling, Master-Apprentice settings and community programs (see Chapter xx…)

Some classrooms adhere closely to a second language communicative approach based on comprehensible input. Their goal is day-to-day communication in the target language. In some situations, the goal of teaching language and culture is to strengthen self-esteem and provide a heightened awareness of culture, place, and history. Teaching may focus more on learning vocabulary and phrases for situations of deep cultural relevance – for example, words and phrases that are used in religious ceremonies or while gathering food.

In communities where Indigenous language is spoken on a daily basis, language learning can occur in full immersion settings. The traditional model of immersion in which students learn all content in their Indigenous language is possible. In communities where language is not as prevalent and/or where bilingualism is the goal, content can be learned in the target and first/dominant language (dual-immersion). For many communities, though, immersion teaching is not realistic as it requires a high degree of fluency. In classrooms in the Pacific Northwest of the United States, language teachers are typically language learners, younger adults who have a strong commitment to their language and the energy to teach it. Their challenge is to keep at least a step ahead of their students, providing a language-rich classroom environment given their own level of proficiency. Many are including immersion activities where the Indigenous language is taught/spoken for short periods of time during the day.

The benefit of infusing immersion techniques into a traditional second language classroom enriches language learning for the student while building teacher fluency and facility. Teaching then includes activities conducted in the target language only for short periods of time. The immersion strategy centers around using the target language for 5 minutes at a time and increasing from there. Hinton suggests that a teacher who is learning her own language while she is teaching it focus on learning various components of a lesson. If a teacher learns the lesson elements and the language that supports learning, in other words, not only the new and review material presented in the lesson, but also greetings,

classroom management vocabulary, and informal patter – she can have an immersion classroom.[50] Here, learner-teachers[51] can teach language functions they know and are learning. For example, a counting lesson from 1-10, can start as a five minute activity that includes song, activity and physical movements, maintaining student interest throughout. As the learner-teacher builds her language, lessons are extended in components and time.

Returning to the beginning of this section, we would like to stress that one must assess what is needed in ones teaching/learning environment, know the purpose of the curriculum, what it will support, what type of learning it will promote and foster, and who the learners are. We encourage being reflective about one's situation and of the strengths and weaknesses of choosing lessons components and content. According to Linsday Maran[52], Potowatamie descendant, activist, learner, teacher and researcher, "Language activists[53] must consider their own desires, the desires and resources of their indigenous communities, and the traditional worldview and lifeways that they want to situate language revitalization efforts within." We extend her words to teachers and curriculum developers, that in creating curriculum one must consider the desires and needs of the Indigenous community one is working in and with, bringing their viewpoints into learning environments.

Place-based learning - background

Place-based learning is not a new trend within education or Indigenous education. One example, a middle through high school curriculum, *Salmon Watch*, developed by the Oregon Trout (now The Freshwater Trust) organization, focuses on the importance of wild salmon conservation in watershed management and is used by schools and organizations in the Pacific Northwest of the United States. The curriculum was "designed to provide a holistic, multi-disciplinary and watershed-based approach to environmental education, using the salmon as the key indicator species of watershed health and the cultural icon of

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[50] Hinton, Leanne. 2003. "How to teach when the teacher isn't fluent". In *Nurturing Native Languages*, J. Reyner, O.V. Trujillo, R.L. Carrasco, and L. Lockard (eds), 79-92. Flagstaff: Northern Arizona University.

[51] The term learner-teacher is accredited to Marine Atkins, 2011.

[52] Excerpt taken from personal communication on 6.21.2018.

[53] Our use of the term 'language activist' (likewise see CoLang 2016, University of Alaska Fairbanks, and Florey, Penfield and Tucker 2009, ICLDC) includes both Indigenous and non-Indigenous individuals from communities and academia, typically from the fields of theoretical and applied linguistics, education and other related areas, who bring a diversity of skills, training and interests in hands-on and theoretical practices in language revitalization, maintenance and documentation.

the Pacific Northwest"[54]. The school year begins with planning and taking a field trip to a riparian environment. While there, students make observations, collect data, and/or speak with a Northwest Tribal member about the significance of salmon or the site. During the school year, students learn about the salmon lifecycle, Native American stories and storytelling, watersheds, and human effects. Students also carry out a service-learning project and disseminate the result.

Place-based learning has emerged in Indigenous communities as a promising approach for language learning. A place-based educational approach grounds curriculum and lessons in students' experiences in local events and places, and acknowledges that learning happens not only in formal educational settings but also outside of school in families and communities. This reinforces connections to one's home, family, community and world. Included components can be the cultural, historical, social, religious and/or economic relevance of specific locations or areas.[55]

Gruenewald suggests that place-based education does not have one particular theoretical tradition, but rather that "its practices and purposes can be connected to experiential learning, contextual learning, problem-based learning, constructivism, outdoor education, indigenous education, environmental and ecological education, bioregional education, democratic education, multicultural education, community-based education, critical pedagogy itself, as well as other approaches that are concerned with context and the value of learning from and nurturing specific places, communities, or regions."[56]

Place-based education has links to communicative and culturally-based approaches. Communicative approaches to language teaching[57] stress the significance of authentic communication. This can easily be imbedded in a place-based curriculum.

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[54] From *Salmon Watch* curriculum, 2005:iii. https://worldsalmoncouncil.org/our-programs/

[55] Smith, Gregory. 2002. "Place-based education: learning to be where we are". *Phi Delta Kappan* 83: 584-594. Gruenewald, David. 2003. "Foundations of place: A Multidisciplinary framework for place-conscious education". *American Educational Research Journal* 40: 619-54.

[56] Gruenewald, David. 2003:3. "Foundations of place: A Multidisciplinary framework for place-conscious education". *American Educational Research Journal* 40: 619-54.

[57] Brown, H. Douglas. 2006. *Principles Of Language Learning And Teaching*. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall.

Specifically for Native language teaching see Hinton, Leanne. 2003. "How to teach when the teacher isn't fluent". In *Nurturing Native Languages*, J. Reyner, O.V. Trujillo, R.L. Carrasco, and L. Lockard (eds), 79-92. Flagstaff: Northern Arizona University.;

Supahan, Sarah and Supahan, Terry. 2001. "Teaching well, learning quickly: Communication-based language instruction". In *The Green Book of Language Revitalization in Practice*, L. Hinton and K. Hale (eds), 195-198. San Diego, CA: Academic Press.

Place-based education supports recommendations of Indigenous educators for Indigenous students. The National Education Association proposes that Native ways of knowing be incorporated as a "critical cornerstone of relevant, rigorous, and high quality instruction for Native students."[58] Place-based education meets the call for integration of the local and the inclusion of cultural knowledge in teaching, as well as increased involvement by the community[59]

The traditional importance of place is discussed by Cajete[60] who writes that the purpose of traditional education in Native cultures is to deeply connect young people to their heritage and their physical homelands. Curriculum geared toward exploring places can deepen empathetic connections and expand the possibilities for learning outward. Sobel explains, "[place-based] curriculum can mirror the expanding scope of the child's [or adult's] significant world, focusing first on the home and school, then the neighborhood, the community, the region, and beyond." [61]

Culture place-based learning components

Incorporating culture into place-based learning provides a meaningful educational experience for Indigenous students as it promotes authentic learning that supports communities in revitalizing their worldviews and associated lifeways. It honors the connection to one's home, family, community and world. The traditions embodied in the curriculum provide confidence and grounding for the child or adult learner while providing

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[58] [United States] National Education Association 2010:4.

[59] Blanchard, Rosemary Ann. 1999. "Forging a civic relationship between Native youth and their Indigenous Nation: A Tribally-Specific, Tribally-formed social studies curriculum". In *Indigenous Education Around the World, Workshop Papers from the World Indigenous People's Conference,* R. Barnhardt (ed), Fairbanks: University of Alaska Center for Cross Cultural Studies.;

Gay, Geneva. 2000. *Culturally Responsive Teaching: Theory, Research and Practice.* New York, NY: Teachers College Press.

Nee-Benham, Maenette Kape'ahiokalani Padeken Ah and Cooper, Joanne E. 2000. *Indigenous Educational Models for Contemporary Practice: In our Mother's Voice*. *Sociocultural, Political, and Historical Studies in Education.* Mahwah, N.J.: L. Erlbaum Associates.

[60] Cajete, Gregory. 2000. *Look to the Mountain: An Ecology of Indigenous Education*. Durango, CO: Kivakí Press.

[61] Sobel, David. 1996:19. *Beyond Ecophobia: Reclaiming the Heart of Nature Education*. Great Barrington, MA: The Orion Society.

a perspective from which to investigate and understand the world at large.[62] It is experiential and so nurtures learners' curiosity, builds cooperation among students, and strengthens problem-solving abilities.

Culture place-based language learning proves to be an essential tool for language revitalization as it fosters community connection to traditional lifeways. With community at the center, students learn about core values, culture, ancestral and home lands, and their people's history as they learn their language. Students become connected to what is essential to their tribal community and to the ways of their ancestors. It links students with members of their community who contribute to its diverseness, and in so doing it opens students' awareness to elders, leaders, and mentors they might not have encountered in a more teacher-centered classroom learning experience.

Culture place-based curriculum by design is collaborative. It allows for relationship and trust building over a period of years. It necessitates a team of, for example, language program staff, elders, topic specialists, linguists, curriculum writers, school district representatives, teachers, parents and students. Cooperation and communication are essential throughout the process, and team members respect each other's views and contributions to the team.

Culture place-based curriculum that is "concerned with context and the value of learning from and nurturing specific places, communities, or regions"[63] must have at its center relationship building, holding the traditions and teachings of the Elders. It engages youth and children in learning their language in culturally appropriate ways that are participatory and project based. It builds relationships among mentors and youth, and older children as role models for younger children.

Curriculum building

In developing culture place-based curriculum, begin with a curricular (thematic) unit idea, for example, 'let's teach cedar basketry'; or from a specific teacher request, 'I need a lesson for the number 5. Let's write one using a traditional basketry pattern.'; or stemming from a need for materials or a storybook. Some unit examples are: traditional lifeways (basketry, canoe making, digging roots); animals (beaver, elk, deer, condor);

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[62] Jansen, Joana, Janne Underriner, Roger Jacob. 2013. Revitalizing languages through place-based language curriculum. In E. Mihas, B. Perley, G. Rei-Doval, & K. Wheatley (Eds.), *Language Death, Endangerment, Documentation, and Revitalization* (221–242). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

[63] Gruenewald, David. 2003:3. "Foundations of place: A Multidisciplinary framework for place-conscious education". *American Educational Research Journal* 40: 619-54.

elders past and present; storytellers; roots (celery, camas); fish (salmon), berries (huckleberry, salal); acorns; canoes; land, water and forest management.

Initially, a curriculum team (teachers, elders, curriculum writers, linguist, and science, language arts, community cultural specialists, parents) brainstorms ideas, and develop a thematic curriculum web that provides inter-related themes, language needed, the sequence of what will be taught, and accompanying materials and resources (people as well as objects). Throughout, culture place-based objectives (to foster respect for traditional lifeways; carry them into the present and future; and to integrate processes into one's life), are incorporated into academic standards, to meet school district requirements.

Practices

We turn now to two case studies, one from the Pacific Northwest of the United States, and one from the Sami in Norway. The first we discuss is a case study in the materials and traditions of basket making practices of the Confederated Tribes of the Grand Ronde Community (CTGR) - *Basketry: Place, Community and Voices* - a multi-disciplinary, year-long unit.[64]

Case Study One – *Northwest Indian Language Institute and the Confederated Tribes of Grand Ronde's Basketry: Place, Community and Voices collaboration*

For the past twenty years, faculty at the Northwest Indian Language Institute and tribal communities have written language curriculum that focuses on culture and place. Units are comprehensive; include oral and literary arts, math, science, history, social studies, art, and physical education; link place with identity; community with the individual; Elder knowledge with youth; and connect language and culture learning with health and wholeness.

Curriculum meets state standards and is informed by tribal principles. Activities are hands-on and inclusive of all learning styles. Writing place-based curriculum requires a team of community members to guide its development. Our mutual goal is to create lessons that will promote learning, foster curiosity and develop the connection to community. And they must be written and taught in ways that compel learners to want to learn more. The first section of this chapter is devoted to a description of culture and place-based curriculum strategies that came from the Indigenous communities we work with. Our

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[64] The basketry units over the years have been supported by Spirit Mountain Community Fund, National Endowment of the Arts, and the Administration for Native American's Esther Martinez funding.

words reflect their voices and solutions to curricular needs in their communities and schools.

This basketry project emerged from parent-community Chinuk Wawa language curriculum meetings. Parents wanted to immerse their children (and others) in a learning environment that centered on two basketry plants, hazel and juncus, and that reflect the language and values of the Tribe. At that time (2003), culture place-based Chinuk Wawa language curriculum was taught at the Tribes' Chinuk Wawa Immersion Preschool and Kindergarten; After-School and Title VII programs. Specifically, students would: understand that baskets are an important part of Grand Ronde culture; know that juncus and hazel are used in creating traditional baskets; identify different weaving materials in situ and in class, and be able to name them and talk some about the weaving process in both Chinuk Wawa and English.

It was important to the Tribes that the curricula meet Oregon State standards in math, science, social studies, history, art, and literary arts. Dependent on the extent of prior language and cultural experience, we expected that each student would increase proficiency /skills in the following ways: (1) develop better small motor control through weaving; (2) gain knowledge of: (a) where on the reservation to collect materials, (b) how to process plant materials; (c) identify and demonstrate the stages of weaving; (d) understand terminology- warp and weft; starters, weavers and spokes; (e) identify and produce basketry design elements and discuss how they relate to their culture; (f) functionality; (g) cultural role of basketry in general; (h) present and past Grand Ronde community basket weavers; (i) the cultural and historical role of a basket weaver in the Grand Ronde community.

Lessons were written for each skill and taught in Chinuk Wawa at the immersion programs, and in Chinuk Wawa and English in the after-school and Title VII programs. Some example preschool and kindergarten lessons are:

1. *Math* – Counting weavers; Understanding concept of "every other one"; Geometric basket designs; Estimation; Even and odd numbers.

2. *Social Studies and History* - Use of baskets in earlier times; Current use of baskets;

Basket weavers past and present; Influence of outside communities.

3. *Stories and Literature* - Illustrated biography of a past elder basket weaver- *Hattie*

Hudson;We go gather; Story about giving back to nature when taking from it;

Basket Woman (traditional story).

4. *Art and Music* – Symmetry; Form and function; Traditional design; Present day

design; Gathering Song.

5. *Science* – Where, when and how to harvest; Charring sticks for bark removal;

Best management practices for guaranteeing future harvests; Leaching; Boiling;

Dyeing; Processing materials; Qualities of good basketry materials; Experimenting with materials.

To date, this curriculum has been taught in the Chinuk Wawa Immersion Preschool, K-3 classes, and in community classes and basketry workshops. In workshops, specific basketry skills are targeted, so a year's curriculum can be taught in four or five intensive workshops.

In schools, the curriculum is year-long and follows the seasons and time of year when gathering, processing and weaving are carried out traditionally.

For example, hazel is collected in the spring when sap is running throughout the plant. This is climate dependent, so one year it could occur in March, another year could be earlier or later. Learners travel to areas in their community on the Reservation to gather it. They begin weaving in the late spring and summer (also in the fall and winter) after hazel sticks have been prepared. In the summer and early fall, they use hazel baskets to gather berries, and in the early spring in digging roots. Winter lessons include learning basketry stories as traditional stories are told after the first freeze, learning gathering and digging songs and prayers, and learning basketry patterns. Each season learners are taught how to identify hazel in its environment, and how to care for it.

In developing curricular products, we considered those that would benefit the school and the community in general. Thus materials that resulted from the project serve various learner groups. Here are some examples of what we created:

- a multi-disciplinary, twenty lesson year-long unit on basketry of the Grand Ronde people.
- six story books on gathering hazel and juncus, and on basketry written and illustrated by community members.
- four step-by-step pictorial (photographs*) books on juncus and hazel location and identification, gathering, processing, and weaving, created in both Chinuk Wawa and English. *Some of the photographs were taken for earlier projects unrelated to Chinuk Wawa language learning and repurposed for this project.
- two video recorded community weaving workshops.

- a portable educational box containing all materials from the project was assembled. This box will be used for future workshops, classroom learning, the Tribe's library and natural resources programs.

All materials are housed at the Tribe's Library, Cultural Resources Department and at the Northwest Indian Language Institute. (See NILI's website for additional curriculum examples: nili.uoregon.edu/resources/curriculum).

Another (unplanned) benefit of the project is that is supports the understanding of plant materials, and traditional uses and practices of basketry. This aids in developing better natural resource management practices on tribal, private and national forest lands.

Case study two: Sámi School education and cultural environmentally-based curriculum

Background

In 1997, a separate Sámi School was established simultaneously with the Sámi curriculum in 1997 in Norway. The Sámi School is a school that follows the principles of the Sámi curriculum in the district area of the Sámi language in Norway emphasizing bilingualism and the improvement of the position of the Sámi language after it became an official language the Sámi administrative district in Norway in 1990.[65] The launch of the Sámi curriculum and school system was a result of political demand, which included the voices of teachers, parents, activists and politicians. Despite the wide support, the Sámi school system and curriculum received resistance in some areas. However, over the years, this resistance has diminished.

The way the school organizes teaching is connected with the historical task of the school, namely, the nature of the school as an organization and the contexts and conditions in which communal schools provide their instruction. The problem of developing Indigenous schools and their arrangements is an internationally shared interest.[66]

Ideally, teaching would represent the culturally sensitive values of the surrounding community. There is a third education reform occuring in Norway now which includes the Sámi school system. It will undergo its third curriculum development in the next few years. The Sámi curriculum has been developed by working groups with Sámi

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[65] Keskitalo, Pigga. 2010:34. Saamelaiskoulun kulttuurisensitiivisyyttä etsimässä kasvatusantropologian keinoin [Searching cultural sensitivity of Sámi School]. Dieđut 1. Guovdageaidnu: Sámi allaskuvla.

[66] Hoëm, A. 1976. Makt og kunnskap. Oslo: Universitetsforlaget.; Smith, Graham. 2003. Kaupapa Maori theory: theorizing indigenous transformation of education & schooling. The University of Auckland & Te Whare Wananga o Awanuiarangi: tribal-university. New Zealand.

http://www.aare.edu.au/03pap/pih03342.pdf (10.3.2010).; Yosso, Tara J. 2006. Critical race counterstories along the Chicana/Chicano educational pipeline. New York, NY: Routledge.

representatives. Still the Norwegian government has the final word on what is taught. Hopefully, with the third reform, the curriculum will better reflect the Sámi people and be built upon Sámi philosophy and values.

A model that embraces a Sámi school practice is based on culture sensitivity and multilingualism. In general learning is more meaningful when it includes the different backgrounds of pupils, local contents, worldviews, philosophies, and traditional knowledge. In order to make Sámi education cultural-sensitive, the school reflects critically its socializing task of its learners and is aware of the effect and connections to the education aims of national, dominant society and its values. Therefore, the essence of wellbeing must be considered in education. Based on values of Indigenous peoples, it is obvious that the notion of wellbeing sometimes means different things. For example, the traditional livelihoods and meaning of nature are still for some of the Sámis the core of their wellbeing.

Sámi culture place-based education

Cultural-sensitive teaching arrangements are realized when Sámi education is grounded on the Sámi's conceptions of place, time, and knowledge (as discussed in chapter xx).[67] In the Sámi culture, time is sun-centered and bound to observing nature. The Sámi's conception of space is not that of square feet, but circular. In the light of the Sámi conception of time, it can be stated that teaching should be organized in a more flexible way by giving up the 45-minute scheduling. In addition, the Sámi's eight seasons should be utilized.[68] Additionally, the livelihoods and seasonal work of the Sámi and traditional lifeways that include traditional knowledge and linguistic concepts should be included in learning. In Chapter xx we also discussed the traditional Sámi dwelling place '*goahti*' as a model for classroom organization. At school, philosophically thinking, *goahti* could represent a cultural womb that would provide students with resources for later life as it embodies the most important foundation of humanity.

Learning centered around Sámi values would include students being outside to experience the social connections of community, their surroundings and nature. Also, it would include

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[67] Keskitalo, Pigga. 2010:34. Saamelaiskoulun kulttuurisensitiivisyyttä etsimässä kasvatusantropologian keinoin [Searching cultural sensitivity of Sámi School]. Dieđut 1. Guovdageaidnu: Sámi allaskuvla.;

Keskitalo, Pigga, Määttä, Kaarina & Uusiautti. Satu. 2011. Toward the Practical Framework of Sámi Education. British Journal of Educational Research 1(2): 84-106.

[68] Rasmus, Eeva-Liisa. 2004. Saamelaisen identiteetin merkitys Utsjoen nuorille. Kasvatusantropologinen tutkimus saamelaisten maailmankuvasta ja identiteetistä [The meanin of Sámi identity for Sámi youth. Educational anthropology research of Sámi worldview and identity]. Lapin yliopisto. Kasvatustieteiden tiedekunta. Luokanopettajakoulutus. Pro gradu-tutkielma.

learning about flora and fauna to teach the interdependency of people and nature. Sámi peoples' way of thinking consists of Sámi values and worldview, which emphasizes a link between an experience in nature with social and holistic views. In these cases, knowledge is derived directly from the environment where people live.

The challenge then is how to represent the Sámi connection with nature into curricular units and how to break school culture that is hierarchical. When describing the core elements of Sámi knowledge, Elina Helander and Kaarina Kailo stress that knowledge itself does not have any goal but utility value. People participate directly in producing and sharing knowledge. Cottages, lean-to shelters, concrete working situations, and camp-fires function as sorts of scientific seminars. In these places, people discuss knowledge and negotiate about the connections where they act and thus, knowledge is shared from the same foundations respectively. Cultural essence comes about through stories, conversations, and negotiations in these activities, and as well, recalled memories and experiences.[69] When applied in the school context, it means that knowledge is a shared experience, and has at its foundation an ecological approach.

We have seen that education linked with every area of Sámi life, promote pupils' wellbeing as well as the environment and land. The foundation of indigenous people's communal opinion, value, goal, and aspiration should be noticed in order to be able to together decide what, when, and why pupils should learn something. Hearing the community members, parents and the elders, is a method that helps recognizing traditional upbringing practices and working methods.[70]

Sámi Culturally sensitive curriculum development

When planning culturally sensitive curriculum, one needs to be aware of the differences, cultures and backgrounds that shape one's students. If you are a non-indigenous teacher, the best thing to do is to become aware of your students' cultural differences and appreciate those different backgrounds, respecting the homes, parents, and pupils in your classroom. Then you need to plan and develop culturally sensitive curriculum that includes national and local goals in its content. Teachers need to be open, critical, creative and empathic. They need to cooperate widely, and school principals need to support diversity goals. Both indigenous and non-indigenous teachers work together towards revitalizing

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[69] Helander, Elina & Kailo, Kaarina. 1999. Ei alkua ei loppua. Saamelaisten puheenvuoro [No beginning, no end. The Sámi speak up.]. Helsinki: LIKE.

[70] King, L. & Schielmann, S. 2004. The challenge of indigenous education: practice and perspectives. Paris: UNESCO.

the indigenous language and building a good atmosphere for indigenous language so that pupils and parents will be able to live in respected and language supportive linguistic atmospheres.

1. *Pupils and homes at the center*

Parents and pupils need to be at the center of learning. The starting point in developing curriculum is the *idea circles* of parents and pupils to include what they expect, what they dream of, and what their values are. To make sure that interaction and cooperation between pupils and parents works well, teachers need to put away their role as an 'authority of knowledge of the school'. They cannot own pupils, nor can they behave at students' homes as the 'highest authority of knowledge'. Rather, they must try to make a safe space for children to grow in their home community and to feel good as they are.

2. *Meaningful rituals*

How you start your mornings, for example with morning circles and storytelling, and what kind of culturally meaningful rituals you engage students in sets the tone for learning each day. Employing traditional storytelling that supports content learning engages student learning. You can start your days by singing traditional music and songs, *luohti,* and tell stories not only from reading books, but tell (orally) stories to learners and let them tell stories also. Then the day can be continued with the tasks that pupils themselves plan based on the week's goals. According to Sámi values, learning should include outside work as well as inside, with physical activities that are connected to the day's learning goals.

3. *Culturally meaningful practices*

Curricular units can be designed around stories, for example, drying meat in a unit on reindeer herding. (We could also talk about drying fish or elk meat or smoking fish or meat.)

Students will learn traditional knowledge and Sámi values through stories, and academic learning in units such as:

- *Stories and language arts* – students learn traditional stories and create their own storybooks. Digital education materials can be included.
- *Science* - simple chemistry that is connected to traditional knowledge
  - What happens to meat when it is dried?
  - Does it weigh more or less when it dries?
  - Does the color change?
  - How is it dried?
  - How and why is it stored?
  - When is it eaten?

- *Ecology and natural resources –*
  - Care of the environment
  - Care of reindeer
  - Sustainable development
- *Art and Music -*
  - Sámi traditional handicrafts
  - Traditional music
  - Documenting the drying reindeer meat through pictures and photos
- *Social Studies and History -*
  - History of reindeer herding
- *Food and cooking -*
  - *Traditional knowledge about drying reindeer meat*
  - *Interviewing traditional knowledge holders*

Concluding Remarks

We would like to acknowledge that curriculum developers and teachers of indigenous languages are heroes in our eyes. Teachers of indigenous languages have little to no premade materials from which to teach, and it is material developers responsibility to create these curricular materials. Additionally, the success of building culture place-based specific curriculum depends upon more than an individual developing curricular materials; it requires the collaboration of many individuals, for example, language teachers, community members, cultural specialists, natural resource specialists, linguists, traditional lifeways' consultants, elders, science, math and language arts teachers and administrators. Truly, developing this type of curriculum is one of multi-community participation and investment. The strength then of culture place-based curriculum is that it is collaborative and local. It holds at its center the values and traditions of the elders. And as mentioned above, curriculum, and therefore education linked with every area of indigenous life promotes learners' wellbeing as well as the health of the environment and land.

Chapter 17

Art, music and cultural activities

Introduction

As has been discussed in previous chapters, a great number of languages in the world have experienced a significant displacement in their national and regional contexts, particularly in the last two centuries. Displacement comes from a process that forces certain languages into a "minority" status – which rather than being a mere reflection of their demographic stature or grammatical integrity is the result of political and economic marginalisation.

For these reasons, minoritized or minorized languages in the world are associated with marginal populations and spaces. Speakers are also discouraged by the lack of education in minoritized languages, as well as the lack of recognition of their art forms, like literature, music, or performance, among others. This, in turn, dissuades people from using these languages in new intellectual or artistic productions.

Language activists in different parts of the world are confronting this situation by reclaiming forsaken linguistic art forms, like traditional storytelling, song and oratory performances, among others. They are also experimenting with new forms of literature, performance and poetry, song composition and music, and other cultural activities like radio production, TV series dubbing, news and social media publications, multimedia installations and advertising. These art forms are used as strategic ways to revitalise their minoritized languages. In this chapter we will introduce a handful of examples from the Americas, Oceania and parts of Europe, which could provide some general principles and guidelines.

When discussing arts in minoritized languages, we must keep in mind that while most art forms are meant to be enjoyed without linguistic interference – think of dance, painting, sculpture, architecture, photography and graphic design; virtually all artistic endeavours rely, to a certain degree, on language to be made sense of. In what follows, we will focus on arts that rely more significantly on words, speech or discourse, for example, literature (written and oral) and song. We will also look at mixed arts which combine image and speech in creative ways. I will divide the chapter into literary arts, musical arts, and mixed arts (cinema, video and TV) to examine the potential of these social and cultural strategies to resist and prevent language displacement.

Literature in minoritized languages

Literacy in minoritized or endangered languages is significantly low at present, due to historical marginalization, political hostility, and a lack of trained educators and teaching resources. In some cases, this is the after-effect of the destruction and prohibition of previous traditions and forms of writing. One clear example of this was the systematic eradication of Mexica and Mixtec pictographic codices and Maya hieroglyphic books during the colonization of Mexico and Guatemala. Many other minoritized languages do not have an agreed writing system (see chapter 00). Consequently, reclaiming minoritized literatures and developing new literary traditions are necessarily tied to questions of literacy, standardisation, normalisation and publishing.

For writers and publishers of minoritized languages, the main challenge is to create a readership, particularly in contexts where speakers are not even literate in the dominant language. Global concerns about the loss of linguistic diversity have moved a few national governments (especially in parts of Western Europe and Latin America) to provide funds and infrastructure in order to address these disadvantages. However, money and publications are not the only resources that an endangered language needs.

Language activists are trying to redress the interruption of local, unwritten literary traditions by compiling examples of spoken art, like storytelling, recitation, ritual dialogue, chanting and other surviving oral traditions. A growing number of states now offer support to revitalisers. For example, the Mexican government has sponsored the publication of literature in Indigenous languages since the 1980s. These publications, although always in bilingual form (Spanish and Indigenous languages), represent an important shift in relation to the previous monolingual policies of the Mexican state. The Contemporary Indigenous Literature series initially consisted of cultural monographies, collections of folktales, songs and prayers, and community theatre scripts. Later series have included new narrative forms such as fiction stories and novels, poetry and playwriting. Although these series purportedly aim to revitalise Indigenous languages, several critics point out that these bilingual books end up being used more by literary scholars and linguists than by Indigenous speakers. Distribution is crucial since these books tend to circulate predominantly within government and higher education institutions and community libraries, but rarely in commercial bookshops. An even more pressing challenge is that Mexican Indigenous speakers are still rarely taught and even less encouraged to read in their own languages.

Mexico's case shows that increasing publication of books in endangered languages is not enough; guaranteeing their circulation and access, and encouraging their consumption by

speakers is also necessary. Promotion of literacy in minoritized languages is an enterprise that requires both institutional and grassroots support. Growing access to the internet in minoritized language contexts might provide new opportunities to promote literacy, but this is yet to be determined.

Compilation of traditional oral literature has been deemed an important way to identify aesthetic principles which could support the development of new literary styles. A good example of this is the investigative and creative work of Ana Patricia Martínez Huchim in Yucatan, Mexico. She was one of the first Maya women to research Maya oral literature, working first with children and later with adults. In spite of not being a fluent speaker, Huchim became a prolific writer, drawing inspiration from community stories and turning them into new tales that followed the Maya storytelling canon. Her collections of stories feature acute social commentary, shedding light on forgotten historical events, as well as denouncing gender injustice in community life, in true literary form.

Play-writing and theatrical performance also offer significant opportunities to dynamize minoritized languages. This literary and performative hybrid art form integrates different skills and taps from different sources which makes it an even more effective way to reinsert endangered languages in the public sphere. Among its sources we could have story compilations, historical re-enactment, or creative writing. Preparation of theatrical performances involves speech training, rhythm awareness, dialogue practice, memorisation, recitation, and improvisation. Plays are social events that prompt conversation, analysis and, on occasion, even debate, all of which could invigorate threatened and minoritized languages. These secondary, meta-performative events are key to infusing endangered languages with new life. Because these art forms require group work and cooperation, they could also strengthen collective identity and help to associate the language with play and socialisation. This is not only the case with theatre, but could also potentially be a part of dance.

This is how the Kaqchikel-speaking members of the Sotz'il Art Group in the Guatemalan highlands understand their artistic and political work, which mixes theatre and dance to recount mythic stories in a contemporary fashion. The Sotz'il Group has developed an investigative and experimental practice that reclaims ancient Maya literary and performance aesthetics. The group formed in 2002 on the initiative of Lisandro Guarcax and a group of Kaqchikel-speaking high school students. Their work echoed traditional community performances. Indeed, traditional peformers from the community supported them with learning about customs, instruments, props and cultural knowledge. Confronted by stereotypical and offensive portrayals of their ancient art and historical

heroes in schools and other public institutions, Sotz'il members have sought inspiration from representations of Maya musicians and dancers found in ancient books and paintings. They have used these images as a template to create new performances, copying postures, improvising movements, reinventing costumes, and writing dialogues for plays that deal with both the historical and the political challenges of today. Without strictly relying on text, Sotz'il's recreations of theatre and dance creatively assemble myth, memory and movement to reconnect young people with Kaqchikel culture and language. A more conventional literary outlet for Sotz'il's experimentation has been the publication of artistic theory in their bilingual (Spanish-Kaqchikel) anthology *Ka'i' oxi' tzij pa ruwi' rupatän Samaj Ri Ajch'owen* [Some words about the work of the Maya Artist; 2014].

A broad definition of literature in the context of minoritized languages should not only include playwriting, but also other forms of spoken art like singing and praying. The Royal Academy of the Spanish Language, for example, defines literature as "the art of *verbal* expression" (my emphasis). Following this, "literature" would have to include public storytelling (including "call" and "response"), civic rhetoric, ceremonial discourse, ritual song, religious or historical dances, carnival speech or jokes, political chants or slogans, everyday sayings and proverbs, all of which encapsulate specific aesthetic principles. One form of performative literature that has become a favoured strategy for language activists will be the focus of our next section.

Minoritized sounds in emerging new languages

The strong connection between music and language is not a new discovery. It was during the 20th century, however, that language activists started to use song composition and performance in a more conscious and political way. One example of this was the *Nova Cançó* (New Catalan Song) movement during the late 1950s under Francisco Franco's dictatorship in Spain. The Francoist regime had banned the use of regional Iberian languages, like Basque, Galician and Catalan, in public official spaces. Although singing in these languages was not strictly prohibited, song writers and singers, especially in the Catalan-speaking region, used this art form to highlight the imposed Castilian monolingualism in the music domain. Nova Cançó performers began translating and imitating French singer-songwriters (rather than employing traditional genres like *havaneres* or *rumbas*) but later developed their own distinctive style.

Translating popular hits is a strategy that continues to be followed by language activists. In 2015, Peruvian teenager Renata Flores Rivera became a social media sensation after posting a music video with a rendition of Michael Jackson's "The Way You Make Me Feel" in the Quechua language, which has gathered more than 1.7 million views to date.

Copyright disputes seem to have been prevented by acknowledging clearly the original source of inspiration and avoiding associations with commercial interests.

Language revitalisers have also "invented" new singing traditions and given birth to mixed performance genres (song and dance), as the Māori action song, *waiata-ā-ringa*, exemplifies. This *waiata* (song) genre is an innovation from the early 20th century and was associated with the activism of the Young Māori Party. Āpirana Ngata, a prominent party activist, devoted himself to compiling and publishing traditional songs and oratory examples during this period. *Waiata-ā-ringa* combines Western melodies with the performing of culturally prescribed movements which convey Māori narratives. The combination of dance and singing, and the collective, playful and aesthetic nature of these performances have proven to be a popular strategy to promote and celebrate the Māori language, *Te Reo*, in Aotearoa/New Zealand.

Singing in one's own language may be a mundane activity for many, but it can easily become an act of resistance, especially when its social dynamics change. The Yucatec Maya language, *maaya t'aan,* was widely used as the *de facto* lingua franca during the early 20th century. Yucatec Maya people have preserved different forms of literature, written in Latin characters since the 16th century. Yucatecan *trova*, a local romantic song style which emerged in the early 20th century, was initially a bilingual genre, but as the Indigenous language of Yucatan was gradually displaced by Spanish, Maya song composition became infrequent. In the early 21st century, however, young Maya speakers have started using global music genres like hip hop, reggae and rock to sing in their own language. The number of Indigenous language hip hop singers in Mexico and other Latin American countries has grown significantly in the last two decades.

Music and song can converge in unexpected ways to help gain new audiences for displaced or minoritized languages. Sometimes this happens through the dynamization of aged traditions in new genres and with new music technology, where old verses are remastered and re-recorded by young artists and put back into circulation. A good example of this is the work of the Comcaac or Seri rock band *Hamac Caziim* (Sacred Fire) who, in the 1990s, sought and obtained authorisation from their tribal government in northern Mexico to recreate festive and ceremonial chants in heavy metal form. A true literary tradition, Seri songs have contributed to maintaining a sense of community for this relatively isolated people in the Mexican Sonora state. Traditional songs follow harmonies based on a pentatonic scale, employ an arcane language style and explore landscape inspired themes. Hamac Caziim's experiment, which has become known as Seri Metal, was well received by Comcaac elders and, more importantly, by young people. Their work spearheaded the organization of festivals and other public events to make the language more visible, a sort of Seri renaissance in the early 21st century.

Lyrical performance may not be a common practice in all language contexts. For example, few Tzutuhil, Kaqchikel or K'echi' "proper" songs are known around the Atitlan Lake of Guatemala. However, the poetic intonation and metaphoric figures maintained by *aj q'ijab'* (daykeepers, or religious specialists) which reflect literary traditions that go back to Maya Classic inscriptions, are a source of inspiration for some young musicians in the region. Combining this poetic heritage with his fondness for hip hop, René Dionisio, aka "MC Tz'utu" has emerged in the popular music scene as an effective revitaliser of Guatemalan Maya languages. MC Tz'utu's compositions reclaim and make productive use of decidedly Indigenous aesthetic resources like alliteration (repetition), and the use of semantic pairings also known as 'parallelisms' (for example 'our language, our clothes', a pairing that evokes 'cultural tradition'). Although repetition of catch phrases from Western hip hop seems to mirror the parallelism of Maya poetic forms, the lesser importance of rhyming in MC Tz'utu's rapping provides his work with a distinct Indigenous aesthetic.

As we have seen in this section, song and literary traditions are employed in innovative ways by language and cultural promoters. An aspect which is definitely present but relatively downplayed in relation to revitalization strategies is the way in which language is embodied and becomes present, not just in everyday life but, perhaps more significantly, in larger public spaces. I will touch briefly on this dimension in our next segment.

Embodying language: cinema, video and tv

Audio-visual media has become the predominant form through which cultural and linguistic contents circulate nowadays. This is also true of music, especially since the 1990s, which saw the beginnings of the music video as the preferred self-marketing medium in North America and Western Europe. Collaboration between musicians and filmmakers have sometimes resulted in true masterpieces, with awards being offered annually worldwide to different aspects of music film production.

As with Hollywood musicals, the relation between song and cinema has also been strong in other, non-Western, contexts like the powerful film industry in South East Asia. Songs and movies always went hand in hand in this densely populated, multilingual part of the world. Today, hundreds of films are produced every year in Hindi (Bollywood), Tamil (Kollywood), Telugu (Tollywood), Kannada (Sandalwood), Bengali, Malayalam (Mollywood), Marathi and Bhojpuri. These represent only a handful of the 122 major, and more than 1,500 minor languages spoken in India. To deal with this hyper-diverse linguistic landscape, Indian cinema experimented in the 1930s with the production of trilingual or multilingual films. The approach consisted of shooting the same scene in three

or more languages, to create different versions of the same story. With the development of film technology, dubbing became the preferred solution to deal with linguistic diversity in cinema, not just in India but in Western Europe, too. Here, the protection of national cultural industries instituted the dubbing of English-language films and TV programmes in the official language, a practice that has been maintained in France, Spain, Portugal, Italy and Germany, to name a few. This is also common in Latin America, both in Spanish and Portuguese. Dubbing in minority or Indigenous languages has, however, been historically less common. We will examine two significant examples of this later in the chapter.

With greater availability and affordability of video recording equipment, the production of film and television in endangered languages is today seen as a good way of capitalizing on the ubiquity and popularity of this medium. The number of video productions in minoritized languages is, however, still insignificant in comparison with the number of movies and programmes released in English, Hindi, Mandarin, Taiwanese, Arabic, Japanese, Spanish, Portuguese, and Yoruba. While the quantity of films in minoritized languages might not be significant, occasionally their cultural and political impact could prove more decisive.

This is the case of the film "Atanarjuat: The Fast Runner", released in 2002 and directed by Inuit filmmaker Zacharias Kunuk. This movie is one of many videos released by Igloolik Isuma Productions, a loose association and production company which began making films in the 1990s in the Nunavut territory of Canada. Early productions by Isuma ("To Think") attempted to capture the daily lives and struggles of Inuit people, and often employed a voice-over narration in Inuktituk language. "Atanarjuat" was Isuma's first full-length feature and the first ever fiction film in Inuktituk. The story was based on the legend of the fast runner, the title character, and takes place in a time before contact with white settlers. Paul Apak Angilirq was the one who thought about compiling the different versions of the traditional story and turning it into an approximately three-hour long movie. The relevance of "Atarnajuat" is clear to see: it was voted the best Canadian movie of all times by a poll of experts at the Toronto International Film Festival in 2015. The critical recognition and commercial success of this work has inspired other First Nations directors to create more material in their own languages. The production company has also created an online platform called Isuma.tv that aims to "honour oral languages" and that currently hosts video content in more than 80 Indigenous languages.

A similar experience in South America, although without the same critical reception by the international film circuits, is the project "Video in the Villages" (VIV). It was founded by a non-indigenous Brazilian, Vincent Carelli, in 1986, a time of political effervescence and instability in the region. Since then the project has provided financial and technical support to several Amazonian Indigenous people to create their own media in their own

languages. VIV productions cover various political, spiritual and territorial aspects of the lives of approximately 40 Indigenous peoples. Patricia Ferreira (Mbya-Guarani), Ariel Duarte Ortega (Mbya-Guarani) and Divino Tserewahú (Xavante) are some of the most prolific and talented Indigenous filmmakers to have emerged from this collaborative project. VIV productions travel from village to village by boat, retelling mythical and historical events, inviting the reinterpretation of Indigenous identities and galvanising the political energy of different peoples to defend their territories and ways of life.

As with Indigenous literature, one of the most important challenges of Isuma and VIV is the distribution of film materials. Although the internet has facilitated access to their video production, consumption remains limited to movie connoisseurs, cultural activists and academics. Social media platforms like Facebook, YouTube and Vimeo offer the possibility to increase their audiences. However, a lot still needs to happen for Indigenous films to have the power to make young people interested in learning real, endangered languages instead of made-up ones from global franchises, like Klingon (Star Trek), Elvish (Lord of the Rings), or Dothraki (Game of Thrones).

Before this can happen, perhaps the second-best thing may be what Diné or Navajo language activists decided to do in New Mexico. In 2013, the Navajo Nation Museum and Lucasfilm Ltd teamed up to dub "Star Wars Episode IV: A New Hope" in the Diné language. The project was 13 years in the making, the brainchild of Manuelito Wheeler, director of the Navajo museum. Searching for ways to preserve Diné, he first asked his wife Jennifer to help him translate 10 pages of the movie script. He decided to use this film given its popularity among members of his reservation and because it is still considered one of the best films of all times. In addition to raising enough funds to pay for translators, dubbing actors in Diné and recording studios, time was one of the main challenges. The Diné dubbed version of the Episode IV was released on DVD as a limited edition the same year and can now be ordered online. The second full-feature to be dubbed in Diné was the animated children's film "Finding Nemo", which was also made available as a DVD in 2016.

In 2013, two young Paraguayans, Pablo Javier and Víctor Fabián Báez, from Santa Rosa, Misiones, became a sensation on the internet when they started posting homemade "parodies" in the form of Guaraní dubbed video clips of popular TV programs, like the Mexican comedy program "El Chavo del 8", and Japanese animated series "Pokemon" and "Dragon Ball Z". They began their dubbing with the most basic technology: a microphone, and hacking software. What inspired them was not a preoccupation for the preservation of the language (Guaraní is the most spoken Indigenous language in the Americas with an estimated 8 million speakers, and the only Indigenous official language of the Mercosur trade region) but the thrill of hearing their mother language spoken in a global TV series. Despite the social media success they achieved, this did not result in a more professional

and extensive project. They have nonetheless continued posting their "parodies" on YouTube, hoping to monetize the thousands of clicks they get for their work.

The art of revitalising languages

From the presentation of the previous cases (which are but a tiny sample of the myriad efforts that exist worldwide), some general principles and guidelines for working with arts, music and other cultural activities can be sketched.

Displacement and loss are strongly linked to the stigmatization and lack of visibility of languages. To counteract these processes, language activists could:

a. Reclaim forsaken written, performative and verbal art forms; a strategy that has the double effect of restoring forgotten or censured aesthetic traditions while, at the same time, strengthening the sense of worth in cultural and linguistic communities.
b. Adapt traditional genres (chants, storytelling or dance), renew their artistic repertoire and/or create hybrid aesthetic forms for younger or new audiences.
c. Use current technologies and social media to reach new audiences, inspire the younger generation, and increase the presence of their linguistic and cultural identities in the national and global scenes.
d. Take advantage of the success, influence and familiarity that certain artistic products enjoy, like songs, films or TV series, and use these as templates and inspiration for linguistic and cultural reinterpretation. Although reinventing their own narratives and experiences through new media is a good base for revitalization, not everything has to be created from scratch.
e.

There are significant challenges to implementing these strategies. Some of the more apparent obstacles are presented here:

- Audience creation: the low numbers of literate people in minoritized languages usually means that written publications and textual media only circulate in reduced social spaces. Language activists sometimes combine oral and written forms of communication, like radio programs and online podcasts, where those who are literate read out new poetry and narrative to those who have not been taught. The creation of audiences for other forms of art, like song and cinema, is also important given the disproportionate competition of cultural products in dominant languages and the stigmatization of minoritized languages art forms.
- Audience reach (circulation): in addition to the need to create new audiences, circulation is another important obstacle to deal with. While literature, music and films in dominant languages have well established marketplaces, minoritized

language productions struggle to have even a testimonial presence in mass media. Radio stations won't program their music, commercial cinema theatres won't list their movies, and big TV channels won't broadcast their videos. Endangered language cultural productions, like their speakers, are kept in the margins, in small government-sponsored music or art film festivals, or in specialized circuits of enlightened cultural consumers. The challenge here is not just to put minoritized languages in global circulation platforms (anyone can have a YouTube channel) but to do so in a way that creates a cultural shift and new attitudes towards them. A few globally watched TV series, and even big Hollywood productions, have signalled a new appreciation for linguistic diversity, but perhaps only for their self-interest. This is exemplified by the inclusion of dialogues in Scottish Gaelic in the series "Outlander", or by the full-length feature "Apocalypto", entirely in Yucatec Maya (which presented historical and cultural distortions that were the topic of a heated debate in Mexico and Guatemala). But, while it seems that Netflix does not have a problem offering worldwide Klingon subtitling for the new Star Trek series, it seems unlikely that it will similarly offer subtitles in Nahuatl, Quechua or Guarani to its subscribers in the Americas anytime soon.

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In spite of these limitations, the success stories reported here seem to have benefitted from a core set of principles. The following are some of the more easily identifiable: a strong commitment to the language and culture, long-term grassroots collaboration and engagement, reflexive and extensive research, social inventiveness, technological curiosity and creativity, cultural audacity and experimentation in close dialogue with the keepers of tradition (so as to prevent community divisions), and strategic alliances with a wide range of stakeholders, including governments and cultural industries, to highlight but a few.

We are still a long way from being able to solve the seemingly unstoppable loss of linguistic diversity in the world with a handful of steps and recipes. But, as some of these examples have shown, even the smallest of actions can contribute to the increased the presence and dynamism of minoritized and endangered languages.

To learn more

Pat Aufderheide. "You See the World of the Other and You Look at Your Own": The Evolution of the Video in the Villages Project. Journal of Film and Video, Volume 60, Number 2, Summer 2008, pp. 26-34.

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Interesting links and examples

Kapa haka: Maori performing arts; 20th century innovations; Te Ara, the encyclopedia of New Zealand. http://teara.govt.nz/en/kapa-haka-maori-performing-arts/page-3

Renata Flores Rivera – Michael Jackson's "The Way You Make Me Feel" (Quechua Version)

http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BvT9y0HqItE

Michael Jackson en quechua, la niña que revaloriza la lengua de los incas

https://www.elespectador.com/noticias/actualidad/michael-jackson-quechua-nina-revaloriza-lengua-de-los-i-articulo-582154

Navajo Dubbing of Star Wars

http://navajotimes.com/news/2013/0413/042513sta.php

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https://www.wsj.com/articles/navajo-version-of-finding-nemo-aims-to-promote-native-language-1419033583

Guaraní dubbing

http://www.abc.com.py/edicion-impresa/suplementos/abc-revista/doblado-al-guarani-por-tres-rosenos-624812.html

Ancient Manx Gaelic given revival boost with weather animations

https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-isle-of-man-41747474

Justyna Majerska-Sznajder

17.1. Art, music and cultural activities in the revitalization of Wymysorys

The revitalization of wouldn't be so advanced today if we hadn't taken (somewhat intuitively) up together with Tymoteusz Król the task of revitalizing not only the culture but also the inhabitants of our town (in varying aspects) as well. Back in the 90s, a person who would encounter Wilamowice would only be presented with colourful costumes and old cottages – just the view that journalists would use when they wanted to show the last speakers of Wymysorys. The regional ensembles would often engage in such actions and presented the costume and dances.

I began my personal engagement with language revitalization as an adventure with regional ensemble as a young child. Back then I had no clue how complicated is the problem of Wymysorys culture. Having joined the child ensemble „Cepelia-Fil" I still didn't feel engaged in Wilamowice itself. Nobody could explain to me the phonetically transcribed lyrics of songs (luckily even back then I tried talking with Tymoteusz and my great-grandmother in Wymysorys). Nobody made sure the costume people put on was correct – even though it is an important marker of identity.

Luckily, in 2007, Tymoteusz and I both joined the Song and Dance Ensemble „Wilamowice". It might seem that the actions of such ensembles are destined only for the stage and are folkloric in nature, i.e. they form a mixture of "the nicest looking," most pleasing for the audience elements of culture, completely deprived of deeper reflection. Nothing could be further from the truth…

The ensemble was founded in 1948, only three years after the Wymysorys language and culture had been banned. For many years it has functioned as a "time capsule": it collected costumes and their names, old songs and poems, and – above all – it embraced the eldest inhabitants of the town who passed on their knowledge (and those who had the courage to do so – also their language) to the younger members. Thanks to it we could reach a greater number of inhabitants.

Through the Ensemble we got engaged into the activities of the Association "Wilamowianie", a NGO that has enabled us to start a more conscious revitalization program. In the framework provided by the Association we have organized many cultural events which were strongly oriented towards promoting Wymysorys in the community and changing linguistic attitudes still present Wymysorys as "something worse". We tried to keep every meeting relaxed – some topics weren't at all connected with revitalization. However, we have always tried to "smuggle in" Wymysorys themes – like during a family fair which had as one of its elements a movie created by our youths about the

"Pierzowiec" (plucking feathers) tradition. We attempted to make our activities more attractive by including excursions, meetings and workshops that could reach the biggest possible number of inhabitants.

Thanks to our collaboration with the Faculty of „Artes Liberales" of the University of Warsaw, we organized several international events which made the community members aware how huge was an external interest there in the revitalization efforts taking place in Wilamowice. Showing the inhabitants how much their cultural heritage is appreciated in the academia, made it more important to them too. We have also understood the need to "de-folklorize" our actions, while keeping all the respect to the tradition. Thus Wymysorys became also a medium for modern culture. In 2014 a theatre group „Ufa fisa" (literally: „On the legs" - referring to a metaphor of making Wymysorys culture able to stand again on its own feet). The actions of this group allowed more people to engage in cultural revitalization and to learn the language, including those people who simply wouldn't attend regular classes. Moreover, the exclusive use of Wymysorys on stage fosters the creation of new intergenerational bonds: to understand the plot, the spectators have to ask the eldest speakers who feel empowered in this way. Staging our place both in the town and neighboring villages as well as in the Polish Theatre in Warsaw is an additional source of raising the prestige of the language and the awareness of its value as an important asset, both locally and more widely.

The next step was the creation of a band comprised of the members of the Majerski (fum Biöetuł) family. They perform covers of modern songs translated by us and our students, thus proving to the skeptics that Wymysorys is not only suited to old local songs. The new ones are quite an earworm – even those who don't learn Wymysorys, sing them. We also make sure all the time that Wymysorys is present in the local landscape – not only on various information boards but also during events that do not have to do directly with the revitalization itself as during street fairs and festivals where we promote Wymysorys using designer gadgets.

Luckily, the last years have proved that the effort put into the revitalization of language and culture as well as of the community members has been fruitful. Language attitudes have changed. Many actions initiated by us have now a life of their own – the inhabitants introduce Wymysorys into their environment and the youth organize their own initiatives (like the first Wymysorys Day ever or location-based games in Wymysorys) and this makes us enormously happy.

Nicole Dołowy-Rybińska

17.2. Fest-noz and revitalisation of the Breton language

The Breton language, one of languages of Brittany, France, is an endangered language with about 200,000 speakers, mainly representing the oldest generation, but also including a few dozens of thousands of new speakers. The most significant Breton cultural activity is a *fest-noz* (plural *festoù-noz*), the "night festival" during which people are getting together, dancing (not only) traditional Breton dances, enjoy themselves, and create a unique community of practice connected by participation in Breton culture and – in some cases – by the use of a Breton language. These events are held nowadays throughout Brittany at all times of the year, in every possible location, with participants of all generations. They reaffirm that Breton culture is still alive. The music at a *fest-noz* is always performed live, in most cases in Breton, although the range of possible accompaniments is broad. The most typical is the *kan an discan* ("call and response") song style, meaning a capella singing by two or three individuals, whose voices overlap distinctively. The bagpipe–bombard instrument pair also appears, playing a similar type of music. Yet very often there are whole bands on stage with "modern" instruments. The type of music, place of performance and the public differs according to when and by whom the fest-noz is organized. The functions of *fest-noz* have changed just like the function of the Breton language did. When the life in the Breton language was concentrated in the rural areas in Lower and Central Brittany, traditional dances and festivities were related to the works in the field: *fest-noz* developed from celebrations after collective community work was completed. These customs could not have survived the changes that took place in Brittany during the interwar decades: appearance of new technologies which moved the Bretons toward French culture and France's conscious central policies targeted against minority cultures and languages. The latter resulted in ridiculing and humiliating the Bretons and their language. During the first half of the twentieth century, the Bretons abandoned their language and their traditional dances. The revival of the Breton language and *fest-noz* took place in the 1970s. Speaking Breton and singing in it came to be regarded as a moral duty of young people whose parents had rejected it. The struggle for a Breton way of life became part of the social movement of the 1970s. It was when young people began contesting official culture and expressing their revolt in a festive, musical way. The concept of *fest-noz* as a rural festival became widely accepted and it was a perfect match the social attitudes of young Breton activists. As a result, *fest-noz* provided a link between the worlds of the 'young' and the 'old', between 'modernity' and 'authenticity'. *Fest-noz* events were no longer seen as pure entertainment or even a manifestation of pro-Breton attitudes; they became a way of life.

The 1970s were successful in bringing forward the question of the Breton language as an important element of Breton culture, as well as re-evaluating the Breton identity. Breton music, literature, theatre, and audiovisual arts bloomed. In 1977, the first Diwan immersion associative school was formed. Since Breton schools received no subsidies, money required to run them was collected during *fest-noz* organised by school collectives, activists and friends. After that period *fest-noz* lost some impetus but has never waned. The late 1990s saw the arrival of a new style of *fest-noz*, closely linked to the Bretons' fast-changing lifestyles and matching the progressing urbanisation as well as the advent of new, digital media. There are now Cyber Fest Noz events which take place in the massive halls. The format is appealing to young people and makes participation in a minority culture attractive. Along the time, *fest-noz* has been part of Breton culture. It did change the style and function, but it has always been connected with the Breton identity. It has also been used successfully as a tool for the Breton language revitalisation. With its festival character, it is easily accessible to people; it allows those who want to use Breton to meet and to develop closer relationships; it is also a place where most of Breton activist movements and ideas come into life.

17.3. Modern music genres for language revitalisation

While the implementation of educational policies and linguistic legislation have been at the centre of language policy and planning in Latin America in the last couple of decades, the arts, and music in particular, have not been the subject of any major institutional support for language revitalisation. Against this background, however, modern music genres such as rock, reggae, rap among others have been appropriated by indigenous youths all over Latin America. In Mexico, for instance, a growing number of bands are using indigenous languages as a vehicle for artistic expression: Sak Tzevul (rock in Tzotzil), La Sexta Vocal (ska in Zoque) or El Rapero de Tlapa (rap in Mixtec) are examples of cultural activism among youths who look to expand their languages into new domains of use. To name but a few rappers of other Latin American countries, B'alam Ajpu in Guatemala, Luanko and Wechekeke ñi trawun in Chile, or Liberato Kani in Peru are some outstanding examples of artists with an extensive career and musical production in Tzutujil, Mapudungun, and Quechua, respectively. In the Yucatan Peninsula of Mexico, hip hop has become particularly prominent and a sizeable number of Mayan rappers use now Yucatec Maya in their performances. The impact that artists such as Pat Boy or Tihorappers Crew can have in changing negative attitudes towards indigenous languages is significant if we consider both the number of views (Tihorappers Crew's song *Ki'imak in wóol* has reached over 400,000 views in two years on YouTube) and the overwhelmingly positive comments that their online video clips have gathered so far. Some central aspects that make rap a particularly productive genre for language revitalisation purposes are worth pointing out. On one hand, the central place that orality, verbal fluency and creativity play in its lyrics (let us not forget the saliency of verbal arts in most indigenous cultures and the playful ways in which languages can be recreated), and, on the other, the fact that hip hop it is a global popular movement associated with modernity and 'coolness'. As is known, one of the ideological pillars of contempt for indigenous languages is the alleged inability of these languages to express modernity and their unjustified association to cultural backwardness. Moreover, since rock and hip hop performances may incorporate a political edge and provide a platform for the expression of marginalised voices, these genres are often used by these indigenous youths, such as some Mapuche rappers, to back the broader social struggle which often include demands for language rights and political recognition.

Notes: Several video clips of indigenous rappers are available on YouTube. Their music can also be found on other online platforms such as Soundcloud, Hulkshare, and even Spotify.

Suggested Reading:

Aliagas, C. 2017. "Rap music in minority languages in secondary education: A case study of Catalan rap". *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 248: 197-224.

Barrett, R. (2016). Mayan language revitalization, hip hop, and ethnic identity in Guatemala. *Language & Communication*, 47, 144–153.

Cru, J. (2018). 2015 Bilingual rapping in Yucatán, Mexico: strategic choices for Maya language legitimation and revitalisation, *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*. Vol. 20. Issue 5, pp. 481-496,.

http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/13670050.2015.1051945

Leppänen, S., & Pietikäinen, S. (2010). Urban rap goes to Arctic Lapland: Breaking through and saving the endangered Inari Sámi Language. In H. Kelly-Holmes & G. Mautner (Eds.), *Language and the market* (pp. 148–158). Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Moriarty, M., & Pietikäinen, S. (2011). Micro-level language-planning and grass-roots initiatives: A case study of Irish language comedy and Inari Sámi Rap. *Current Issues in Language Planning*, 12 (3), 363–379.

Rekedal, J. (2014). Hip-hop Mapuche on the Araucanian Frontera. *Alternativas*, 2, 1–35.

Kit Ashton

17.4 The Jersey Song Project

Most people understand that songs can be a great way to help learn a language and perhaps remember some important phrases or patterns, but in fact the value of music for language revitalisation goes much deeper than that. Music is of course one of the most powerful ways to keep a language alive in our hearts and imaginations, and music can be profoundly connected to identity. Through music we can create inspiring and memorable collective experiences that can really help boost the status and public image of a language. When used in a culturally sensitive way, music can be a very versatile and useful tool in the linguistic toolbox.

One successful example of this from my own experience is The Jersey Song Project (which I have to say is an idea I stole from some friends in Guernsey!). The small British island of Jersey, in the Channel Islands, is home to the endangered language of Jèrriais (a local version of Norman). As a local musician and activist I've been finding out how music can help in the revitalisation process. The central concept of The Jersey Song Project was to facilitate and curate collaborative songwriting between local musicians (who didn't speak much Jèrriais, if any) and Jèrriais speakers, towards a final performance of songs that could be on any theme and in any genre, but would include *at least one word of Jèrriais in the lyrics*. Over the course of a few months in 2018 I advertised the project and organised for 12 local bands and solo artists to work with Jèrriais speakers and come up with something for the final gig. This took place at a professional performance venue as part of a local festival in the autumn. The project was a real success, not just in terms of the final gig going well, but for the deeper connections the actual musicians and audience made with the language, and also for the excellent publicity the whole project generated over those few months. I'd highly recommend running a similar project wherever there is enough of a local music scene for it to be appropriate (like I said – I stole the idea so please do steal it from me).

Just a few practical pointers… I'd say there are three main ways of getting the collaborations going:

1)   The ideal way: musicians could meet up with native speakers and write something entirely new together (you'd need to organise this carefully to make it go as well as possible).

2)   Musicians could set an existing endangered language text (e.g. a poem) to music, with the support of native speakers or teachers.

3)   Musicians could work with native speakers/teachers to translate some of their own lyrics of a non-endangered language song they've already written.

Cover versions are OK, and the right song could be very popular, but you might run into copyright issues; and anyway, participants will probably engage more deeply if they use their own songs. Also, I'd say allow plenty of time for the process to unfold, and try to make as much of a public 'splash' as you can with whatever you might do for the final performance, or recording, or both! Finally if you do run your own version of this, please get in touch as I'd love to hear all about it… Bouonne chance m's anmîns!

Georgette Nummelin

17.5. One Song, Many Voices: Revitalising Ainu through Music

Who are the Ainu?

The Ainu are an indigenous group native to the northern Japanese island of Hokkaido, the island of Sakhalin and the Kurils. Their language is critically endangered, although there are ongoing efforts to improve its profile, and increase the take up of the language. Those of Ainu descent are also electing to become more visible, both within Japan, and as part of the global indigenous community. One of the ways that some Ainu are demonstrating and transmitting their cultural and linguistic identity, is through music.

Ainu Music

Contemporary Ainu music continues to rely on singing, *rekuhara* (throat singing), *mukkuri* (mouth harp) and the *tonkori* (a plucked string instrument) but there is still diversity in how the music is expressed, although the Ainu language remains the defining element.

Case Study: Marewrew

Marewrew, are a group comprised of four female singers of Ainu heritage, originally formed in 2002 to work with Oki Kano, and who later began performing as an independent ensemble. They perform *upopo* (domestic songs), some of which they have learned directly from family members, either acapella or accompanied by clapping or the *mukkuri.*

All their material is performed in the Ainu language, and during performances they wear traditional clothing, and sometimes recreate the facial tattooing that Ainu women wore. Their work, while simple in its foundations, repeated rhythmic and vocal patterns, and the use of nonsense syllables, is hypnotic and compelling: as a listener, understanding of the language is an additional benefit but not a crucial requirement for enjoyment. However, Marewrew enjoy enabling their listeners to interact more with the music, and actively encourage participation and understanding of the songs' contexts.

Marewrew not only explain the meanings of songs, they also invariably teach a number of songs during their sets, creating a shared space where the audience become active participants within a performance, that uses the Ainu language. These 'educational segments' are almost delivered as mini workshops, inviting further questions and queries from their audience. At a 2018 concert in east Tokyo that I attended, this collaborative

approach went even further, with a number of audience members not only knowing some of the songs performed, but offering translations of Ainu terms if one of the singers was unsure of the most accurate Japanese term. From singer, to audience, and back again, a teaching and expansion of vocabulary and context: everyone present engaged in learning and disseminating Ainu.

What happens next?

Leaving a concert, or coming to the end of recording may of course be the end of the process: we generally listen to enjoy, not learn. However, the potential is there for a listener to seek out more recordings, to want to understand, to actively *experience* more, and part of that experience can be learning more of the language. Hearing Ainu music for the first time as an undergraduate in the early 2000s certainly set me on that path, that just over 15 years later, sees me researching the impact of Ainu language music on the language and actively learning Ainu myself.

Thus, a single song, Umeko Ando singing *Saranpe* as it happens, was enough to make me want to move from being a passive admirer of Ainu music and the Ainu language, to becoming an active participant: to learn and disseminate, not merely appreciate.

Suggested Listening:

Umeko Ando. (2003). *Upopo Sanke*. [CD] Sapporo: Chikar Studio.

Marewrew. (2012). *Cikapuni*. [CD] Tokyo: Tuff Beats.

Marewrew. (2016). *Mottoite, hissorine.* [CD] Tokyo: Tuff Beats.

17.6. The Revitalization, Maintenance and Development Linguistic Project (PRMDLC)

The PRMDLC in Mexico has been active for over two decades. Based on the idea of direct collaboration between speakers and researchers, the PRMDLC develops a methodology of co-participation to produce the broadest possible revitalizing corpus. It is disseminated through revitalization workshops aimed at establishing and/or reinforcing permanent revitalization self-developed activities from the bottom up. Speakers are encouraged to appear as first and principal (multi)authors of their products: their participation is reckoned, incentivized and highlighted in the first place and above all. For instance, we have worked, among others, with a native artist and two Maya-speaking linguists and one anthropologist, leaders of the Maya team. They have seen their work published and available at major bookstores around the country, as well as projected into audio visual products (Maya riddles, tongue twisters, etc.), circulating on the Internet and even on public television. They have been – in the first place – also disseminating the products within their own communities.

The workshops of the PRMDLC are organized as follows. Participants present themselves on special occasions such as the patron saint festivities. These festivals are favorable moments for bringing together many people, including migrants and visitors from other towns. Children have then time to attend workshops with their siblings, parents or grandparents, promoting links between generations. The invitation is made to children to watch a movie: after showing he movie(s), participation is opened. Attendants can freely express themselves. In principle there is no time limit (reaching five hours with a minimum of two). This allows a relaxed atmosphere and breaks typical schools' dynamics. Riddles are projected, a genre that engages audience's participation, granted with books, audios or videos, and this unleashes strong participation of children, who provide answers to the riddles. In this way the PRMDLC develops a method of indirect revitalization which is premised on recovering the media and the arts to generate inputs with key members of the communities.

Riddles, tales and tongue twisters are bastions of linguistic and cultural retention. Riddles, for example, are a powerful genre that calls on interaction and verbal play, not to mention tongue twisters, which carry entire didactics and a very favorable economy to stimulate participation. In this sense, participation is the prerogative of children. It is much different from formalized ways of participation typical for school contexts that work as inhibitors of

indigenous knowledge and tongues, which favors assimilation. The PRMDLC starts from the recovery of peoples' own culture, producing oral and image-based culturally sensitive materials, recreating them in prestigious means such as a TV screen in which indigenous children rarely see their languages. Therefore, the basic goal of the PRMDLC is to establish a (re)vitalizing corpus produced and consumed by speakers themselves, while at the same time aims to impact a broader audience.

Flores Farfán, J. A. 2017. "Performing for the future. The power of arts and the media in language revitalization". *Revista Lingüística* 13, (1) 188-214. Available at: https://revistas.ufrj.br/index.php/rl/article/viewFile/10427/7919

Some materials produced by the PRMDLC:

http://lenguasindigenas.mx

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=riASdGAsbYc

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fwmgIaUg0J0

Chapter 18

Technology in Language Revitalization

A principled approach

Working with technology in any kind of a language setting is imperative in today's world. The number of potential technological tools that are available to help us work more efficiently and effectively as language revitalisers, teachers, materials developers, language documenters, language advocates, administrators and learners is quite impressive, even overwhelming. This chapter will attempt to weave together some of the main considerations that many of us encounter when dealing with technology in our day-to-day professional activities. We will look at the set of skills necessary for working with technology, talk about how to get started when incorporating technology, cover some of the domains of technology use, discuss the creation of materials, and finally look at special considerations when working with technology in language revitalization. But before we begin, let's start by discussing a principled approach for incorporating new technology into the language learning environment.

Principles, not tools

Perhaps it is best to start with a counter example, one that too many technology consumers and language teachers use as a default strategy when incorporating new technology. It goes something like this: I found this great new app online for my phone/tablet/computer; it can do this amazing thing; now I want to see how I can find a way to use it in my upcoming lesson next week.

This approach can been called "app driven" or "tool driven." An app-driven approach prioritizes technology while moving learning needs into the background. Although in some cases this approach may lead to a successful use of technology for learning, more often than not it is gimmicky and has limited pedagogical success. You might say it is putting the cart before the horse: a solution looking for a problem.

A more sound approach would reverse the roles of learning and technology, and place the learning in the foreground, something that might be called a "needs-based" approach. To give a real-life example, Rosanne, an Ichishkíin language teacher who is not very confident in using technology, had just introduced a unit on using conversations at the breakfast

table. She would like her learners to create, practice and then record a dialogue so she can listen to their speech and give feedback on their pronunciation and vocabulary use, but she is not sure how best to go about this. Once the need has been identified, the search for the best technology solution can begin. So, in looking for an audio recording option, from talking with other people, Roseanne is considering: 1) the free recording program Audacity, with students uploading a file to a shared folder online such as One drive, Dropbox or Google Drive; 2) an online recording program called Vocaroo that learners can use to record, save and send audio files to the teacher; or 3) a preloaded app on the students' cell phones (there are numerous apps for Android or i-Phone, such as Voice Recorder, or Voice Memos that come pre-installed) so that they can send the teacher their audio file in an email or text from their phone.

Now that the options have been identified, Roseanne can decide which one works best for her learning context, weighing the pros and cons of each potential tool. From the three options above, perhaps the students have access to only one class computer, which would rule out option one. Vocaroo for phones requires a download and a little training, and Roseanne decides that there isn't enough time for that in her already busy curriculum, so option two is ruled out. All of Roseanne's students have cell phones that already have audio recording apps, so after considering various factors Roseanne feels option three is the best choice. By using this needs-based approach, Roseanne is more likely to find the best tool for her particular purpose and context.

To take another example, Paulo, a language program manager and someone generally skilled in using technology, wants to build a short, online course for people interested in learning Tolowa-Dee-Ni'. He wants to have many audio files of common phrases included in the website and has a very modest budget, but he is not sure which is the best website builder to use. Now that he has defined his need he looks for a solution. One option he is considering is Google Sites. He knows it is free, easy to use and that he can invite people to view the website so he can control who is able to use it. However, it would require maintaining the user permissions list of people as well as adding and deleting people. He has heard about Wix and thinks their websites look particularly nice and easy to build, but the free plan uses a 'wix' domain name; he could try the starter plan at roughly $4.00 per month, but it still contains ads on the site, which he doesn't want. He also considers WordPress. The only cost he can see is for hosting, which also runs at about $4.00 per month, but he thinks he might be able to host the site on his department server. He can password protect the website with a single password, thus avoiding maintaining a user list. While some people complain that Wordpress is not powerful, it can easily host audio with a player, which is the main technical goal he has for this website. After weighing the advantages and disadvantages, he chooses WordPress for his project.

A necessary skill set

So what does a language revitalizer need to be able to do in order to complete her job effectively in today's technology-dependent world? Is there a set of basic standards or a specified skill set for those working with endangered languages? For English language teachers, for example, a set of standards have been developed by Healey and her colleagues at TESOL, most of which are also applicable to language revitalization. Some of the standards for teachers they have identified include:

1. knowledge of various essential tools and how to use them;
2. ability to integrate technology into the curriculum;
3. incorporation of technology into assessment such as feedback and record keeping ;and
4. use of technology to improve opportunities for communication and collaboration.

Each of these areas will be discussed separately below.

Knowledge of Various Essential Tools

Neither Roseanne nor Paulo were experts in all technological areas; no one can be. Yet, is there an ideal skill set that would help them perform their jobs better? A definitive list of essential tools is difficult to specify because of the wide variety of tasks that a language revitalizer is required to perform. Yet any list would likely include the following as a start: word processing programs (e.g. Word, Google Docs, or Open Office); presentation programs (Powerpoint, Keynote, or Prezi); spreadsheet programs (Excel, Open Office Calc or Google Sheets), video and audio playback programs (Quicktime, Windows Media Player, or Vlc), and search engines (Chrome, Firefox, or Safari). Language workers should ideally feel comfortable using these programs and in creating language materials and classroom supplements. They should also feel confident in training learners to use such programs or in troubleshooting students' issues.

To someone new to technology, like Roseanne, a list of skills and tools like the above could feel daunting. More important than being "good at X" program or expertly knowing specific tools, however, is the ability to feel comfortable with technology generally. Feeling comfortable with trying out and adapting to new technology will go a long way as tools are in a constant state of change. For example, software developers often add new features, change the location of menus and options, or even remove features altogether

after updates. Not only are existing tools in flux, but new tools keep being developed while old tools become obsolete or unsupported. One example of this constant change is MS Word. Since its release in 1989 Word has undergone at least fourteen different major versions, with additional minor versions released in-between. While ten years ago you may have been a expert at version 12.0 of Word, many features have changed with the latest release.

While it would be ideal to have language revitalization workers competent in all essential technological skills and confident in their abilities to troubleshoot and help others, the reality is that the "World of Apps" and related necessary skills is vast (see Fig. 1). One way to handle this daunting task is to start small with current needs, and then build out into what some have called "islands of competence." That is, someone desiring to increase their skill set can begin with what they already know, or start with a small area that is most in need, learning only a few new things at a time. Over time, they can slowly build their skills and expand their knowledge into new or related areas (see Fig. 2 and Fig. 3). In Roseanne's case, she originally knew very little about digital audio, but has now learned a bit after her experience of getting her students to make recordings on their phones, so she has built a small island of competence. The next time she does a similar activity she might even build further on her skills and have students do some basic editing of their audio files. In Paulo's case, he already had many islands of competence, but he ventured out into a new one, learning how to use WordPress and adding a new island to his skill set.

Integrating technology into teaching

Integrating technology into your work or class means intimately knowing your curriculum, your students and your own teaching style. Although increasingly younger learners are more comfortable with technology, often they are unaware of how to use technology for language learning. While many of today's students may be adept at using technology generally, their use often falls into very specific areas that are not language-learning related; a skilled language revitalization worker will know how to use technology specifically to foster language learning, and know how to share that knowledge.

When integrating technology into language teaching, it is important to be aware of the curriculum, learning goals and objectives. For example, if the objective is to have students talk about what they did yesterday in the past tense in the language, this will dictate what types of tools the teacher would consider. Additionally, teachers should know whether the equipment and space available is suitable for the goals of the lesson or class. A class based project, for example, that included audio would likely necessitate instructing the students in how to make the audio recordings. The quality of these recordings would be

greatly improved by having access to headphones in order to limit the ambient noise of the other students making recordings at the same time. In turn, this might influence the type of recording technology chosen. Additionally, a teacher leading a lesson that incorporates technology would want to be sure that she is comfortable enough with the software so that she could troubleshoot or work around any problems encountered. This usually means testing out the technology before the class; even if the teacher is familiar with the tool, testing can work out kinks and help to successfully integrate the technology into the lesson. As an added resource, in many cases the teacher can call upon her technologically savvy students to help those that are having trouble.

Assessment

A final way to use technology is during assessments. Assessments can be formative or summative, and technology can be used to enhance assessment and feedback for any of the four common skills: listening, speaking, reading, or writing. Additionally there are numerous ways to create interactive tasks, activities and quizzes, which can be used to assess learning and will be discussed later in this chapter. Finally, computers offer a way to keep track of attendance and grades, sometimes through the use of a Learning Management System, (e.g. Canvas www.canvaslms.com/), or grading software (e.g. Thinkwave www.thinkwave.com/), or, when these are not available, in teacher created spreadsheets (e.g., Excel or Google Sheets).

Evaluating potential technology

Before selecting a particular technological tool it is useful to go through an intentional evaluation process. Listing your priorities or relevant issues is a good place to start and requires knowledge of the strengths and the constraints of your particular context.

There are two types of issues that you might find on your list: general issues and context specific issues. General issues that are likely to be important in nearly all language contexts include cost, ease of use, powerfulness of the tool, and availability. Specific items unique to your context might include ease of use, appropriateness to the age of users, appropriateness to the culture of users, and compatibility of fonts to the orthography of your language.

Free and open source tools

Nearly all language revitalization contexts operate on a tight budget. Free tools, or tools with free versions, are most likely to be valuable in such situations. Luckily, there are numerous suitable resources to consider, though one may need to be a bit creative in adapting the tool to the local context. Also, caution should be taken when evaluating "free" apps; they may limit the length of time you can use it, stop you using it after a set number of times, contain watermarking or advertising on the product, or other deal-breaking problems.

To take one example, MS Word is standard for most computers, but costs money. Free and open source alternatives to Word include WPS Office Free, Libre Office, and Google Docs among others. Specific adaptations, such as installing fonts from a source like "Language Geek", may be required to get your word processor to work for your language. In another example, while some computers may include built-in audio editors as part of a bundle, Audacity is a free, open source audio editor that has some surprisingly powerful features. To export your files as smaller MP3 files, a LAME encoder will need to be installed as an adaption.

Iterative process of incorporating technology

Incorporating technology into your work should be seen as an ongoing process; rather than finding a definitive, immediate solution, incorporating technology is better viewed as something that happens over time. In most cases a proposed technology solution has some glitches, trade-offs or downsides, or it doesn't work as smoothly as we want it to. Sometimes these issues are severe enough that we search for another tool entirely. More often glitches mean that we need to "tweak" the tool, the way we introduce it to learners, or the support we give to users.

In order to do this, it can be beneficial to look at incorporating technology as an iterative process. After introducing a new technology, take some time to stop and reflect. Jot down a few notes about what worked, what didn't work, and how it might work better in the future. The next time you use the technology, make any necessary adjustments and afterwards reflect again. Don't be afraid to keep an eye out for new technology that might do the job better. Finding the right tool for the right job, and knowing the right way to use it, takes time.

Safety, privacy and ownership

A final consideration when using technology, particularly in language revitalization contexts, is safety, privacy and ownership concerns. For those working with children, special care needs to be taken to protect them from some of the seedier sides of the internet. For example, while many social media tools such as Facebook can be a useful learning and communication tool, extra precautions should be taken when using it with children. Sometimes it is better to use an education specific tool, such as Edmodo. Drafting a set of general guidelines and policies for social media use is something many language departments and schools have done. An example policy could include: making all student communications public; separating professional from personal accounts; using official or school district equipment for communication; and refraining from posting any personal information about students. (http://www.teachhub.com/laws-policies-using-social-media-classroom)

Issues around ownership and control of data and information have historically affected indigenous and minority communities disproportionately. When using proprietary software, for example, care needs to be taken that ownership of the material remains with the community, and that producers of information can control distribution and who is able to view the products. For example, iBooks Author is a program that can easily create professional looking eBooks, but there are some limitations. Since it is a proprietary program, the fine print states that books created with iBooks Author cannot be sold except through iTunes. This is not a problem if a community wishes to give away books through its own method of distribution (email, website, jumpdrive) but in some cases it might not be what a community wants to do with the content they have developed.

Domains of technology use

In this next section, we will consider both where technology will be used, and what types of language it can support.

Technology within the classroom

Decisions about what technology to use in the classroom are largely limited by availability and what we have access to. For example, whether we have access to classroom computers, computer labs, laptops, tablets, smartboards and cell phones will shape what options we have and the choices we make. Classroom teachers, again, should take care that they are using the technology with a clear language purpose in mind.

In some settings, the "classroom" is non-traditional, sometimes even without walls. Many communities in the US have an annual culture or language camp, where groups of community members gather, sometimes far away from "the grid", which affects what kinds of technology can be used there. In one case, a community that was holding their camp in the mountains at a traditional gathering spot wanted to have access to audio and interactive activities. The community had access to a set of tablets, so an eBook was developed and preloaded onto these. When the children at the camp went to the language tent, they were able to interact with this multimedia material without any internet connection. At night, the language camp leaders simply had to remember to charge the batteries.

Technology outside the classroom

Learning Management Systems (LMSs) offer many options for extending the learning beyond the classroom. However, the big ones, such as Blackboard, Canvas, and Moodle, are typically tied to schools or departments that have significant budgets and, in the case of Moodle, technology support services. There are free versions of the larger LMSs: for example, Blackboard has Coursesites, and Canvas has Free For Teachers, both of which are stripped down versions of the full systems. Another option for smaller budgets are LMSs that are free and self contained, such as Google Classroom, ANVILL, or Obaverse. ANVILL, for example, is designed specifically for emphasis on spoken language, is free to teachers and students, and allows administrators to add students and guests as needed.

As in the case of Paolo, discussed earlier in this chapter, website development can be an important way to host or share information about language with a community. Several free sources have already been mentioned (Google Sites, Wix, WordPress) but numerous alternatives exist, with new ones popping up constantly. In choosing a website editor, factors Paolo took into consideration were cost (is it free or, if not, does it fit my budget), ease of use (how long will it take to be proficient) and powerfulness (can it do what I want it to do). Additionally, stability of the platform - whether it will be around in a few years and whether the free option will change if the business model changes - should be a top consideration. Other types of communication platforms, such as blogs (EduBlogs, Tumblr) or discussion forms (phpBB, MyBB) can also be valuable communication tools.

As well as extending learning time for individuals, technology outside the classroom has the potential to include whole families in the language revitalization process. When possible, learners can include siblings, parents, grandparents or even extended relatives into language assignments or projects. In one example of intergenerational learning, High School students were tasked with building audio materials about common phrases in the

language, to be hosted on SoundCloud. The students tapped into the knowledge of older family members to help with vocabulary and pronunciation, and they helped teach phrases to younger siblings who knew little of the language. In another example, one language revitalization learner/teacher carried around a dedicated audio recorder. When new phrases or words came up when interacting with fluent speakers in his family or in community gatherings, he asked to capture them on his recorder so that he could continue working on improving his own fluency. This could also be done easily on a phone.

Listening and Speaking

For many communities, the language is traditionally used for spoken communication. At the same time, if the language is highly endangered, there can be few opportunities to hear or speak the language. This is one problem that technology can easily help address. Technology can offer learners another purpose for using the language, and materials developed can be used to increase the profile of the language and people's exposure to it. For recording and organizing audio files there are several options, including Vocaroo, Padlet, and VoiceThread. Padlet, for example, can be used for group pages where students record an audio or video file on a specific topic and then ask other learners to listen and respond to it. Individual Padlet pages can also be used for solo work, such as keeping audio journals.

Animation is another option that sometimes drives up learners' motivation. Volki, SockPuppets and GoAnimate all offer easy platforms for building animations that audio can be layered onto. Volki, for example, allows learners to create an avatar and then record the spoken language, so that the avatar appears to be doing the talking. Learners can create an avatar that represents and speaks for them, or they can create animal avatars, and work on the language the animal might be using. SockPuppets allows users to create up to four characters that can interact in a language, and it can be quite fun for younger learners at the same time as developing their confidence in the language.

Creating videos is perhaps the most powerful tool, but it takes some time for users to be trained on how to do this. Windows Movie Maker on PC and iMovie on Mac are both good initial movie editors. Another option is movie editing in the cloud, with an app like WeVideo or YouTube Video Editor. Both are good free options. Adobe Spark is a free app that can be downloaded or used in the cloud, and it can be a good all-in-one editor for younger learners or for those who can't afford to take the time to learn how to use a more powerful tool. Finally, even Powerpoint can incorporate audio into slides and be turned into a movie.

Reading, Writing and Vocabulary

Reading materials in endangered languages can be scarce. While some endangered and minority languages have a robust written history, many do not. If written materials exist, online databases can offer language workers easy access to collections. For example the "Ulukau: Hawaiian Electronic Library" catalogues newspapers in the Hawaiian language from 1834-1948. For languages with little or no written resources, materials designers will need to be more creative. For example, by using tools like Google Forms, Survey Monkey or Qualtrics, teachers can create surveys that include simple questions for beginner students or reading sections for more advanced students, or a general comprehension test using a multiple choice format.

Writing with technology offers many possibilities beyond simple word processing. Collaborative writing "in the cloud" allows for creative pair, group and even whole class writing activities using Google Docs. An activity can be scaled up or down depending on the proficiency of your learners. Survey tools mentioned above can be open ended, requiring students to respond to questions in writing. WordClouds can be used with tools like PollEverywhere, where students are asked a question, such as "what's your favorite animal". Students then respond on their phones, and their answers are displayed in real time in a word cloud.

Vocabulary options are many. Quizlet, Anki, and Memrise allow both learners and teachers to build their own flashcards. There are numerous crossword puzzle makers and word search makers. Cloze test makers, such as Learn Click or Cloze Test Creator, allow you to easily make fill in the blank type activities where learners are required to use all of their language skills to complete the task.

Another option for vocabulary is the use of databases. The Miami-Illinois Digital Archive (MIDA) is one example (http://ilaatawaakani.org/). Developed by the Myaamia center in collaboration with the Miami Tribe of Oklahoma, the goal of this database is to assemble all the various resources in the Miami-Illinois language into a single searchable space that can be useful for both researchers and learners. It currently has over 50,000 entries and there are plans to open up the resource to other language communities with a sister project called the Indigenous Language Digital Archive (https://ildarchive.org/). This new site is being used now by South West Oregon Dene Research project to build the Nuu-da' Mv-ne' digital archive. Online dictionaries, such as the Siletz Dee-ni' dictionary (http://siletz.swarthmore.edu/), are another option. Such dictionaries often have audio associated with the written entries to aid learners in the pronunciation of words and phrases. While the resources listed in this paragraph typically require training and

support, these can be among the most powerful tools available to language revitalization workers.

Considerations for Language Revitalization Contexts

The low tech environment

In some language revitalization contexts there is little access to technology or computers. Nevertheless, there are still powerful ways that technology can be creatively utilized. A single computer classroom can be a valuable tool, especially if teachers have access to a projector and speakers. Teacher-controlled activities, such as a Powerpoint presentation of a story in the language can incorporate audio, images and even video. The single computer can be used for students' presentations, as a workstation in part of a rotating station in the classroom, or as a spot for students to write a short story together, either led by the teacher or where each student comes up and continues the story in a chain activity.

Even in environments lacking computers, most students now have smartphones. Many younger students use social media on a regular basis, and teachers can set up spaces to use the language such as an Instagram or Twitter feed. More simply, teachers can encourage students to text with each other in language using their phones, or tap into texting tools such as Facebook Messenger or Whatsapp. An additional option for cell phone use is Kahoot. A teacher can set up a language quiz or poll, sharing the address with students so that they can answer the questions and see the results immediately from the computer projected at the front of the class. Smartphones in general are becoming more common, but challenges remain in terms of unequal access, variation in platforms and apps, and the ability of learners to use their phones effectively for learning and not get distracted.

Creating materials

One of the biggest challenges facing small and minority languages is a lack of materials. Producing materials is a specialist area for publishers working on learning materials for major languages, yet small profit margins rarely allow for any collaboration with indigenous communities. Tribal and community language programs are often short on capacity and funding, which leaves the bulk of materials creation up to individual language departments and teachers. Where possible, language programs should have a technology

expert who can help create materials and coach teachers who want to create their own materials but need support. Training personnel at conferences, workshops, or institutes not only increases capacity, but often results in the creation of materials that can be taken back to the community and directly used for learning. Creating e-books, electronic dictionaries or other digital materials avoids the additional costs of printing materials.

Documenting with an eye towards everyday language

Since many 'smaller' languages are still being documented, it is important for community members to work with linguists or documentors to make sure that the type of everyday language needed for communication and conversation is captured. Instead of word lists dictated by linguists looking for minimal pairs, documentation should be done on natural, everyday communication. When possible, it is preferable to have two or more speakers interacting in a realistic situation so that documentation can capture the nuances of the language, such as greetings, turn taking, changing of topics, agreement, joking, or closing. Using video offers further opportunities for capturing paralinguistic communication that is vital to effective cultural competence in the target language, such as facial expressions, proxemics, and gesture. Language workers can then more easily repurpose documentation materials into pedagogical materials. The "sweet spot" is when documentation is useful to a community of teachers and learners and not just linguists.

Including learners in the process of materials creation

Another option is to include students and learners in addressing the need for materials. Project Based Learning (PBL) offers many options for both increasing the amount of material available in a target language, but can also extend the reasons for using the language, encouraging students to get involved. Projects can be teacher led or student led, but are often negotiated so students have some input in deciding the direction of the project. Creating maps, videos, books, e-books, posters, audio material, and websites are all examples of products that students can help create. When these materials have an authentic use outside of the classroom it enhances the project. For example, in one situation, high school language students created language materials to be used in a preschool immersion classroom. They were trained in how to capture and edit audio, video and images, and how to turn these into an eBook. They then produced a small library of eBooks that featured images and recordings of themselves speaking in their language, as well as recordings from the wider community, and even of the preschool children who were to receive the materials.

A healthy skepticism towards technology

While technology certainly offers language teachers opportunities that did not exist before, it is important not to look at technology as a silver bullet for endangered languages. There are limitations and pitfalls associated with using technology, time and money being perhaps the most important ones. Given the reality of limited budgets, technology can be a heavy drain on language programs where equipment and applications need to kept up to date. There is often a learning curve associated with new programs as well as the time commitment required to produce materials, and teachers are often short on precious time. A language revitalization effort has to look at where their time and money would best be spent, and in many cases technology will not be the best answer. Finally, much of what can be accomplished with technology is best described as an extension of learning. That is, initial teaching of new language features is usually best done in person, with technology acting as a way to reinforce or extend the learning, offering more opportunities for practicing the language or reviewing language skills.

"Train the trainers" model for workshops

How can knowledge of best practices in using technology be shared most effectively? One model that has proven useful in many teaching contexts is the "train the trainers", or "train the leaders" approach. An example of this is the Costa Rican workshop: "Primer Taller de Formación de Maestros de Lenguas Indígenas Costarricenses: Estrategias Didácticas y Uso de Herramientas Tecnológicas" held at the University of Costa Rica in April of 2018. Fifteen members from seven indigenous language groups from around the country were selected to come to the capital to take part in the two week workshop. Participants were carefully chosen on the basis of being language leaders or important teachers in their communities, who would not only benefit from the workshop themselves, but who would then be able to return home and share what they had learned with others. After learning about pedagogy and technology, participants developed an action plan for how to share their ideas once back home, effectively becoming trainers themselves. This model, when implemented successfully, allows for the quick dissemination of useful techniques and ideas about language teaching and technology use, that can then benefit as many people as possible.

Technology as a resource for teacher support

Teachers and people working in language revitalization situations often feel isolated and alone. With few others in the tribe or community concerning themselves with the same

issues, many teachers are in need of support. Some support can come in the form of moral support, just having a place to "vent" or share problems that are hard to understand unless you are doing similar work. Support can also be in the form of asking questions about problems and getting feedback on possible solutions. Support also comes in the form of learning about what people are doing in one context that can potentially be useful for other contexts. While traditionally conferences and workshops have been outstanding sources of such support, time limitations and the expense of travel can create obstacles to getting this type of support.

Technology serves an important role in addressing this problem. Social media, emailing or skyping others with expertise offers us an ability to receive such support anytime, anywhere. Facebook groups and email lists, such as the ILAT list, are a place for public sharing and discussion of ideas unique to this specialized community. Similarly, resource centers such as the NILI Resources Center (http://nilirc.com/) offer a place for teachers to browse materials for ideas, search templates that can be turned into their own language, or use ready made materials if the language they are working with is represented.

Ben Levine

18.1. How About Just Shifting Back? How one Passamaquoddy Speaker Led Her Community to Language Documentation and Revitalization

Margaret Apt, a middle-aged Passamaquoddy woman from Eastern Maine, USA, had grown up away from the Reservation and was doing everything she could to improve her Passamaquoddy language skills; but now the Elders were no longer speaking in public. She noticed that when they needed a new word to discuss a contemporary topic they would shift to, and then remain speaking in, English. Passamaquoddy, an Algonquian language of the Eastern U.S. and Canada, was becoming invisible. I asked Margaret if we could try an experiment using video. She agreed and began to convene a group of speakers who also agreed to be filmed. Whenever the talk drifted into English, Margaret would gently remind the speaker to switch back to Passamaquoddy. It worked, and soon speakers were having long conversations about contemporary experiences totally in Passamaquoddy. This speaker-facilitated, non-intrusive, documentary style videotaping soon became an accepted method for Passamaquoddy language documentation. Subsequent presentation of the video back to the participants and community referred to as Video Feedback, stimulated more deeply contextualized conversation and sometimes motivated new language initiatives. Margaret became the first Facilitator of the method that came to be called Natural Group Conversation and Activity Documentation. So just by acting on her wish to speak Passamaquoddy with her friends without English intruding, and with a little help from the video, Margaret launched an active process of language revitalization in her community that is also being replicated elsewhere.

As Facilitator, Margaret would create a safe space for speaking. She might start the conversation off with a question and then ask for contextualizing information. Speakers gained confidence and soon were telling stories, laughing, or commiserating—creating speaker-driven language in natural, real-life ways. Playing the video back gave the speakers new awareness and the emotional strength to take on the topics that concerned them and activities they wanted filmed. More speakers became involved, and a new confidence to address language endangerment emerged as Passamaquoddy became more visible again.

This practice of video feedback triggers new and often deeper conversations, creating rich content for teaching and learning as well as linguistic analysis. Recording these conversations and playing them back has proven to be helpful in addressing historic

community trauma and its effects in suppressing language use. It has also resulted in the emergence of new leaders advocating for revitalization.

Margaret and other participants next learned to log, transcribe, translate, and subtitle over 100 videos, first available as DVDs that later became part of the Passamaquoddy-Maliseet online dictionary and audio archive which can be seen at www.PMPortal.org . Margaret taught her daughter Plansowes and some friends who had tried to learn Passamaquoddy and understood the language but couldn't speak it, how to record dictionary entries and example sentences with Elders and then post them on the Portal. The recording process immediately helped these tech-savvy, 30-something fluent comprehenders improve their language skills and increased their interest in learning and using the language. Excited at this breakthrough, they shared Portal links to words and videos on social media. Soon there was heightened visibility of the language, increased respect for speakers, and an expanding new constituency for Passamaquoddy language, especially among those living in the diaspora who could now be connected to the language. The Elders, in turn, became acquainted, in a non-threatening way, with the Passamaquoddy-Maliseet writing system.

The participants in Margaret's conversations initiated new language revival projects: two immersion preschools; a video-based program for fluent comprehenders and language classes for adults. One man engaged in graduate studies so that he could become a linguist for the tribe. Two others became language teachers. What started with one person, Margaret, looking for ways to get her own Passamaquoddy language back, grew into multi-faceted language revitalization. Today there are new speakers of Passamaquoddy for the first time in 40 years, and the model has inspired other groups. Language activists in an Ayöök speaking Mixe community in Southern Mexico saw Passamaquoddy videos and invited Speaking Place to start the documentation and revitalization process in their town. The Mixe have used the same methods. They have also had training from our team on linguist-guided community self-documentation. Like the Passamaquoddy who inspired them, they have started immersion schools and are building a Mixe radio station. Now other towns in Oaxaca are starting to adopt these methods as well. While each community shapes the methods and process to their own circumstances, starting with video documentation of facilitated natural group conversation and activity can be a potent launching pad for revitalization.

18.2. Online language learning materials development

Welsh is relatively fortunate among the world's lesser-used languages, with its official status, government support, rich literary tradition, dedicated radio and television channels, and important role in the education system in Wales. Welsh-medium education is available from nursery right through to university-level, whilst those attending English-medium schools learn Welsh as a second language. It is also possible to learn Welsh as an adult, and around 18,000 learners attend adult Welsh classes in Wales each year.

One course provider, Nant Gwrtheyrn, specialises in week-long residential courses, which particularly attract learners from abroad or whose lifestyles don't suit weekly classes. However, these learners sometimes find it tricky to maintain the "buzz" and keep using their Welsh once they've returned home. Through the KESS[71] programme, a partnership was established between Nant Gwrtheyrn and myself, a PhD student at Cardiff University, in order to develop a research-based set of online learning materials which would complement the beginners' level residential course and allow learners to maintain regular contact with the Welsh language.

Despite the very specific context of the project, the lessons I learned should be applicable to online materials development in many environments.

- Try to plan a manageable project based on available human/financial resources. Do you need to create an entire curriculum or just supplementary materials?
- Don't expect the planning and writing process to follow linear stages – decisions made part-way through the process, or new information about learner needs/expectations, will mean you need to revise earlier work.
- If online learning resources are already available for your target language, try to collaborate with the authors rather than competing with them. Don't reinvent something that has already been produced for your language – focus on creating new resources which will complement existing ones.

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[71] Knowledge Economy Skills Scholarships (KESS) is a pan-Wales higher-level skills initiative led by Bangor University on behalf of the HE sector in Wales. It is part-funded by the Welsh Government's European Social Fund (ESF) convergence programme for West Wales and the Valleys.

- In terms of the language content of materials, consider the domains in which you hope learners will use their language skills. For example, you could select vocabulary and phrases used in the home, in the workplace, in ceremonies, or in the wider community.

- Also keep in mind why you are creating *digital* learning materials as opposed to paper materials. To reach a geographically dispersed audience? To encourage learners to practise frequently? To facilitate independent learning? Electronic learning materials should not simply be digitised versions of paper materials (e.g. PDFs of worksheets). Instead, they should offer something over and above the 'offline' experience, making use of what technology can uniquely offer – e.g. interactivity even without classmates/tutors, or instant personalised feedback, or helping make input comprehensible by offering hyperlinks and images.

- Don't allow technological developments to dictate the resources you create without reference to language learning theories/principles. In other words, don't create something just because it's technically possible – always reflect on the benefits a resource will bring to the learning experience.

- For audio/video resources, consider including recordings of 'new speakers' as well as 'native speakers'. In some language contexts this would be an appropriate way of demonstrating that learners are valued members of the linguistic community.

- Plan for future sustainability! I failed at this one, as the online platform hosting my resources has disappeared, taking my content with it! So think about long-term plans for your materials – e.g. how they might be migrated to new platforms, or how they might be adapted for mobile devices as opposed to computers.

Further reading

Richards (2001) provides a good guide for overall curriculum development; and Leakey (2011) gives very detailed principles to follow when developing electronic learning resources.

Richards, Jack C. 2001. *Curriculum development in language teaching*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Leakey, Jonathan. 2011. *Evaluating Computer-Assisted Language Learning: An Integrated Approach to Effectiveness Research in CALL*. Oxford: Peter Lang.

18.3. Rising Voices

The Internet provides a special opportunity for communities that speak indigenous, endangered, and minority languages to attract and involve younger generations in language preservation and revitalization—an involvement that is crucial for the survival of these languages and cultures.

Supporting such communities, especially indigenous communities across Latin America, in this work has been a primary focus of Rising Voices (RV), the digital inclusion initiative of the organization Global Voices. RV works to promote equity and diversity online through training, mentoring, and the creation of peer-learning networks. With the increased accessibility of devices such as smartphones and tablets, and the spread of Internet connectivity (including through community-owned networks) indigenous communities are increasingly accessing information online. However, they rarely do so in their native language. That is changing. Communities' access to information and digital tools is making it easier to create multi-lingual content themselves. Creating content online by uploading videos to YouTube, translating free software, or writing on blogs and social media platforms is a first step indigenous communities can take toward ensuring that their language is present in all facets of life, and that speakers can participate fully as citizens of their communities and nations.

Rising Voices' work takes many different forms, including organizing workshops and gatherings. In recent times we have organized events in Mexico, Colombia, Peru, Ecuador, Guatemala, Bolivia, and Chile, in collaboration with a range of local partners. In these meetings, participants run hands-on workshops and engage in peer-led discussions addressing the linguistic, technical, and socio-cultural obstacles they face in doing this work. These events also include a public component designed to showcase the work and its possibilities. A direct result of these gatherings has been the creation of local, national, and international networks of mutual support and solidarity.

Rising Voices has also created the *Activismo Lenguas* (Language Activism) portal to map projects across the region to highlight the important role technology is playing in this revitalization work, as well as to inspire other communities wanting to do similar work. Visitors to the portal can search by country, language, and digital tool. We are also working to research and analyze the opportunities and challenges for sharing knowledge through Wikipedias in indigenous languages. This work has given us valuable access to the perspectives of practitioners on the ground, and allowed them to share their stories. Finally, our social media campaigns around the observance of International Mother Language Day encourage engagement with minority languages in a fun way, with

participants tweeting and creating a memes in their mother language. Our work in Rising Voices has shown the possibilities provided by technology. But it is important to stress that the internet and digital media are only tools, and that the real driving force behind this work are the hundreds of young people who have stepped forward and demonstrated their commitment to ensuring that their language and culture are reflected in all facets of society, including the internet.

[i] Economic and Social Research Institute (2015).
[ii] Irish Times (2017).