



Global to Local

Understanding models of community language revitalisation for Pacific languages in Aotearoa New Zealand - a literature review



Global to local: Understanding models of community language revitalisation for Pacific languages in Aotearoa New Zealand – a literature review

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ISBN [PDF]: 978-1-927184-84-4

Suggested citation: Ka'ai, T., Tukimata, N. & Smith-Henderson, T. (2021). *Literature Review: Pacific Languages revitalisation*. Auckland, New Zealand: Ministry for Pacific Peoples.



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Executive Summary

Background

In 2021, the Ministry of Pacific People's commissioned Te Ipukarea Research Institute at AUT to provide an analysis of the current research on language revitalisation and its approaches and models of community language learning that have been effective and successful globally. This research is compiled as a literature review.

Pacific language loss

The loss of language always occurs first among the most marginalised and disadvantaged groups in society. Data released by Statistics New Zealand (2018) have showed the growth in numbers and proportion in the population. The census revealed that the Pacific ethnicity made up the fourth-largest major ethnic group in 2018, behind the European, Māori and Asian ethnic groups. Furthermore, the census showed that 8.1 percent of the New Zealand population (381,642) identified with one or more Pacific ethnic groups, an increase in population compared to the 7.4 percent (295,941) identified in the 2013 Census. However, with an increase in the population of Pacific peoples identified in the ten Pacific ethnic groups in New Zealand, there is a decrease in the number of Pacific language speakers, with the census revealing that only 37.8 percent of Pacific people were able to speak two languages with a majority (91.6 percent) identifying as being English speakers.

May (2014) stresses that the importance of understanding one's own language in order to succeed in another more dominant language, such as English, is for a first language speaker of another language to become literate in their strongest language (their home language) first. This may be particularly true as the Pacific population growth continues within Aotearoa, New Zealand, the reliance on migration of more native speakers to sustain Pacific languages enables language to be kept alive and dynamic. This is particularly true for the languages of the realm countries of the Cook Islands, Niue and Tokelau, as the data from the census revealed that between these three ethnic groups, the number of speakers of a second language is less than 25 percent (Cook Island Māori – 18.3%, Niue – 20.6%, Tokelau – 24.1%), with those that are 65 years and above identifying as the majority speakers of these Pacific languages (Statistics New Zealand, 2018).

While evidence shows that learning in and through a first or heritage language results in improved long-term learning outcomes, there is nevertheless very limited support for other Indigenous languages other than te reo Māori (Māori language) in immersion or bilingual education settings, as well as insufficient support for it. There is an urgent need for greater financial and practical support (for example learning materials, assessments, and tailored professional development) for schools wanting to maintain or establish bilingual or immersion learning, as suggested by Harris (2014) that Pacific language(s) or any other language is the vehicle for cultural identity, family connection and provides a positive sense of belonging, where learning cultural knowledge is an investment for the future (Harris, 2014).

Research aims and themes

This literature review is a comprehensive analysis of the current research on language revitalisation and its approaches and models of community language learning that have been identified as being

effective and successful globally. in an effort to create similar models for Pacific languages here in Aotearoa New Zealand. It explores the breadth and the availability of current literature that offers insight into three key research questions:

1. What language revitalisation approaches have been successful for Indigenous and minority language communities? What are the success factors?
2. What models of community language learning have been identified as being most effective with adults, young people and in the digital space to address language revitalisation, and what makes them successful?
3. How might the language revitalisation approaches and factors identified in the review be applied to the development of strategies to address Pacific language revitalisation in Aotearoa NZ?

The themes, drawn out of the research questions informed the key recommendations that may be used to inform language strategies for Pacific languages here in Aotearoa New Zealand, and the efforts that are being made to target language revitalisation.

Main Findings

This research has identified community approaches, to language revitalisation including community language models developed. It is proposed from the findings that language revitalisation is best supported when:

- Immersion environments are provided for learners;
- Learning is connected to both language and culture;
- Learners acquire some language before beginning a mentor relationship;
- Learning takes place in informal domains;
- Learning is enjoyable and supported;
- Speaker networks are maintained after an initiative is completed;
- Committed individuals champion the language;
- Language communities can access support from experts such as elders, language planners, linguists and researchers;
- Expert support is given on a language community's own terms;
- Individuals are supported to become the experts for their own language communities; and
- Language communities share good practice with one another.

Furthermore, it is important that there are a variety of language revitalisation approaches to support different types of learners, and that learning takes place in informal, as well as formal domains. Successful approaches to language revitalisation that featured strongly in the literature were immersion, expert support, exchange of good practice, and use of media and new technologies.

Language Revitalisation

If you talk to a man in a language he understands, that goes to his head. If you talk to him in his languages, that goes to his heart.

Nelson Mandela

Introduction

The discussion around language revitalisation has evolved amongst many scholars over the years. In the last decades of the 20th Century, and especially during the 1990s, linguists and sociolinguists in particular, took an increased interest in the matter of language assimilation and the gradual disappearing of numerous world languages (Krauss, 1992; Crystal, 2000; Nettle & Romaine, 2000; Brenzinger, 2007; Austin & Sallabank, 2011; & Lewis & Simons, 2013). As a result of this, a counter-current began to emerge, which gradually brought to the forefront a more significant, ambitious and sophisticated effort at (ethno) linguistic revitalisation which is described by Satava (2019) as being “considered not only as a narrow research specialisation but also as a practical and activist endeavour” (p.132). Joshua Fishman (1991, 2001) in this regard, became instrumental in the area of language revitalisation and more specifically reversing language shift (RLS), with a number of his models and concepts inspiring many language scholars (Hinton & Hale, 2001; & Grenoble & Whaley, 2006). Furthermore, many ethnic groups in Europe such as the Catalans, Basques, Welsh, Sami, Yupi’k, Scottish Gaelic to name a few, as well as ethnic groups in other continents around the world including the Māori in Aotearoa, the Gamilaraay in Australia, the Hawaiians, and the Cherokee nation in Oklahoma, succeeded in halting or at least slowing down language and ethnic assimilation (Satava, 2019) over time.

In hindsight, the last 20 years has seen a growth in the different language revitalisation projects of minority languages globally. This has provided an overall snapshot of what successful and effective language revitalisation efforts should look like which are identified as: adding new sets of speakers to the language, crucially involving the home domain and intergenerational transmission (King, 2009; Spolsky, 1989); adding new functions by introducing the language into domains where it was previously unused or relatively underused (O’Laoire, 2006); having the language revived by both established speakers and neo-speakers (Huss, Grima, & Kind, 2003); as well as the involvement and activity on behalf of individuals and the speech community that raises awareness about positive attitudes, action, commitment, strong acts of will and sacrifice that may be necessary to saving and revitalising languages (O’Laoire, 2006). In this instance, language revitalisation is conceptualised as being part of a larger framework of social movements that focuses on the shared beliefs of communities that guide initiatives towards social change (Riggins, 1992).

In this respect, new concepts are identified and adapted to minority languages and their communities where the key goal is “not only to maintain the language amongst surviving language speakers, but also to modernise it and generate new uses for it in spaces where it is no longer spoken” (O’Rourke, 2015, p.76). Cru (2015) agrees that “new domains open up particularly important avenues for language revitalisation in sociolinguistic contexts where it is not uncommon to see cases of (re)activation of a native language” (p.292). This is to ensure that for successful language revitalisation to occur, there is a need to “preserve speakers (native speakers) as representatives of the last surviving

speakers whose origins can be traced to a bounded, homogenous speech community, within a particular territory and historic past” (O’Rourke, 2015, p.76). Hornberger (2006) further alludes to the idea that language revitalisation is more than maintenance, in that it [language revitalisation] implies “recuperating and reconstructing something which is at least partially lost, rather than maintaining and strengthening what already exists” (p.280). Similar opinion is provided by Mühlhäusler (1992) who argues that reserving and developing domains for the exclusive use of a language may indeed be the best way of successfully isolating it from being taken over by other languages.

Language revitalisation and its current status

Joshua Fishman’s Reversing Language Shift theory (1991) is well known to Indigenous language networks across the world (Albury, 2018; Carty, 2014). Fishman states that language revitalisation can only be successful if the language is passed on to the next generation within the home and community settings. Satava (2019) insists that in spite of the given successful cases in the field of revitalisation and despite the official social climate of the last 20 years which has favoured the incline towards minority populations, much of the minority population vitality has grown weaker. However, in several regions coincidentally, language revitalisation has resulted in the rise of a new phenomenon - a significant group of new speakers. This was as a result of returning endangered languages back to the level of intergenerational transfer of the language within the home and family. This was considered as an obvious goal and is still taken as a model that is somewhat most effective or an ideal approach of language revitalisation. Tsunoda (2006) agrees that the key to a successful transmission of language is through the spoken interaction between members of different generations in the community. However, as highlighted by O’Laoire (2008), language revitalisation efforts and policies are a representation of the critical arena in which the expectations of a speech community lie in the success of the efforts to secure the language for future members that are simultaneously expressed, enabled and often constrained.

It is suggested by Fishman (1991), who used RLS and language revival interchangeably, explained that the reason language revitalisation or revival often failed was due to people waiting until it is ‘too late’ to try to revive (revitalise) or maintain a language. This encompasses being too late biologically, in the sense that speakers of the language may be past child-bearing age and so no new potential speakers are being produced. Furthermore, speakers are too late ideologically or culturally in the sense that by the time speakers try to revive their language, a new mode of speaking or a new relationship with a majority language has been worked out. In order to counteract the aforementioned, Taumoefolau, Starks, Davis and Bell (2002) agree that numerical strength of native speakers or speakers of the language are important for the survival of minority languages. They argue that communities who maintain their language often are communities that maintain strong links with their homeland, as minority communities often depend on their home countries as a source for linguistic revitalization” (Taumoefolau et al., 2002, p.20), which is a key to cultural sustainability (Koole & Lewis, 2018). The following sections will outline the language revitalisation approaches that have been successful for Indigenous and minority language communities worldwide.

Language revitalisation theories, practices & models

Introduction

Language revitalisation theories, models and practices have differed amongst countries around the world. From ecological and holistic perspectives in multilingual and multicultural worldwide contexts, explanations of these theories and practices can be articulated from a top down and bottom up approach as well as from local to global experiences/perspectives (Cru, 2015). Examples of these revitalisation efforts can be seen in countries such as Mexico, Paraguay, Catalonia in France, Alaska, Russia, Australia, Wales, Ireland and Aotearoa New Zealand with many other countries creating and adapting language revitalisation initiatives for their native and migrant languages. For this section of the literature review, examples of international initiatives are taken from five language communities that have been successful in their language revitalisation efforts. These language communities include Quechua, Irish Gaelic, Aanaar Saami, Miriwoong and Keres.

For the *Quechua* language initiatives, there are two planned communities in Cuzco, Peru (an otherwise Spanish-dominant city) that are run by non-profit, non-governmental agencies, where members are able to live and interact on a daily basis. The community-level agencies promote Quechua to the inhabitants in what is described by Manly (2008) as “micro-prestige-planning”, where these communities are provided a home-like environment where “members of all ages interact in Quechua as they would with their own family members” (Manley, 2008, p. 341). It is suggested that creating planned Quechua communities within Spanish-dominant urban areas are able to provide an “effective addition or alternative to other current Quechua revitalisation efforts” (Manly, 2008, p.341). Similar experiences in the small, planned *Irish Gaelic*-speaking communities has seen successful intergenerational language transmission occur through Belfast’s neo Gaeltacht, Pobal Feirste in Ireland. Pobal Feirste never saw itself as an “isolated linguistic bubble defending itself against a flood of English, but as part of a language movement which aimed at both the survival and, more importantly, the revival of Irish as a community language. It was not envisaged as a ghetto, but as a seedbed to enable the language community to grow” (Póilin, 2013, p. 155), a context that provided wider intergenerational transmission with a community that was concerned initially to maintain the language as a living presence.

In contrast, in the *Aanaar Saami* language initiatives, Olthuis, Kivelä, and Skutnabb-Kangas (2013) describe informal community-based Aanaar Saami language programmes as being ideal in encouraging the use of language within the community. These programmes include immersion language camps, language evenings, art and music activities for youth, and religious events. Some of the activities involved games, singing, watching Aanaar Saami films, viewing old photos, fishing, cooking, and drying pike. These activities focus solely on language use rather than language instruction, and establish a domain for the local language to be actively used. These events offer excellent domains to use the language, which suit informal learning styles and unify Aanaar Saami generations through the language. Not only are these programmes necessary for native speakers to maintain their language skills, but offer non-natives too; the chance to learn the language in an informal and authentic way (Olthuis et al., 2013).

Similarly, the *Miriwoong* language initiative in the East Kimberly region of Western Australia, has focussed on language use in traditional domains and promotes developmental language relationships across generations. This is done through bush trips with elders and offers young people the opportunity to learn the Miriwoong language through these rich experiences from experts of the language. As described by Olawsky (2010) that “the knowledge transferred during these trips clearly exceeds the classroom transfer of purely lexical knowledge and literacy” (p.151), which in turn advances active language use among its speakers. Furthermore, for the *Keres* language in Cochitis communities in New Mexico, USA, the language programmes established placed an emphasis on reviving traditional community practices through a summer programme camp that focussed on traditional activities. Teachers would receive two weeks of training in immersion techniques prior to the camp, then would speak only Keres for the duration of the camp. During the first few days children would speak English, but being immersed in an environment where the Keres language was heard prominently allowed for an active use of the language in what Hinton (2011) describes as “a profound result of the summer programme [that] re-established the habits of speaking Keres among the native speakers” (p.302), where the language had previously flourished.

Language immersion and acquisition as language revitalisation

Research carried out in a global context indicates that language immersion is one of the most promising approaches that Indigenous communities can undertake in order to maintain and promote Indigenous language use. Language immersion is generally considered to be good practice in language learning where an immersion environment is one where learners are supported by experts who can scaffold their language learning (Fazio & Lyster, 1998). The introduction of language and culture teaching into First Nations schools in Canada represents an improvement over the previous approach of aggressive assimilation. However, it is evident that immersion holds even greater promise for First Nations children (Albury, 2018; Morcom & Roy, 2019; Fernando, Valijärvi & Goldstein, 2010). Research data reflect that immersion shows promise in helping Indigenous youth to “become increasingly fluent in their heritage language” (Morcom & Roy, 2019, p.560) as well as building pride in their personal and cultural identity. That in turn serves generations yet to come, as these students will likely be the ones who attain the skills, knowledge and enthusiasm to transmit their language ensuring its survival. In this instance, the development of immersion programmes allows for Indigenous communities to take control of their own education systems that in turn allows for the delivery of a culturally appropriate education to their children in their own languages which ultimately aligns with what is constituted in the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (United Nations, 2008).

Furthermore, it is argued by Albury (2018) that language acquisition can also be seen as a determining factor that can be advanced in other ways rather than as a mainstream school subject. Baker (2011) offers a range of approaches to bilingualism, including “degrees of immersion with politically-oriented goals ranging from the assimilation of minority language speakers to linguistic pluralism and balanced bilinguality” (Albury, 2018, p.70). This is evident in examples of full-immersion education, such as the Irish immersion curricula (Gallagher & Leahy, 2014), and dual language classrooms such as those using Spanish and English in the United States (Lucero, 2015). In the context of Aotearoa New Zealand and te reo Māori, this is painted as a story of success for language acquisition and language revitalisation in that its estimated 125,000 Māori speakers today (Māori Language Information, 2014) constitutes remarkably for an increased language pool in comparison with the 100 children left with any

proficiency in the 1970s (Waitangi Tribunal, 2011). This is largely attributed to the impact of Kura (Māori-medium education) – a grassroots movement that prioritised Māori-medium through Te Kōhanga Reo (preschools), given that children who were first language (native) speakers were fundamental to language revitalisation. Through Kōhanga Reo and Kura, these environments provided rich language spaces that not only supported children’s use of te reo Māori in meaningful and authentic ways, but also contributed to the decision of the government to reverse its policy of linguistic assimilation (Albury, 2014; May & Hill, 2015). Comparisons of this can also be seen through Canada’s First Peoples who are engaged in a battle to maintain their language and culture for generations to come. Furthermore, Morcom and Roy (2019) has shed light on the education system in Australia where in the past the system has been a tool for the “destruction of Aboriginal languages and cultures” (p.551). However, in hindsight there is a growing belief amongst academics and community members that education can now be seen as an effective tool for cultural and language revitalisation.

Language revitalisation through education

Contrary to Fishman’s (1991) RLS theory, many scholars have now adopted different models in order to counteract language revival efforts of their minority languages. A number of models were adapted to the school setting (Baker, 2011; Gerin-Lajoie, 2011; Grenoble & Whaley, 2006) as Cormier et al. (2014) suggest that when “families do not succeed in transmitting the minority language, schools become a principal means of revitalisation” (p.161). Traditionally, education was seen as being pivotal in the survival of minority languages, however, the debate on the role of the school in language revitalisation has centred typically on schools as agents of language revival, and teachers as agents of language revitalisation (De Palma, Zapico-Barbeito, & Sobrino-Freire, 2018; East, 2020). McCarty (2020) however, believes that the holistic benefits of education for language revitalisation can be done by connecting home, school, and community in a mutually supportive language framework that is informed by a critical understanding of coloniality as the root cause of language endangerment. In this respect, her article titled, ‘The holistic benefits of education for Indigenous language revitalisation and reclamation (ELR2)’, connects with the role of speakers within language revitalisation communities and the collaboration this has between researchers and speakers of minority language communities. Furthermore, language revitalisation delves into examining the concept of language planning and language education policy that focusses on the potential of schools in community or in national efforts in order to contribute to language knowledge, language use and ultimately language revitalisation.

Historically, culture is learned and taught hand-in-hand with language within the classroom. However, some scholars have argued that the classroom setting is an “artificial community” (Damen, 1987, p.8) where a rule-oriented and teacher-controlled setting is rarely able to provide direct experiences of the culture for students to engage appropriately in communications with native speakers of the target language (Kramsch, 2006). Recent researchers and practitioners have sought opportunities to locate the language learner in the actual cultural context of the language and its users for the purpose of language and culture learning. Study abroad programs, for example, allow students to experience the development of many aspects of the language and culture of that country (linguistically, Dewaele & Regan 2002; socio-culturally, Kinginger, 2008). Chinese language communities in Australia have also offered chances for students to build up contact with native speakers through culture-based projects (e.g. cultural portfolio tasks by Allen, 2004; internet-mediated culture project by Abrams, 2002). These examples show that direct or indirect contact with native speakers contributes to students’ increasing

cross-cultural awareness that ultimately increases the active participation and use of minority languages within a formal or informal educational setting.

The CASLE Model

The CASLE (Complimentary Aanaar Saami Language Education) model of the Aanaar Saami language in Finland (Olthius et al., 2013) introduces new aspects to the latest theory-based revitalisation models targeted at creating new speakers in the age group of 26-54 or “professional adults” (Olthius et al., 2013, p.35). The *Saami* languages are “Fenno-Ugrian languages spoken from central Sweden and mid-Southern Norway to the tip of the Kola Peninsula in Russia by 25,000-35,000 speakers (Ole Henrick & Skutnabb-Kangas, 2001). In retrospect, the revitalisation and language learning models that were summarised by Grenoble & Whaley (2006) were “used and adapted to create the content of the CASLE curriculum and its practical training environment” (Olthius et al., 2013). These are identified as;

1. The local language as a second, ‘foreign’ language (Baker, 2006; Grenoble & Whaley, 2006)
2. California’s Master Apprentice (M-A) programme where young people learn from elders (Grenoble & Whaley, 2006; Hinton, 2002)
3. Total immersion programmes (especially the language nest method) previously used for children, including very small children in Language Nests; (Grenoble & Whaley, 2006); here they were adapted for adults
4. Partial immersion and bilingual education (Baker, 2006; Grenoble & Whaley, 2006)
5. Community-based programmes (Grenoble & Whaley, 2006)
6. A language documentation model (Grenoble & Whaley, 2006), which was added in order to film and record the most unique parts of the language revitalisation process.

The success of the CASLE model as of the year 2009-2010, has demonstrated an increased growth in the Aanaar Saami community, where the growth process “has been extremely rapid, and a great deal of work has been done in the local community to fit the new services into Aanaar Saami society” (Olthius et al., 2013, p.129). These have been the opening of two language nests in the year 2010 and 2011, where the teaching of the language tripled in both primary and secondary schools; more resources and study materials were produced, and as compared to the previous years before the CASLE model was introduced, the Aanaar Saami language received status as a major subject at the University of Oulu. Furthermore, the Aanaar community extended its activities and can be heard in the church again after what was a break of the language in the church that spanned more than 20 years. Furthermore, CASLE graduates have successfully helped the elder Aanaar Saami speakers in revitalising the mother tongue for the Saami community.

Positive success and implementation of the CASLE model has also been instrumental and influential in other language communities including *Kawaiisu*, Southern Sierra Nevada in California, USA and *Trukuin* Northern Taiwan, to support intergenerational language transmission and use (Grant & Turner, 2013; Lin & Yudaw, 2016). Hinton (2013) believes that mentoring programmes such as the CASLE model are useful in families when adults in the family are not fluent in the heritage language. Examples of this is suggested by Hinton (2013) as being suited to the Californian languages where the languages were no longer being actively used daily. The idea then, was to fund the living expenses of a team of elders and young people with grants, so that they do not have to work for several months, and are able to isolate themselves from the English-speaking society and become immersed in

traditional culture and language. In this case, it was “estimated that three to four months in an immersion situation would go a long way towards the development of proficiency, especially for people who already have some passive knowledge” (Hinton, 1994, p.231). Furthermore, Hinton et al. (2018) described that the *Sauk* language in Oklahoma, USA and its use of the CASLE model, was effective when two or three elders were able to work with three or four learners and a Master-Apprentice team leader who directed effective immersion sessions, and developed appropriate materials, activities and routines, thus building the capacity to accommodate programme disruptions that became present from pedagogical uncertainty, health concerns, ceremonial obligations, weather and family commitments.

Furthermore, the Kawaiisu language community, with just four native speakers remaining, employed both the CASLE model (one-to-one) in a modified form – the Language at Home programme (one-to-many). Both programmes offered the opportunity for families to learn Kawaiisu from fluent native speakers (Grant & Turner, 2013), as well as having the Language at Home programme suiting the Kawaiisu context best. In Aotearoa, O’Regan (2016) sees potential to adapt the CASLE model for ‘Kotahi Mano Kāika’¹ settings by combining it with a tuakana-teina mentoring model that forms a language fostering/mentoring programme. This programme would emphasise using and modelling predominantly informal language in whānau (family) domains, which extend beyond formal language learning programmes.

The Francization Programme

The Francization programme for Acadians in the provinces of Eastern Canada can be classified in what Garcia (2009) describes as “immersion revitalisation” (Cormier et al., 2014, p.160). The goal of the programme was to provide support for students who have limited French proficiency that will enable them to learn the language and cope with the demands of the classroom. It was also believed that this programme was to encourage parents who are holders of the language, yet whose children do not speak French, to register them in the French language school. García (2009) noted that language programmes are to reflect ideologies and language goals. In this instance, when the goal is language shift, a monolingual approach is the norm, and often in these cases, the minority language students are placed in the mainstream classroom with no support, and are expected to ‘sink or swim’ or what Baker (2011) suggests as submersion. The Francization programme with support from the Council of Ministers of Education Canada (CMEC, 2003), suggested that schools were to choose from a continuum of four different models that would manage their individual francization programme. This ranged from model one which was a sheltered class, where the francization teacher taught language through content, and in the afternoon, they joined their mainstream class for activity time. The second model was a pull-out model, in which students were placed in the mainstream class for most of the day but are pulled out in small groups for short direct language lessons. The third model featured a mainstream with in-class support and pull out where students were to remain in the class and the focus of the francization teacher was to ensure that students understood the teacher’s instructions and can accomplish the required tasks. It is understood that “when students are placed in the mainstream classroom, their French speaking peers provide additional exposure to the French language” (Cormier et al., 2014, p.169). The fourth model or what is identified as an ‘integrated’ model

¹ Kotahi Mano Kāika is the Ngāi Tahu/Kai Tahu iwi strategy that aims to invigorate the language in Ngāi Tahu/Kai Tahu homes and communities. It is a 25-year strategy which aims to have 1000 Ngāi Tahu/Kai Tahu households speaking te reo Māori by 2025.

uses a variety of approaches that cater to the different students needs and their language learning abilities. Positive reports revealed that this fourth model was preferred in comparison to the other three as there was a heterogeneous grouping that used “facilitated authentic communication in French” (Cormier et al., 2014, p.170).

Furthermore, the Saskatchewan Ministry of Education (2000) recommended that an intense francization classroom model should allow intense immersion where children are able to acquire enough French to cope in the mainstream classroom. This intense francization class is comparable to sheltered English classes in the United States (Valdés 1998), where in those classes, content instruction is the goal and teachers are able to rely on visual aids, simplified language, a slower pace and direct language teaching in content areas (Baker 2011; Valdés 1998). Furthermore, sheltered classes are often seen as safe for the students, given that all students are French language learners and the teacher copes with their similar levels of limited proficiency. Success factors of this programme can be identified in model four or otherwise known as the ‘integration’ model where the use of teamwork to teach the Francophone language drew positive opinions on how teamwork was required to make this model work. The teachers in this instance, felt the leadership of the principal enables the successful operation of this model as the encouragement from the principal to teachers to be creative and to try different ideas will help to advance the Francization programme.

Task-based learning teaching

The Francization Programme has drawn similarities with what East (2014) highlights as the approach of Task-based language teaching (TBLT) which has been exercised with te reo Māori in Aotearoa New Zealand. As East (2014) explains, TBLT as a means of promoting second language acquisition (SLA) is built on the learner-centred and experiential foundation that is “the most effective way to teach a language is by engaging learners in real language use in the classroom ... by designing tasks – discussions, problems, games, and so on – which require learners to use language for themselves” (Willis & Willis, 2007, p.1). Furthermore, Willis and Willis (2007) classifies that TBLT tasks can be identified as: (1) Listing, (2) Ordering and sorting, (3) Matching, (4) Comparing and contrasting, (5) Problem-solving tasks and puzzles, (6) Projects and creative tasks, and (7) Sharing personal experiences, stories and anecdote telling. According to Willis and Willis (2007), this classification is based on the different cognitive processes involved in completing tasks. Similarly, based on the kind of cognitive activity involved in task completion, Prabhu (1987) classified activities in the classroom into three types: (1) information-gap activity involving a transfer of information from one person to another or one place to another; (2) reasoning-gap activity involving deriving new information from given information; and, (3) opinion-gap activity involving sharing a personal preference, feeling, or attitude. In the case of teaching te reo Māori, TBLT sheds light on two things, one is the “tensions between neotraditionalism and biculturalism as they play out in Aotearoa, New Zealand” (East, 2014, p.283). Secondly, TBLT lends further weight to the argument to support TBLT as “a potentially very powerful pedagogy” (Van den Branden, Bygate & Norris, 2009, p.1) and signals TBLT’s potential for the field of teaching te reo Māori as a minority and endangered language.

Strubell’s (1998) Catherine Wheel Model

As discussed earlier in the importance of Fishman’s RLS theory on the revitalisation of minority languages, Walsh and Macleod (2008) highlight that this theory is based on concepts such as diglossia and intergenerational transmission, which has been rejected by some sociolinguists as inappropriate

for analysing the position of many smaller minoritised languages (Romaine, 2006). In the case of Ireland and Scotland, the model is that of Catalan sociolinguist Miquel Strubell. It is highlighted by Walsh and Macleod (2008) that Strubell has “propounded several distinct versions of his ‘Catherine Wheel language planning model’ which is compacted to three factors: the individual as consumer (Strubell, 1996, 2001); the individual as worker (Strubell, 1998); and the individual as a social being (Strubell, 1998). The aim in this case for minoritised languages such as Irish and Gaelic is to create a link between “competence in a language, its social use, the presence and demand for products and services in and through the language, and the motivation to use and learn it, which in turn enhances competence in the form of a wheel” (Strubell, 1996, p.6; Wei, 2000, p.21).

Additionally, Carty (2014) states that for the Gaelic language in Scotland, there is an “implicit nod in the national plans towards Strubell’s (1998) Catherine Wheel model, which sees reversing language shift as a self-perpetuating cyclical process of language acquisition and use” (Carty, 2014, p.197). The model “proposes that intervention at any stage through the provision of minority language education, media and public services will set the Catherine Wheel in perpetual motion” (Carty, 2014, p.197). The wheel can function in forward and reverse motion, and each stage may influence all other stages. However, Strubell (1998) acknowledges multiple and repeated interventions are crucial, to prevent progress being “counteracted by opposing trends or forces” (p.165), which include the sociological, economic factors that may favour the use of the dominant language. Furthermore, Walsh and Macleod (2008) argue that the Irish and Gaelic languages in reference with the Catherine Wheel, may see all users of the minority language being bilingual, and the “provision of goods and services in that language will not necessarily lead to their uptake” (Walsh & Macleod, 2008, p.23).

The success of the Catherine Wheel in the context of the Irish and Gaelic languages, is its usefulness to “analyse the links between public service provision and language revitalisation, particularly as the expansion of public services through minoritised languages offering significant potential to shift public perceptions of the language in relation to its functional and economic utility” (Walsh & Macleod, 2008, p. 24), therefore leading to an increased consumption which prompts a greater awareness of the usefulness of the Irish and Gaelic languages and the motivation to learn, use and acquire it for the generations to come.

The Acculturation Model

It is defined by Fathi et al. (2018) that acculturation is “a cultural modification of individuals by adapting to another culture” (p.1). In other words, acculturation is the process of cultural and psychological changes that occur because of the interaction between immigrants and members of the host culture. The acculturation model suggested by White (2006) in the context of Native American languages, is having “psychological and social variables that determine the ability to gain competence in a second language” (p.96). The model has been applied to many different situations, where the subjects of the application have considered immigrants such as native speakers of Spanish in Los Angeles Japanese; students with/without prior exposure to English; instructed/uninstructed learners; and older/ younger learners with varying intended lengths of residence. The major tenet of the acculturation model suggests that acculturation to the target language group is a salient factor in determining the outcome in learning the target language.

In White's (2006) example, he draws on the Haida in Canada and Alaska and the Arizona Tewa Tribe and how two different types of acculturation variables incorporated between these two tribes and their languages are determined by the social variables of "dominance, subordination, assimilation, preservation, enclosure, cohesiveness, size, congruence, attitude, and intended length of residence" (White, 2006, p.97). The affective variables that are considered between these two tribes include "language shock, cultural shock, motivation and ego permeability" (White, 2006, p.97). In the outcome of these two tribes, the greatest factors that concerned language revival was motivation and attitude. White (2006) suggested that the uniqueness of the Native American situation is to pass the torch on to a model that is "culturally relevant and that provides a solid foundation to foster research". In the case of te reo Māori, the adaptation of the acculturation model can be seen through language choice and motivation.

Motivation to learn and to choose to use te reo Māori is different for each member of a family. It may also change for a member as they learn or as they grow older. Motivation is influenced from within a family and from outside the family: "Each of [the] ... participants will have different language practices, different beliefs about the values of the varieties that make up the sociolinguistic ecology of the community, and each may attempt to manage or influence the language practices and beliefs of others (Spolsky, 2012, p. 5). External influences are also included which are religious domains, health, education, neighbourhood and workplaces (Noori, 2013; Spolsky, 2012). As children grow towards and through adolescence, external influences have greater effect on their choices and beliefs about language (Muller, 2016).

In addition, family members' critical awareness about Te reo Māori and its revitalisation is also a significant influence on their motivation to learn and use a heritage language, and on their choice of language at a given time. Adults who are critically aware about language, and who make conscious decisions about which language to use in the whānau can be major influences in the language choices of the children in the family (Hond, 2013; Muller, 2016). However, even the youngest members of a whānau exercise agency over which language(s) they choose to use (Hunia, 2016). The Te Ahu o te Reo study (Hutchings et al., 2017) indicated that young children positively influence family members' use of te reo Māori. Other influences that have a positive effect on adults and older children choosing to use a heritage language include when the topic or kaupapa is culturally connected to the language; when people want to have a private conversation; and when people have an established reo Māori relationship with a person they are speaking with (Hutchings et al., 2017; Olsen-Reeder, 2017). Hunia (2016) found that language choice by very young children is influenced by multiple factors in a child's environment, including that the more te reo Māori is used by multiple people around a child, and (in particular) used to a child, the more likely the child is to choose to use it, and thus to become a first language speaker of te reo Māori.

Models of community language learning as effective with adults, young people and in the digital space

Introduction

Models of community language learning These initiatives have been identified as being most effective with adults, young people and in the digital space in addressing language revitalisation through new technologies, media (Social and Indigenous), building language communities and the introduction of 'new speakers', and language immersion education. These factors will be highlighted in the following sections.

New Technologies and media

New technologies have become an ever more prominent domain for the promotion of endangered languages worldwide. The literature alluded to the fact that languages that are under threat must have a strong presence in digital spaces. Bögre Udell for example who co-founded 'Wikitungues', an online network of language proponents from more than 70 countries, has created the website, 'Rising Voices', which offers microgrants, mentoring, and networking opportunities, with language-learning apps and a mobile-friendly 'Talking Dictionary' app by the Living Tongues Institute for Endangered Languages helping communities create and access language resources online. In Nigeria, *Owé* still has a large speaker base, but young people have only partial fluency, and the dialect is fading from usage in daily life. In order to counteract this, *Owé* speakers started a Facebook group where learners discuss words, proverbs, and idioms, plus ask questions and address social issues. Therefore, the internet can serve as connective tissue that links speakers together over vast distances.

In Cornwall, the new generation of *Cornish* speakers were able to find one another online and leveraged the digital spaces in order to speak on a daily basis. There are plenty of opportunities to find a platform on the internet, however, not every language has succeeded to do so. Under the term 'media' it is assumed that people identify media with newspapers, radio and television and so these domains are usually less universally accessible because they have to have some financial backing or wealth in order for minority languages to appear routinely (Crystal, 2000). On the internet however, everyone is equal. Social media, for example offers a range of possibilities for active engagement by those that use it, who then becomes both a consumer and a producer of content (Roy, 2018; Koole & Lewis, 2018; Smith, Giaccon & McLean, 2018). Examples of this is through prominent social media platforms such as Instagram, Facebook, and Twitter which can all be used in creative ways of learning languages. Users of these platforms create communities of speakers, schedule meetings, or carry out marketing initiatives related to their language. This is evident in what Cru (2015) describes as bilingual youth using the *Yucatec Maya* language in the Yucatan Peninsula, through Facebook as a "commitment to using Maya in social media as a conscious strategy of revitalisation" (p.286). These social media platforms allow people to use the names they prefer. Often these names are translated to the local language or written with the spelling of the language which may even be their native language. This can be seen as an approach that is able to spread and popularise a language with its use through different language learning apps, all of which have become increasingly popular in recent years. In contrast, in the context of the Yuwaaalaraay and Yuwaaalayaay languages of the Aboriginal Gamilaraay in Australia, Smith et al., (2018) draws on the relevance of Facebook for the revitalisation of these languages in that "a community development approach through the use of Facebook is a

long-term community development project which should not be presented as a quick fix” (Donovan, 2003, p.429).

New technologies, but more-so a focus on media and Indigenous media is demonstrated by Buszard-Welcher (2001), who explored the emerging use of the Internet by Native American language communities. By doing so, his finding revealed there has been growing research with various strands based on the possibilities of new technologies for the revitalisation and, especially, documentation of minoritised languages. These languages are increasingly present on the web which is a phenomenon that has gained attention for the potential benefits in language maintenance and revitalisation, particularly among youth (Moriarty 2011). Furthermore, Cru (2015) highlights that social networking sites have become a key domain that generates a myriad of linguistic uses, all of which are underpinned by language ideologies that are worth exploring in their own right. While there is still a dearth of research on this specific area, particularly in regards to the Indigenous languages of Latin America, recent contributions on European minority languages such as Welsh (Cunliffe, Morris, and Prys 2013; Johnson, 2013), Luxembourgish (Wagner, 2013), and Frisian (Jongbloed-Faber, 2014) are helping to fill that gap.

In addition, media has also been effective for the revitalisation of minority languages. Moriarty (2009) suggests that minority language media can be considered to be an important element in the revitalisation and survival of minority languages. As a visible and widely used part of contemporary life, media are seen to have potential to expand domains of small languages, to increase awareness of them and to enhance means and motivation to use these languages (Hinton & Hale 2001; Kelly-Holmes et al., 2009). The current media landscape in Aotearoa, New Zealand provides ample opportunities for language learning through television, radio and online resources. In addition to radio, television is helping languages stay relevant by having a daily presence in the lives of speakers near and far. In Wales, a dedicated Welsh language television channel broadcasts hit dramas to the region’s 874,700 speakers. Peru has TV programs dedicated to the Quechua, Asháninka, and Aymara languages. In some places, such as Latin America, launching such community-based approaches can be an uphill battle. For example, a passage in Mexico’s Federal Telecommunications and Broadcasting Law stated that all Mexican mass media channels should be broadcast in Spanish, the national language. In 2016, Mexico’s Supreme Court found that passage to be unconstitutional, ruling in favour of representing the country’s linguistic diversity in Mexican media.

The rise in the availability of media in minority languages has been beneficial for a number of reasons. The most obvious being that the existence of media in minority languages allows people to read newspapers, listen to the news and watch television in these languages, hence aiding the supply of a linguistic environment outside of the more traditional domains such as the educational system. As Cormack (2003) states that minority language media can be identified as contributing to language maintenance and preservation, visibility and domain expansion, while also fulfilling what can be regarded as a basic human right of equal access to public discourse, thus, realising an important symbolic function for speakers of a given minority language. There is a common-sense notion that media in minority languages are of paramount importance if the aims of any revitalisation effort are to be realised (Cormack 2004; Cormack & Hourigan 2007; Riggins 1992; Nickson, 2009).

In addition, de Bruin and Mane (2016), draw on the effectiveness of Māori media as a pathway to the learning of te reo Māori as well as aiming to increase fluency in the language. International research for the impact of Indigenous media is argued by Forde, Foxwell and Meadows (2009) as relying on the analyses of production contexts and programming, rather than on the “the audience research methods” (de Bruin & Mane, 2016, p.772). In this context, te reo Māori and the effects of Indigenous media on the language have seen a lack of resources and access to mainstream communication which is usually around grassroots action. The Māori language movements have been characterised by historical protests and campaigning, with one of the central aims being the establishment of Māori media. The protest action which has led to the establishment of Māori broadcast media (first radio and then television) has been documented in considerable detail by other authors (Beatson 1996; Harris 2004; Higgins & Rewi 2014; Waitangi Tribunal 2010). Radio station Tautoko FM, occupies a prominent position in the history of Māori-language radio, having been established in 1988 as one of the first Māori radio stations in Aotearoa, New Zealand. In providing at least eight hours of Māori-language content a day, Tautoko FM played a vital role in supporting listeners who were committed to speaking te reo Māori. As outlined above, language learning through media is not a straightforward process, however the contemporary media landscape in Aotearoa, New Zealand has provided opportunities for the learning of te reo Māori through media outlets such as television, radio and online resources.

Building language communities

Building language communities allows for speakers or people to have a sense of belonging. Krol (2020) suggests that language revitalisation strengthens not only a community's sense of identity, but often help a community and the people within it by creating a new identity or helping them renew their original identity. Many minority language communities are located in a country or geographic region where the majority speaks another language. Sometimes, these people do not identify as a part of the minority because they are afraid or have bad memories; but at the same time, they do not feel like a part of the majority either. Giving back their language can help them feel they have a place they can call home where they do not have to wonder who they are or question their sense of belonging. Similarly, building language communities are able to give people the decision to give their language a new life. Many deals with personal concerns, but they equally deal with the wellness of their community. Grenoble (2020) highlights that people often start the revitalisation process because of the past; but in doing so, they influence not only the present but also the future of the community. Revitalisation brings speech communities together, as community members meet each other in lessons, language nests, or other related activities. They get to know new people or get to know others in their community better. In this way, the benefits of language revitalization go far beyond the mere development of linguistic skills. Many communities find passionate leaders who represent them in academic or political circles, often “helping to promote the language or conduct deeper research into the language” (Grenoble, 2020, p. 11).

Motivations for language revitalisation are increasingly being cast within a broader context of community wellbeing. Grenoble and Whaley (2020) argue that it is useful to envision language as a means of cultivating community wellbeing. They offer six primary reasons as to why people want to revitalise their language: to connect with ancestors, the past and cultural heritage; as a form of healing; building community; creating knowledge and culture; having a sense of well-being and cognitive benefits. In hindsight, this draws on the common observation that language shift often is

experienced by individuals as a loss of part of themselves and as an impoverishment to their communities. Language revitalisation, therefore, is a mechanism by which to improve community health. In order to present the case for conceptualising language in this way, it is also necessary to sketch out a model for how language use is dynamically embedded in community life. Whalen et al. (2016) argue that the language programmes in Native American communities hold the promise of improving the mental and physical health of those who participate in them.

In light of this, Satava (2019), Fhlannchadha and Hickey (2018) draw on creating a community of 'new speakers'. A 'new speaker' is a relatively recent term in minority language research, particularly in the context of language revitalisation. O'Rourke and Walsh (2015) define a new speaker as an individual who acquired their language in a context other than the home, such as through immersion or other bilingual education, or as an adult, and who now uses the language with "fluency, regularity and commitment" (p.64; O'Rourke et al., 2015). The generation of new speakers tends to be viewed as a successful outcome of revitalisation policies, but O'Rourke et al., (2015) argues that there may be tension that can arise between new speakers and native speakers, due to differences in their understanding of issues such as legitimacy, authority and authenticity, that in hindsight may dictate the choices of language use.

Language immersion education

Education is defined as being "universally recognised not only as a powerful instrument of change, but also as a vital site for social and linguistic reproduction, and the inculcation of relevant knowledge, skills and attitudes" (Kennedy, 1983, p.iii). Language communities are turning to schooling as this is where education can "produce a handful of dedicated and well-trained teachers using only the minority group language in the classroom which can produce scores of new minority language speakers over a period of several years" (Dorian, 2004, p.455). Examples of this is through the revitalisation of the Inari Sami language in the late 1990s, as it began with the introduction of a language nest. Te reo Māori was also a part of the movement of Māori-medium schools in which Te Kōhanga Reo was established as a grass roots movement in the 1980s, as there had been growing concerns among Māori that their language was endangered, in particular, because too few young people were fluent speakers.

Furthermore, Morcom & Roy (2019) expressed that "immersion programs for languages such as Navajo, Hualapa, Keres Pueblo, Arapaho, Mohawk, Cayuga, Iktitut, and others have generally demonstrated positive outcomes for Aboriginal language acquisition and transmission (Watahomigie & McCarty 1994; Wright & Taylor 1995; Greymorning 1995; DeJong 1998; Agbo 2001; Demmert 2001; Winnifred, Kelley-Holmes & Taylor 2001; Bougie, Wright, & Taylor 2003; McCarty 2003; Grenoble & Whaley, 2006; Ball 2007; Lockard & de Groat 2010; Usborne et al. 2011; Battiste 2013; Morcom 2013; Singh & Reyhner 2013; Morcom 2014). In light of this, findings are discussed by Kamwangamalu (2008), who shares the perspective of revitalising the Indigenous languages through schooling in Africa. Kamwangamalu (2008) offers some insight that language immersion education or mother tongue education can be a catalyst for Indigenous languages. Examples are drawn from Western societies and some Asian and Arab countries, that mother-tongue education is the norm rather than the exception (Kamwangamalu, 2008). Skutnabb-Kangas (2000) also points out, that all over the world the majority of dominant-linguistic group children are educated through the medium of their own (dominant) languages.

The comparisons of mother-tongue education in Africa and mother-tongue education in Western societies and some Asian countries is that "the latter is an education that is enabling rather than disabling, empowering rather than disempowering" (Kamwangamalu, 2008, p.141). The benefits of this is it ensures social mobility, allows for access to employment and to economic resources, and facilitates participation in the social and political development of the state. Furthermore, Benson (2004), states that there is widespread evidence of the importance of mother-tongue based schooling that produces educational quality. In light of this, in order for language immersion education to attain its maximum potential it must be integrated into an educational philosophy that goes beyond just the discipline of applied linguistics. It is argued that students must be allowed the opportunity to communicate powerfully in the target language if they are going to integrate their language and cognitive development with their growing personal identities. This is a challenge that educators are only beginning to address in immersion and bilingual programs around the world but it is in these programs that there is the most potential for truly preparing citizens who can make highly significant contributions to their own and our global societies. However, in order for this to happen, immersion educators must explicitly locate their pedagogy and educational vision in the realm of global education and ensure that language policies operating in the school are consistent with this philosophy of global education.

Where to from here? The case of Pacific languages in Aotearoa New Zealand and the efforts for language revival

Introduction

Around the world, Indigenous languages are experiencing language revivals. More and more children are being raised as native speakers in order to maintain minority languages. Examples of this are through native speakers of Euskara in Spain, te reo Māori in New Zealand (Albury, 2018; King, 2009) and Quechua in Peru and Bolivia. Therefore, it is a pivotal time for language revitalisation, as more than half the world's languages are in danger of being dominated by the prominent languages within this century. November, 2019 saw the United Nations name 2019 as the International Year of Indigenous languages. In addition, the United Nations also approved a draft resolution that declared the year 2022 - 2032 the International Decade of Indigenous Languages. Pacific languages here in Aotearoa New Zealand continue to show a decline in speakers as the population of Pacific people increases. As reflected in Statistics New Zealand (2018) the current population of Pacific people is 381,642, with only 37.8% of this number speaking two or more languages.

A paper written by Komiti Pasifika (2010) as a result of the demise of “Pacific Islands languages among [the] Pasifika population in New Zealand” (p.1), an issue raised at the Auckland/Counties Manukau Pacific Island Teachers Seminar in 2008 and the PPTA Pasifika ‘Niu Generation’ Conference in 2009 draws upon the strategies that would be effective for language revitalisation of Pacific Island languages. The approaches and factors identified in this review, can be applied to the development of Pacific language strategies to address Pacific Island languages here in Aotearoa New Zealand. These are outlined by the themes below.

Pacific Languages, new technologies and media

New technology and media have become an important tool for language revitalisation. Pacific languages and the language revitalisation efforts through new technologies and media have become influential through radio and social media platforms such as Facebook, Instagram and Tiktok. As new technologies are a relatively new concept through social media platforms, the use of these platforms for the revitalisation of Pacific languages can be seen through Pacific songs that play as background music on Tiktok videos, and the different Pacific communities that have created group pages on Facebook as a way of staying connected. This is due to the internet serving as a connective tissue that links speakers together over vast distances. Furthermore, media creates a successful approach for Indigenous language broadcasters, as well as artists, writers, commentators, and journalists who create content in Indigenous languages for radio, and other mass media. It also sets the stage for language revitalization efforts to gain more national recognition and opportunities for dissemination.

Daigneault (2019) highlights that thanks to radio's relatively low cost and ability to provide important local information, Indigenous radio stations are thriving around the world, including in countries with high language diversity, such as Canada. In Aotearoa New Zealand, the Pacific Media Network is a dedicated network that caters to broadcasting Pacific Island language shows daily through the frequencies of 531 PI and NiuFM which has continued to grow since its establishment nearly 27 years

ago. Daigneault (2019) states that radio is a great community resource for transmitting endangered and minority languages both through live radio and online tuning.

Building language communities within Pacific languages

Around the world, communities are creating cultural events such as traditional culinary workshops, nature walks, language retreats for adults, language camps for teens, language arts festivals, film screenings, and contests where newcomers and experts can connect with a particular language and cultural group. Countries such as Nigeria are dedicated to documenting and reviving Nigerian languages such as Olùkùmi and Owé (a dialect of Yorùbá). It is agreed upon that active community involvement in language revitalisation is a crucial component in long-term success. In the Olùkùmi communities, Olùkùmi names are now given to help young people connect to their roots. Conscious efforts are also made by the elders to ensure that the children speak the language.

For Pacific languages, building language communities through Pacific-led events such as the Polyfest and the Pasifika Festival as well as through churches, can be a crucial motivator for language revitalisation. The CASLE programme is ideal for Pacific languages as it requires total immersion through a M-A (Master- Apprentice) approach of young people learning alongside native speakers of the language (who are usually our elders) in order to revitalise our Pacific languages. Bolanle Arokoyo, a Nigerian linguist based at the University of Ilorin in Nigeria, draws on the fact that there is a problem with language erosion in her country as it is so complex. She notes that Nigeria has about 500 languages, most of which are affected by local and global languages, where the loss of a language translates into the loss of an entire system of knowledge, communication, and beliefs—hence the need for revitalizing Nigerian languages (Daigneault, 2019).

This is also true for Pacific in Aotearoa New Zealand, especially as the demographics are vastly becoming multicultural where there is a high level of linguistic diversity that will be a challenge in the coming years. The challenge being how will minority language communities especially Pacific languages, thrive if upcoming speakers gravitate toward using the dominant language instead of their own ancestral tongues?

Language immersion education: Will it work with Pacific Languages?

It is assumed that to keep languages alive, a robust and immersive environment needs to be created (Daigneault, 2019). The immersion method is exemplified by ‘language nests’ where toddlers and other beginners learn from fluent or semi-fluent elders on a regular basis. Language nests for Pacific languages vary between regions in Aotearoa, where full immersion centres are minimal or have become bilingual centres/units as a move for inclusiveness of other Pacific children. In the context of Aotearoa, one of the first language nests was started in 1982 by Māori elders who worried that their language, culture, and even pride was disappearing. The elders decided to teach children their native tongue through culturally relevant song and play, “like a bird looking after its chicks,” - hence the term “language nest.” This can also draw upon the CASLE Model and Strubells Catherine Wheel Model (1998) where transmission is filtered through intergenerationally.

Similar encounters of the Hawaiian language highlighted that in the 1970s, the Hawaiian language seemed poised for extinction. Only about 2,000 native speakers remained, and most were over the age of 60. A dedicated group of advocates for the language then launched immersion Hawaiian

language schools, a Hawaiian radio program, and an island-wide movement to resuscitate the Hawaiian language. Today more than 18,600 people speak Hawaiian as fluently as they speak English. The language nest model was so successful that it migrated to Hawai'i and then throughout the world. Language nests are typically physical spaces but can also be found online, such as the Cherokee version. Language nests and other community-based approaches encourage parents to embrace speaking their heritage language(s) at home; but to involve parents, programmes must be adaptable.

In this context of Pacific languages, the early to mid-1980s saw the first Pacific language nests emerge and their growth accelerated. Cook Islands Māori, Niuean, Tokelauan, Tongan, and Samoan language nests were established by women in each of the respective Pacific Island communities (Burgess, 1988; Morgan, 1995). Observing the consequences for tangata whenua (Indigenous people of Aotearoa New Zealand) of the loss of language and culture, and thereby identity and self-esteem, the Pacific communities acted to ensure not only educational success for their children (Mara, Foliaki and Coxon, 1994), but also the maintenance of their languages, cultures, and identity (Glasgow, 2010; Hunkin, 1988). In 1993, there were approximately 350 Pacific language nests established throughout Aotearoa, New Zealand (Ministry of Education, 1995). These groups were largely community funded with minimal playgroup funding from the government (Burgess, 1988). Mara et al. (1994) noted the irony that the most important development in Pacific islands education in the 1980s received considerable funding by an overseas trust, the Bernard Van Leer Foundation of the Netherlands. Growing concern for the Cook Islands, Niuean, and Tokelauan communities was expressed in the early 1990s (Mara, et al., 1994) particularly around language maintenance, which had become a significant concern along with cultural survival, given that the majority of all these island groups now lived in Aotearoa, New Zealand. However, in hindsight, even though Pacific immersion programmes have had successful outcomes in the past, they have required significant funding and resources to remain sustainable over time. People do not realise the cost of revitalising languages and what it would cost to run entire educational systems in these respective languages. To establish the institutions, to train the people, [and to] make sure the proper techniques are in place to write and read languages is a huge challenge. Evidence of this is especially true in regions where numerous Indigenous languages are spoken. Areas where one Indigenous language is predominant—such as Māori or Hawaiian—may have an advantage because they begin with a fairly large speaker base and can focus funding, teacher training, and resources on that language.

Findings and Recommendations

The findings from this literature review indicate from community approaches and community language models, that language revitalisation is best supported when:

- Immersion environments are provided for learners;
- Learning is connected to both language and culture;
- Learners acquire some language before beginning a mentor relationship;
- Learning takes place in informal domains;
- Learning is enjoyable and supported;
- Speaker networks are maintained after an initiative is completed;
- Committed individuals champion the language;
- Language communities can access support from experts such as elders, language planners, linguists and researchers;
- Expert support is given on a language community's own terms;
- Individuals are supported to become the experts for their own language communities; and
- Language communities share good practice with one another.

Furthermore, four themes featured prominently across the literature. These comprise the recommendations and direction for further consideration.

► Immersion - Learners have access to immersion environments

Hond (2013) recommends that language communities should actively construct and support immersion environments and ways for participants to maintain contact as a community outside the core activities or programmes of an organisation. This can be through schooling such as The Francization programme of the Francophone language that used different models in mainstream French schools to teach the language. The integration model was found to be successful by teachers as they enjoyed the teamwork that went into learning the Francophone language between peers. In a Pacific context, language immersion and bilingual ECE centres, bilingual units, language specific subjects in high school, and language in homes are becoming language revival spaces for what are considered as 'new speakers' of native languages.

► Expert support

Elders (native or fluent speakers) mentoring younger speakers is yet another common theme. The literature highlighted Strubell's Catherine Wheel model (1998) as part of an intergenerational transmission of the language as well as the CASLE model; as part of a Master-Apprentice approach that sees young people work side-by-side with elders to ensure language revitalisation is effective. Young people and youth groups are able to learn alongside speakers of the language that ensures the agency of speakers in informal contexts gain a contemporary perspective by trying to balance out the power relations between the two (Cru, 2015). As demonstrated in the Aanaar Saami language community, in order for students to learn about Aanaar Saami culture and strengthen their language skills, intensive training in Aanaar Saami before going out to speak with masters (often in their homes) was very useful, and provided opportunities for the participants to widen their vocabulary, improve their grasps on verbs and grammar, and their pronunciation (Olthius et al., 2013). Macleoid (2013) emphasises that the need to attract fluent speakers to become involved with language revitalisation

programmes is to; provide good language examples for learners, and to encourage those who are fluent to use their language, and supporting them to become the experts of their own language communities as well as helping committed individuals champion the language. Hond (2013) places emphasis on a te reo Māori language revitalisation context, arguing that a major focus should be on “older, more proficient speakers and younger members” (p.93) working together.

► Exchange of good practice

Language communities are able to share good practices with each other, such as the Acculturation model highlighted in the review as being effective in the Native American languages that have undergone the process of cultural and psychological changes that occur because of the interactions between immigrants and members of the host culture. Furthermore, the exchange of good practice can also be demonstrated in Easts (2014) Task-based Learning Teaching (TBLT) where specific tasks guided language teaching as a part of the language revitalisation effort. In regard to Pacific languages, this can be seen through Pacific events such as Polyfest and the Pasifika Festival, as well as Pacific Language weeks, where culture and language are showcased through various activities that utilise the language. In this instance, speaker networks are maintained after an initiative is completed.

It is highlighted by Daigneault (2019) that languages are a fundamental right and the cornerstone of humanity’s diverse cultural identity. Speaking a dominant language does not mean communities have to give up their right to maintain and promote their ancestral language locally and globally. With public support, funding, access to tools, and recognition, speakers of endangered and dormant languages can change the course of history and reclaim their ancestral tongues for many future generations to come.

► Use of media and new technologies

There is a common-sense notion that media and new technologies in minority and endangered languages are of paramount importance if the aims of any language revitalisation effort are to be fully realised. The literature shows that that languages under threat must have a strong presence in digital spaces. So every effort must be made to exploit these areas such as social media platforms, digital resources such as games, television channels, radio, books, newspapers, language learning apps including mobile responsive dictionaries, etc.

Conclusion

This literature review aimed to gain insight into successful language community models globally in an effort to adapt similar models for Pacific languages here in Aotearoa, New Zealand. The findings show that it is imperative that there are a variety of language revitalisation approaches implemented to support different types of learners. It is critical too that it is understood that learning takes place in informal, as well as formal domains. Finally, it is clear that successful approaches to language revitalisation that featured strongly were immersion, expert support, exchange of good practice and use of media and technologies.

For Pacific communities and their languages in Aotearoa, New Zealand, each community has its own unique context. Therefore, good practice in one language community may or may not be transferable or adaptable to another. For every Pacific community, a unique combination of approaches and practices are required to be developed in order for language plans to be carried out in both the

respective community and within families. Understanding the context and Pacific landscape in Aotearoa, New Zealand, the language abilities of its members, and the types of support available, will help communities develop a robust plan that sets their priorities, goals and choice of appropriate approaches and activities for a successful language revitalisation effort. In this instance, it is important that a variety of approaches are offered to cater for different learners and learning styles. Hinton, Huss, and Roche (2018) summarises this perfectly;

Success is not an endpoint but a process. It's more truthful to think of a program as "being successful" rather than "to have succeeded." Language revitalization is a multigenerational process, never reaching a final endpoint, but finding successes, little or big, as it goes. Small successes scaffold to meet new challenges and larger goals. The work is never done (p. 499).

Glossary

Aotearoa	- New Zealand
Kaupapa	- topic or cause
Kura	- Māori-medium school
Tangata whenua	- Indigenous Māori people of Aotearoa, New Zealand
Te Kōhanga Reo	- immersion Māori language pre-school
Te Reo Māori	- the Māori language
Tuakana/teina	- older sibling mentoring a younger sibling
Whānau	- family

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