SUCCESS IN MINORITY LANGUAGE REVIVAL PROGRAMMES: A CASE STUDY OF HAWAIIAN, IRISH AND KAURNA

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ABSTRACT

In this thesis I examine what we mean by success and how this relates to minority language revival programmes by examining three case studies: Hawaiian, Irish and Kaurna. From these case studies I distinguish different disourses of success as recognised by different stakeholders in the programmes. Each discourse has its own goals, which determine the criteria used to measure success. I recommend that ideally any evaluation of a language revival programme should not be limited to one discourse, but rather examine as many discourses as possible and be made relevant to the local situation. Furthermore, I propose that all of these discourses can be viewed within two overarching orientations: a Western orientation and an Indigenous orientation, which are determined by the values and motivations of the evaluator. Neither the discourses nor the orientations should be seen as fixed, but rather ever-changing, shifting and within each many positions can be taken by the subjects.

DECLARATION

This work contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in any university or other tertiary institution and, to the best of my knowledge and belief, contains no material previously published or written by another person, except where due reference has been made in the text.

I give consent to this copy of my thesis, when deposited in the University Library, being available for loan and photocopying.

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1. LOSS OF LINGUISTIC DIVERSITY

Australian Indigenous languages have been devastated over the past two hundred years due to:

- the forced removal of people from their community,
- the dormitory system (which imposed English as the language of communication amongst children of different language backgrounds),
- introduced diseases (such as small pox),
- massacres, and
- pressure to assimilate into the dominant society.

The languages still known are at varying levels of use and knowledge. This variation stems from the speakers' attitudes towards their own language and surrounding languages, the extent of social and geographic isolation from mainstream English, and the extent of social and geographic disruption in the community. Unlike migrant languages, once these languages are lost there are no speaker communities to draw upon overseas. Thus, the decisions and language policies created in Australia now are crucial to the survival of these languages.

To counteract this loss (see Appendix 5.1 for a discussion of the number of endangered languages), communities, governments and individuals in Australia and throughout the world have been devoting effort and money towards maintaining and reviving these languages, particularly over the past twenty years. This includes maintaining those languages which are still spoken 'right through,'[1] and trying to increase the use of other languages which are no longer used on a daily basis. Many minority communities (such as the Pascua Yaqui Tribe in Mexico [Trujillo 1997]) have begun to take control of their children's education to focus on local ways of maintaining their languages. Thus, for many years, the issue of which methods can successfully be adapted and transferred to other communities and languages has been at the centre of linguistic debate. Furthermore, several linguists have drawn up the minimum requirements for a successful language revival (Amery 2000a, pp.248-51; Crystal 2000, pp.130-141; Muir 1983, 1984; Stiles 1997), the minimum cost of reviving a language (Crystal 2000, p.95) and thresholds for language maintenance (Grin 1992, 1993; Allard and Landry1992; Landry and Allard 1992).

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[1] That is to say languages with little grammatical levelling, a full range of registers and styles still known and still being learnt by children.

There is another issue at the heart of this though; in order to evaluate a programme's success we must understand how this success is measured. This is an issue which is not only relevant for communities wanting to imitate other successes, but also for the accountability of such projects back to the community and to funding bodies. Chapter two looks at three case studies to determine how the extent of their success can be useful in determining the success of Indigenous Australian language programmes. Chapter three discerns the discourses inherent in the assessment of these programmes to determine the most appropriate evaluation of success.

In this chapter I will: (i) look at the different language programmes currently recognised in Australia, then (ii) discuss why the idea of success is such an inherently culturally loaded concept, and finally (iii) compare some of the current theories surrounding language revival.

1.1 Types of language programmes in Australia

Due to differences in the amount of language retained in the community or documented and the extent to which the language is used in the community, the Australian educational system recognises different types of language revival programmes. The terms in Table 1 are used to describe the different language programmes being undertaken in Australia at present in accordance with the Australian Indigenous Languages Framework (for discussion see Mercurio and Amery 1996).

All of these types of programmes have processes, methods and motivations in common. Moreover, they all must be both restorative, looking back at how the language was, and transformational, looking at the future potential of the language (Crystal 2000, p.116; Nettle and Romaine 2000, p.173). Without this two-sided perspective, languages may be divorced from the speakers' reality, for either older generations who remember (differing amounts of) the language, or younger generations. It is possible for a language to undertake several processes at once, such as Narrunga, which is currently in the process of Language Reclamation and Language Awareness (Guy Tunstill pers.comm., 24 June 2003).

Programme		Speakers	Aim
Language Maintenance Eg: Pitjantjatjara		First-language speakers in all generations, though speaker numbers and language varieties are declining	To keep the language strong and vibrant, including first- and second-language programmes
Language Revival	Language Revitalisation Eg: Adnyamathanha	Speakers are limited to older generations	To re-establish the intergenerational link
	Language Renewal Eg: Ngarrindjeri	No native speakers – language partially known in the community	To build on the language known, and create awareness of the language and culture
	Language Reclamation Eg: Kaurna	No native speakers and little language retained in community, though considerable documentation	To re-establish the language as a spoken language, based on documentation
Language Awareness Eg: Wirangu (also undergoing Reclamation)		Little of the language is known or recorded	To create appreciation and pride of the language and culture

Table 1: Language Programme types in Australia (adapted from McKay 1996, p.19; examples from Guy Tunstill, pers.comm., 24 June 2003).

1.2 What do we mean by success?

Success is a Western concept based on competition and "survival of the fittest." It implies that one person or organization will win over others. This begs the question, how does such a concept as this then fit into a process of maintaining linguistic heterogeneity?

One example of such a paradox is that of Warlpiri, spoken in central Australia, which is a successful and viable Indigenous language to the extent that it is used as a lingua franca in the region among several communities, transmitted intergenerationally and is in daily use (Schmidt 1990, p.4). However, this success has come at the detriment of other languages, which have been given up in favour of wider communication in a more prestigious language (Bobaljik, Pensalfini et al. 1996, p.13; Mühlhäusler 2003, p.235). As Lo Bianco & Rhydwen (2001) comment:

> "(t)hat an Aboriginal language is healthy and being transmitted intergenerationally is a cause for celebration in the face of the dominance

> of English. Yet if the vitality of the language is at the expense of other local languages, the celebration is also a wake"(p.399).

This has been common when languages are chosen for bible translations or missionary linguae francae over the past two centuries, and is currently a potential problem for languages being taught in schools or promoted in urban districts (Mudrooroo 1995, p.62). Moreover, when linguists give names and classifications to languages and dialects, they run the risk of promoting some languages and making others invisible (Mühlhäusler 2000, p.329).

The second problem with the concept of success relates to the way it is measured. Basically, success can only be measured by indicators, and these may shift over time. Thus, a programme that initially appears fruitless may in hindsight be considered successful (Fishman 1993, p.341; see section 1.4 for a discussion of some current linguistic paradigms). Furthermore, these indicators are not likely to be maintained indefinitely.

Moreover, once a course of action has commenced, it is difficult to know the fate of the language if that action had not been undertaken. Nettle and Romaine argue that the revival of the Irish language cannot be considered a failure as it would probably be in a more dire position without the language planning that has taken place (Nettle and Romaine 2000, p.189). However, Fishman (2001) and Schmidt (1990, p.88) also warn of the danger of accepting token results, where anything is better than nothing, rather than setting up an effective language plan.

Finally, one must consider the person or agency deciding upon the criteria. Many programmes have fallen through due to a lack of common goals (Jolly 1995). Clearly the community, the funding body, a linguist and the government would have different aims, and even ulterior motives, in becoming involved in such a project. To what extent their own expectations or goals are fulfilled after a certain period of time will influence their view of the programme's success. Thus Jolly poses the question, "what is to count as success?" (1995, p.20). Rigsby sums up the opinion of many linguists in writing "To my knowledge, no language revival programmes in either Australia or North America have been successful, and perhaps in the future, scarce human and other resources should not be spent on them" (quoted in Jolly 1995, p.2). Whilst I will not discuss the importance and value of reviving languages no longer spoken on a daily basis (see Crystal 2000; Dorian 1987; Jolly 1995; Nettle and

Romaine 2000; Thieberger 1990), it is important to recognise that each stakeholder in a language programme will have different expectations.

1.3 What are we saving?

1.3.1 Challenging the traditional view of language communities

Within this thesis, *community* will refer to the collective custodians of the language (which is determined in itself by the person being a descendant of native speakers and identifying with that language), who choose to make decisions about or be involved with the language.

The label *community* does not presuppose a homogenous group, but rather a heterogeneity of world views and of linguistic codes (Mudrooroo 1995, p.76). Though we use language as "a classification of our experience of the world" (Lee 1992, p.1), many other factors influence one's opinions. Within a single 'community,' disputes may arise about: who should have access to the language, whether it should be taught in schools, and if so how much, who should teach the language, how new vocabulary will be formed, whether to create a standard or an orthography, and which form of the language should be promoted. There cannot be a simple way to resolve these issues, and censoring other opinions may lead to division within the community. The decision not to revive or maintain the language should be taken as seriously as the decision to be actively involved.

Within the Indigenous Australian context, individuals are frequently multilingual and do not necessarily live in the area their language is connected to. Many traditional communities have been dispersed over the last two centuries through the forced removal of people from their families, or through people moving to different areas. However, this does not automatically indicate they are not involved with the language revival (Bell 2002, p.46). Furthermore, language boundaries do not always coincide with other boundaries of identification such as kinship, totem, social networks, religious beliefs or cultural practices (Henderson 2002, p.4; Sutton and Rigsby 1979, p.717-20). Thus, we need to recognise that individuals may belong to and be active within several speech communities and language projects at one time.

1.3.2 Looking beyond the purely linguistic issues

Realistically, in many communities language is only one of many issues needing urgent attention, such as issues concerning their social structure, socio-economic situation or the surrounding environment (Bell 2002, p.44; Nettle and Romaine 2000). These may act as barriers to performing the linguistic work, or may work in conjunction with language programmes, where the linguistic objectives can be fulfilled through solving the extra-linguistic problem. An example in the Australian context may concern land rights claims, where knowledge of the language is considered a strong indication of an unbroken connection to a particular land area (Henderson and Nash 2002; Lo Bianco and Rhydwen 2001, p.400). Furthermore, the psychological issues embedded within the process of language loss may require overcoming grief, depression, and guilt (Grenoble and Whaley 1996, p.219).

Ideally, as Nettle and Romaine suggest, when looking at language maintenance programmes, we need to identify the problem at the heart of why the language shift occurred (Nettle and Romaine 2000, p.153). By counteracting the interconnected linguistic and extra-linguistic issues, the language maintenance programme will be more likely to achieve long-term success.

1.4 Contemporary theories

As Crystal observes, it can often be difficult to accurately determine the rate at which a disappearing language is dying out (2000, p.4). Thus, it follows that to evaluate the outcomes of language revival programmes can be equally problematic. Indeed, often it is difficult to distinguish between the processes of language revival and language death in the short term (as is the case with Māori in New Zealand), as a language may be undergoing a series of processes simultaneously, such as speaker loss, loss of registers, language levelling, creolization, decreolization, language shift or language spread (Kaplan and Baldauf 1997, pp.289-90). This is also linked to a lack of theoretical principles to distinguish between natural language change and structural disintegration (Schmidt 1990, p.125; Bobaljik, Pensalfini et al. 1996, p.13; Crystal 2000, p.23; de Vries 1992).

Furthermore, as Crystal notes, the available surveys on language death are too recent to predict long-term trends (2000, p.14), which is also the case with measuring language revival. As Dorian comments, "currently we understand the motivating

factors in language shift far better than we understand the psychosocial underpinnings of long-sustained language maintenance"(1998, p.17). In order to arrive at this understanding, she suggests we need to not only understand the "staying power" of the minority language, but also the "tolerance" for the minority language by the mono-lingual speakers of the dominant language (Dorian 1998, p.17). The following theories attempt to resolve the problem of recognising the stages of language loss and revival.

1.4.1 Reversing Language Shift

In Fishman's theory of Reversing Language Shift (RLS) (1991; revised 2001) he introduces the Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (GIDS), which consists of eight stages of language loss: stages 8-5 indicating how to reach a stable diglossia, and stages 4-1 aiming for equal status with the competing language. Each level is based on the domains in which the language is used. Of these stages, Fishman stresses stage 6 is the most vital, where family, home, neighbourhood and community are the focus and "the attainment of intergenerational informal oracy and its demographic concentration and institutional reinforcement" (1991, p.92) is the aim. He suggests all later stages (that is stages 5-1) should link back to this stage. Furthermore, he emphasises it is essential to plan each stage of RLS in connection with the others, so that initiatives build on others, supporting and reinforcing previous and later stages. In his re-evaluation of the theory (2001), he suggests that stage 6 could be broken down further into sub-levels (p.470). This is a useful system for recognising potential language domains and also for recognising how close languages may be to extinction.

However, there are many drawbacks to this theory without modification in the Australian Indigenous context, which are particularly highlighted in Lo Bianco & Rhydwen (2001). Australian Indigenous languages traditionally presented a complex system of communication, in which many small language communities existed in relative stability. In the contemporary context, it would be a mistake to oversimplify the language choices many Aboriginal communities face. In one community alone an individual may have choices between:

- Standard Australian English
- Aboriginal English
- Kriol

- a koiné
- a dominant Aboriginal language used in the area as a lingua franca,
- one or more heritage languages, each of which may be in different states of health and revival
- an ancestral community language, such as German
- a foreign, international language

Therefore, the number of competing languages within one community of speakers may be considerable, which Fishman's theory does not accommodate.

Furthermore, many of the higher stages in Fishman's model (stages 2 and 1, which involve government and higher educational domains among others) have never been undertaken in any Australian languages, other than in their traditional society (Lo Bianco and Rhydwen 2001, p.393). Thus, all Australian Indigenous languages would be at the highest on a stage 6 of this scale, with no hope of getting much higher (Lo Bianco and Rhydwen 2001, p.391), which gives an unnecessarily pessimistic picture of the situation, and furthermore, gives unrealistically high goals to aim for.

1.4.2 Five stages of language attrition

Dixon and Schmidt have each designed five-level systems, where stage 1 is first language knowledge by the whole community and stage 5 is complete language loss. Rather than dissecting the particularities of when and how the language is used (the domains), they focus on who uses the language within a community and to what extent (the individual speaker's use) (Dixon 1989, p.28-29; Schmidt 1990, p.123). For example, they encourage speakers to consider which language they think in, communicate in and how much of the language is retained within the community. In this way they show the process of gradual language loss, with each generation knowing and using less. Due to the different focal point from Fishman's system, this is probably a more useful way to classify Australian Indigenous languages, as the language domains and functions have necessarily shifted so much since European invasion, many traditional domains are no longer relevant, and many new domains have been created.

The drawback to this model is the emphasis on language attrition, rather than revival, making the classification more useful to linguists than communities. Moreover, Dixon's approach is narrow in his discussion of these levels. Dixon states

that "(l)ooking at the matter realistically, languages at stages 4 and 5 have no chance whatsoever of survival as a living, spoken tongue. They are just too far gone for there to be any known technique of linguistic resuscitation." Dixon's more traditional Western view of languages has been challenged by linguists who see language as being not purely for communication but for identity also (Jolly 1995; Amery 1993a, p.45). In relation to the Kaurna language programme, Amery says "I can't bring myself to view language as something that you either have or don't have like an on-off switch. There are all sorts of intermediate states" (Amery, letter to Dixon, 20 February 2001).

Schmidt, on the other hand, acknowledges that there is no single definition of success and that language projects aspire for different outcomes: from "full restoration of the language to a state of strong vitality" to "document[ing] what remains of the language and learn[ing] certain salient aspects of the language to use in everyday speech as symbols of Aboriginal identity" (Schmidt 1990, p.106). As a result, her proposal is much more adaptive to the different situations throughout Australia than Dixon's.

On his scale, Dixon estimates there are currently no Aboriginal languages at stage 1, approximately 25 at stage 2, approximately 45 at stage 3, approximately 45 at stage 4 and approximately 100 languages at stage 5 (Dixon 1991, p.238). Schmidt gives a rougher estimation of twenty languages at stages 1 and 2; 50 to 60 at stage 3; and 170 to 180 at stages 4 and 5 (Schmidt 1990, p.123).

1.4.3 Stable bilingualism

Crystal draws on the process of language loss to consider how this loss may be prevented through bilingualism (Crystal 2000, p.81). He bases his model on the three stages of gradual language loss in communities:

- Stage one: Monolingual speaker of language A lives in a community where language B is spoken
- Stage two: Offspring are bilingual in languages A and B
- Stage three: The Offspring of the bilingual speaker are monolingual speakers of language B

These stages do not necessarily represent a generation each; as Crystal observes, in different communities, the stages may be drawn out over varied periods of time, some being spread over many generations, and others taking place in only two.

Crystal's concept (2000) is to extend the second stage, to maintain bilingualism. He argues that the languages need not be in competition with one another, as they serve different purposes:

> "The dominant language is necessary because it provides people with a bridge between two worlds – an intelligibility bridge, without which their progress would be negligible. The dominated language, by contrast… is there for the opposite reason: to express the identity of the speakers as members of their community" (p. 80-81).

A similar concept is used by Nettle and Romaine. Like, Crystal, they appreciate the importance and inevitability of globalisation and economic growth in the world and, with this, the growth of international and national languages (Crystal 2000, p.81; Nettle and Romaine 2000, p.153). They do not aim at reversing this process. Rather, Nettle and Romaine, emphasise the economic development potential in using bilingual speakers as a resource for solving the world's problems by tapping into their traditional knowledge, particularly on a local scale, with groups managing their own land (Nettle and Romaine 2000, p.165). The shortcoming in this proposal is the likelihood of dominant groups and governments exploiting minority groups for their own economic gain.

Within Australia most Indigenous Australians have different extents of bilingualism or multilingualism already, whether they speak the languages right through, differing amounts of several languages or different varieties of English. In many cases, Aboriginal English or Kriol may serve as a buffer language between the Indigenous language and English (Mühlhäusler 2000, p.341).[2]

1.4.4 The ecological approach

Rather than looking at the issue of success in language maintenance in terms of "survival of the fittest" (see discussion in Dorian 1998), the metaphor of environment and ecology has been adopted to explain the complexities of language use in communities. In such a metaphor several languages are understood to coexist

[2] The bilingual model has not been undisputed, as some linguists feel many languages are already being lost in the face of bilingualism, and the creation of separated monolingual communities is the only way in which their language can now survive (Carnie, 1996; Slomanson, 1996). Within Australia the creation of monolingual Indigenous communities is not very likely though, particularly in light of the government's promotion of English literacy and lack of support for non-English services and resources. Dalby (2002) takes a historical approach, looking at the long-term maintenance of bilingualism and concludes "Bilingualism lasts as long as people find it useful …and not a single generation longer" (p.280).

and interact within a social setting, and as such can be influenced by many natural and extra-linguistic factors. Thus, a stable language ecology depends upon the functional, structured and self-regulating diversity of languages rather than the current global trend towards standardisation, and particularly focuses on the importance of "the quality of meaningful interrelationships" between the languages (Mühlhäusler 2000, 310). The ecological perspective stresses that each language situation and ecology is different, and that there cannot be a single solution for all language programmes,[3] nor is there any "quick-fix" that will be successful in the long-term (Mühlhäusler 2000, p.311).

Most importantly for our discussion here is the ecological view that success cannot be viewed in terms of a single language, but rather must be viewed in light of the language ecology. In order to be successful, an ecology must be "self-organising and self-perpetuating," not constantly managed and controlled (Mühlhäusler 2000, p.310). Within the traditional Australian context, speaker numbers were never very large, and yet the equilibrium of the language ecology meant languages, though "never static" (Dixon 1997, p.58), could be passed down to future generations without any language gaining too much prestige over others, and each group maintaining a relatively stable population size (Dixon 1997, p.68).

This model is of particular relevance in contemporary Australia due to the complexity of issues surrounding the determination of traditional "speech networks", the migration or forced removal of groups throughout Australia and the large number of languages within a community. Mühlhäusler cites a number of advantages for adopting such a model:

- the benefit of drawing on a number of perspectives in finding solutions to national or local problems (1996, p.15)
- the "personal fulfilment" stemming from using a language for group identification (1996, p.15)
- the self-esteem and academic benefits of bilingual education of children (1996, p.15)
- the self-regulating nature of a functioning ecology being more cost-effective than programmes that are constantly relying on external support (2000, p.334).

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[3] For example, Liddicoat discusses the impact of introducing a dictionary into Jersey Norman French, which resulted in the speakers believing they did not know their own language (2000). In another setting, a dictionary could be a productive way to record the language.

Indeed, this is an approach that has been adopted in the Australian Indigenous Languages Framework (AILF) in drawing up a secondary school curriculum in South Australia, with part of the syllabus looking at the language ecology surrounding the target language, in particular the other Australian Indigenous languages in the region (Mercurio and Amery 1996, p.41).

1.5 Where do we start?

Success in a language revival setting is often viewed in light of the original goals. Possibly the most important step in starting a language maintenance programme is to identify the range of motivations within the community and stakeholders and to set goals to comply with these. In particular, Edwards observes that the spokespeople within a community may have very different views from the less outspoken members of the community (Edwards 1984, p.294), and it is important for community leaders to listen to them before drawing up goals.

There must be a clear emphasis set on making these goals achievable, recognising the level of the language when the programme is put in place, and making the goals relative to that. Thus, a community may decide that making its language a first language in all domains is not realistic, or even desirable. Setting unachievable goals at the beginning may simply set the programme up for failure from the outset. Particularly for the languages which are in a highly threatened state, Jolly (1995, p.8) and Fishman (1991, p.12) stress the importance of setting smaller, short term and achievable goals, so that the participants can experience success at each level.

2. IN THE REAL WORLD: Case Studies

The ways in which languages are maintained varies greatly, depending on:

- other languages used in the community,
- the relationship between these languages,
- the extent and nature of language used in the community,
- the social relationships and geographic proximity of its speakers,
- the extent of recorded or documented language, and
- the outcomes the community hopes to achieve.

In other words, there cannot be a single formula for language revival.

However, one can learn from the experiences of other programmes. From the following case studies, Hawaiian, Irish and Kaurna, we can assess in what ways they have been successful and to what extent these criteria can be applied to other languages. The three case studies are comparable in that they are all led by people in similar financial positions, have the support of universities behind them and urban centres and are based within the education system.

The Hawaiian language revitalisation movement is considered successful by both those involved and outsiders. It is now being used as a model throughout the world for other communities to develop their own programmes.[4]

In contrast, the revitalisation of Irish is often represented as a failure. Slomanson notes: "If the central goal of the Irish revival has been to increase the extent of native linguistic competence in and daily use of the Irish language as a vernacular in Anglophone places in Ireland, then the movement has been extremely unsuccessful" (1996, p.121).

Finally Kaurna, the language of the Adelaide Plains, is at stage 5[5] on Dixon's scale (1989, p.29), and not represented on Fishman's (1991, p.88-107). The language as a complete system has not been used on a daily basis since the late 19th century, and though small amounts of the language were retained within the community, until recently they were not recognised as Kaurna (Amery 1993a, p.41). The progress made over the past ten years is remarkable, considering the minimal

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[4] The Hawaiian language revival has also had a lot of involvement with other Indigenous language groups, including exchanges, support in printing, curriculum and lexical development and legal support (Wilson 1998, p. 133).

[5] "Everyone in the community speaks, and thinks, in English. There may be a few words from X still used but these are treated grammatically as if they were English words" (Dixon, 1989).

financial support received (Amery 1993a, 43), and it has already surpassed the hopes of many involved.

2.1 Hawaiian language revitalisation

2.1.1 Current situation

There are four groups of fluent Hawaiian speakers today, though almost no monolinguals: elders; people from the island of Ni'ihau, where the language is still spoken as a native language; second language speakers from the university; and their children, brought up as native speakers (Maka'ai, Kaleiokalani Shintani et al. 1998). However, in total there are currently fewer than 1000 "highly fluent native speakers" (Wilson 1998, p.125). In particular, the language of Niʻihau is endangered due to a population shift to another island, Kaua'i (Wilson 1998, p.124) (see Appendix 5.2.1 for maps). In linguistic terms, the language has been preserved through documentation, recordings and in everyday life on Niʻihau (see Appendix 5.3.1 for a background of the language situation). However, the speakers consider the language to be more than documents alone, as it is strongly attached to the culture, personal relationships and value system, collectively named *mauli* (Wilson and Kamanā 2001, p.161).

Today, Native Hawaiians make up the lowest employed and least educated ethnic group in the state (Niedzielski 1992, p.370). There are many social problems which have an impact on the success of the programmes, such as the way in which many young Hawaiians are turning to violence in frustration at their position in society (Niedzielski 1992, p.371). In trying to resolve language issues, problems of identity and social cohesion should be considered.

2.1.2 Language revival

The language revival programmes have been mostly centred in education, and there has been a conscious decision to "expand [these programmes] vertically rather than horizontally in order to not lose any children" (Rapono 1995, p.127), or in other words, increase the levels of the language, rather than increasing the number of speakers. Most revival programmes are run through the private non-profit organization *'Aha Pūnana Leo* Inc (*'APL),* which is made up of volunteers from the islands of Hawaiʻi, Maui, Oʻahu and Kauaʻi (Warner 2001, p.136). Most materials and programmes are provided and controlled by the *'APL*, including newspapers,

books, videos, radio programming, computer services and scholarships (Wilson and Kamanā 2001, p.150).

2.1.2.1 Pūnana Leo

Based on the New Zealand model, the *Pūnana Leo* (Nests of Voices – Hawaiian-medium preschools) were introduced to Hawai'i in 1983 (Wilson 1998, p.131). Children start by learning formulaic expressions to get them through the day, and gradually pick up the language from the teachers and other children (Wilson and Kamanā 2001, p.152). In 1999, there were eleven *Pūnana Leo* over five islands, with the demand for the programme far exceeding the supply (Warner 2001, p.137). Funding for this project initially came from tuition fees, donations and fundraisers, though since 1990 the programme has also received federal funding (Warner 2001, p.137).

The programme is particularly good at producing peer role-models (Warner 2001, p.138). Whilst it is not compulsory to be Hawaiian to be enrolled in *Pūnana Leo*, 90% of children are (Wilson 1998, p.125). The programme takes enrolments based on the family's commitment, which involves parents taking language classes, and providing in-service labour (Wilson 1998, p.132). A similar programme has been set up for babies and mothers *Hui Hi'i Pēpē* (Baby Embracing Clubs) (Wilson and Kamanā 2001, p.152).

2.1.2.2 Schools

All elementary schools are required to give students some exposure to the Hawaiian language and culture each week, though this is implemented to varying degrees (Warner 2001). The curriculum includes fieldtrips (Wilson and Kamanā 2001, p.162), projects (such as an Internet newspaper, *Ku'i Ka Lono*) (Ka'awa and Hawkins 1997, p.156), and visits from Hawaiian-speaking elders (Niedzielski 1992, p.378). Niedzielski commends that "the curriculum is so designed as to create in young Hawaiians positive feelings about themselves and Hawaiian history as well as to develop in them cross cultural tolerance rather than any form of violence or desire for revenge" (1992, p.379).

In 1987, a Hawaiian immersion programme, *Kula Kaiapuni*, was introduced in primary schools for Years K-1 (Warner 2001, p. 138). In 1992 approval was given to extend the programme as far as grade 12, with a new level starting each year

(Wilson 1998, p.133). Students are taught through Hawaiian, with English being introduced as a second language for an hour a day from Grade 5 (Wilson 1998, p.133). Most schools are based on a 'school within a school' model, offering an English and a Hawaiian stream (Warner 2001, p.140). Now there are also two schools that offer only Hawaiian-medium schooling (Warner 2001, p.140), jointly controlled by the *'APL* and the Department of Education (Wilson and Kamanā 2001, p.158). In these schools, Hawaiian is also used in staff meetings and parent assemblies (Wilson and Kamanā 2001, p.162). There are hopes to start a boarding school too (Wilson and Kamanā 2001, p.163). So far evaluations of the programmes have shown that the schools with stronger Hawaiian programmes have also achieved the strongest academic merits (Wilson and Kamanā 2001, p.156).

Ke Kula Ni'ihau O Kekaha is a Hawaiian-medium elementary school for children from Niʻihau, which has developed its own curriculum catering for native speakers (Wilson and Kamanā 2001, p.164). Here the informal language is well known, however parents perceive a need to teach the more formal language, recently developed neologisms and English (Wilson 1998, p.126).

2.1.2.3 University

The role of the university is fairly broad, including the training of teachers for the school programmes (*Kahuawaiola* – Professional Teaching Certificate Programme since 1999), evaluating the performance levels of students, producing materials, developing curriculum, developing vocabulary, providing in-service training, coordinating school and language programmes, and teaching future parents and community members (Rapono 1995, p.130; Ka'awa and Hawkins 1997, p.152). Furthermore, a Master of Arts degree and two Bachelor of Arts courses are offered at the University of Hawaiʻi, one about Hawaiian and the other through Hawaiian (Wilson & Kamanā 2001, p.171). Wilson & Kamanā suggest, though, that after twenty years these are due for reassessment (2001, p. 171).

2.1.2.4 Curriculum and material development

The *'APL* has two curriculum development offices, for printed and non-printed materials (Wilson and Kamanā 2001, p.152). Workshops are held two or three times a year to translate books, which are then available on stickers, to insert into the original book over the English text (Rapono 1995, p.130). Original

storybooks are also produced on computers, and an accompanying tape is provided so the texts can be used at home (Rapono 1995, p.129). Shell books[6] have been produced in conjunction with other Indigenous North American languages (Rapono 1995, p.129). Several videos have also been produced since 1990 for classroom use (Niedzielski 1992, p.379).

2.1.2.5 Websites and multimedia

Hawaiian is currently found in song lyrics, radio shows, television shows, newsletters, theatre plays, a student newspaper and computer networks (Wilson 1998, p.125).

In particular, the Internet is a strong component of the programmes in both the university courses (Ka'awa and Hawkins 1997) and schools (Niedzielski 1992, p.380). [7] The aims include documenting the language, increasing its status, giving speakers a purpose for writing, taking the language into new domains, distributing materials easily, and promoting computer literacy (Ka'awa and Hawkins 1997, pp.152-3). Those involved stress this is only one component of the daily use of the language in these programmes, (Ka'awa and Hawkins 1997, p.152), though a popular one, due to the anonymity the Internet provides (Warschauer 2000, p.161).[8] Furthermore, since 1994 there has been a graphic bulletin board system, *Leoki* (Powerful Voice), entirely in Hawaiian, which gives teachers and students access to chat rooms, conferences, email, announcements, dictionaries and a newspaper (Warschauer 2000, p.160). Such a system helps to pool the resources of the revival programmes.

The Hawai'i Interactive Television System (HITS) provides video and audio communication for long distance learning (Ka'awa and Hawkins 1997, p.153). This enables classes on different islands to have broader interaction with other classes, such as public school classes at *Kalani*, *Waiakea* and *Kailua* (Niedzielski

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[6] Shell books are also used in Australia, and basically involve a publishing company printing an illustrated book with a space for each language community to fill in the story translated into their own language. Whilst they are a good way to keep costs down, some people have raised issues about them, in particular relating to how relevant stories are when taken out of their original setting and whether this is another form of cultural imperialism (McKay 1996, p.155).

[7] Examples of websites include www2.hawaii.edu/hipll/, www.olelo.hawaii.edu/OP/APL/story, www.olelo.hawaii.edu; www.lll.hawaii.edu/web/haw201, www.lll.hawaii.edu/programs/haawina/na_manu

[8] There are several problems with such a project, in particular the high instances of stereotypes on the Internet, having to rely on English computers to write in Hawaiian and lack of control over the language on the Internet (Warschauer, 2000).

1992, p.380), and it allows more advanced classes to have a greater number of participants spread across several islands, such as the advanced class at the University (Ka'awa and Hawkins 1997, p.154).

2.1.2.6 Other initiatives

Other courses are run in night schools, church groups and family groups, attended by around 3000 people (Wilson 1998, p.125). Furthermore, involvement in hula dance schools (*Hālauhula*), canoe racing, art and church groups is also often linked to language learning (Wilson 1998, p.125). The *'APL* run business classes in Hawaiian, family language days, immersion camps and a community resources office (Wilson 1998, p.134). Local banks are now obliged to accept checks written in Hawaiian (Wilson 1998, p.134). The language has also been used through Hawaiian-medium immersion sports camps for children (Rapono 1995, p.128), and Hawaiian-medium sports teams (Warner 2001, p.141). Furthermore, an exchange programme runs annually for Years 5 and 6 students to live with a native Hawaiian-speaking family from Niʻihau (Rapono 1995, p.128).

2.1.3 Problems and limitations

2.1.3.1 Teacher training

Teacher training has been an ongoing problem throughout the programmes, though there have been substantial developments over the past twenty years. In particular, there is a discrepancy between the teaching requirements imposed by the Department of Education on teaching certificates and subject matter, and the requirements of the programme, namely fluency in the Hawaiian language and integration of the Hawaiian values in teaching methods (Wilson 1998, p.133). Since 1998 the University of Hawaiʻi in Mānoa has offered a teacher training programme specifically designed for these programmes (Warner 2001, p.141).

2.1.3.2 Institutional support

Wilson & Kamanā (2001, pp.154-57) note that the lack of support from the school principals and school inspectors, responsible for both the English and Hawaiian streams, has been a constant problem. Often they see the Hawaiian stream

as getting in the way of the school's overall performance, and encourage teachers to change programmes to fit mainstream values, including introducing more English.

2.1.3.3 Department of Education curriculum requirements

The Department of Education has imposed English curriculum requirements on the programmes many times, including English-only university entrance exams, compulsory subjects, teacher-student ratios, building requirements, and entry criteria for the programmes. These requirements often demand a financial commitment, and restrict the extent to which the programmes can serve the community (Warner 2001, p.136). Part of the Department of Education's involvement has led to the emphasis of programmes being on the non-Hawaiian speakers' integration into the programmes, rather than the academic needs of Hawaiian speakers (Wilson and Kamanā 2001, p.150).

2.1.3.4 Split within main organization

Warner (2001) and Wilson & Kamanā (2001) report recent disagreements within the *'APL*, which are based on the amount of community control over the programmes and the amount of English taught and when. This is particularly prevalent in the *Kula Ni'ihau O Kekaha* school. This split has weakened the programme in terms of student, parent and teacher numbers, and furthermore fed critics fuel for counterarguments against the programmes.

2.1.3.5 Too school focussed, limited domains

Despite the fact that Hawaiian is used throughout the day at school, Warner suggests there is evidence this use is restricted only to academic pursuits, and even within the families who have brought their children up speaking only Hawaiian, there is a tendency to use English in social and peer interactions: "It is unlikely that Hawaiian can survive if children shift to English or HCE [Hawaiian Creole English] (Pidgin) every time they want to talk about sports, music and MTV, or comic-book heroes, to badmouth someone, or to leave the school grounds" (2001, p.142).

2.1.3.6 Transportation

Enrolments are based on family commitment to the programmes, rather than a geographic centre (Wilson and Kamanā 2001, p.155). As a result, transportation of students to the schools has been an issue, and the costs involved in solving this problem is one that is yet to be resolved (Niedzielski 1992, p.379).

2.1.4 Concluding remarks

The revitalisation of Hawaiian can be seen to be fairly strong and broad in its range of programmes. The participants are aware that the fight for their language is constantly against the mainstream school systems and government, but they are prepared to do what they can to save their language. Perhaps this self-determination will in fact lead the revival to be necessarily stronger than if the revival had been reliant on outside support.

2.2 Irish language revitalisation

2.2.1 Current situation

In Northern Ireland, the language movement is currently strongly connected to independence and nationalism as it was in the Republic at the turn of the twentieth century (see Appendix 5.3.2 for a background of the language situation). In a country where such strong divisions of religious and political views are so evident, the language has come to represent the ideologies inherent in these struggles (Stalmaszczyk 1999, p.281).[9] The 1991 census, the first language statistics since the Republic's independence, recorded 79,012 speakers (5.3% of the total population), though how well these speakers 'speak' the language is unknown (Ó Dochartaigh 2000, p.10), and the language is not an official national language (Price 1984, p.45).

In the Republic of Ireland, the language is co-official language with English and though the movement for independence is no longer the impetus behind the language revival, the language is still considered a symbol of nationalism (Edwards 1984, p.290). Attitudes towards the language suggest that whilst most people do not want the language to die and feel it is important to their national identity, they are not prepared to put strong measures in place to ensure this maintenance, and have often felt resentment over the fact that it is compulsory in the schools (Edwards 1984, p.287). In 1991, there were 1,095,830 speakers recorded (32.5% of the total population), though most of these are second language speakers (Ó Dochartaigh 2000, p.10).

In the Gaeltacht (see Appendix 5.2.2 for a map), the language is still being transmitted intergenerationally; however, language use is certainly in decline. As the area is no longer isolated from the cities due to improved transport, media and communications, there is more exposure to English, which is still more prestigious than Irish (Cotter 2001, p.303). The entire nation recognizes the Gaeltacht to be vital to the preservation of the language, and there is evidence to suggest the language variety spoken in the Gaeltacht is more prestigious than the educated urban varieties of the language.[10]

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[9] This is not to say that the language movement is restricted to these divisions alone though, and there are instances of Protestants learning the language and advocating for its preservation, such as the Glencairn Community Development Association in Belfast, though there are pressures from both sides of the religious/political division against this (Stalmaszczyk 1999, p.282).

[10] Edwards discusses "the paradox of the Gaeltacht," not wanting it to remain a "fishbowl", and yet not wanting the language to be lost there, thereby making unselfconscious language use impossible (Edwards, 1984, p.288).

In the course of the past two centuries, four distinct dialects have developed: Munster, Ulster, Leinster and Connacht (see Appendix 5.2.2 for a map). In the south a koiné, Donegal, has developed with influences of south-west Connacht and Munster, and has since been adopted by the Northern Ireland Department of Education (Ó Dochartaigh 2000 p.21). The difference in these dialects is predominantly based on the lexicon and phonology (Derval McGrath pers.comm., 5 May 2003).

2.2.2 Language revival

2.2.2.1 Language in education

Throughout the Republic and Northern Ireland it is possible to receive a full education in Irish. In the Republic, taking Irish as a subject is compulsory for both primary and secondary students with a new curriculum launched in 1999 (Information on Public Services - an Irish Government resource 2001). The compulsory nature of this is often resented by both students and parents, who would prefer it to be optional in the final two years of schooling (Deval McGrath pers.comm., 5 August 2003).[11] Whilst the Irish immersion schools are now undertaken by the parents' choice, often the result is students become resentful and rebel against the language, using only English in their interactions with their peers (Carnie 1996, p.111).

In the universities, the language is generally taken as a subject within a course, with the exception of University College Galway, where Irish-medium courses are offered (Macnamara 1971, p.75).

2.2.2.2 Scholarships and economic incentives

The annual *Glór na Gael* (The Voice of the Irish) competition rewards the town that has promoted Irish the most, though the town's actual ability in the language is not relevant (Fishman 1991, p.131). Monetary awards (deontas) are offered to competent Irish-speaking students in the Gaeltacht to promote the language (Carnie 1996, p.105; Ó Dochartaigh 2000, p.12). There are also economic

[11] There are some exemptions for learning Irish, such as if the student has lived abroad for three years or more, or if the student does not speak English (Information on Public Services - an Irish Government resource 2001)

welfare projects to promote Irish in businesses, particularly cottage industries (Macnamara 1971, p.81).

2.2.2.3 Media

There are two Irish radio stations in the Republic: *Raidió na Gaeltachta*, aimed at middle-age to older rural listeners, and the newer Dublin-based *Raidió na Life*, aimed at younger, urban listeners (Cotter 2001). Through these, the language can reach many people who may not feel confident enough to enrol in a more formal language activity, and they also increase the prestige of the language, and mutual understanding of the different dialects (Cotter 2001, p.305).

Since 1996, there has also been an Irish television channel in the Republic, *Teilifís na Gaeilge* (TG4) (Cotter 2001, p.304). The news and children's shows are reportedly very popular and of a high quality (Derval McGrath 5 May 2003). In Northern Ireland, Cotter notes the BBC support for the language is very small in comparison to its support for Gaelic and Welsh in Scotland and Wales respectively (Cotter 2001, p.304).

Carnie reports that most Irish newspapers are tabloid papers, and therefore do not present serious competition to English-language newspapers (1996, p.110). Ó Dochartaigh, however, observes the emergence of women's, university students' and children's magazines is giving "a new lease of life to Irish writing" (2000, p.20).

2.2.2.4 Immersion camps and youth groups

Each year over the summer a series of courses and summer colleges take place in the Gaeltacht areas. The *Foras na Gaeilge* website lists twelve different organizations running these courses or colleges for both adults and adolescents, in four dialects, for a range of lengths, intensities and activities (Foras na Gaeilge 2001).

These are followed up by weekly youth group meetings throughout the year, *Cumann na bhFiann*, which often lead to intermarriage and friendship between these speakers of Irish, and even to the couples bringing their children up speaking Irish (Fishman 1991, pp.136-37).

2.2.2.5 Gaeltacht industrialisation

Údarás na Gaeltachta is a government organisation, responsible for two social changes in the Gaeltacht: "promoting the economic well-being" of the region and "the preservation and extension of the use of the Irish language," though there has never been an exact linguistic policy (O'Cinneide, Keane et al. 1988, p.7). Initiatives include: promoting industries in Irish speaking areas, discriminating favourably in employing Irish-speaking workers, providing Irish courses, and training Irish-speaking workers in management skills (O'Cinneide, Keane et al. 1988, p.7). However, the lack of technical vocabulary in Irish, a need to import English-speaking management and the return of Irish-speaking migrants with English monolingual families, has led to some businesses and industries using an increased proportion of English at work and in social interactions (O'Cinneide, Keane et al. 1988, p.5). This in turn has led to some Irish language schools and services decreasing the amount of Irish they use (O'Cinneide, Keane et al. 1988, p.6).

More recently favouring more locally based industries and businesses over newer industries has slowed the trend towards English (Keane, Griffith et al. 1993, p.405). There is also evidence that some Irish-sympathetic English-speaking families and workers are making efforts to learn and use Irish at work, home and in social interactions (O'Cinneide, Keane et al. 1988, p.13). O'Cinneide et al. suggest if it were to become a condition of employment for these English-speaking workers to learn Irish, in addition to the other initiatives, these two objectives of increased economic security and language preservation could be compatible and successful (1988, p.14). Mühlhäusler (2000, p.351) suggests that a Linguistic Impact Assessment should be enforced in all development, such as tourism, urbanisation, broadcasting and syllabus design, as already happens in Wales for Welsh (see Mühlhäusler 2000, pp.351-52 for discussion of the situation in Wales).

2.2.2.6 Other initiatives

There have also been many other smaller groups trying to revive the language in their own way. For example, *Naíonraí* (Irish pre-schools) have been running since the 1960s (Fishman 1991, p.135). There are also Irish drama groups, music clubs, and restaurants, cafes and bars (Foras na Gaeilge 2001), and several book clubs, devoted to Irish literature (Macnamara 1971, p.82).

In Carlow a two-week long festival is held in Irish each year, with "traditional music and entertainment, sports events, drama, poetry contests, quiz shows, slide and film presentations, talent contests, [and] open-school visits" (Fishman 1991, p.130).

Carnie further reports that the emergence of new video games, good literature for both adults and children, more exciting textbooks for schools, and technical dictionaries are attracting people more to the language (Carnie 1996, p.112). As a result of developments such as these, people's attitudes towards the language are improving and the language is being used more in public (Carnie 1996, p.113).

2.2.3 Problems and limitations

2.2.3.1 Domains limited to schools

Many linguists and parents have been critical of the overly school-based focus of the revival effort. Edwards particularly comments that they have "turn[ed] children into revival statistics" and quotes O'Doherty, saying that "children's minds must not be made the battleground of a political wrangle" (1984, p.300). He goes on to say that "teachers remain bitter about being the scapegoats for revival failure" (Edwards 1984, p.287). Several problems come from this:

- programmes are inflexible to individual needs because parents and schools cannot determine how the language can best serve the children involved,
- communities can become complacent, expecting that the schools will take care of all language issues,
- students see the language as limited to academic pursuits rather than a communicative tool (see Macnamara 1971, p.73 for personal anecdotes), and
- programmes become limited to school domains, and once the students leave school they have no use for the language.

Macnamara notes the stances of the *Fine Gael* political party and the Language Freedom Movement (LFM) against compulsory Irish in secondary schools reveals something of the resentment of teachers and parents to this policy (1971, p.84). However, there is evidence that overall people still want the language in schools as an optional component (Macnamara 1971, p.83).

2.2.3.2 Lack of role models

Another very evident factor lacking in the revival of Irish, is the absence of relevant role models. There is little desire to identify with the Gaeltacht, one of the poorest and most underdeveloped areas of the country (Slomanson 1996, p.119). Particularly for the younger urban populations, the language becomes something outdated and irrelevant to their lives. The international success of the show Riverdance, which incorporates the Irish language through music, has changed this somewhat. Following the success of this show, Carnie reports an increase in the amount of Irish language used by younger people in public amongst their peers (1996, p.113).

2.2.3.3 Bottom-up versus top-down planning

The revival's link to political movements has resulted in some positive developments and recognition for the language, such as making the language co-official with English and increasing the number of people who have exposure to the language. However, the risk is that the people do not take responsibility for reversing the decline of the language. They assume the schools and government will take care of the language revival, without having to use the language themselves. The problem inherent in the Irish situation is finding the balance between support from the government, and indeed in Northern Ireland from the powerful minority of the general population, and allowing the people to take on the revival process themselves (Stalmaszczyk 1999, p.283).

2.2.3.4 Poorly defined objectives

According to Harris, "it would appear that the extent of the gap between the level of performance...[in schools] aim[ed] at and the level of performance which most pupils in ordinary schools attain is primarily due to the ...expectations being unrealistic rather than to factors such as inadequate teaching or unsuitable courses and methods" (Harris 1988, p.82-3).

Macnamara, on the other hand, suggests that "since those who launch a new enterprise have not at the outset determined a level of success below which the enterprise would not be permitted to sink, ideas have tended to continue in operation

after they have lost any usefulness" (1971, p.85). To overcome this, any programmes must have, from the first instigation, short and long-term goals and a period of time after which they are evaluated and altered.

Ó Riagáin criticises that, though from the outset a clearly defined region was recognised as being Irish-speaking, the language policies were implemented throughout the country, unlike in Canada, where the French-speaking region was given a separate language policy (2001, p.196). This process of generalising the policy for the whole country, in his opinion, predisposed the policy to fail.

2.2.4 Concluding remarks

Whilst the Irish revival has not achieved the outcomes originally set by the Irish government, the variety and extent of programmes is now broader than it has ever been, and the current economic climate has allowed greater freedom of individual expenditure on the language (Derval McGrath pers.comm., 5 August 2003). The Irish people seem content with the status and function of the language, and prepared to maintain this level of language into the future.

2.3 Kaurna language reclamation

2.3.1 Current situation

The revival of Kaurna began with a Nunga[12] languages songwriters' workshop in 1990, funded by the National Aboriginal Languages Program (NALP) (see Appendix 5.2.3 for a map and 5.3.3 for a background of the language situation). The workshop resulted in 33 new songs, six of which included Kaurna to varying extents (Amery 1995, p.75). Following this, interest was shown in learning Kaurna at Kaurna Plains School (KPS), a semi-autonomous Aboriginal school, rather than forcing the children to learn a foreign language (Amery 1995, p.77). With the school as a strong base, the language programmes have been able to grow from there.

The focus of the revival is on the language being a marker of identity, and the learners can be proud to use a language that is exclusively theirs. Alice Rigney reflects on learning the language as an adult:

> "Well, I reckon it's really important for me, particularly, because when I listen to Kaurna language I believe that I can feel myself being deeply involved in part of my past. Because, you see, I didn't really believe that there was a language as such around. And when I listen to it, it just gives me so much power within myself ...Because it is part of me that I never knew existed and although I heard bits and pieces, you know, when I lived on Point Pearce, but nothing as concrete as this. So it's really important to me to be able to reclaim part of that history, that belongs to me and my future kids and the future generation of my group.
> ...Because in order to be able to be strong in our identity, we have to be able to come to terms with reclaiming what was, so that what we can ensure for the future is going to be around. Because I would like my great grandchildren to be able to speak fluently in the language. You know, because there's some potential for tourism, for job opportunities, but just for themselves, to be able to reaffirm culture and language for ourselves"
>
> (quoted in Amery 2000a, p.222).

Nelson Varcoe has noted that Kaurna at KPS

> "builds up their [the students'] confidence, pride and self-esteem in knowing that they own a language and in learning to use it... The children also take pride in the fact that they are, in turn, teaching, their parents and family the Kaurna language. So the program... spreads through the community"
>
> (Varcoe 1994, p.37).

In 1997 a book was published for use in classrooms, with both old and new Kaurna words being arranged semantically, followed by the original main Kaurna grammar

[12] Nunga is the term with which the Aboriginal people around Adelaide identify, namely of Narungga, Ngarrindjeri and Kaurna descent.

and vocabulary text, T&S (see Appendix 5.3.3), though this is still rather difficult for students to use without a good understanding of linguistics.

Undeniably the Kaurna language reclamation program is very political, focussing on identity rather than communication. Indeed, "much of the impetus for the reclamation of Kaurna comes from the fact that it is the language of Adelaide, a major capital city ... [giving Kaurna] a much higher profile than it might otherwise have if it were restricted to a rural area" (Amery 1996b, p.152). The language belongs to and is controlled by the Nunga people, and for them to have a language which is distinctly their own to pass down to their children, even if it has had to be constructed and relearned, is invaluable. To accommodate this, a strong component of Kaurna reclamation is about cultural heritage and language awareness, in addition to language learning.

2.3.2 Language revival

2.3.2.1 Songs

Since the first songwriters' workshop in 1990, many more songs have been written exclusively in Kaurna, for which a songbook and tape were produced with the assistance of Chester Schultz, an ethnomusicologist (Amery 2000a, p.148; see Appendix 5.4.1 for a Kaurna song). The songs are used by children at KPS enthusiastically, and are an enjoyable way to learn the language in a rhythmic and memorable way. Furthermore, the children from KPS have performed the songs on many occasions at public events (Amery 2000a, p.168). Amery comments "the response from the Nunga community [about the songs] has been extremely positive, and they sing the songs with much pride" (Amery 1995, p.76).

2.3.2.2 Kaurna Plains School

The reclamation receives a lot of support from KPS, which opened in 1986, with students from Reception to Year 12, and a majority of Indigenous staff (Varcoe 1994, p.36). Since January 1992, Kaurna has been the main language, apart from English taught at the Kaurna Plains School (Amery 1995, p.77). The school's aim is to build the language, in addition to building speaker competency. In 1994 the

Australian Indigenous Languages Framework (AILF)[13] introduced Kaurna into Inbarendi College at Year 11, and in 1997 it was introduced from Year 8 onwards (Amery 2000a, p.161).

2.3.2.3 Other programmes

In addition to KPS, Kaurna is also taught at kindergarten level, at Para West Adult Campus, as part of the tourism course at Tauondi Aboriginal Community College, at several other primary schools and at various times through the Universities of Adelaide and South Australia (Amery 2000a, 161). Courses have also been started for community members at *Warriparinga*, the Living Kaurna Cultural Centre, though they are not running at present (Amery 2000a, p.160). There are hopes to start the courses there again in the near future (Lynette Crocker and Georgina Williams pers.comm., 15 October 2003).

The students include a mix of Indigenous and non-Indigenous people, studying it for a variety of reasons, from a linguistic interest to maintaining one's identity (Amery 1996b, p.154). As a result the courses are not purely focussed on the language, but rather look at a variety of components, such as the way the language was rediscovered, creating neologisms, teaching methods, developing materials and resources, cultural tourism, and most importantly of all, a respect for Kaurna values and culture (Amery 2000a, pp.161-71). One very important aspect of all programmes is the way they are interlinked, in particular with older students producing materials to be used by younger students in different programmes (Amery 2000a, p.161).

In addition to these courses, there have been several other workshops held over the years, focussing on translating nursery rhymes, training childcare workers, the production of resources and materials to be used at KPS, and the development of vocabulary and expressions needed around the house and at school (Amery 1996b, p.154). A translation of Christobel Mattingley's Tucker's Mob was published in

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[13] The Australian Indigenous Languages Framework was set up in 1992 (SSABSA 1996). It acknowledges six stages of Indigenous language teaching: language maintenance as a first language, second language teaching, language revitalisation, language renewal, language reclamation, and language awareness (Tunstill 1999, p.19). The framework includes an Australian Languages component, common to all programmes, and a target language(s) component, which must also integrate the surrounding ecology of the language (Mercurio and Amery 1996, p.41). Assessment looks at not only learner development, but also language development and socio-cultural understandings (Tunstill 1999, p.33-34). Whilst this framework does not claim to attempt to change the language shift and reintroduce the intergenerational transmission, it aims to improve the retention rate and participation of Indigenous students in schools (Mercurio and Amery 1996, p.52). It is specifically aimed at the upper levels of secondary school first to give the programmes more prestige (Ibid., p.53).

Kaurna in 1993, however, at this stage the speakers of Kaurna are not fluent enough to warrant a great deal of literature being published in the language (Amery 1993a, p.43).

2.3.2.4 New vocabulary

It is very important to acknowledge above all, that the purpose of the Kaurna language revival programme is not to simply memorise what was recorded of Kaurna in the word-lists from last century. As Amery notes "they clearly didn't just want to know *about* their language. They also wanted to be able to *use* it" at home and at school (Amery 1995, p.78). Thus, the Kaurna people involved, including Kaurna Elders Lewis O'Brien, Josie Agius and Alice Rigney, decided that it is necessary to create new words, without having to rely on borrowing from English. This can be done by creating a noun from a verb, creating compounds or by comparative linguistics[14] (Amery 1993b).

The main method used to reintroduce the language is the Formulaic Method, which is the "staged introduction of well-formed utterances" (Amery 2000a, p.209). It infuses Kaurna expressions with high functional loads into the English of the students, much like Nunga English already does. This begins with individual words, which can stand on their own, (exclamations, swear words, question words, greetings, leave-takings and apologies) before moving onto simple commands, simple sentences, and finally more complex sentences. This method is also used in many of the songs and in the speeches written for public events (Amery 2000a, p.211). Most importantly the person being addressed should not feel pressure to answer in Kaurna until they are ready, thus making the speech event "natural and automatic" (Amery 2000a, p.211). It ensures that the students will learn to use the language appropriately, being grammatically correct, relevant to the context, pronounced correctly, and fluent in terms of intonation and tempo (Amery 2000a, p.211). New sentences can then be formed by way of analogy, that is new vocabulary items being inserted into the expression formula.

For this process, the workshops were essential, forming formulaic expressions, which people might commonly need, and thus will be used with some frequency, for example objects in the classroom, sports terminology and common

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[14] That is, taking a word from a similar language, and forming the Kaurna equivalent by analogy of regular sound changes.

commands within the home. The new expressions for Kaurna have been formed wherever there has been a need, which also ensures that the process will be ongoing and always relevant (Amery 2000a, p.142).

2.3.2.5 Dual naming policy

Many Kaurna place names were retained around the Adelaide region, borrowed into English, though often the etymologies were forgotten. These names rarely matched to the original Kaurna references: for example, the Kaurna names for nearby mountains, *Yurridla* ('ear+dual') and *Pikodla* ('eyebrow+dual'), have been anglicised to Uraidla and Piccadilly respectively, and applied to the nearby townships (Amery 2000a, pp.169-170). Other Kaurna words are retained in the names of suburbs, some street names, or the names of properties.

Building on this tradition, a dual naming policy was instated in Adelaide for the main squares of the city, and parklands surrounding the city, which now have English and Kaurna names. These include *Piltawodli*, which was the original native site in early Adelaide, *Karrawirra Parri* for the Torrens River, *Tarndanyangga* meaning 'in the place of the red kangaroo' for Victoria Square (Gavin 2001a), the names of native foods or flora for the surrounding parklands, the names of significant Kaurna people and *Padipadinyilla* for the park near the Aquatics Centre (Amery 2000a, p.262). This aims to acknowledge the Kaurna people as the original inhabitants of the Adelaide Plains region. At present these names are at different stages of implementation, with some parks having signs erected already, and other names yet to be approved. Adelaide City Council aims to have all signs, which will include the name and an explanation of the pronunciation and etymology, erected by 2004 (Adelaide City Council 2003) (see Appendix 5.4.2 for some sign samples). Whilst at the moment these names are used predominantly in relation to Indigenous events and issues (such as on Indigenous related pamphlets from the Adelaide City Council), there is an indication that recognition for the names is growing, particularly following the publication of a desk pad map including all of the Kaurna names (Adelaide City Council 2003).

2.3.2.6 In the public sphere

Recently, using the Kaurna language to acknowledge the Kaurna people at general public events has become more common, and it is now the expected norm at

Aboriginal or Reconciliation related events in Adelaide (Amery 2000a, p.185). Kaurna people have been making increasingly more speeches of welcome and acknowledgement of Kaurna land at the opening of meetings, festivals and rallies. Radio Adelaide, a community radio station, plays a recorded welcome speech in Kaurna three times daily (PJ Rose, Programme Manager, pers.comm., 15 October 2003).[15] The Kaurna Plains School choir is being asked to perform Kaurna songs at increasingly more events also (Amery 2000a, p.188). Karl Telfer regularly incorporates Kaurna in his dance performances, which he performs at Adelaide festivals and reconciliation events.

In *Warriparinga*, the *Tjirbruke* Gateway, which is a Kaurna Dreaming site, information signs are written in English and Kaurna, to tell the story of the Kaurna people to the wider public. There is also a proposal to have signs erected along the *Piradli* Trail in Belair National Park, informing the visitors of the history of the Kaurna people, in Kaurna and English (Amery 2000b, p.6).

2.2.3 Problems and limitations

2.3.3.1 Too school-based

Like the programmes in Hawai'i and Ireland, the Kaurna programme has been mainly run through educational institutions, and one teacher has reported the level of language in the students is still quite low beyond formalities and formulaic ceremony (quoted in Amery 2000a, p.171). However, there has been anecdotal evidence of some use of Kaurna within households and in email repartee (Amery 2000a, p.201), and of the Kaurna Plains school children teaching what they learn at school to their family at home (Varcoe 1994, p.37). This also limits the access of Kaurna people who are not involved with these educational institutions to the language (Georgina Williams pers.comm., 15 October 2003).

2.3.3.2 Lack of teachers

Due to time constraints and lack of fluent speakers, the movement at this stage is heavily dependent on a small group of individuals to teach the language in all programmes, and as a result if they were to stop teaching the programmes could suffer (Cherie Watkins pers.comm., 23 September 2003). Whilst these individuals

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[15] I am indebted to Christina Eira for bringing this to my attention.

are enthusiastic about the language, such a heavy workload could easily lead to burnout.

2.3.3.3 Lack of support at tertiary level

To date the programmes have run with next to no financial support from the government or other language revival institutions.

At a tertiary level, despite "verbal support for the reconciliation process" (Mühlhäusler, letter to Mary O'Kane, 16 January 2001) the Kaurna language class was dropped from the University of Adelaide curriculum in 2001. Though the class was taken up by the University of South Australia, the nature of having a course in a mainstream university is that the course is marginalised with existing programmes. Thus frequently administrative processes hamper the expansion of the programme and the involvement of the Kaurna community (Amery pers.comm., 22 September 2003). On a positive note, control of the programme is now vested in linguist Rob Amery, and Kaurna Elders Lewis O'Brien and Alice Rigney.

2.3.3.4 Access to the language

There have been some disputes within the community with regards to copyright and whether non-Indigenous or non-Kaurna people should have the chance to learn the language when not all Kaurna people have had the chance to learn the language. Whilst some Kaurna people feel that access to the language by everyone could promote reconciliation between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people, others are worried about issues of maintaining control over the programmes and language use (DECS 1996). Furthermore, there is a fear that the non-Indigenous people may learn the language quicker than Kaurna people (Amery 2000a, p.239).

At the heart of the issue of retaining control over the programmes is the issue of cultural and intellectual copyright (Brown 1998; DETE 2000; Eggington 1996; Janke 1998). At this stage, copyright can only be given to the author of a particular resource, rather than to the community (Amery 2000a, p.235), and furthermore cannot be applied to languages or culture, which are neither tangible nor static (Janke 1998, p.4). Intellectual and cultural copyright protocols are restricted to those drawn up by individual organizations or government departments (DETE 2000). DECS suggests that ownership should include such considerations as how the language is used in public, what happens to the monetary awards, the social status of

the language, how new words are brought into the language and protected, and who can teach the language (Tunstill 1999, p.24). Amery similarly advocates the protection of naming, cultural tourism, use of the language in education, use of the language in the arts, the language documented in historical archives and the products of research (quoted in Henderson 2002, p.14). Certainly, in a small community, for the custodians of the language to have a relationship with the people using the language is vital to maintaining control over the language reclamation (Amery 2000a, p.238).

2.3.4 Concluding remarks

Whilst the language reclamation seems to be driven by the enthusiasm of significant individuals at this stage, the growing interest of the community indicates a strong desire to expand the programmes in the future, particularly strengthening the participation of the Kaurna community (Georgina Williams and Lynette Crocker pers.comm., 15 October; Rob Amery pers.comm., 22 September 2003). In such a light, it is possible that the reclamation will develop considerably and not remain limited to educational institutions or a small number of individuals.

3. TOWARDS A THEORY OF LANGUAGE MAINTENANCE DISCOURSES

If the issues of language decline and language maintenance are inherently emotional issues (Dorian 1987; Mudrooroo 1995, p.65; Dauenhauer and Dauenhauer 1998), then the issue of success in language maintenance is even more so. Considerable amounts of money, time and energy go into language maintenance programmes, frequently run by small groups of dedicated individuals, and to admit a programme's failure could be embarrassing and disappointing for relevant stakeholders, particularly given the heavy symbolic loading of 'success' in society. However, not recognising any shortcomings in the programme, as we witnessed in the Irish case study in section 2.2, may mean the programme is allowed to slip below a certain threshold, and no one will win from the situation. If the programme does not reach this level of minimum success within a given timeframe, the programme should be reassessed and changed.

There is much to be gained from a successful language programme. As Crystal (2000) comments:

> "There are several domains in which languages play an important role, and thus contribute to their economic success – such as tourism (with its emphasis on diversity), the arts, and local manufacturing industries. Local languages are seen to be valuable because they promote community cohesion and vitality, foster pride in a culture, and give a community (and thus a workforce) self-confidence" (p.31).

From this observation we can observe success at an economic and a social level. However, these are not the only criteria by which a programme should be assessed. I would suggest each of the case studies from chapter two can be viewed at different degrees of success and non-success depending on the discourses through which they are viewed. These discourses shape the criteria that the programmes are judged by.

3.1 Contrasting criteria for success

As stated earlier, success can only be measured through indicators. The indicators chosen depend firstly on a realistic assessment of what is achievable in the language, given the material, financial and human resources and the level of language retained, and secondly on the orientation of the people choosing the goals.

Academics and governments generally assess programmes based on their initial aims. For example, the 1964 commission on the progress of Irish commented "What we understand by the Revival [restoration] is that the [Irish] language should once again be a normal means of conversation and communication among Irish people. This has been the objective of the Irish language movement from its inception and of the political movement which stemmed from it" (p.xiii, quoted in Macnamara 1971, p.76). In this respect, the revival has been a failure. Government organizations also often see success in terms of statistics, for example the number of schools, programmes or students enrolled (Guy Tunstill, pers.comm., June 2003) for Australian languages; Price 1984 and King 2001for Irish; Benton and Benton 2001 for Māori).

For the communities and speakers themselves, though, criteria are shaped by attitudes toward the programme, the amount of control retained, the extent of consultation undertaken, and other broader factors such as the perceived economic and political situation. Whether a programme has achieved the initial aims or not seems less relevant for this group than for governments and academics. Several expatriate Irish people, who studied Irish at school and participated in language camps in Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland, told me they consider the language revival to not only be successful so far, but also gaining ground (Derval McGrath, pers.comm., 5 August 2003; Kathy McEvoy pers.comm., 13 August 2003). Macnamara suggests that overall Irish people do not want Irish to take on a similar role to that of English and "by and large, they have settled for English and have been satisfied with a cultural and ceremonial role for Irish" (Macnamara 1971, p.85).

Since the introduction of self-determinist policies in Australia during the 1970s,[16] most government officials and linguists are agreed on the community's

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[16] Self-determinism was manifested in bilingual education and outstation education. Under this policy, communities were able to run their own schools or receive help to use their own language alongside English in schools (Bullivant 1984, p.126). Most programmes were transitional, aimed at English competency and easier integration into white Australian society (Schmidt 1990, p.66). Nevertheless, the importance of mother tongues was at least recognised in increasing English competency and in

prerogative to decide upon the criteria used for determining the success of the programme (McKay, 1996; Sutton, 1979). However, as we saw in section 1.3.1, communities are not homogenous. Within the Kaurna community, opinions of the language reclamation movement vary considerably. Lewis O'Brien considers the language reclamation movement to be already extremely successful based on the number of speeches given in Kaurna and the enthusiasm of the learners (O'Brien, pers.comm., June 2003). On the other hand, Georgina Williams considers the programme to have escaped the control of the community and become a university entity, with many non-Kaurna people having unjustifiable access to the language before the Kaurna people themselves (pers.comm., 13 August 2003).

As Grin (1993, p.381) observes, the importance of speaker attitudes towards the language and towards language maintenance have a large impact on the actual vitality of that language. There is, however, a clear consensus within all three case studies that the people do not want to have criteria imposed by foreign discourses, which may be inappropriate and impose unrealistic and inadequate expectations on the programme. Moreover, there is a fear that the programme will fail simply through accepting too low a level of success, and thereby disguising further loss of the language until it is too late.

3.2 Discourse theory

In order to understand the reasoning behind the stakeholders' expectations, we can identify different discourses working within language revival movements. This thesis draws heavily from the Foucauldian tradition of discourse theory, as outlined by Pennycook (1994) and practised by Eira (2001). As Pennycook explains "discourses are organizations of knowledge [and meaning], and are always linked to power, embedded in social institutions, and produce ways of understanding," similar to ideology, but without the implications of being true or false, and allowing multiple subjects and relationships within them (Pennycook 1994, p.127). They are useful for revealing particular biases and highlighting links within a movement or a discipline, but at the same time, they also limit what can be understood (Eira 2001, p.164). Thus, by defining these discourses, I do not attempt to include all parameters, as Hodge & Mishra comment "precisely because they operate to constrain what

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increasing self-esteem. However, this new policy undermined traditional kinship structures and ways of passing knowledge down from the Elders to the younger generations Mudrooroo (1995).

otherwise would be said and thought they [discourses] cannot correspond even approximately to the full content of what is known to exist" (Hodge and Mishra 1990, 26).

Most importantly it must be remembered that discourses are constructs, and as a result cannot represent reality objectively. As Pennycook (1994) explains:

> "[Foucauldian discourse theory] is not concerned with how discourses (texts) reflect social reality, but how discourses produce social realities; it does not look for relationships between discourse and society/politics, but rather theorizes discourse as always/already political; it does not seek out an ultimate cause or basis for power and inequality, but rather focuses on the multiplicity of sites through which power operates; and it does not posit a reality outside discourse, but rather looks to the discursive production of truth" (p.131).

In other words, discourses look at "different understandings" of reality, which are "inseparable from social and economic factors" (Ibid., p.122). Discourses are intertextual insofar as they "are always connected to other discourses which were produced earlier, as well as those which are produced synchronically and subsequently" (Fairclough and Wodak 1997, p.276).

By identifying these understandings, the "objects of knowledge" (Fairclough 1992, p.41), or in the case of this thesis, the criteria for success, can be ascertained. However, "the unity of a discourse is based not so much on the permanence and uniqueness of an object as on the space in which various objects emerge and are continuously transformed" (Foucault [1972, p.32] quoted in Ibid., p.41).

3.2.1 Dual orientations

Over the following discourses, I have layered two orientations, and with the Australian context in mind, I have labelled these orientations Indigenous and Western[17] (Eira's Western discourse [2001]; and Rigney's Indigenist methodology [1997]).[18] They are based on a perception of core values which distinguish the

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[17] I have refrained from labelling them "marginal" and "mainstream," because these imply a victim and a dominant norm, with no chance for movement out of these positions, nor common ground (Muecke 1992). In parts of Australia, particularly the outback and the north, these labels are not necessarily relevant.

[18] Due to their association with colonial policies, constructions of pan-Aboriginality and pan-Westernism have taken on negative connotations connected with dis-empowering Indigenous peoples (Eira 2001; Hodge and Mishra 1990; Keefe 1992; Mudrooroo 1995). However, as Mudrooroo discusses, in the 1960s, Aboriginality, which had always been a European construction, was reclaimed

members from other people, and therefore the language can serve this function in a variety of ways, as a complete system or simply as a marker of identity (Smolicz 1981). Most importantly, as Fairclough comments, the boundaries to both the discourses and orientations should not be seen as fixed, but rather fluid and overlapping, which makes them sites of constant struggle (1992, pp.68&92), as they have been for the past two hundred years (Mudrooroo 1995). As Mudrooroo comments "This is how any culture works, not by remaining static and allowing itself to be destroyed, but by an endless process of adaptation and incorporation of new ideas" (Ibid., p.123). Furthermore, these orientations are not necessarily based on ethnicity, but rather they indicate a set of values, so some Indigenous people may promote English over the Indigenous language (perhaps to benefit from the economic advantages associated with English or to avoid the stigmatism sometimes associated with Indigenous languages), and some non-Indigenous people may promote the Indigenous orientation.

The Indigenous Orientation:

- advocates Indigenous control and ownership of the programme,
- advocates joint community leadership of the programme,
- is accountable, first and foremost to the Indigenous community,
- aims to maintain the core cultural values,
- aims to be as self-sufficient and to reduce its dependency on Western institutions as much as possible,
- advocates Indigenous authorship and community copyrights, and
- aims towards social healing for Indigenous communities.

The Western Orientation:

- looks at the good of the country, and competency in literacy in the national language,
- advocates traditional Western hierarchical leadership structures (for example by involving government agencies),
- is accountable first and foremost to the funding, academic and governmental bodies,
- understands the Indigenous language as transitional to the national language, and

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by Indigenous people and they took pride creating their own version of pan-Aboriginality (Mudrooroo 1995).

- favours Western qualifications, Western laws and Western divisions of time and space.

The Western orientation has been the dominant orientation in Australia for the past two hundred years. Its greatest flaw is its illusory attraction, which, as Eira comments, "welcomes new members …into its culture [offering funding and resources] while maintaining their status as Other" (2001, p.213), by forcing Western requirements (such as time structures), Western qualifications, and Western laws onto programmes. In so doing the Western orientation still continues to dictate the allocation of funding and the ways in which programmes will be run.[19]

These orientations, like the language programmes they evaluate, should be relevant to the community and society they are attempting to describe. For example, an urban community may assign very different values to each orientation than a rural community would (for a discussion see Keefe 1992, p.95; Mudrooroo 1995, p.14). Thus, whilst the following discussion should be taken as a guide, each community in drawing up their own evaluation should make the orientations locally relevant to their programme, their community and their language ecology.

3.2.2 Discourses of success

Beneath these overarching orientations, I have named seven discourses:

- Linguistic
- Pedagogical
- Technical
- National
- Social
- Economic
- Ecological.

The figure below demonstrates the ways in which the different orientations influence the goals and criteria for success within the different discourses. Furthermore, the figure shows the common ground where the two orientations can meet in the centre.

[19] Said (discussed in Pennycook 1996, p.141) has used the terms 'Orientalism' and 'Anglicism' to describe the colonial discourses promoting the westernisation and assimilation of Indigenous peoples through colonial fascination with 'the other.'

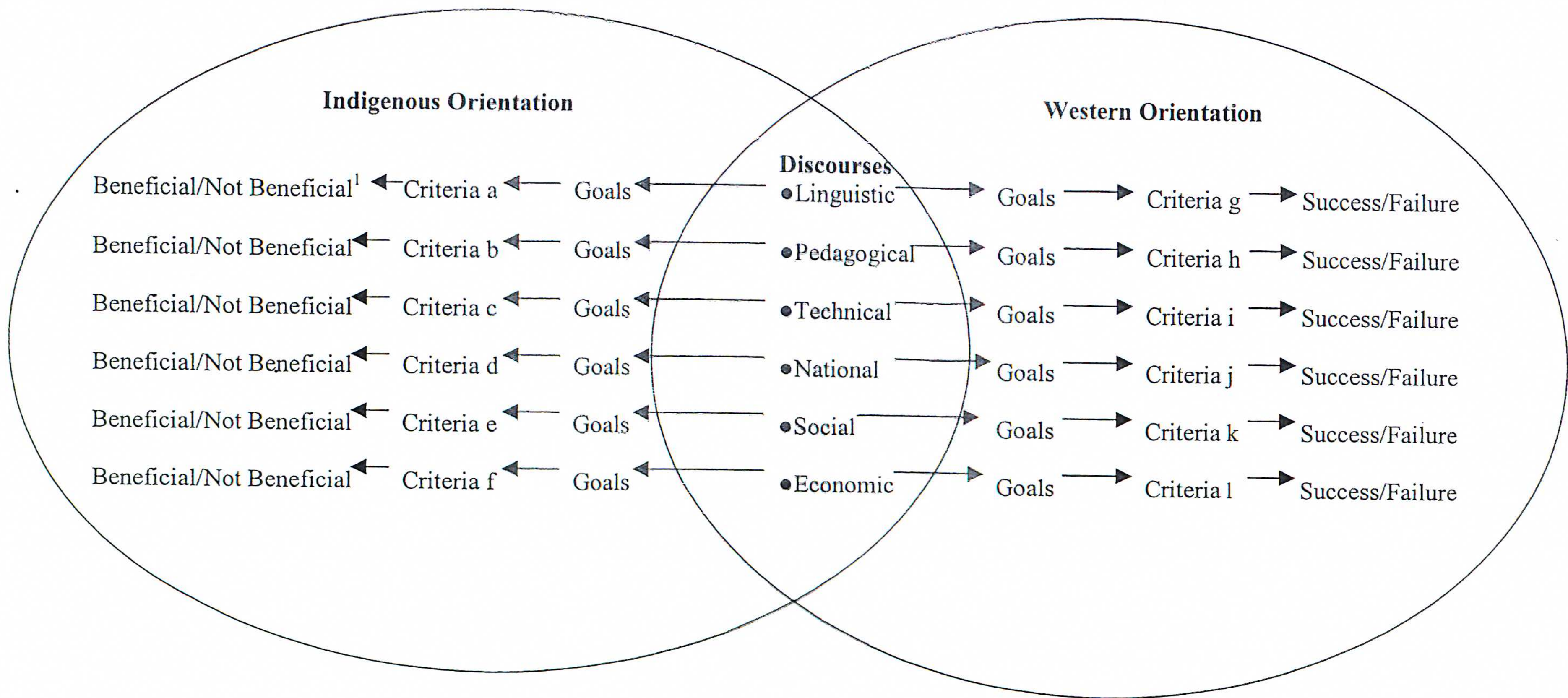

Figure: Establishing the criteria for language revival programmes' success

[1] Due to the Western orientation of the concept of success and the different expectations of the community in relation to the academics and government officials, 'Beneficial' and 'Not Beneficial' are more appropriate labels to describe the anticipated outcomes in the Indigenous orientation.

3.2.2.1 Linguistic[20]

This discourse focuses on the linguistic aspects of a language, viewing the language as an entity in itself. In particular, one of the main aims of this discourse is for the language to be used in everyday life.[21] Frequently the perceived 'traditional' variety of the language is given more importance over other non-standard varieties. Authority is given to certain types of knowledge, which in the Western orientation includes research by academics and documented records, and in the Indigenous orientation includes knowledge from within the community (Eira 2001, 190). As Eira (Ibid., pp.194&215) observes, since the universities and governments are usually the ones with the funding and resources, often the criteria for success in programmes are overtly determined by the criteria from this discourse and orientation.

Criteria for success of language revival may include:

- the degree to which the language is spoken within the community (ie number of speakers, competency of speakers, number of domains),
- the degree to which speech is free from other languages encroaching on the language (ie, that the language is a complete system in terms of styles, grammatical forms, lexicon, cultural conventions),
- the spontaneity of the language, and
- the language sources (whether documented or oral)

Extremes of this discourse can have several negative aspects. Within the Western orientation some linguists have unconsciously implied that Indigenous people are incapable of speaking for or evaluating themselves, therefore taking away the autonomy of the community. As these linguists write with authority, in so doing they demote the community's voice to "speaker intuition". They also put great emphasis on the linguistic definition of a language, demoting many 'languages' to 'dialects'. Dixon and Fishman's views about the authenticity of 'artificial' languages

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[20] This discourse is closely associated with Orientalism or Aboriginalism (Hodge and Mishra 1990), Anthropological (Muecke 1992), Scientist (Eira 2001) and Scientific discourses (Mudrooroo 1995, p.61).

[21] In extreme cases some linguists and monolingual speakers of the minority language have questioned whether relearning languages is 'keeping them alive' or whether the languages are still regarded as extinct until they become the first language for future generations. Admittedly, the likelihood of reviving a language-no-longer-spoken to a first language is not great, the only example to date being Hebrew (Comrie, B., S. Matthews, et al., 1996). However, there is a chance of its revival to a certain types of competency and function in daily life, provided sufficient amounts of the language were recorded (for example section 2.3 for Kaurna or for Californian languages see Hinton 1994, p.227; Yamane 2001).

are particularly typical of this discourse (see critique of Dixon and Fishman in section 1.5). Such views can be used to question the legitimacy of funding grants and support to languages no longer used on a daily basis.

Within extreme views of the Indigenous orientation there is potential to create generational divisions when elders criticise younger generations for having an imperfect knowledge of the language. Some older generations have even withheld the language from younger generations, believing them incapable of looking after the language, or protecting it from anthropologists or linguists (Dauenhauer and Dauenhauer 1998, p.76). Certainly, the disempowerment of Indigenous peoples in the past by linguists has sometimes led to suspicion of academics and universities, as is the case with some of the Kaurna community (Georgina Williams pers.comm., 13 August 2003). Kaurna is also in a delicate situation as so little of the language is retained in the community and the main records of the language are written in non-user-friendly linguistic terms. Thus, there is a reliance on a linguist to intervene in the programme. In spite of Rob Amery's willingness for the community to control the programme as much as possible and retain the rights to all decisions made about the language, by Australian copyright laws he is still the main authority in most Kaurna texts (Amery 2000a, p.235; see section 2.3.3.4 for a discussion of cultural and intellectual copyright).

The Linguistic discourse contains perhaps the hardest criteria for language revival programmes to meet, particularly once the intergenerational link has been broken. Though both Hawaiian and Irish still have fluent speakers, the limited number of domains and the tendency for children to use English with their peers suggests that the languages still have some way to go before they become widely used first languages.

However, this should also be considered within the original goals, also. For example, in Kaurna there has been an increase in the amount of language markers used spontaneously, which could indicate that in the future the programme will be successful on this level also. As Amery explains "I can't say for sure that Kaurna will never become a language in daily use. I agree that this would seem unlikely, but it all depends on the will of the people… I really can't predict how far things will go and to what extent Kaurna will be used" (Amery, letter to Dixon, 20 February 2001). At this stage of the programme, immersion situations, either inside or outside the classroom, are not possible. Indeed, Amery comments "we have found through

experience that insistence on the total exclusion of English, even for short periods, stifles conversation and serves as a major de-motivating factor" (2000a, p.218), due to a lack of fluency of both the students and the teachers, who, in the beginning were often only one lesson ahead of the students. Georgina Williams (pers.comm., 13 August 2003), on the other hand, has expressed concern that Kaurna words are being used within the English language and from an English point of view.

With reference to Hawaiian, Wilson (1998) reasons:

> "(o)nce Hawaiian is more widely known, it will be possible to focus on re-establishing it as the home language and as a working community language in Hawai'i consistent with its official status. Full use of Hawaiian in the home lags behind use in the school, in the same way that full use of English in the home lagged behind English-medium schools at an earlier period in Hawai'i's history" (p.134).

3.2.2.2 Pedagogical

The Pedagogical discourse centres around ways of learning and socialising children through education. This is affected by:

- the subjects taught,
- the teachers,
- the classroom setting,
- the student groups (divided into age-groups, or competency levels), and
- the methodologies.

In Australia, the pedagogical discourse has always been heavily dominated by the Western orientation, particularly centred on the importance of English literacy. The reality is the usefulness of English literacy is dependent on the future aspirations of the individual and the location of the community, whether urban or rural (Keefe 1992, p.95). The Western orientation may use such criteria as:

- English literacy,
- literacy in the vernacular,
- academic results, and
- teacher qualifications.

Overall, there is a high emphasis on academic achievement, usually assessed in standard tests. There is rarely any question as to the linguistic or cultural

appropriateness of these tests, which could influence the results greatly (Grosjean 1982, p.219). Cantoni further criticises that these academic tests do not measure the increased mental flexibility and problem-solving abilities that come with learning another language (1997, p.2).

Lewis O'Brien (1990) suggests that the Indigenous orientation may focus more on the values taught, and teaching the learning process rather than specific subjects. Thus it needs to be strongly guided by the community and reflect traditional value systems. He explains (Ibid.)

> "we are not interested in what subjects you teach, it's what the teacher is like. If the teacher is a good person and has got good principles, we don't really care what he teaches, we know that he will pass on philosophies to the child that are sound for living rather than just teaching them a subject. But in white society, education is generally subject-oriented and it doesn't matter what sort of person the teacher is, as long as he is teaching the subject. We think that that is not quite right" (pp.122-23).

Mudrooroo supports this saying, "it has to be understood that the Indigenous education system is personal, not generalised, with information transmitted by experience" (1995). Hinton suggests "[t]he most successful school-based language revitalisation programmes often create separate schools, bypassing the mainstream public school system altogether in order to have sufficient power to do culturally appropriate language teaching" (2001, p.10).

In all three case studies, there seem to be government requirements pressed onto the programmes, in particular literacy in English, certain subject requirements, and preconceived notions about the set-up of the classroom and structure of the day and week (for a discussion see Fairclough 1992, p.52). All three show that within this Western orientation of pedagogical discourse, students are successful in terms of these academic requirements, in some cases more so than students not in the programme.[22]

In Ireland the earlier policies of teaching English-speaking students through Irish, failed to encourage them to use Irish in their daily lives. This is most likely due to unrealistic and inappropriate goals. The economic climate of the time would also

[22] This is a rather difficult thing to measure, though, and tests on this have always been somewhat controversial, due to the choice of students in the studies. Some people have suggested that the students who choose to do such a programme are more academically inclined to begin with, and therefore their results would be expected to be higher than average regardless of the stream they chose (see Grosjean 1982 for discussion). What is more relevant, perhaps, is that the students' proficiency in English does not suffer from the language programme.

have had considerable bearing on this, since people in a time of economic stability are more likely to see the benefit of such luxuries as learning a heritage language. However, Hale (2001) comments:

> "[though] the number of people who know Irish as a second language, as a result of the Irish educational system, exceeds that of native speakers... on reflection it must be considered a triumph and an example for other communities that possess an endangered linguistic heritage. It is an example of what can be accomplished if resources are devoted to language maintenance, or even reclamation" (p.300).

3.2.2.4 National

The National discourse relates to the idea of imagined communities (Anderson 1983), or communities which are united by a common identification, though the members may never meet nor even know each other (Ibid., p.6). Central to this discourse is the idea of "a deep, horizontal comradeship" (Ibid., p.7), which considers all members of the group equal, in spite of the real situation. Furthermore there is an intrinsic sense of 'self' and 'other' as the members of the group are distinguished from those outside of the group.

Within the Indigenous orientation this can occur at many levels. Whilst in Ireland and Hawai'i a single Indigenous language covers the entire island, in Australia the situation is very different. For example, within the Kaurna context a person can identify as: an Australian, an Indigenous person (Mueke 1992, p.180 names this 'pan-Aboriginality'), a Nunga or a Kaurna person. There can be many positions within this discourse, with some people advocating reconciliation, others standing against English imperialism and others again asserting the rights of a particular group.

Success within the National discourse would relate to:

- control and ownership (for example, who controls the financial, decision-making and teaching of the programme),
- access to the language (for example, equal access within the community, access for non-community members),
- interconnection with other cultural movements,
- protection of unity (at a community, regional or national level), and
- promotion of social healing and reconciliation

Within the Western orientation, there are the additional criteria:

- the extent to which the language programme adds to the national harmony of the country (including the competency in the national language[23]),
- the extent to which this improves their position in the global community, and
- the involvement of government agencies and universities.

Within this discourse the Irish and Hawaiian cases can be seen as fairly successful, as the programmes have allowed for a consciousness of unity within the Hawaiian and Irish people respectively. Furthermore, this has become a way for these groups to distance themselves from the dominant English-speaking group. In particular, in Ireland the language revival was strongly linked to the independence of the country, and is now used in celebration of the country's cultural inheritance. In Hawai'i, the "Hawaiian language and culture are seen as unifying forces when the Hawaiian community and general community have been divided into numerous factions regarding Hawaiian land and sovereignty claims" (Wilson 1998, 134). Thus, it seems that language revival has become a chance to accept and celebrate cultural plurality. However, for Hawaiian we must also consider the split within the language revival organization. Whilst up to now, both factions have managed to continue their programmes in separate arenas, Hinton comments:

> "There are many language revitalisation programmes smaller and less strong than the Hawaiian system that have foundered due to internal friction…Internal strife is natural and even desired, especially if it involves debate about ways a programme can be effective, but if the disagreement hardens into anger and even hatred, the next step is sabotage and possibly the demise of the programme"
>
> (in Hinton and Hale 2001, pp.130-1).

For Kaurna, in the Western orientation, both Indigenous and non-Indigenous people have taken on the revival as a triumph and an asset to Adelaide. Adopting a dual naming policy is an easy and obvious way of showing commitment to Reconciliation.[24]

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[23] Nationally, as Thieberger (1990) maintains, there is nothing to prove that linguistic diversity causes lack of unity, particularly in Australia where most speakers of minority languages have some competency in English.

[24] As Thieberger notes, the things most likely to change are those which are "not threatening to the dominant group" (Ibid.)

Having the language taught in schools is also a positive development in a pan-Aboriginal and Nunga sense. Some people may desire other heritage languages to be taught in schools too, but the overriding issue is that an Indigenous language, rather than a European or Asian language, is being learnt in the school. On the Kaurna level, though recognising the language has renewed identification with cultural and linguistic inheritance, some people are disappointed that outsiders, both Indigenous and non-Indigenous, have had so much access to the language before the Kaurna people can. In this sense, the language to an extent has been taken away from them once again.

3.2.2.3 Technical

This discourse assesses the material resources, such as computer programmes, classroom resources, grammar books or dictionaries, and multimedia. Criteria include:

- access to the resources (for example, the number of computers in homes, whether resources are open for the whole community or restricted to the school) (Hinton and Hale 2001, p.266),
- copyrights (who retains the copyrights to the resources?),
- technical functioning (for example, whether computer programmes and websites work in the way they should) (Kroskrity and Reynolds 2001),
- use of language (for example, whether the user can actively use the language, or whether the experience is completely passive) (Ibid., 2001),
- cultural appropriateness (for example, if animation usually represents non-serious messages, it should not be used to educate the community about serious issues)(Lewis 2001)
- extent of use (whether people choose to use them or are computer literate enough to use them) (Buszard-Welcher 2001, p.333),
- costs,
- availability of ongoing skills and expertise to update resources and fix any problems that may arise, and
- effectiveness of programmes sharing resources.

Under this discourse Hawaiian would seem to be the most successful, with a vast use of resources. The people have access to the resources as supplied by the *'APL*, and other interested people overseas have access to Internet resources; the new orthography works well on the computers and there are no problems with technical failure; the resources make use of the language well; they are culturally appropriate; many people are choosing to use them; and the programmes share resources.

Given the lack of resources, Kaurna has done very well, with classes creating materials for other classes to use, using the language well (as most are checked by the linguist) and no technical difficulties. The only drawback for Kaurna seems to be the number of people having access to the resources, which can work in the community's favour, as the resources, and thus the language, are tightly controlled. However, it becomes more difficult for Kaurna people who are not involved in the school to become involved.

For Irish there seems to be a lack of assessment of the use of resources. Certainly the government has poured a great deal of money into the programmes, and the use of radio and TV have been fairly successful based audience numbers. The recent development of new textbooks for Irish seems long overdue however; certainly now they have been introduced they need to be evaluated.

3.2.2.5 Social

This discourse is the most subjective of these discourses, and as a result is more difficult to assess. It is centred on the concept of self, and the way that participants interact within society. The criteria include:

- the improvement of participants' self-confidence and the reinforcement of the home culture,
- the improvement of social (such as the crime rate, employment rate, environmental issues, health problems), and
- the promotion of social healing and reconciliation.

Within the Western orientation this would be measured in terms of increased participation of the community in broader society (such as higher education, employment, or voluntary work).[25] In the Indigenous orientation this might be

[25] As Georgina Williams (15 October 2003) has mentioned to me, the paradox with this concept is that this contribution to society is expected to conform to certain roles, and there is often little opportunity for Indigenous people to contribute significantly outside of these roles.

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measured through the person's relationships with others in the community and personal direction.

The socialisation of children is one of the important aspects of school, but also of the home and community. Within this process children form a value system, build self-esteem and learn skills to relate to other people. Using a child's heritage language in the school reinforces the home culture, and boosts the child's confidence and instils cultural pride. In this way, this discourse could be considered the most successful aspect of all three case studies. There are also further benefits, for example one positive aspect of learning Kaurna at school is the students being able to vent any anger and frustration through swearing in Kaurna, making them feel better without offending others (Amery 2000a, p.209).

3.2.2.6 Economic

Grin argues that to maintain a language it must develop its own economy (1990; 1996a; 1996b). Economic indicators can be measured through cost-benefit models (Thorburn 1971) and through efficiency and effectiveness measures (Keefe, 1990).

Criteria include:

- the employment opportunities generated through the programme,
- the self-sufficiency of the programme or reliance on outside sources,
- the long-term financial security of the programme, and
- the availability of activities involving the language on which to spend money generated through the programme.

Within this discourse the Hawaiian programme can be considered fairly successful, as the programmes are not solely reliant on government funding and yet the demand for teachers is high, creating jobs for graduating students of the programmes. Furthermore, there is the additional potential for the language to be used in jobs related to tourism and resource production.

The Irish case is difficult to assess without a more in depth study into the current use of Irish in the workforce. Whilst for a time it was a requirement of many jobs to speak Irish, there seems to be more evidence that the language is not actually used in this domain. Certainly there is the prospect of teaching and there are economic incentives for working in cottage industries in the Gaeltacht. Overall, the

economic success of Irish seems to be rather dependent on the overall economy of the country.

It is to be expected that for Kaurna, being the smallest and newest programme, the economic rewards are yet to be fully realised. At this stage a lot of the programmes are focussed on language awareness, through speeches given by Kaurna Elders, for which they are sometimes paid, or at least have their travel expenses covered. KPS also charge a fee for their performances, which goes towards funding the programme. At this stage the only job prospects seem to be in teaching the language, and even this is only part-time at this stage (pc Rob Amery 15/10/03). There are some jobs in cultural tourism, however, the language used in these tours depends on the tour guide.

Overall, all three case studies are lacking in one important factor of economic success: there must be activities involving the language which this monetary gain can be spent on, otherwise the dominance of English is simply reinforced (Grin 1990, p.167). Furthermore, these earnings from the language programmes need to be weighed up against the cost of having these programmes in place.

3.2.2.7 Ecological

This discourse is based on Mühlhäusler's ecological paradigm (see section 1.5.4), and due to the nature of the discourse, it is not appropriate for Indigenous and Western orientations to be separated here. Within this discourse it is important not to divorce the language from extra-linguistic aspects of communication and a sense of identity. Mühlhäusler explains:

> "The challenge is to create ecologies in which modern world languages can be meaningfully integrated with pre-existing ways of speaking, by maximising cooperative rather than competitive structures" (Mühlhäusler, 2000, 328).

Criteria include:

- the self-sustainability,
- the support of surrounding languages,
- the adaptation to current needs, and
- the interconnection with improving extra-linguistic issues (such as poverty, environmental issues).

Unfortunately, at this stage the above case studies cannot be seen as self-sustaining yet, and still require deliberate planning to keep them going. However,

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Hawaiian and Kaurna at least have hopes for becoming so, as they wait for the language to become more widely used, and ultimately spontaneously. With regard to the second criterion, both Irish and Hawaiian are functioning in a complementary way to English at present, suggesting the ecology is fairly stable. Kaurna, whilst also being complementary to English, acknowledges the usefulness of surrounding languages to its own revival and many of the participants are involved in the revival of surrounding languages. However, there does not seem to be an organized support system for the surrounding languages in place. Finally, all three languages have been expanded through the creation of new vocabulary, and overall all three languages have allowed for grammatical changes to the language to cater for second-language learners and new generations of bilingual speakers.

3.3 Concluding remarks

It is vitally important not to focus too heavily on any one discourse, as they are all interlinked and must be balanced in order for a programme to be successful as a whole. Furthermore, it is essential that the evaluators recognise not only the discourses, but also the positions within these discourses and the particular orientations that drive them. Perhaps it will become apparent that the original criteria being used to judge the programme are completely irrelevant, undesired and inappropriate for the people participating. Keefe (1990) in particular, stresses the importance of not using the successes of the social discourse to excuse the failures of other discourses, such as short-term planning, ad hoc funding, inefficiency and poor management. Singh (1990) responds to this challenge with the reminder that success is not determined by the programmes alone, but rather it is vulnerable to outside factors also, and consequently success cannot be determined by statistics alone.

4. CONCLUSION

4.1 Success in the Indigenous Australian context

Australian Indigenous languages are facing a similar threat and promise as minority languages throughout the world: many languages are declining in use, styles, domains and speaker numbers, and yet many languages are also experiencing a renaissance due to the dedication of their speakers or owners.

Evaluation of these language revival programmes is a rather pertinent topic, as all programmes are accountable, firstly to the community, who put in effort and time, and secondly to funding bodies. As such I have made several assumptions about the concept of 'success':

- Success is a Western concept based on notions of competition
- Traditionally a successful language implies a single language being promoted at the expense of others
- By taking an Ecological approach, we can understand success of language revival as the self-sustaining maintenance of the linguistic and extra-linguistic aspects of a language in conjunction with the surrounding languages
- Success can only be measured through indicators which cannot be maintained indefinitely
- Success is subjective, and thus the indicators chosen are dependent on one's criteria
- Potential stakeholders may include: community members, linguists, funding bodies, teachers, Departments of Education or other relevant governmental bodies, parents and children
- Motivations for reviving the language may include: asserting one's identity, preserving linguistic diversity, aiding transition to English, or promoting Reconciliation.

Thus, we can examine case studies with the intention of discovering which discourses are relevant at present to evaluating language revival movements.

4.2 Case Studies

4.2.1 Hawaiian

The Hawaiian programmes are considered overall to be successful by both those involved and outsiders. Efforts have been focussed in developing a smaller

number competent speakers rather than a greater number of less competent speakers. There are hopes that in the future the language will have more of an impact in a greater number of homes, rather than remaining limited to educational institutions.

- Timeframe: particularly strong over the past twenty-five years
- Speakers: less than 1000 highly fluent speakers
- Main language programmes: language nests (Immersion Preschools); immersion schools; Hawaiian component in elementary schools; University programmes; production of resources for school and home; Internet programmes
- Main problems: lack of teachers and teacher training; lack of transportation; strict Department of Education curriculum requirements; being too school focussed; lack of institutional support and a split within the main organization.

4.2.2 Irish

Many linguists consider the revival of Irish to be a failure. However, according to several expatriates from the Republic and Northern Ireland, attitudes towards the language and revival efforts seem to be positive. Overall Irish people are happy for the revival to continue as a symbol of Irish identity, rather than a means of communication. Language revival efforts at present, are shared by the governments in the Republic and Northern Ireland.

- Timeframe: since the late 19th century
- Speakers: predominantly second language speakers in Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland; some native speakers in the Gaeltacht areas
- Main language programmes: compulsory school programmes; summer immersion camps; business incentives; social clubs; festivals; media
- Main problems: domains being limited to the schools; lack of role models; too government controlled; poorly defined objectives[26]

4.2.3 Kaurna

Kaurna is already being claimed a success by both community members and linguists. The language has not been known or used as a complete system since the

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[26] The latter had the effect of not giving any indication when the programmes were not working and also of being too ambitious for the state which the language was in.

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late 19th century, but was fortunately well-documented by missionaries shortly after European arrival in South Australia. Though the level of language is low for both teachers and students at this stage, both the number of participants in programmes and the amount of exposure to Kaurna in the city has increased significantly.

- Timeframe: ten years
- Speakers: all second language speakers
- Language programmes: workshops for songs and new vocabulary; programmes in schools (particularly Kaurna Plains Aboriginal School), universities, and tertiary colleges; a dual-naming policy for Kaurna names and signs in parks around Adelaide; public performances and speeches by Kaurna people
- Main problems: lack of teachers; overemphasis on educational institutions; lack of support at the tertiary level; issues of access to the language

4.3 Discourses for evaluation

In order to recognise the different views of success used to evaluate these programmes, I have identified seven discourses: Linguistic; Pedagogical; National; Technical; Social, Economic and Ecological. I have put these discourses within two orientations (defined in section 3.2.1), which should not be seen as fixed, but rather fluid and overlapping. Table 2 summarises the goals and criteria most relevant for each discourse within these two orientations. However, these should be defined at a local level, appropriate to the specific community and programme. The following is simply a guide.

Discourse	Goals	Success Criteria
Linguistic: Indigenous	To preserve the community's values beliefs through preservation as a first language	• Cultural conventions of lang. use • Purity of complete language • Spontaneous language use • Number of domains • Competency of speakers • Number of speakers
Linguistic: Western	To revive the language to first language status	• Well-documented by academics • Number of speakers • Competency of speakers • Number of domains • Purity of complete language • Spontaneous language use
Pedagogical: Indigenous	To teach the community's values and beliefs by using the language in education	• Relationship with the teacher & other students • Value system • Learning setting
Pedagogical: Western	To maximise academic achievements and English competency by using the language in education	• Literacy in national language • Academic achievement • Literacy in the vernacular
National: Indigenous	To unify people either at a community or regional level	• Indigenous control & ownership • Priority to community access • Links to other movements • Protection of unity of community • Promotion of social healing
National: Western	To unify the nation and secure a place in the global community	• Gov. and uni involvement • Access for everyone • English literacy
Technical: Indigenous	To produce resources to teach the language to the community	• Access to resources • Cultural appropriateness • Effective sharing of resources • Language use • Retain copyrights
Technical: Western	To produce well-functioning resources, reproduced at minimum cost	• Practical function • Overall usage • Costs • Availability of ongoing expertise
Social: Indigenous	To improve self-images and relationships in the community	• Participants' self-esteem • Improvement of social problems • Promotion of social healing
Social: Western	To increase participation in broader society	• Participants' self-esteem • Improvement of social problems • Participation in broader society
Economic: Indigenous	To maximise the self-sufficiency and long-term stability and positive externalities	• Employment opportunities • Self-sufficiency of programme • Long-term funding • Extent of language activities
Economic: Western	To maximise profit	• Employment opportunities • Tourist potential • Long-term funding
Ecological: Indigenous & Western	To preserve an ecology of languages, rather than a single language	• Self-sustainability • Support of many languages • Adaptation to current needs • Improvement of social problems • Identity function

Table 2: Goals and Criteria of language maintenance and language revival discourses

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4.4 Evaluation

Within the criteria listed above, the three case studies can be evaluated at different degrees of benefit to its speakers. Table 3 shows an evaluation of Hawaiian, Irish and Kaurna according to the above criteria. Table 4 gives an overview of this evaluation.

Whilst none of the case studies in chapter 3 can be considered successful within the criteria of the Linguistic discourse (see section 3.2.2.1), it should be noted that without these language programmes, they would be in a severely worse situation than they are in. Overall Hawaiian has been shown to be the most successful case study across the maximum number of discourses, meeting 43 of the criteria. Meeting 38 of the criteria Irish has been shown to have its importance in Ireland. However there are many more criteria for which Irish does not only not realistically have the potential to reach, but which are no longer relevant to the revival goals. Kaurna, meeting only 27 of the criteria, as the newest programme shows a great amount of potential providing the reclamation keeps its present momentum. As Lewis O'Brien says "It's not instant coffee" (Pers.comm., June 2003).

Discourse	Success Criteria	H	I	K
Linguistic: Indigenous	• Cultural conventions of lang. use	•	o	o
	• Complete language	•	•	o/x
	• Spontaneous language use	o	x	o
	• Competency of speakers	•	•	o
	• Number of speakers	o	•	x
	• Number of domains	o	x	o
Linguistic: Western	• Well-documented by academics	•	•	•
	• Number of speakers	o	•	x
	• Number of domains	o	x	o
	• Competency of speakers	•	•	o
	• Complete language	•	•	o/x
	• Spontaneous language use	o	x	o
Pedagogical: Indigenous	• Relationship with the teacher & other students	•	•	•
	• Value system	•	•	•
	• Learning setting	•	x	•
Pedagogical: Western	• Literacy in national language	•	•	•
	• Academic achievement	•	•	•
	• Literacy in the vernacular	•	•	•
National: Indigenous	• Indigenous control & ownership	•	x	o
	• Priority to community access	•	x	o
	• Links to other movements	•	•	•
	• Protection of unity of community	o	•	o
	• Promotion of social healing	•	•	•
National: Western	• Gov. and uni involvement	•	•	•
	• Access for everyone	•	•	•
	• English literacy	•	•	•
Technical: Indigenous	• Access to resources	•	•	o
	• Cultural appropriateness	•	•	•
	• Effective sharing of resources	•	x	•
	• Language use	•	•	•
	• Retain copyrights	•	•	o
Technical: Western	• Practical function	•	•	•
	• Overall usage	•	•	•
	• Costs	•	x	•
	• Availability of ongoing expertise	•	•	o
Social: Indigenous	• Participants' self-esteem	•	•	•
	• Improvement of social problems	•	•	o
	• Promotion of social healing	•	•	o
Social: Western	• Participants' self-esteem	•	•	•
	• Improvement of social problems	•	•	o
	• Participation in broader society	•	x	•
Economic: Indigenous	• Employment opportunities	•	•	o
	• Self-sufficiency of programme	•	x	•
	• Long-term community funding	•	•	•
	• Extent of language activities	o	o	o
Economic: Western	• Employment opportunities	•	•	o
	• Tourist potential	•	•	o
	• Long-term subsidised funding	o	•	o
Ecological: Indigenous & Western	• Self-sustainability	•	x	•
	• Support of many languages	•	•	o
	• Adaptation to current needs	•	•	•
	• Improvement of social problems	•	•	o
	• Identity function	•	•	•

Table 3: Evaluation of Hawaiian, Irish and Kaurna language revivals
Key: • Successful; **o** Potentially successful; **x** Not relevant

		Hawaiian	Irish	Kaurna
Linguistic	Indigenous	o	x	o/x
	Western	o	x	o/x
Pedgogical	Indigenous	•	•	•
	Western	•	•	•
National	Indigenous	•/o	•	•/o
	Western	•	•	•
Technical	Indigenous	•	•	•/o
	Western	•	•	•
Social	Indigenous	•	•	•/o
	Western	•	•	•
Economic	Indigenous	•	o	o
	Western	•	•	o
Ecological	Indigenous and Western	•	•	•

Table 4: Overall evaluation of Hawaiian, Irish and Kaurna:
Key: • Successful; **o** Potentially successful; **x** Not relevant

4.5 Final word

This study aims to give direction and perspective to both the formulation of objectives and the evaluation of language revival programmes, which are both important steps in accountability of the programmes to the community and to relevant funding bodies. The key is to overcome adversarial approaches to language revival; stakeholders must not necessarily see eye-to-eye, but at least acknowledge the validity of the 'other,' whilst recognising their own biases. Furthermore, it is important that these programmes simultaneously do not limit themselves too much, but do not over-extend their capabilities and thereby set themselves up to fail.

The matter yet to be seen is whether the western orientation will dominate Indigenous language revival in Australia, or conversely whether the communities are empowered to maintain their languages, not as a museum piece, but as a fundamental part of their identity. Moreover, the question remains how the recognition of these discourses can be translated into policy, particularly for considering the allocation of funding grants and for educational policy.

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5. APPENDICES

5.1 How many languages are there?

As Edwards (Edwards 1992, p.38) stresses, by identifying the number and competency of speakers, there remains a better chance of maintenance or revival, or at the very least, documentation of the language, provided sufficient attention is given before it is too late. Unfortunately, at this stage there remains a serious lack of documented information on a regional level as to how many languages there are within the world (Crystal 2000, p.4; Nettle and Romaine 2000, p.27; Dalby 2002, p. 26), let alone their level of health (Krauss 1992, p.4; for a typology of language endangerment see Edwards 1992, and discussion by Grenoble and Whaley 1998). This is often due to languages having small numbers of speakers (Nettle and Romaine 2000, p.32) in areas that are difficult for outsiders to access (Nettle and Romaine 2000, p.8). Determining the proficiency of speakers can also be difficult, particularly when the language competency is self-assessed, since to speak a language means different things to different people (Dixon 1989, p.30). Furthermore, defining language boundaries and naming what is spoken within these boundaries is an inherently political issue, particularly in the Indigenous Australian context, where language communities do not correlate to the European idea of one nation, one language. Communities are typically multilingual, with the language being tied to the land and laws of each group.

Within the Indigenous Australian context, the pre-colonisation language situation was one with which the Europeans were unfamiliar, and as a result found difficult to describe (Mudrooroo 1995, p.11). Dixon argues that languages have periods of equilibrium, during which neighbouring languages converge by borrowing grammatical and lexical features from surrounding languages, and periods of punctuation, in which new languages are created as languages diverge (1997). According to Dixon, Australia had, prior to the British invasion, undergone a long period of equilibrium, in which the language features diffused through areas, though not necessarily with coinciding boundaries, thus creating language continua and language ecologies that cannot be represented by traditional family trees (1997, p.92). Within these linguistic areas, several languages may have been spoken, each language having a different name for the groups of people living in the area and the language they spoke (Walsh 1997, p.397). As a result of this language convergence,

multilingualism and multiplicity of names, Europeans often drew up language boundaries and named languages incorrectly and arbitrarily.

Most Australian linguists number Australian Indigenous languages at about 250 at the time of European invasion, with many hundreds more dialects (Schmidt 1990, p.1). This number is based on the mutual intelligibility of languages. However, Sutton (1979) notes a single name imposed by Europeans may have covered many very different dialects or different names may have been given for very similar dialects. Moreover, many Indigenous languages that survive today, either within the community or in written documents are actually amalgamations of surrounding diverse dialects, either used by missionaries or by speakers themselves, when forced into a situation of needing to communicate with speakers of other language (Mühlhäusler 2003, p.5). Dixon (1997, p.58) observes "[t]he dialects of two new nations or tribes may well be fully intelligible, the important political thing being to take care to use certain words and avoid others." To distinguish between these, Dixon (in Walsh, 1997) defines two categories: language-as-dialect (language[1]), with about 600 languages at the time of European contact, and language-as-language (language[2]), with about 200 languages.

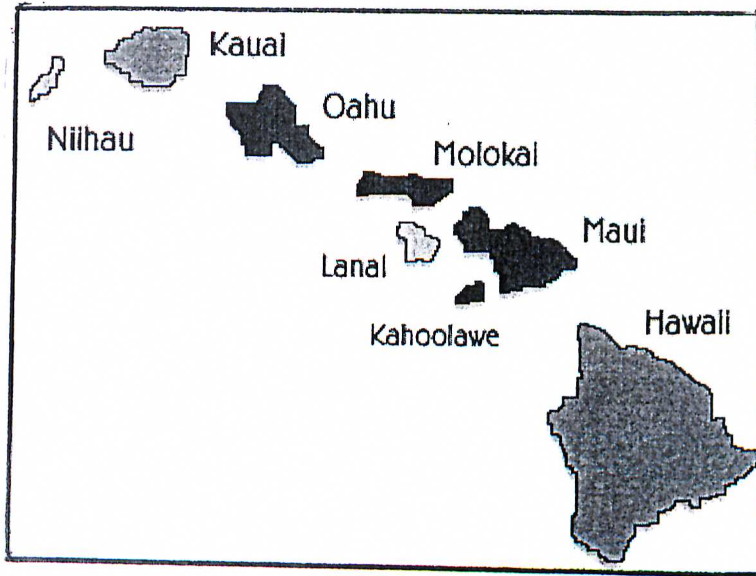
Indigenous Australians, on the other hand, generally recognise 600-800 languages, based upon language identification, political and social structures, just as some mutually intelligible languages within Europe are considered separate languages for political and social reasons (Regula Schmidlin, Pluricentricity Lecture, University of Adelaide 10 March 2003). Within the smaller number recognised by linguists, Schmidt estimates that of these, only 90 are still spoken today, and of these only 20 are being transmitted intergenerationally (1990, p.1), though even these comparatively strong languages are under threat of English (Schmidt 1990, p.125). Walsh estimates that realistically prior to colonisation between 3800 and 990,000 languages were lost (Walsh 1997, p.405), with the lower number referring to a conservative estimate of the linguistically mutually unintelligible entities, and the larger number referring to a liberal estimate of languages as understood and realised at a local level, though linguists may label them 'dialects'.

At present there are 6,809 languages in the world as recorded by the Ethnologue (Grimes, 2000), though most linguists accept a rounded off figure of 6,000 (Krauss, 1992). Half of these are believed to be endangered, that is the speaker numbers are declining rapidly because the language is not being passed on inter-

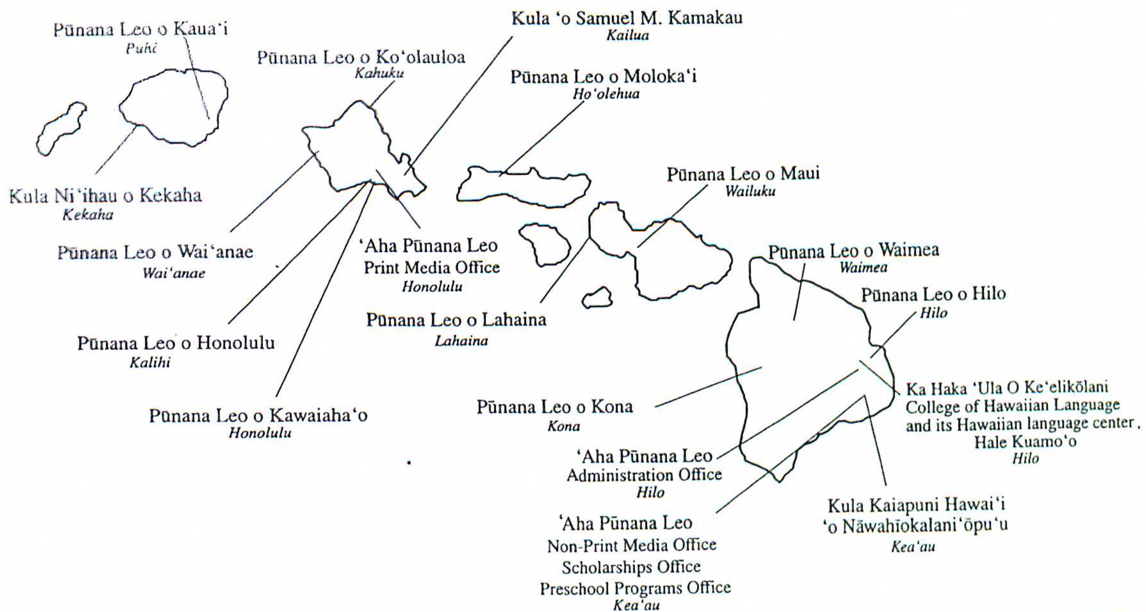
generationally to the extent it was a generation ago (Ibid.), though Krauss suggests that at present only 600 languages can be considered 'safe,' leaving 90% of languages an uncertain future in the coming century (Ibid). Indeed, Crystal points out that today 96% of the world's population speak only 4% of the world's languages (2000, p.14), which indicates that most languages have very small speaker numbers, in some cases only one speaker.

5.2 Maps

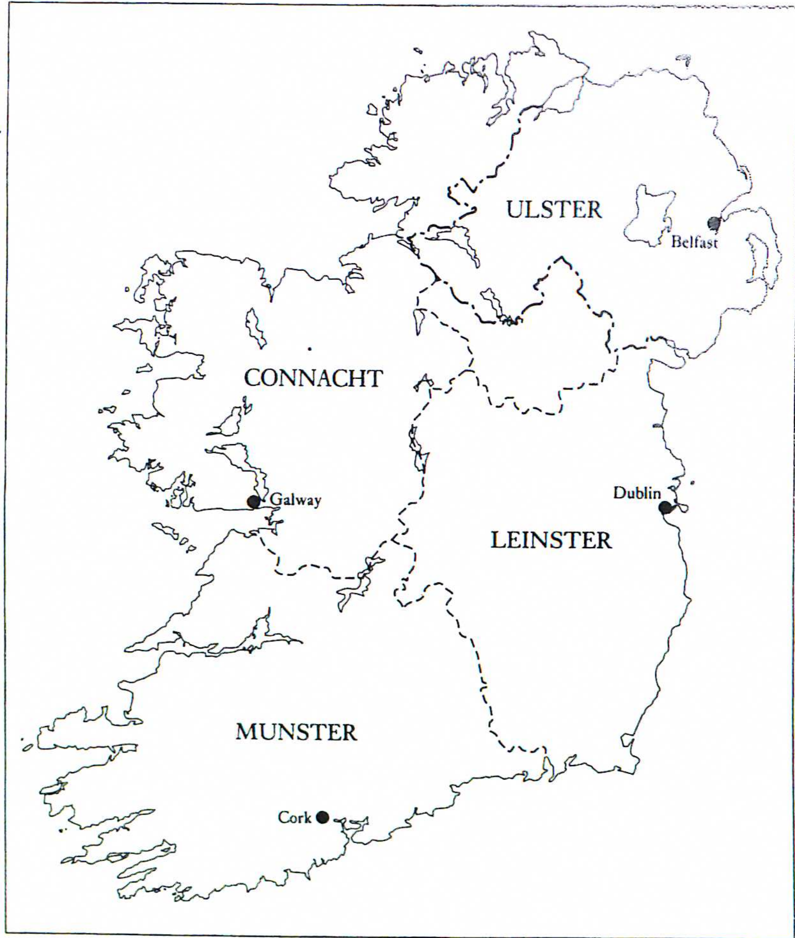
5.2.1 Maps of Hawai'i



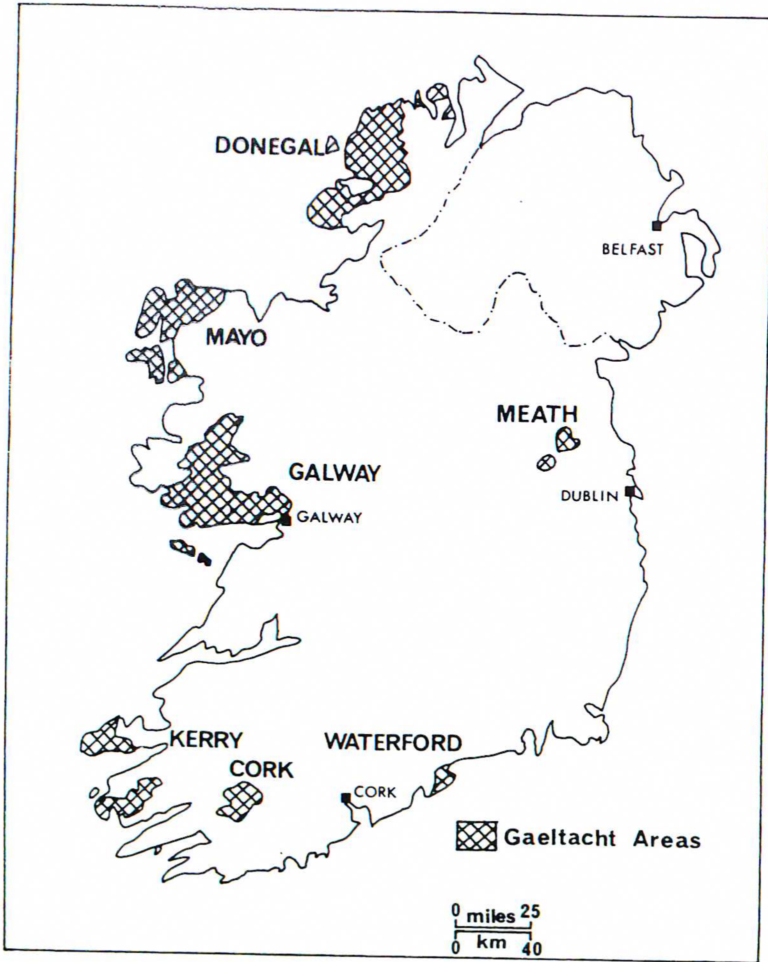
Map 1: The Hawaiian Islands
Source: ***Hawaiian Islands*** **www.hana.maui.com/maps**



Map 2: The *'Aha Pūnana Leo* programme and its consortium partner, *Ka Haka 'Ula O Ke'elikōlani* College of Hawaiian Language
Source: Hinton and Hale (2001, p.146).

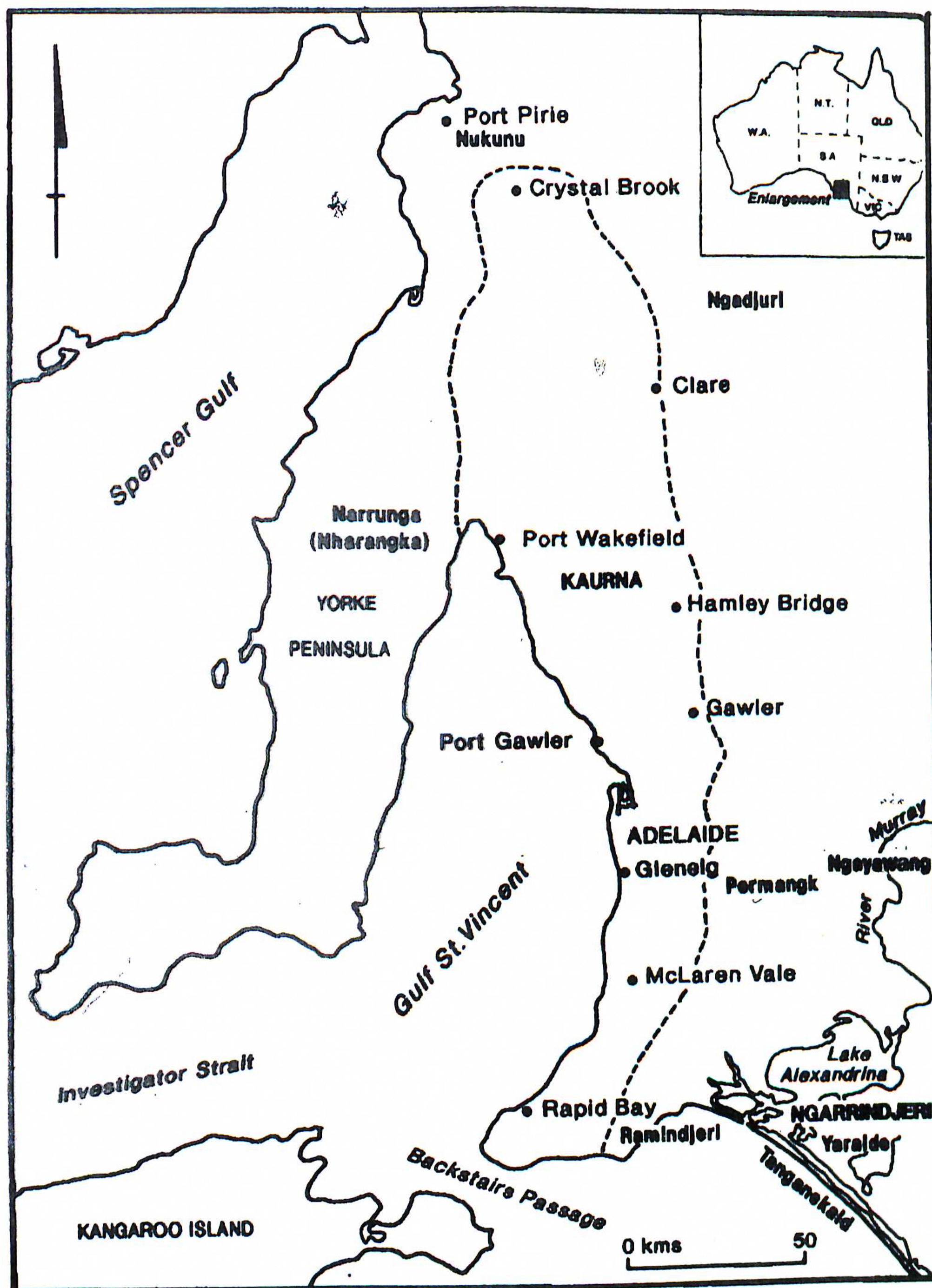


Map 3: Irish dialectal regions in Ireland
Source: Ó Dochartaigh (2000, p.8).



Map 4: Gaeltacht areas in Ireland
Source: O'Cinneide, Keane, et al. (1985, p.4).

5.2.3 Map of the Kaurna Plains



Map 5: Kaurna territory and neighbouring languages
Source: Amery, R. (2000a). *Warrabarna Kaurna: Reclaiming an Australian Language*. Lisse, Swets & Zeitlinger: p. xiv.

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5.3 Backgrounds

5.3.1 Background of the Hawaiian language

Hawaiian is an Austronesian language spoken since around 600 AD on the islands of Hawai'i. Europeans arrived in Hawai'i in 1788 and today the population is made up of a large mix of people, including a great diversity of religion, ethnicity and language backgrounds, though English is the dominant language.

Following the development of a Hawaiian orthography in the 1820s, literacy was strongly promoted by the Hawaiian monarchy and used as a language of education and of religion throughout the nineteenth century by both Native Hawaiians and non-Native speakers, to the point where Hawaiians were the most literate ethnic group on the islands (Rapono 1995, p.124; Wilson 1998, p.127). In 1893, the Hawaiian monarchy was overthrown and in 1898 Hawai'i was declared territory of the United States of America (Niedzielski 1992, p.370). Hawaiian was banned in the classrooms, which led to Hawaiian Creole English becoming the first language of the majority of the population (Ka'awa and Hawkins 1997, p.151). Only one privately owned island, Ni'ihau, managed to keep the language alive as the first language of children (Niedzielski 1992, p.370).

This began to change in the 1960s with the reversal of the banning of Hawaiian names in 1967 (Niedzielski 1992, p.376). Following this, a cultural renaissance in the 1970s saw the re-emergence of land rights issues, and interest in canoeing, traditional dance and language, which led in 1978 to the language being reinstated as the co-official language of the state, with English, though it was not reinstated as a language of instruction until 1986 (Ka'awa & Hawkins 1997, p.151). Since the 1970s any progress in language policies or implementation of programmes has been surrounded by great political debate, demonstrations and boycotts in reaction to the unbending policies and laws of the Government and the Education Department (Wilson 1998). Furthermore, this revival has had little to no funding from the state and federal governments (Rapono 1995, p.122). However, in 1978, an official and autonomous Office of Hawaiian Affairs was set up by the government. The following year the Ahahui 'Olelo Hawai'i (Hawaiian Language Society) produced a new Hawaiian orthography to make the written language more computer compatible and easier for learners to acquire (Niedzielski 1992, p.377). 1996 was made the "Year of the Hawaiian Language" (Wilson 1998, p.134).

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5.3.2 Background of the Irish language

Irish and English have been competing with one another since the Normans under Henry II invaded Ireland in 1169. There have been many factors to weaken the language, including: the Statute of Kilkenny in 1366, which made English compulsory for people living around English speaking people (Price 1984, p.39); the Irish Industrial Revolution from 1780, which led to many Irish speakers moving to English speaking cities (Carnie 1996, p.100); in Northern Ireland the coming of Scottish landowners (Price 1984, p.40); in 1831 the opening of National Schools, which banned Irish; and finally the potato famine in 1845, which affected the Irish speaking rural populations more so than the English speaking cities, with 1.5 million deaths and a million people emigrating (Price 1984, p.40). By the mid eighteenth century there were reports of the last Irish-speaking communities in what is now Northern Ireland, and in the south speakers were limited to sparsely populated areas in the west (Price 1984, p.42).

Towards the end of the nineteenth century, a language revival movement began. This was basically led by the middle-class in Dublin (Edwards 1984, p.286) in an organization called the Gaelic League. Language became a symbol of the movement for independence, and

> "[b]y 1905, the League's successes were already impressive. Attending the League's classes had become the thing to do; a weekly newspaper, *An Claidheamh Soluis*, had been started; the foundations of a modern literature in Irish had been laid; popular interest in Gaelic literature, music and customs had been aroused; a public protest had been staged in which the British Postmaster General had been forced to accept mail addressed in Irish; the Dublin County Council had been prevailed upon to favor in its appointments candidates who knew Irish (a pattern that was to become much more general); and many primary schools, some secondary schools, and teacher-training colleges had been persuaded to introduce Irish"
>
> (Macnamara 1971, p.67).

When the Republic became independent in 1921, Irish was made the co-official language with English. The objectives, therefore, at this stage were two-fold: they planned to maintain Irish as a spoken language of the Gaeltacht, and furthermore to promote Irish amongst the Anglophone population. This meant great measures had to be put in place to make the languages equal in court proceedings, parliament, schools and businesses. Irish was made compulsory as the medium of education in primary schools and as a subject in high schools and furthermore it became "an essential requirement for entry to most careers in the state sector" (Ó

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Riagáin 1985, pp.43-4). This policy peaked in 1939 with 704 all-Irish schools (Macnamara 1971, p.72), and declined thereafter due to a shift towards maths and science-based subjects, which were needed for employment with foreign companies (Ó Giasáin 1988, p.91-4). In these school programmes Munster was the dialect promoted above all others, because the teachers had trained in that area (Macnamara 1971, p.72). In 1945 there was a spelling reform (Price 2000, 16) and in the 1950's a standard of the language was produced (An Caighdeán), which incorporated the three major dialects (Cotter 2001, p.303). However, those involved in making these policies did not establish support or enthusiasm in the areas where Irish was still spoken, or look at their attitudes towards the language, which undermined the policies from their initiation (Edwards 1984, p.286).

At different times there have been groups of families in Dublin and Belfast that have created their own small Irish-speaking neighbourhoods (Price 2000, p.11; Slomanson 1996, p.120). However, there is strong evidence that the language spoken by the children of these families is strongly influenced by the English they hear around them, with morphological levelling and increased loan words (Slomanson 1996, p.120). In the Republic, in settlements set up in the 1930's, dialect differences led to the children using English as a lingua franca, and the Irish only lasted one generation in the community (Price 2000, p.11).

Since the early 1970s, there has been a change in focus of the revival strategy to make the language seem desirable rather than an obligation. The most unrealistic parts of the policy (such as compulsory Irish in public-service appointments and compulsory Irish-medium education) have been replaced with more reasonable measures (such as the creation of the semi-independent organization, Bord na Gaeilge, to promote the language) (Tovey 1988, p.54; Ó Riagáin 1988a, p.8). In 1986 a 'central dialect' pocket dictionary was created for standard spoken norms (lárchanúint) based on Munster, Ulster and Connacht (Price 2000, p.22). Whilst these developments have increased the positive attitudes towards learning the language, there is also evidence of an increase in frustration, with no progression in language abilities generation after generation (Harris 1988, p.70). In fact there has been a considerable decrease in language abilities when comparing current students' abilities to those of the students from the compulsory immersion schooling policies (Harris 1988).

5.3.3 Background of the Kaurna language

At the time when the British colony of South Australia was established in 1836, the Kaurna population was already diminished due to several small-pox epidemics, and as a result it is difficult to know the size of the speaker population, though it is thought to have been about 700 at this time (Amery 2000a, p.65). Initially many British people took an interest in the language, mainly with the view of helping communication and Christianising the Kaurna people (Amery 1995, p.68). However, soon the disruption of the local geographical boundaries, resulting in an influx of foreign groups into Kaurna territory, in addition to a typhoid outbreak in 1843, led to the displacement of the Kaurna people and loss of language to the point where many people believed the Kaurna people to be extinct by 1850 (Amery 2000a, p.64). The last fluent speaker of the language, Ivaritji, died in 1929 (Amery 1995, p.65).

In 1839, two Dresden missionaries, Christian Gottlieb Teichelmann and Clamor Wilhelm Schürmann, arrived in South Australia and set up an Aboriginal school at the Native Location on the banks of the River Torrens. This school taught the Kaurna children literacy in Kaurna until 1845 (Amery 2000a, p.68), and furthermore offered the missionaries the opportunity to produce a grammar and dictionary of the language within their first year (Teichelmann and Schürmann 1840). This is now considered to be a fairly reliable and consistent record of the language (Amery 2000a, p.77), with 1816 head-words and 24 pages of grammar, song-lines, and passages to illustrate dialect differences. Other sources of the language include other word lists, and another grammar sketch and vocabulary of 2500 words written by Teichelmann in 1857 (Amery 2000a, p.77). In 1982 a facsimile edition of the original T&S was produced.

In the 1980s, several Aboriginal institutions in Adelaide showed an interest in taking on a Kaurna name, such as the Aboriginal Art Gallery, Tandanya, and Warriappendi Alternative School, but no work was done on the language to revive or modernise it at this time (Amery 2000a, p.160). In the mid 1980s, Georgina Williams called for the language to be revived (Georgina Williams, pers.comm., 15 October 2003).

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5.4 Samples of the Kaurna Language Reclamation

5.4.1 Kaurna Song

Warrabarna Kaurna

N.G. Varcoe 14 January 2001, with assistance from Rob Amery for the Kaurna version.

I want to be spoken, I want to be spoken
I want to be spoken I'm not dead
I want to be oralised, I want to be exercised
I want to be spoken and read
Not an echo from the past, I'm living in Kaurna hearts
I want to be spoken and read.

Speak me in the streets and roads
Speak me in the schools and homes
Tell the people everywhere you go
Tell the people I exist, tell the world I'm written text
Tell the people everything you know
Use my words to write a song
Sing it loud all day long
Tell the people I am still alive
Speak me when you say hello
Speak me everywhere you go
Tell the people I was never dead

I want to be spoken, I want to be spoken
I want to be spoken I'm not dead
I want to be oralised, I want to be exercised
I want to be spoken and read
Not an echo from the past, I'm living in Kaurna hearts
I want to be spoken and read.

Tappanangga wangarna
Wodlingga warrabarna
Meyunnaitya warra kattirna
Warra Kaurna purruna
Paltingga, pepangga
Wiltarnendi tindo tindungga
Warrarlo palti pintyando
Tindungga tarkaradlu
Ngaityo warra burro purruna
Wanggadlu "Ninna marni?"
Wirrangga, wodlingga
Ngaityo warra burro purruna
Padlonendai Warra Kaurna
Muinmo yurrekaityandi
Warrabarna Kaurna tarkari.

5.4.2 Kaurna signposting in Adelaide

Plate 1: Sign in Adelaide Parklands indicating Kaurna name, etymology, pronunciation and the City of Adelaide Reconciliation statement.

Plate 2: Sign in an Adelaide square, giving the English name, but not the Kaurna name.

Plate 3: Signage at Warriparinga Living Kaurna Cultural Centre welcoming visitors in Kaurna.

Plate 4: Sign for the *Tappa Mai* (Food trail) Botanic Gardens Tour.

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