Integrative Literature Review

on non-Indigenous Engagement in indigenous languages from across the world

February 2024

Final Report

ihi Research
Social Change & Innovation

Suggested Citation

Bradnam, L. & Hynds, A. S. (2024). Integrative literature review on non-Indigenous engagement in indigenous languages from across the world. Ōtautahi: Ihi Research.

Acknowledgements

Ihi Research wishes to acknowledge Indigenous communities in colonised countries across the world who have fought to sustain their languages and cultures. We also wish to thank the reviewers who provided constructive feedback on this report.

Every effort has been made to ensure the accuracy of this report.

Report Design: Create Design Studio www.createdesignstudio.co.nz

Contents

Glossary

Aotearoa	New Zealand
hapū	subtribe
hapori	group, community
iwi	tribe
kaiako	teacher
kaitiaki	guardian or trustee
mana	status, prestige
manaakitanga	caring
Māori	Indigenous people of Aotearoa
mauri	life force
moko	grandchild
ora	state of living
Pākehā	European New Zealanders
pepehā	formal introduction
Pou reo	"Pou reo are individuals or groups actively supporting reo Māori teaching and learning in a school. In the context of this study, pou reo included kaiako, teachers, kaiāwhina, tumuaki, principals, and whānau members." (Bright & Smaill, 2022, p. 1).
tangata turi	Deaf/Hard of hearing people
tauira	student

te ao Māori	the Māori world
Te Mātāwai	https://www.tematawai.maori.nz/
te reo Māori	Māori language
te reo me ona tikanga	the language and its cultural practices cannot be separated
Te Tiriti o Waitangi	the Māori version of the Treaty of Waitangi
Te Wānanga o Aotearoa	https://www.twoa.ac.nz/te-whare#:~:text=Te%20W%C4%81nanga%20o%20Aotearoa%20is,qualifications%20all%20%20across%20New%20Zealand. A tertiary education institution
tikanga	cultural practices
tuakiritanga	identity
wairua	spirituality
Waitangi Tribunal	"The Waitangi Tribunal is a standing commission of inquiry. It makes recommendations on claims brought by Māori relating to legislation, policies, actions or omissions of the Crown that are alleged to breach the promises made in the Treaty of Waitangi". https://waitangitribunal.govt.nz/about/
whakamā	to be ashamed, shy, bashful, embarrassed
whakapapa	genealogy
Whakatāne	a town within Aotearoa in the Eastern Bay of Plenty
whānau	extended family

Introduction

Ihi Research was commissioned by Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori (Te Taura Whiri) to conduct a literature review of non-Indigenous engagement in indigenous[1] language revitalisation across the world. The purpose is to assist in the development of a foundational evidence base for later international collaboration on the issue.

The ability to communicate in one's chosen language is an essential human right that contributes to health and wellbeing for the individual and wider society (UNESCO, 2021). This right must be extended to all, including language signers[2] and speakers.

> *"It is through languages that people embed their worldviews, memory and traditional knowledge, alongside their unique modes of thinking, meaning and expression, whilst – even more significantly – it is through language too that they construct their future." (UNESCO, 2021, p. 5).*

However, continued intentional efforts by settler colonial governments to remove Indigenous people from their lands and eliminate their languages and cultures have resulted in indigenous language loss and decline across the globe (United Nations, 2022; Reid er al. 2017). The United Nations (2022, para 1) warns many indigenous languages are "seriously endangered" and may be extinct by 2100. To counter this decline, the United Nations General Assembly endorsed the recommendations of the Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues and announced the International Decade of Indigenous Languages (2022-2032). There is an urgent need to "preserve, revitalise and promote indigenous languages" both within countries and across the world (UNESCO, 2021, p. 6).

Preserving and promoting indigenous languages requires Indigenous peoples' leadership, government commitment and resourcing and the support of non-Indigenous communities (United Nations, 2022). This integrative literature review aims to better understand what is known about the views and experiences of Indigenous people in colonised countries as they share their language with non-Indigenous people in language revitalisation efforts.

[1] A capital letter is used when describing Indigenous communities and a lower case 'i' for indigenous language(s).

[2] Including sign language.

Background

Te reo Māori is the indigenous language of Aotearoa, New Zealand. It is an official language to be used and celebrated by Māori and non-Māori alike. However, this has not always been the case.

Despite the signing of Te Tiriti o Waitangi in 1840, successive governments endorsed policies that banned its use, often punishing those who dared to speak it. The devastating and profound consequences are well documented, resulting in intergenerational harms for whānau, hapū and iwi, including culture and language loss (Reid et al. 2017; Smith, 1999).

In 1972, due to the continued resistance, leadership and activism by Māori, a substantial Māori language petition was presented to parliament. This led to a successful claim to the Waitangi Tribunal (WAI11 Māori Language claim) resulting in the passing of the Māori Language Act 1987. The Act recognised te reo Māori as an official language of Aotearoa and also created the Māori Language Commission, which was later renamed as 'Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori: the rope that binds the language'. Te Ture mō Te Reo Māori - The Māori Language Act, 2016 (New Zealand Legislation, 2016) updated the previous Act, and recognises the role of both the Crown and Māori in the revitalisation of te reo Māori. More specifically, the Act "acknowledges that iwi and Māori are the kaitiaki of te reo Māori, while recognising that the Crown is able to advance the revitalisation of the Māori language by promoting strategic objectives in wider New Zealand society" (Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori, accessed 11 Jan 2024, para 2). This means the Crown and Māori must work "in active partnership to promote the knowledge and use of te reo Māori" (Te Taura Whiri i te reo Māori, accessed 11 Jan 2024, para 2). Therefore the unification of the partnership work is illustrated through the metaphor of Te Whare o te Reo Mauri Ora, as highlighted in figure 1.

The left-side bargeboard in figure 1 is named 'Maihi Māori' (Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori, accessed Jan 11, 2024). "This acknowledges that within the partnership, Māori must develop and lead their own language revitalisation efforts. The partnership for this work is issued and implemented by Te Mātāwai, a representative body of iwi and Māori. Their focus is on

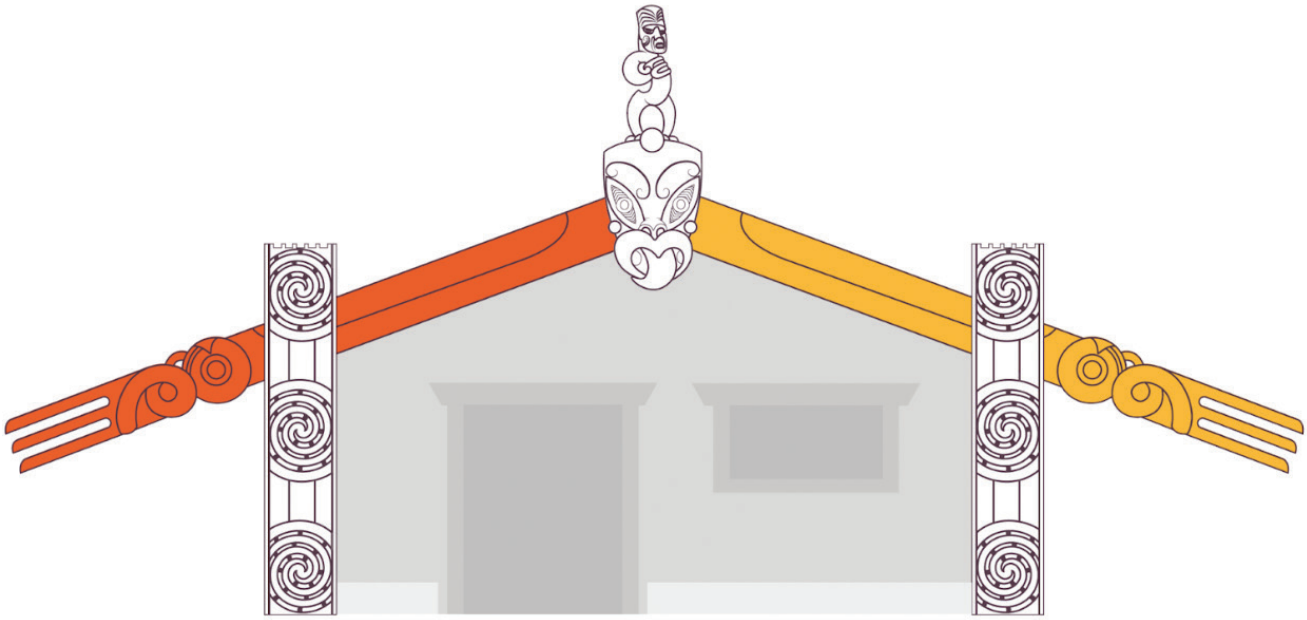


Figure 1. Te Whare o te Reo Mauri Ora (Source: Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori, accessed Jan 11, 2024).

revitalisation within the community" (ibid).

The right-side bargeboard in the figure above is named 'Maihi Karauna'. It "takes a 'macro' approach by focusing on creating conditions for te reo Māori to thrive and ensuring all government systems support this" (ibid). Together both bargeboards provide strength and support for language revitalisation efforts. A strong partnership between the Crown and Māori is needed as the Maihi Karauna has three "audacious goals to achieve by 2040" (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2023, para 3). These are:

- "85% of New Zealanders (or more) will value te reo Māori as a key part of national identity.
- One million New Zealanders (or more) will have the ability and confidence to talk about at least basic things in te reo Māori.
- 150,000 Māori aged 15 and over will use te reo Māori as much as English" (ibid).

According to Te Puni Kōkiri (2019, p. 10), a key aim of Maihi Karauna is "building a national sense of value for te reo Māori". Therefore, wider public engagement in te reo Māori represents a major focus in Te Whare o te Reo Mauriora and is central to the Maihi Karauna, yet it must be done in ways that are safe and productive for Māori. This literature review aims to explore existing evidence that provides insight into this engagement dynamic within Aotearoa and worldwide.

Methodology

The inquiry methodology involved a collaboration between key staff at Te Taura Whiri and Ihi Research. It was underpinned by a Māori-centred approach (Cunningham, 2000). A key aim was to uphold the mana and ora of Indigenous peoples in colonised countries and to support their language efforts. Māori-centred inquiry is also appropriate as the literature review was contracted through Te Taura Whiri i te Reo: The Crown agency set up to promote te reo Māori across wider New Zealand.

The first task of the review was to establish "need and purpose" (Torraco, 2016, p. 64). The justification for this work aligns with Te Taura Whiri's overarching research question: What are Indigenous people saying about sharing their language with non-Indigenous people?

Sub-questions include:

- What are the experiences of Indigenous peoples when they share their language in revitalisation efforts?
- How and why do Indigenous peoples share their languages?
- What are the opportunities and benefits?
- What are the risks and challenges?

These questions defined the boundaries of the search, including the inclusion/exclusion criteria outlined in the table below.

Table 1: Inclusion and exclusion criteria

Included	Excluded
The information must be sourced from an Indigenous individual and/or community, or Indigenous communities.	The individual and/or community (or communities) that are the subject of the study do not identify as being Indigenous or regularly participate with Indigenous research methodologies in the research.
The source must substantively include a focus on non-Indigenous peoples. This could involve an Indigenous community sharing their language with non-Indigenous peoples (usually the wider society of the colonial nation where the community lives), and/or the engagement of non-Indigenous peoples with an indigenous language.	Indigenous language revitalisation efforts that do not substantively involve non-Indigenous people (that is, a study solely focused on indigenous language revitalisation within the heritage community).
The source must have the intent to share indigenous languages with non-Indigenous peoples as part of a language and cultural revitalisation process	Sources and/or contexts may include some indigenous language, such as 'renaming' place names, but are not substantively a part of a wider indigenous language revitalisation process.
Written in English	Not written in English

Several search engines were used to locate literature, including Google, Scopus, Web of Science, Google Scholar and Eric. Specific search terms included:

- 'Indigenous', 'First Nations', 'Aboriginal', 'Heritage', 'Endangered', 'Tribal' coupled with 'language' and 'revitalisation/revitalization' and 'bi-lingualism' and 'survival', 'protect/ion' and 'acquisition'. These terms were also coupled with 'learning' and 'ally' and 'allyship' and 'partner' or 'partnership' as well as 'outsider', 'insider', 'sharing', 'ownership', 'experience', 'learn/er/ing', 'engage/ment', 'social/isation', 'inclusion', 'interaction' and 'community', 'diverse', 'group', 'members' coupled with 'pedagogy', 'teaching', 'practices', 'classroom', 'environment', 'curriculum' and 'education' coupled with 'challenges', 'trauma', 'anxiety' and 'opportunities', 'benefits', 'safe', 'productive' and 'successful'.

The eligibility screening process involved two levels of review. The first was at the level of title as well as abstract or introduction, and then a secondary screen was undertaken with the full document.

Peer review was an important part of the inclusion/exclusion process. One hundred and twenty-six documents were initially identified. Eighteen duplicates were removed, and 14 documents were finally identified as meeting the inclusion criteria.

Analysis and synthesis

Thematic analysis was employed with all included literature sources, which meant deconstructing documents into basic parts that aligned with inquiry questions. The analysis centred on the perspectives and experiences of Indigenous participants described in published studies as they engaged in language revitalisation efforts involving non-Indigenous participants. The next stage was a synthesis of results.

In this stage, the integrative literature review synthesises knowledge from varying literature sources – to "catalyze new thinking" and directions (Torraco, 2016, p. 69). Synthesis can expose "contested areas" or "contradictions" about a topic (Torraco, 2015, p. 66). Several dimensions emerged from the synthesis stage, highlighting contestation, which are presented in the results section.

Considerations

Several considerations need to be acknowledged. We did not define who was an 'Indigenous' or 'non-Indigenous' person; this was left to the author(s) and their description of study participants. Half of the documents included were articles sourced from peer-reviewed academic journals (7/14), and these were constrained by word limits. Six literature sources centred around participant experiences of learning indigenous languages within state institutions such as schools, colleges, higher education/universities, etc, where the main language was that of the coloniser. Four studies identified that female participants outnumbered males. No reviewed studies involved tangata turi or other Indigenous people who are Deaf[3] and are language signers. Finally, all identified and included material was written in English. Given the small number of studies that met the inclusion criteria, literature review findings present only a snapshot of issues related to the sharing of indigenous languages within colonised countries.

[3] A capital 'D' is used to recognise the unique languages and cultures of Deaf people.

Findings

Results emphasised a diversity of perspectives, revealing that the sharing of indigenous languages with non-Indigenous people was contested, complex and dynamic (could change over time).

Different tensions in the data emphasised the depth and breadth of issues. Whilst Indigenous people talked about the considerable benefits and opportunities of language sharing, they also identified specific risks, tensions and challenges. This finding was echoed within research undertaken by Ngaha (2011) who cautioned "there was no simple response to determining whether Māori were supportive of non-Māori speaking Māori, nor was there a clear-cut process to follow." (p. 250). Synthesis of literature review results highlights that Indigenous people's beliefs and experiences are connected to several dimensions of language sharing that are difficult to separate, as they interlink and overlap.

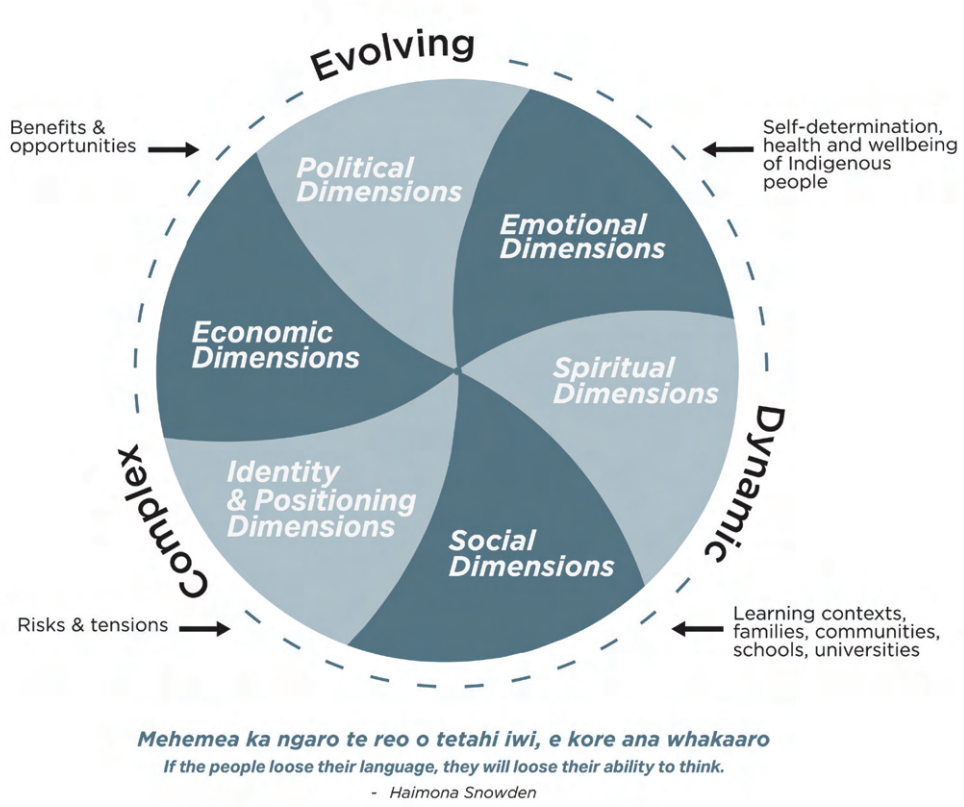
These included:

- Spiritual dimensions
- Social dimensions
- Identity dimensions
- Emotional dimensions
- Economic dimensions
- Political dimensions

These dimensions were also influenced by wider contextual factors. Self-determination, coupled with the health and wellbeing of Indigenous communities was emphasised as an influencing factor. Learning contexts involving families, communities, schools and universities also influenced. Participant beliefs and experiences could also change over time, revealing the dynamic, evolving nature of language sharing. The complexity of the results is highlighted in Figure 2.

There were also specific gaps that emerged from the analysis that highlighted the need for further research. The following section explores these findings in more detail.

Figure 2: Complexity of results



Spiritual dimensions

Literature analysis emphasised spiritual dimensions, as indigenous languages are considered sacred medicine essential for collective health and wellbeing (McKenzie, 2022; Bergier & Anderson, 2021; Fjellgren & Huss, 2019).

> *"It's really good medicine, Séliš … it's good medicine for us, for them (the students) … it's good medicine for the land that Séliš is sparking here in Missoula. I loved hearing them speak Séliš here." (Brayko et al. 2022; p. 15).*

Similar motivations were expressed by Fjellgren and Huss (2019).

> *"Our languages are our medicine, and they reconnect us with our ancestors and the earth." (Fjellgren & Huss, 2019, p. 17).*

The sharing and celebrating of indigenous languages provided opportunities to process the sorrow of the past and heal intergenerational wounds, not just within Indigenous communities but across Nations (McKenzie, 2022; Fjellgren & Huss, 2019; McGregor, 2017).

> *"It opens the gates for emotions, like generations all bottled up inside of people that sometimes just cannot describe why they're so emotional, so grateful and overwhelmed with the relearning of their mother tongue. I think that when we're spiritually in balance, when we're in balance with Creation, we might not always see it scientifically, but OUR SPIRIT can feel it [….] If one can relearn their language and begin to clean out the generations of trauma, it can create a ripple effect within our bodies, within our communities, within our Nations". (Taff et al., 2018, p. 7 as cited by McKenzie, 2022, p. 74).*

Within Aotearoa, learning te reo Māori "increased the likelihood of engaging with colonial processes of oppression", which was challenging for learners, yet also healing (Te Huia et al. 2019, p. 105).

However, there were limits to which non-Indigenous peoples should be involved in healing, ceremonial spaces as part of indigenous language revitalisation work (Bergier & Anderson, 2021; Weinberg & Korne, 2016). Outsider access to sacred knowledge and practices associated with indigenous language work was contested within tribal communities. For example, a member of the Lenape Nation of Pennsylvania questioned a non-Lenape student's right to wear a necklace representing Meesink[4] at a Lenape language conference, despite it being gifted by the tribal leader - the Chief of the Lenape Nation of Pennsylvania (Weinberg & Korne, 2016).

Māori participants also expressed concern in a study by Ngaha (2011). By extending the language to outsiders, the emphasis of language programmes for Māori was diluted. As elders grew older, there were time pressures and concerns that sacred knowledge and wisdom could be lost to future generations.

> *"... But my own raru (problem) with that is people like these fullas here kua pouri tonu te haere (are still working in the dark) so that wisdom or knowledge from the ... kāhore i eke mai nei ki a tātou (hasn't been passed down and understood by all of us)." (Ngaha, 2011, p. 146).*

Social dimensions

A related dimension emphasised the social nature of shared learning environments. This dimension emphasised that language sharing and learning together could improve relationships, connections and understandings between Indigenous and non-Indigenous communities. Developing a better understanding of each other was a key benefit to language sharing as expressed by 'Tuarima' a Māori participant in Ngaha's study:

"... Yes, to help more people to learn … they'll understand what we're on about … … [if you know the reo] you have an understanding of two peoples … (2011, p. 168).

Some studies emphasised how Indigenous and non-Indigenous participants worked together, helped

[4] As described in the study Meesink is a powerful, protective Lenape spirit.

each other with learning tasks and developed deeper understanding and respect for the language and one another (O'Toole, 2020; McGregor, 2017; Weinberg & Korne, 2016). Building a respectful process for shared language learning was essential (Brayko et al. 2022).

By learning indigenous languages together, participants were able to form cross-cultural bonds and supportive relationships. They helped each other to become language speakers, celebrated language efforts and supported community language revitalisation efforts (McGregor, 2017). Within Aotearoa, some Māori participants in Ngaha's (2011) study felt learning te reo together with non-Māori "acted as an incentive" for their own learning (p. 195).

> *"… we had our tutor come and talk to us one day at smoko time and asked us if we knew who'd topped the class. When we said we didn't know, he pointed out this Indian fulla, yeah he'd only been here [in the country] two minutes and was already better than us. Well, we got stuck in then – couldn't have this outsider beat us tangata whenua!" (Ngaha, 2011, p. 195).*

There were different opinions about this, however. Another study involving Māori participants stressed that non-Māori learners needed to understand how their behaviour in language classes impacted others. Some Māori felt uncomfortable and intimidated by non-Māori learners who appeared more adept at learning te reo Māori (Te Huia et al., 2019). Outside learners of te reo are considered privileged, as they are able to learn the language without having to deal with intergenerational trauma associated with colonisation and language loss. Whilst non-Māori learners were welcome to learn te reo Māori, they needed to be "taught the value of manaakitanga in the context of language learning." (Te Huia et al., 2019, p. 102).

Cultural allyship on the part of non-Indigenous peoples was emphasised. This meant working to support language efforts and adhering to principles of respect, compassion and responsibility, whilst understanding the boundaries of such work (Brayko et al. 2021).

Other studies highlight the importance of social solidarity across a range of language learning contexts, and the notion of 'language affiliates' (Davis, 2016, p. 7). Language revitalisation practices and activities can occur in ethnically and politically diverse communities involving fluent speakers, partial speakers, language learners, and non-speakers but who all support indigenous language revitalisation efforts (Davis, 2016). This includes families. A young Māori woman in Ngaha's (2011) study talked about the commitment of her own mother, a Pākehā woman who was trusted with the language, because of her dedication and respect.

> *"… we have to trust that there are those who have an interest to keep things safe for Māori, like my Mum, she's Pākehā, but her mokos are Māori and she lives the tikanga with us as well. It should not be given to just anybody…" (Ngaha, 2011, p. 159)*

As a re/learner of Diné bizaad (a language of the Diné Nation), McKenzie described his own language learning and engagement process as "deeply personal" involving his family and community members (2022, p. 72). Anger could emerge in families, as younger generations felt let down by older family members who stopped speaking and passing on their language and cultural knowledge. McKenzie (2022) called for more "community and family-focused resources" that ensured "connections between historical trauma and healing" (p. 76).

Aside from classroom and family social contexts, communities were also viewed as influencing learners' engagement in language revitalisation efforts. O'Toole (2020) noted "a cultural shift" occurring within "some majority" Pākehā groups within Aotearoa and particularly in Whakatāne (p. 195). O'Toole stated te reo Māori language and culture classes at the Whakatāne branch of Te Wānanga o Aotearoa were instrumental in raising non-Māori participant awareness of, and critical thinking about, New Zealand's colonial history. Whakatāne has a high percentage of Māori, and the township of Whakātane was also considered highly supportive of te reo Māori being spoken, and this encouraged a diverse range of community members to learn and speak te reo.

Society respect for te reo Māori within Aotearoa was also highlighted by "Matiu" a Māori participant in Ngaha's, (2011) study. He said, "Language is also a reflection of how healthy your society is. If we get

healthy in the ways that we determine and live our lives, then our reo will get healthy ... your language should be as normal as breathing." (Ngaha, 2011, p. 155).

Other contemporary studies in Aotearoa (Te Huia et al., 2019; Taani, 2023) emphasise the increasing value of a bi-cultural identity and citizenship that influence participant motivation to enrol in te reo Māori classes. However, racism and racist attitudes of many non-Māori groups continue to be a key, enduring barrier that constrains te reo Māori revitalisation work (Bright & Smaill, 2022; Ngaha, 2011).

Emotional dimensions

The analysis emphasised a wide range of emotions as experienced by Indigenous people, within language revitalisation efforts that involved non-Indigenous people. Expressions of pride, joy, excitement, admiration in the efforts of others and an optimism in the sharing of indigenous languages were evident. For example, the Māori kaiako and tauira interviewed for O'Toole's (2020) study "were proud and excited to share their reo and tikanga with others" (p. 206).

'Joe', a Māori participant, talked about tauira of other ethnicities participating in te reo classes, learning to write and say their pepeha[5] (O'Toole, 2020, p. 206). Joe explained, "It's humbling to hear those Zimbabweans and those Japanese and the Canadians getting up and having a go." (O'Toole, 2020, p. 206). Joe also admired 'television news presenter Simon Dallow', whom he had assumed was "a Pākehā man who had 'stepped out of his comfort zone' to learn te reo." (O'Toole, 2020, p. 206). Joe admired his efforts and open approach to learning te reo. "Okay, well, open up your heart, so that's what I admire about people like him." (Interview recorded 2 August 2017) (O'Toole, 2020, p. 206).

Learning together could be joyful, as it brought people of different cultures and ethnicities together in learning, teaching and celebrating indigenous language use. Mutual love and respect of the language encouraged people (Weinberg & Korne, 2016).

One of the authors and collaborators of a study involved Aspen Decker (Ṫ atayáqn), a proud member of the Confederated Salish and Kootenai 'Tribes. She "grew up in Arlee on the Flathead Indian Reservation, where her ancestors migrated after a forced removal from their home in the Bitterroot Valley." (Brayko et al. 2022, p. 4). She is deeply engaged in Séliš language revitalisation efforts and collaborated with non-Indigenous educators in school-community-university partnerships to extend language teaching to children. A key motivation for sharing and teaching the Séliš language was to enable healing for people and the environment that sustained them (Brayko et al. 2022). Aspen reflected on the joy she felt as she taught her language and culture to diverse groups of children online.

> *"I loved it when the children were able to stand up and I could see their little faces and their excitement with raising their hands and being in the camera and talking to me." (Brayko et al. 2022, p. 15).*

Whilst there was joy, excitement and a sense of pride, there were also expressions of pain, grief and sorrow linked to historical trauma and harm due to the extensive racism and abuse experienced in residential native schools. Citing Taff et al. (2018, p. 8) McKenzie quotes Annie Johnston a Tlingit residential school survivor, who described her "physical inability" to speak her language (2022, p. 72).

> *"... there's others like me that understand but don't speak. And we talk about what happens when we're trying. You get the lump in your throat. Your stomach starts churning. And all the other emotions that come in there. All the walls that were built up. Those walls weren't built by me! The nuns did a good job on a lot of us." (McKenzie, 2022, p. 73).*

Feelings of shame, cultural incompetence and dispossession are associated with an inability to speak and/or become proficient in heritage languages (Bright & Smaill, 2022; Bergier & Anderson, 2021; Guerrettaz, 2020).

Bright and Smaill (2022) examined the beliefs and

[5] Although not highlighted in O'Toole's study, many people do not know Simon Dallow has Māori whakapapa (Husband, 2016).

experiences of 20 Māori and 20 non-Māori pou reo to grow te reo Māori in 10 primary schools. Some Māori pou reo described themselves as having low levels of reo Māori proficiency. They felt that they had lost some of their language ability over time due to "limited opportunities" to use the language, but also because they felt "whakamā" and too ashamed "to try, particularly in front of more proficient speakers" who were critical of their efforts (Bright & Smaill, 2022, p. 21).

> *"I won't go and speak Māori in front of Māori at all. From earlier experiences, criticism, and things like that where people laughed at your pronunciation." (Kaiako, Māori) (Bright & Smaill, 2022, p. 21).*

Some argue that internalised trauma and grief are not always evident amongst older Indigenous community members. It can emerge as criticism aimed at younger people attempting to engage in language revitalisation work. This was expressed by McKenzie, a member of the Diné Nation within the US, "a (re)learner of our language, Diné bizaad" who had faced criticism and ridicule by older tribal members for wanting to engage in language learning (2022, p. 71).

> *"I will never forget, after committing to (re)learning Diné bizaad as a young adult, being laughed at and told I was too old by a man from my own community." (McKenzie, 2022, p. 73).*

Fjellgren and Huss (2019) reflected on their experiences through the Sami Language Centre within Sweden and held discussions with former Indigenous participants who had participated in the Bïhkedäjja and Language Block programmes. They experienced gender differences in emotional expression within shared indigenous language revitalisation work.

> *"Men find it more difficult to talk about their sorrows and other emotions than women, and it is possible that this is one explanation as to why there are so few men engaged in language revitalization as the process is heavily emotional, and processing emotions and traumas from the past is the core of healing and revitalization." (Fjellgren & Huss, 2019, p. 21).*

Since generations of Indigenous children suffered extreme punishment for speaking their language through settler state school systems, a trauma-informed pedagogical approach is needed (Bergier & Anderson, 2021). Safe learning environments are considered essential (Bergier & Anderson, 2021). However, we found there was a lack of detail within the reviewed studies about 'trauma-informed pedagogies' that involved both Indigenous and non-Indigenous people.

Finally, it was also noted that emotions and feelings can change over time. McGregor (2017) described the range of emotions Indigenous and non-Indigenous language students shared during their class presentations, "not only when they were discussing their experiences in their class and their relationship to the language, but also when they were speaking in the language — something the students had no ability to do prior the class." (McGregor, 2017, p. 69). This finding was echoed in a study undertaken by Guerrettaz in the Yucktan, as Mayaan speakers may initially feel shame at not being fluent in the language, yet after becoming more proficient and confident – they feel greater cultural confidence, connection and pride (Guerrettaz, 2020).

Political dimensions

The political dimensions of indigenous language revitalisation work were emphasised, revealing benefits and opportunities as well as risks and tensions. These dimensions are associated with power, agency, empowerment and Indigenous community self-determination. There is a need to embed decolonisation within indigenous language revitalisation work. It was also associated with colonisation, racism, cultural misappropriation, status and elitism, as the process of shared learning could be depowering for Indigenous participants.

The benefits and opportunities of sharing were attributed to tribal self-determinism and cultural/ language activism. This was expressed through a study conducted within the Chickasaw Nation (Davis, 2016). People talked about how the Chickasaw Nation language revival work had increased cultural and linguistic pride across communities, and people were returning home as a result (Davis, 2016). Other studies emphasised the power and impact of continued resistance and agency on the part of tribal communities meaning many "tribal languages continue

to be spoken" despite intergenerational efforts of federal and government agencies to eliminate Indigenous communities and their languages (Brayko, Reid & Decker, 2022, p. 6).

There were concerns that the sharing of Indigenous languages with outsiders, could not be at the expense of tribal communities. It was essential that Indigenous communities retained ownership of language development. A holistic approach was needed (Ngaha, 2011).

> *"Ki te ora mai ngā marae kāinga, he nui ngā tohu e kitea, he kāinga kua ora, he hītori kua ora, he reo kua ora, he tāngata kua ora, ā he hapū kua ora, ngā tino tohu a te rangatira. (If the marae are thriving, then there are a number of signs that demonstrate that. The homes are thriving, healthy, the history, the language, the people and hapū are flourishing. These are all signs of chiefly independence – autonomous well-being) (Ngaha, 2011, p. 231).*

There were opportunities and benefits associated with learning about colonisation, including the continued abuse of power directed at Indigenous communities by successive governments. Within Aotearoa, it was essential language learners understood that Māori had only become an official language of Aotearoa due to the continued resistance, sacrifices and collective agency of Māori leaders. This helped to defuse "some of the self-directed shaming" Māori experience (Te Huia et al., 2019, p. 109). However, McKenzie (2022) warns that indigenous language programmes taught in state run institutions (such as schools, universities etc) typically ignore the power dynamics and "effects of settler-colonial oppression of indigenous languages" (p. 71).

This was best illustrated in the study undertaken by Te Huia et al., (2019) within Aotearoa, which emphasised how unsafe courses could be for Māori learners when such discussions took place.

> *"Participants generally discussed learning about the colonial context of Aotearoa in post-compulsory education. Courses often opened up such discussions. In many instances, Māori students were enrolled in tertiary courses where they were a minority. In some courses, Māori students were being made aware of inequalities between Māori and Pākehā in situations where the teacher was non-Māori, the class was predominantly non-Māori, and the content being taught was negatively framed toward Māori and was not culturally safe for Māori students. In many instances, Māori students were learning about historical injustices and experiencing the emotions associated with such learning, such as sadness and grief, as well as anger and frustration. Yet, in situations in which they were learning with non-Māori peers, they were aware that they needed to adjust their emotional responses to a place of calmness and reason for their non-Māori peers to listen to their perspectives towards injustices." (Te Huia et al., 2019, p. 109).*

Expressions of power and privilege also emerged within a study undertaken by Guerrettaz (2020) who investigated participant experiences within 'Maaya' language 'programa' for students at a university within the Yucatan, Mexico. Interviews revealed participant perceptions of 'stigma' and 'prestige' as a result of learning the language through a university course. Some of this related to where participants were from and their introduction to their language. For example, there was a stigma for some participants who came from rural tribal groups, and who spoke a dialect not taught in the university course.

Guerrettaz (2020) argued that within the higher education courses, "maaya-speakers who participate in language revitalisation constitute a community of practice. As such, particular 'ways of talking' and behaving emerge as speakers come together and interact around this shared endeavour" (p. 13). This can result in a language "elite" who hold more status than village native speakers and are more likely to be employed and promoted within government positions and as maaya language teachers (Guerrettaz, 2020; p. 13).

There were also concerns expressed about "extractivist" language work that "detaches language from the community of speakers and turns it into something that can be circulated and consumed outside of it." (Shulist & Pedri-Spade, 2022, p. 275). They argue that language reclamation and recovery are central to self-determination and the health and wellbeing of Indigenous communities. The political framing of language programmes was paramount. "Within language revitalization discourse, the problem

is language endangerment and loss; within reclamation practice, the problem is colonialism" (Shulist & Pedri-Spade, 2022, p. 275). Such arguments reveal that indigenous language revitalisation "is a highly political process" (Ngaha, 2011, p. 238).

Identity and positioning dimensions

Another related dimension was associated with 'identity' and 'positioning', both collective and individual. This dimension highlighted benefits and opportunities in terms of how participants identified and positioned themselves within language work, as well as associated challenges, tensions and risks.

Identity was connected to membership of a specific language community (Davis, 2016). Individuals (both Indigenous and non-Indigenous) could demonstrate their commitment by "wearing and displaying" products associated with language programmes such as "t-shirts, bumper stickers, lapel pins and so on." (Davis, 2016, p. 9).

Identifying as a language ally connected diverse groups of people to a specific language community.

This was illustrated in Weinberg and Korne's (2016) study into language revitalisation efforts within the Lenape Nation of Pennsylvania emphasising both opportunities and tensions associated with identifying as a member of a Lenape language community. Whilst many non-Lenape students were pleased to be recognised as supporters of this language community, they also needed to respect community boundaries and reflect "on the power imbalances present around endangered languages" (Weinberg & Korne, 2016, p. 8). This included understanding that whilst they were enrolled in language classes, their position was at the "periphery" of the Lenape language community, and their membership had limits (ibid).

Within Aotearoa, 'Tuakiritanga: Pou reo (Māori and non-Māori) 'identity and positioning' emerged as an important theme (Bright & Smaill, 2022, p. 1). This was related to Māori and non-Māori participant motivations for teaching and learning te reo Māori within schools. Pou reo Māori were proud of their Māori identity, their whakapapa was a source of pride, and they were deeply committed to revitalising te reo Māori within their schools (Bright & Smaill, 2022). Non-Māori pou reo were less confident about their identity and positioning, although they expressed commitment to teaching te reo Māori within their schools. 'Identifying as a reo Māori ally' was important, underpinned by a "respectful understanding of the limits of what a non-Māori pou reo could and should do, and an understanding of the tensions that exist when non-Māori step into what would, ideally, be Māori roles" (Bright & Smaill, 2022, pp. 23-24). In these schools, te reo Māori was viewed as essential to a shared national identity and important for all citizens within Aotearoa.

Bright and Smaill (2022, p. 4) concluded that there were important "opportunities to engage in critical conversations" about Māori and non-Māori "identity, positioning, and motivation" in relation to teaching and learning te reo Māori. Along with the need to engage Māori whānau in language work, such discussions could "create shared understandings" and a "solid foundation for growing te reo Māori" in schools (Bright & Smaill, 2022, p. 4).

Participant identity and position within indigenous language revitalisation work can change over time. Citing research on Māori language revitalisation by Higgins et al. (2014), Rewi and Rewi (2015) note the ZePA model. ZePA consists of three key psychological and attitudinal positions that can either motivate or demotivate an individual (Indigenous and non-Indigenous) towards indigenous language revitalisation work. The Zero (Ze) position is categorised by a dismissive, intolerant and/or resistant frame of mind towards language revitalisation efforts. Passive (P) is categorised as being receptive to such work, but the individual is also in an inactive position. In this state, the individual "allows any revitalization to take its course, neither promoting, advocating, nor initiating" language activities (Rewi & Rewi, 2015, p. 140). In contrast, within the Active (A) state, individuals strive to progress their language learning and those of others, operationalising language revitalisation through various endeavours (Rewi & Rewi, 2015). Individuals can also change their positions, shifting either right ('Zero' to 'Passive' to 'Active') or left (in reverse). According to Rewi and Rewi (2015) incentives and rewards can help people to 'right-shift' and

change their position towards indigenous language revitalisation work.

> *"Under ZePA Right-shift, we expect to see rightward movement. Therefore, a person who has been opposed to Māori language use in the past is offered a promotion to a position which is responsible for the Māori language policy, for example, might become less opposed and move to the Passive position. That is ZePA right-shift from Zero to Passive. After six months in that position, that person then decides to learn the language, or implements the inclusion of the Māori language in the professional development of all staff members. Again, ZePA right-shift from Passive to Active." (Rewi & Rewi, 2015, pp. 140-141).*

The 'identity' dimension was also related to intergenerational trauma as experienced by Indigenous communities. The pressure to 'hide' identity was related to this.

> *"I have lost my childhood and because of the boarding school, I missed growing up with my relatives. It is a reason why the Sami community has been destroyed. It is lacerated. It is terrible how they have treated us, the Sami people. Many of us are hurt, and they are hiding their Sami identity." (Elder female) (Fjellgren & Huss, 2019, p. 14).*

Within Sweden, there were also concerns about "linguistic purism" and who is accepted as a Sami person (Fjellgren & Huss, 2019, p. 27). Within the Chickasaw Nation, language proficiency was often viewed as an important cultural identity marker that held considerable tribal status (Davis, 2016). However, this presented challenges for Indigenous participants who were not able and/or confident to speak, as expressed by a Māori kaiako in Aotearoa.

> *"Feeling like kind of a phoney not knowing te reo … it just cuts deeper when you know you don't know reo as deep. That's my biggest challenge." (Bright & Smaill, 2022, p. 21).*

Questions about identity often emerged. "What am I allowed to be?" Is there space in community for all of our stories and identities? That is an important question to ask in revitalization." (Fjellgren & Huss, 2019, p. 19). This sentiment was echoed by Guerrettaz (2020) within Mexico warning that "Yucatecans who identify as Maya are not a monolithic group." (p. 13).

Davis (2016) argues that Indigenous communities commonly face a "linguistic double bind" in which they are expected to maintain the use of their heritage languages "in order to be deemed authentically indigenous" within colonising environments that privilege the dominant settler language and culture (p. 1). There are specific risks if an "Indigenous identity" is only connected to language proficiency because it can "de-authenticate Native Americans who do not speak their heritage language." (Davis, 2016, p. 1).

Others make similar points, arguing that language proficiency "points to a narrow purist understanding of what it means to thrive as an Indigenous person. It delegitimises the wealth of other identity markers and cultural practices that have been kept alive at great cost by Indigenous communities." (Bergier & Anderson, 2021, p. 25).

'Indigenous identity fraud' also emerged as a key risk and challenge as non-Indigenous people can claim authority and reap benefits (employment, promotion, increased salary, etc) based on their language proficiency. Shulist and Pedri-Spade (2022) cite the example of a settler imposter, Morris Blanchard who claimed to be Anishinaabe[6], based on his knowledge of the language. He won numerous art awards and grants before being exposed as a fraud.

There is a need to critically examine language philosophies that underpin revitalisation work and "enable non-Indigenous people to make claims to unique and superior understandings of Indigenous languages and cultures." (Shulist & Pedri-Spade, 2022, p. 273).

Economic dimensions

The economic dimension was linked to employment, promotion, and financial gain, and similar to other dimensions, it highlighted opportunities and benefits, as well as risks, tensions, and challenges. There were clearly economic benefits associated with indigenous language revitalisation work. In the study by Davis (2016), Chickasaw language revitalisation efforts were

affiliated with economic and community development within the Chickasaw Nation, as witnessed by the growth of language programmes and other industries it operates. People were returning home, and there was a revival in cultural and linguistic pride. The Chickasaw Nation is now the largest employer of Chickasaw citizens, and as a result, there were increased social and economic benefits for proficient language speakers and for the wider community (Davis,2016). This motivated diverse community members to engage in language learning programmes.

Within Aotearoa, participants believed there was economic value to learning te reo Māori as language proficiency could "enhance employment/career opportunities" as well as improve social relationships (O'Toole, 2020, p. 204). However, the ability of non-Māori to gain financial benefits through language learning caused suspicion. *"How can we tell if non-Māori are learning te reo, because they genuinely value the language and culture, or if it is seen as simply an additional skill that offers them gain, financial or otherwise?" (Ngaha, 2011, p. 229).*

Shulist and Pedri-Spade (2022) cautioned that state institutions, such as those related to health and education, can promote non-Indigenous speakers who are proficient in tribal languages, yet those same institutions inflict considerable harm on Indigenous communities. They warned "… language ideologies that enable academics, governments, and other institutions to treat indigenous languages as "things" that can be detached from the embodied, situated realities of Indigenous lives and communities also entail the potential for people to pick them up and re-use them for their own gain." (Shulist & Pedri-Spade, 2022, p. 281).

Whilst non-Indigenous people could benefit financially, economic pressures could prevent tribal members of the Oneida Nation of the Thames (Canada) from enrolling in their own language classes (McGregor, 2017). Adequate language resourcing, fees free courses and sustainable funding is a key challenge facing many Indigenous communities (McGregor, 2017; Ngaha, 2011). Due to continuing economic pressures, it is imperative that Māori communities "have the ability and the resources to build up the language resource within their own regions first, and especially through marae learning." (Ngaha, 2011, p. 231).

There is a language debt owed to Indigenous communities that needs to be acknowledged and repaid by governments (McKenzie, 2022; Bergier & Anderson, 2021). Supportive and sustainable government policies are needed to resource trauma-informed approaches within language revitalisation efforts (Fjellgren & Huss, 2019).

[6] "The Anishinaabeg are a large group of Indigenous people that span all the way from Quebec right through to the Rocky Mountains all the way down to Oklahoma up through to Ottawa" (source https://www.anishinabek.ca/education-resources/gdoo-sastamoo-kii-mi/who-are-the-anishinaabeg/#:~:text=surrendered%20their%20lands.-,The%20Anishinaabeg%20territory,Oklahoma%20up%20through%20to%20Ottawa.)

Discussion and conclusion

Literature review findings emphasise the depth, breadth and interplay of the varying dimensions involved as Indigenous people within colonised countries share their sacred languages with outsiders.

Results highlight that language sharing is complex and contested as there are conflicting beliefs, thoughts and emotions evident amongst Indigenous communities. These communities are diverse and heterogeneous, and opinions and positions can change over time. Therefore, there is no one pathway or solution to if, how, and when Indigenous peoples should share their languages with others. It is highly dependent on each Indigenous community, and it is always contextually and relationally based. No one set of recommendations or ideas could encapsulate the breadth and range of language sharing, particularly through language revitalisation efforts in colonised countries. It is a complicated and fraught space.

Literature review findings also emphasise the evolving and dynamic nature of indigenous language revitalisation and its relation to context.

The six dimensions that emerged from literature analysis are useful for deepening conversations, partnerships and inquiry work surrounding indigenous language revitalisation that involves outsiders, particularly as global work is being promoted as part of the International Decade of Indigenous Languages. Each dimension that emerged highlights specific benefits and opportunities, challenges, tensions and risks.

Specific benefits and opportunities

The sharing of indigenous languages with outsiders was considered beneficial and needed to sustain and protect indigenous languages. There were expressions of pride, joy, excitement, admiration in the efforts of others and an optimism in the sharing of languages and this was evident through literature review findings. It was noted that emotions and feelings could change over time, with Indigenous participants initially feeling shame at not being fluent in their heritage language, yet as they became more proficient and confident through sharing in revitalisation efforts – they felt greater cultural confidence, connection and pride.

There were clearly economic benefits associated with indigenous language revitalisation work. People were returning home, and there was a revival in cultural and linguistic pride within specific communities. Increased employment opportunities and specific promotions associated with indigenous language proficiency motivated diverse community members (Indigenous and non-Indigenous) to engage in language learning programmes.

The benefits and opportunities of language sharing were attributed to tribal self-determinism and cultural/language activism. Language revitalisation and the sharing of heritage languages with outsiders were associated with tribal power, agency, empowerment and Indigenous community self-determination. It was essential that Indigenous communities retained ownership of language revitalisation efforts and the extent to which non-Indigenous peoples should be included.

Decolonisation work needed to be embedded within indigenous language revitalisation work. There were opportunities and benefits associated with learning about colonisation, including the continued abuse of power directed at Indigenous communities by successive governments. The sharing and celebrating of indigenous languages provided opportunities to process the sorrow of the past and heal intergenerational wounds, not just within Indigenous communities, but across Nations.

Cultural allyship on the part of non-Indigenous peoples was emphasised. This meant non-Indigenous people working to support language efforts and adhering to principles of respect, compassion and responsibility, whilst understanding the boundaries of their involvement. Language sharing and learning together could improve relationships, connections and understandings between Indigenous and non-Indigenous communities. Some studies emphasised how Indigenous and non-Indigenous participants worked together to support language revitalisation efforts, helped each other with learning tasks and developed deeper understanding and respect for the language and one another. Safe learning environments were considered essential, yet there was a dearth of focus within reviewed studies that spoke to the impact of ‘trauma-informed pedagogies’ involving both Indigenous and non-Indigenous people.

Risks and challenges

Whilst there was joy, excitement and a sense of pride, there were also expressions of pain, grief and sorrow linked to historical trauma and harm due to the extensive racism and abuse experienced by Indigenous communities in colonised countries. Indigenous participants described feelings of shame, cultural incompetence and dispossession, which were associated with an inability to speak and/or become proficient in their heritage languages. Language trauma presented a key challenge to Indigenous participants as they engaged in language-sharing efforts. Anger could emerge in families, as younger generations felt let down by older family members who stopped speaking and passing on their language and cultural knowledge. There was a need for more community and family-focused resources that ensured connections between historical trauma and healing.

There were clear risks to outsider access to sacred knowledge and practices associated with indigenous language revitalisation work, and non-Indigenous people needed to respect the boundaries of such work. By extending the language to outsiders, there was concern that the emphasis of language revitalisation efforts within Indigenous communities was being diluted. As elders grew older, there were time pressures and concerns that sacred knowledge and wisdom could be lost to future generations.

Expressions of power and privilege also emerged as a key challenge. 'Language elites' could emerge, particularly as university courses promoted and/or privileged particular ways of speaking. These language learners could hold more status than village native speakers and were more likely to be employed and promoted within government positions.

'Indigenous identity fraud' also emerged as a key risk and challenge as non-Indigenous people can claim authority and reap benefits (employment, promotion, increased salary, etc) based on their language proficiency.

Whilst non-Indigenous people could benefit financially, economic pressures could prevent Indigenous participants from enrolling in their own language classes. Adequate language resourcing, fee-free courses, and sustainable funding are key challenges facing many Indigenous communities. There is a language debt owed to Indigenous communities that needs to be acknowledged and repaid by governments within colonised countries. Supportive and sustainable government policies are needed to resource trauma-informed approaches within language revitalisation efforts.

Specific gaps

Specific gaps emerged within the reviewed studies that emphasise the need for further research. Four studies identified that female participants outnumbered males, indicating that further research is needed to determine whether there are gender differences in the ways participants engaged in revitalisation efforts. Although UNESCO (2021) emphasises human rights within the context of indigenous language revitalisation and the need to include language signers, we found a dearth of evidence about the experiences of Indigenous Deaf communities within shared language settings involving hearing participants.

Within the reviewed studies, state-funded schools and higher education programmes provided common shared learning contexts. Six of the 14 literature sources centred around participant experiences of learning indigenous languages within learning institutions such as schools, colleges, higher education/universities, etc, where the main language was that of the coloniser. It is argued many Indigenous concepts cannot be captured and/or understood through university-based, mainstream scientific measures (Smith, 1999). For example, the intangible dimensions of mauri and wairua in te ao Māori are linked to more than the physical expressions of te reo me ona tikanga (Hindle et al., 2015). According to the Ministry of Education's website, within Aotearoa, there is a tikanga involved in learning te reo Māori, whereby learners "discover that speaking a different language involved much more than simply conveying the same message in different words." (Ministry of Education, 2023, para 3).

Whilst there were calls for 'trauma-informed' approaches and pedagogies within reviewed studies, we found a lack of detail about these approaches and their impact within shared language-sharing contexts. Further research is needed, particularly on the types

of knowledge, skills and practices teachers in state-funded institutions would need to facilitate, monitor and evaluate such work.

It would also be useful to find out more about language sharing within informal learning contexts, particularly through digital technologies. Within Aotearoa, increasing numbers of whānau, hapū, iwi, and hapori Māori are using online and digital platforms (e.g., TikTok, Facebook) to teach others and sustain/expand their language communities.

Finally, but importantly, indigenous languages are sacred medicines that have the power to heal; to reconnect people to each other, to their ancestors and to specific environments. Whilst there are arguments evident about the political framing of language revitalisation, it is viewed as a vital first step in healing the intergenerational harms of assimilationist practices (Bergier & Anderson, 2021). There is a clear need for appropriate and sustainable government investment within Indigenous communities – due to the language debt owed to them. This is a key recommendation.

Recommendations

- Governments should fully commit to the International Decade of Indigenous Languages (2022-2032), and this means expanded support and funding for indigenous language revitalisation efforts.

- Indigenous language revitalisation must be viewed as intrinsically tied to the health and wellbeing of Indigenous communities.

- Indigenous languages are sacred, and this needs to be recognised and protected within indigenous language revitalisation work.

- Further research is needed to determine respectful and productive participant engagement within the context of indigenous language revitalisation work within colonised countries.

- In particular, future inquiry could examine 'what counts' as 'trauma-informed' pedagogies within the context of indigenous language sharing, particularly within state-funded schools and higher education settings.

- Future studies should also examine gender differences within 'trauma-informed' approaches.

- More work is needed to determine the experiences and perspectives of Indigenous Deaf communities, particularly as they share language learning contexts with hearing people (both Indigenous and non-Indigenous).

- Future studies could also examine indigenous language sharing within online and digital platforms to see if similar results emerge.

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