Russell Barlow (Max Planck Institute for the Science of Human History)
Comparing language revitalisation in Papua New Guinea and Indonesia: New Challenges

The neighbouring countries of Papua New Guinea (PNG) and Indonesia are the two nations with the greatest numbers of indigenous languages: over 800 in PNG and over 700 in Indonesia. They are also both home to scores of linguistic communities that are shifting—some gradually, many rather rapidly—to majority languages. In PNG, many languages are witnessing a break in intergenerational transmission such that children are only fluent in Tok Pisin, the English-based creole that serves as the nation's main lingua franca and one of its three national languages. In Indonesia, on the other hand, there is a prevalent shift to Indonesian, the Malay variety that was adopted, developed, and promoted by the newly declared state in 1945 to foster unity among its disparate ethnic, religious, cultural, and linguistic groups. Although both countries have emerging language revitalisation movements, they have developed in different ways and are experiencing different outcomes. Whereas Indonesia is home to a number of native-speaker-driven, grassroots efforts, it is more common in PNG for language maintenance efforts to be developed by outsiders. This talk compares PNG and Indonesia, considering how the different sociolinguistic and political factors of the two nations are creating different challenges for language revitalization.

Ailbhe Ní Chasaide, Neasa Ní Charáin, Harald Berthelsen, Christoph Wendler, Andy Murphy, Emily Barnes, Christer Gobl, Connor McCabe (Trinity College Dublin)
ABAIR: Leveraging phonetic and speech research for the revitalisation and maintenance of Irish

The ABAIR initiative encompasses a cluster of Irish-language projects, with the broad aim of: (i) developing phonetic/speech resources, (ii) using these resources to build technologies, and (iii) implementing the former to meet the urgent needs of language communities. A key feature is the ongoing collaboration with the language communities in question, who actively help in setting research priorities, in assisting the design, testing and dissemination of outputs, and increasingly, in the collection/curation of data.
In developing speech technology, certain choices at the outset are crucial. These decisions must be principled, as they may not be universally popular; the exclusion of non-native "new" varieties of Irish for synthesis has not always received a positive response. Additionally, Irish has no spoken standard variety. Multi-dialect synthesis was selected by ABAIR as the most desirable (and equitable) approach to the language's pluri-centrality. Voices in each dialect are being developed to represent different ages and genders, and thereby widen the appeal of the technology.
Using the case of ABAIR and Irish, this paper explores how both social and technological challenges facing endangered-language communities can be productively addressed by researchers.

Peter Cleave (AUT, Auckland)
Words for times

Do, can and should languages change? In 1919 phrases such as *Maihi Karauna* and *Maihi Maori* imply new speakers, challenges and linguistic forms. New speakers may well be at odds with traditional speakers regarding geographical location, social backgrounds, forms of *reo* and reasons for speaking. In historical sequence pre-contact concepts of tribe, early state and words not in The Treaty of Waitangi like *mana* and words included like *kawanatanga* and *te tino rangatiratanga* are reviewed. New speakers and agencies like missionaries and anthropologists along with *mana motuhake* and traditional speakers in the mid nineteenth century are considered. Scholars like Best (*hau*, *mauri*) and Smith (*kauae runga*, *kauae raro*) and the reification, perhaps, of the term *waka* are considered. *Taha Maori*, the Maori side, and *-tanga* as in *Maoritanga*, Maoriness, are explored. Words for community like *hapu* and *iwi* used in the settlement process are considered as are *hapori* and m*area*, Key words from Ngata, Waititi, Rangihau, Karetu and Milroy are discussed. Te Taura Whiri o te Reo is considered and it is asked, regarding corpus planning, whether the restoration-transformation contrast is a false dichotomy or useful if not necessary in language revitalisation and historiography.

Corral Esteban (Universidad Autónoma de Madrid)
Overcoming obstacles in the path towards the preservation and revitalization of the Asturian language

The Asturian language (Western Romance: northwestern Spain) is considered endangered, mainly due to the strong influence of Castilian Spanish in the region. In order to revert the situation, the Asturian-speaking community has worked hard for the preservation and revitalization of their local language and has sought its official recognition for decades. This article offers a general overview of the long and arduous process of preservation and revitalization of the Asturian language, placing special emphasis on the objections and criticism that have hampered its success. This criticism, which has proved to be in most cases unfounded, is not only related to linguistic factors, but is also based on historical, social, political, economic grounds: the early debate about the consideration of Asturian as a Roman language derived from Latin or a dialect of the Spanish language, the selection of a standard variety, the expansion of the number and depth of the domains and the social functions, the attempt to erase any trace of the linguistic influence of Spanish, the mixed reactions to officiality, the suspicion of a connection between the officiality status and the rise of nationalism, etc. The existence of these problems has not however been able to dissuade those who defend that the Asturian language deservesa similar treatment to that of other regional languages in Spain, such as Basque, Catalan, Valencian, and Galician and that the process of revitalization of the Asturian language would receive an extra boost or even would culminate with the achievement of its recognition as official language by the Spanish Government.

Stuart S. Dunmore (University of Edinburgh)
New speakers in New Scotland: Language revitalisation and contrasting ethnolinguistic identities in Scotland and Nova Scotia

A notable legacy of the Clearances, and of large-scale emigration from the Highlands and Islands of Scotland to Maritime Canada in the 18th and 19th centuries is the continued presence of a Gaelic-speaking minority in 21st century Nova Scotia. Of 1,275 recorded Gaelic speakers in Nova Scotia, only 300 reported Gaelic as their mother tongue, with the remainder likely to have acquired Gaelic through educational programmes in adolescence or adulthood. Policymakers and language advocates in both Scotland and Canada make frequent reference to the role that such 'new' speakers may play in the future of the Gaelic language on both sides of the Atlantic. As a response to rapid language shift in both territories, Gaelic language teaching of various kinds has been prioritised by policymakers as a mechanism for revitalising the language. Based on ethnographic research conducted between 2016 and 2018, this paper examines reflexes of this policy in the two countries, juxtaposing the ongoing fragility of Gaelic communities to new speaker discourses around heritage, identity, and language learning motivations. In particular, I consider Nova Scotian new speakers' sense of identity as 'Gaels', an ethnonym largely avoided or problematised by new speakers in Scotland.

Geraldo Faria (Hosei University)
Bakairi de Santana: Easy and tangible Language Revitalisation Initiatives

Bakairi de Santana is an endangered language spoken along the southern border of the Amazon basin – roughly a five-hour drive to the closest city (Nobres, Mato Grosso). There are 300 native speakers still living in the reservation, and approximately 200 in 'neighboring' cities. Villagers often come to these cities for shopping or any adversities.
With no documented grammar, dictionary or textbooks, classes on the native language have no teaching aids apart from chalk and a blackboard. Instead, Brazilian Portuguese is taught using attractive teaching aids.
For a living, some people make crafts to sell. So, I have devised a few projects for them to earn money by documenting and selling linguistic data to linguists and other visiting researchers. With notebooks and pens, they can work on: (1) creation of phrase books, (2) writing of oral stories, (3) creation of verb paradigms, (4) word lists, and (5) translations of children's books to Bakairi de Santana.
This new form of income has brought some noticeable changes: (1) more settlement onsite, (2) a sense of ownership of the language, and (3) a tangible means to preserve the language. Additionally, this initiative has enabled them to stay in touch online in their native language.

Ketevan Gigashvili (Iakob Gogebashvili Telavi State University)
Essential factors determining the unperspectiveness of Tsovatush language revitalisation

The paper presents the results of eight-year observation on the Tsovatush-Georgian bilingual environment, based on the data analysis. Georgian is a national language of Georgia, spoken by about 5 million people, whereas Tsovatush is only used in half a Georgian village, spoken by less than 1500 people. The State Language Policy permits getting education at the village school only in Georgian. Political-social inequality between Georgian and Tsovatush languages, conditions one-sided direction of language influence and, therefore, forced nature of bilingualism. On the other hand, Tsovatushs identify themselves with Georgians, living together with them for centuries, sharing their history, culture, and traditions, acquiring the Georgian national self-consciousness, which defines the voluntary character of bilingualism. In such conditions, every effort to revitalise the Tsovatush language, the endangerment level of which is severely serious, is likely to fail. Such a model of coexistence of both forced and voluntary bilingualism, making the unenviable ground to maintain the language, can be generalised over other bilingual environments for evaluating the perspectiveness of language revitalization and possibility of emerging 'the new-speakers'.

James Hawkey (University of Bristol)
New linguistic forms in a situation of language obsolescence? Dialect contact and morphosyntactic variation among Catalan-French bilinguals.

Catalan finds itself in an undeniable state of language obsolescence in southern France, where it is an autochthonous variety in the region of Northern Catalonia. However, thanks to recent cross-border collaborative revitalisation efforts with the Autonomous Community of Catalonia (in Spain, where the language enjoys much greater vitality), Catalan is being used in new domains, although admittedly to a limited extent. This increased cooperation has resulted in dialect contact – namely between Northern Catalan (the authochthonous variety of Catalan-speaking France) and Central Catalan (a supralocal prestige variety used in the Autonomous Community of Catalonia). My presentation focuses on instances of morphosyntactic variation that arise from this dialect contact, and applies linear regression modelling to determine the factors that condition such variation. I will show that new linguistic forms are arising in this situation of obsolescence, due to increased dialect contact. This presentation will thus shed light on the multiple and complex interactions between dialect contact and language variation in obsolescent varieties. When revitalisation processes use exogenous dialects of the endangered language, what are the consequences for local varieties and their speakers?

Michael Hornsby (Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań)
The new speaker paradigm: do we really need more categorization?

The new speaker paradigm has gained a significant presence in contemporary academic literature on multilingualism and language learning (e.g. O'Rourke & Pujolar, 2013; O'Rourke, Pujolar & Ramallo, 2015), with new speaker research in minority language settings (e.g. O'Rourke et al., 2015; Ó Murchadha et al., 2018) frequently drawing on work in applied linguistics to explicate the native versus 'non-native' dichotomy. The paradigm was the focus of COST Action IS1306 in the years 2013-2017 and the resulting 'label' has been further used to refer to language users who adopt and practise languages and language varieties not typically associated with them or with 'people like them' (Ó Murchadha et al., 2018: 4). At the same time, the term has received a number of critiques based on speaker legitimacy and 'authentic language'. These critiques are considered here and evaluated, along with the need to sometimes see the broader picture in language revitalization situations and put 'speakers' at the centre of our research focus, rather than particular ways of speaking. To illustrate this, a particular set of lexical neologisms in Breton which aim to reflect contemporary understandings of speaker (self-)representation will be discussed.

Ahmed Kabel (Al Akhawayn University in Ifrane)
When language planning and education policy go wrong: The challenges of Amazigh revitalization

There have been several efforts to revitalize Amazigh in Morocco. The establishment of the Royal Institute of Amazigh Culture (IRCAM), the introduction of Amazigh in the school system and its recent officialization are all landmarks in this process. However, according to recent official statistics, Amazigh vitality is in steady decline (Lahlimi, 2014). This paper attempts to examine the processes 'devitalization' that have produced and continue to exacerbate this trend. It argues that in addition to the historical dynamics of colonialism and state ideology, language planning and current education policy have deepened Amazigh linguistic impoverishment. The engineering of an 'artificial' standard language (Standard Amazigh) based on formal, instead of sociolinguistic, criteria and the politics surrounding the Amazigh script, Tifinagh, have effectively compromised both the development of the language and the expansion of its use. Coupled with language planning effects, current education policy (CSEFRS, 2015) leads to further devitalization. Amazigh is embedded in a hierarchical multilingual architecture (Arabic, French and English) where it is neither a subject nor a 'medium of instruction'. Its status as 'a language of communication' remains both politically 'ambivalent' and sociolinguistically problematic. The paper concludes with possible venues for thinking a viable future for Amazigh.

Jeanette King (Leiden University)
The persistence of purism: authenticity in Māori language revitalisation

The revitalisation of te reo Māori in Aotearoa New Zealand has been underway for nearly 40 years, and alongside diminishing numbers of elderly "traditional" speakers there are now two generations of "new" speakers. The tensions of the linguistic transformations that have emerged within the Māori language during this time are reflected in differing notions of purism associated with each of these three cohorts. Most salient for traditional speakers are pronunciation changes associated with the second language production of new speakers. In the 1980s-1990s the first generation of new speakers eschewed codeswitching, believing that the only "pure" way to speak Māori was not to include any English words. Some of the second generation of new speakers who attend Te Panekiretanga o te reo (Institute of Excellence in te reo Māori) focus on eliminating from their speech grammatical forms which reflect English influence. Thus, all three cohorts direct their purism towards new speakers, as well as towards the influence of English on the Māori language. What the purism of all three cohorts have in common is the need to promote and define what an "authentic performance" is when one is speaking Māori.

John Knipe (University of Bristol)
New Speakers, New Questions: Gaelic Medium Education in an Urban Contact Zone

With approximately 57,000 speakers, Scottish Gaelic is an endangered language. Since the 1980s, the Gaelic Medium Education (GME) movement has emerged with an emphasis on teaching students all subjects via this ancient tongue. Concomitantly, many linguists have called for problematizing traditional definitions of language. The notion of translingualism, the idea that languages are not discrete, monolithic entities, runs counter to the ideology of languages as specifically representing one culture and one place. As language revitalization programs such as GME have a documented history of asserting traditional language ideologies and teachers are major purveyors of language ideologies, this qualitative case study aims at understanding the language ideologies of Gaelic medium teachers in an urban setting as those ideologies relate to translingualism. Through the use of a semi-structured interview and participant observations, a number of themes emerged. The participants, a combination of traditional Gaelic speakers and new Gaelic speakers, revealed a number of concerns and challenges involved with the task of language revitalization at a school an urban contact zone where the primary language of the community and the students is English.

Noor Azam Haji-Othman & **James McLellan** (University of Brunei Darussalam)
Interactions and intersections between endangered Borneo languages as used by older and younger speakers

This presentation seeks to address two of the questions in the Call for Papers for this conference, as they resonate strongly in the context of Borneo where we work.
"*What might the consequences of language revitalisation be in terms of the linguistic structure of the variety being revitalised?*"

Noor Azam (2014) addresses this issues with reference to the Tutong language (Basa' Tutong) in Brunei, expressing a concern that teaching this language at tertiary level may lead to the creation of a "false standard". Findings from a more recent study comparing and contrasting younger and older speakers of Dusun, are also presented.

"*Does language planning restore speech communities or does it transform them?*"

Language planning, both top-down and community-driven, may have unclear objectives and goals, and may be driven by a contestable belief that it is possible to return to an imagined, pure and pristine state where languages were untainted by contact with more powerful neighbouring languages. We suggest, using evidence from Bidayuh languages in Sarawak (Malaysian Borneo) and from Tutong and Dusun in Brunei, that there is bound to be transformation in the (post-)modern era of increased mobilities and heightened contact between languages.

Martin Mössmer (University of Cape Town)
'I drank this language from my mother's breast': Layers of proficiency amongst Xri-speaking elders

Thought until recently to be extinct, Xri is a Khoekhoe language spoken by the Griqua minority in the Northern Cape, South Africa. The language was described as functionally extinct in the 1930s, yet groups of first language speakers were still transmitting Xri in the 1960s. This paper explores how, and in which forms, Xri has survived over the past century and how its speakers have adapted to language attrition. The changing reasons for shift and attrition are rooted in the British colonial and Apartheid eras, and the last three known first language speakers are now elderly.

The individuals who still remember some Xri, ranging from a handful of lexical items to larger vocabularies with phrases, are predominantly over the age of sixty. Many of these speakers use a mixed 'Xri-Afrikaans' variety with consistent forms. I argue that this 'Xri-Afrikaans' is an attempt at maintaining the use of Xri in their community and reinvigorating it as an identity marker, despite proficiency levels declining in general. The necessity for 'Xri-Afrikaans' is by no means recent and is closely linked to the formation of the Griqua group in the eighteenth century as a linguistically mixed community with a Xri-speaking group as its core. The language attrition process and emergence of a 'Xri-Dutch' can be traced back to the early nineteenth century.

I examine the ways in which a form of linguistic continuity has been constructed through creative re-lexification of Afrikaans with Xri items, in a situation where its use is primarily as a marker of heritage and identity. L1 Afrikaans-speakers in the community struggle with interpreting and accurately replicating Xri click consonants and nasalised vowels, further contributing to change in the variety. The integration of Xri lexical stems with Afrikaans morphology is one of the strategies employed by non-L1 speakers, as the following examples show (Xri morphemes in bold):

1. ge-**ǃã**
PST-listen
'listened'

2. **khoe-p**-etjie
person-3SG.M-DIM
'young man'

3. ǀ**'haaxa**-geid
improper-NMLZ
'impropriety'

4. **tara**-s-e
young.woman-3SG.F-PL
'young women'

Daniela Müller & **Daniela Marzo** (LMU Munich)
Who are the New Speakers of Occitan? Language biographies and personality profiles

As the numbers of native and semi-speakers decline, urban New Speakers gradually take the place of traditional speech communities. This contribution seeks to shed light on who those New Speakers are by investigating a sample of 24 New Speakers who study or work at the Department of Occitan of Montpelhièr University. Through a combination of qualitative and quantitative methods, we aim at understanding (a) the paths leading to the acquisition of Occitan in present-day France, (b) the level of involvement of New Speakers in revitalisation efforts, (c) their diverse experiences of interactions with native speakers, and (d) their attitude toward their own spoken Occitan and that of traditional speakers. Thus, in addition to an extensive language biographic interview, each participant filled in two psychometric questionnaires: the Big Five Factors of Personality (Johnson, 2014) and the Internal Control Index (Duttweiler, 1984), which allow to relate their personality to their narrative and answer

the question whether there is a typical personality profile prevailing inside the New Speaker community. The data, which are being analysed, are part of a pilot study in preparation of a larger project focusing on the emergence of New Speaker varieties in the light of current models of language change.

Keao NeSmith (University of Hawaiʻi at Mānoa)
Hawaiian language hybridisation: A result of revitalisation

The Hawaiian revitalisation effort is now in its fourth decade and success has never been defined at any point. Even at local levels: schools, departments, or community-based initiatives, defining success in revitalising Hawaiian language has never been attempted or has resulted in vague, unmeasurable notions. Significant challenges include the lack of baseline data on L1 linguistic norms and regional varieties—apart from a few grammars—which could be used to formulate a common framework for L2 acquisition assessment, a dangerously scant pool of L1 role models who remain isolated from language learners, lack of professional language teacher training based on modern communicative approaches, and devaluation by L2s and learners of L1s as linguistic role models, often preferring instead to invent new linguistic concepts, usually based on English, in lieu of contact with L1s. It is questionable whether formal education faculties actually want to recreate or return to former L1 norms or continue on a trajectory of creating a new form of Hawaiian based on traditional Hawaiian and newly invented concepts. Political conflicts between the L1 community of Niʻihau and Kauaʻi islands and L2-dominant institutions highlight linguistic wranglings between the two domains over maintenance of the last-remaining L1 community.

Colleen O'Brien (Freie Universität, Berlin)
Language endangerment and revitalisation in Colombia: New political challenges

Colombia has over 70 indigenous languages, the majority of which are endangered. Although the constitution of 1991 promises to protect these languages and guarantees vernacular education, the fact of the matter is that these languages are suffering neglect and even outright hostility. In 2016, the Colombian government and the FARC signed a historic peace agreement, which—among many things—was supposed to give more rights to indigenous people. Colombia was lauded by many for involving an ethnic commission in the formation of these accords. Less than three years later, however, the current president's platform includes the dismantlement of the peace process, along with everything pertaining to indigenous rights.
This paper explores language rights in Colombia, examining the causes of endangerment, attempts at maintenance and revitalisation, and the results of these attempts. I argue that language endangerment is a symptom of a greater problem in Colombia: government neglect and violence. As indigenous leaders continue to be assassinated, indigenous communities displaced from their land, and entire villages massacred by armed groups, the languages of Colombia face surmounting opposition to revitalisation.

Margaret M. Okon (University of Calabar)
Challenges to language revitalization: The Efut perspective

Efut, a Lower Cross language in the Niger Congo family, known as Balondo in its ancestral Cameroun homeland, seems to survive on the life support of cultural rituals and *Ekpe* ('Leopard') Society. There is no intergenerational transmission, as language shift is ubiquitous in almost all domains. As a corollary, except Okon & Noah (2018); most works underscore only its extinction rather than resuscitation and it is not listed in *Ethnologue* 2019); hence, part of our revitalization effort. From our exploratory investigations, the major challenges to Efut include: lack of documentation, negative attitude, linguistic environment, intermarriage, migration, low literacy as well as political, economic and technological factors. We discuss these issues and suggest stimulus packages towards revitalization. Some of these include proficiency in Efut as a positive reward system and prerequisite for ascendency to the highest Efut traditional patriarchy (*Muri Munene*), chieftaincy title awards and free land allocation. The use of social media (like *Mbono Efik, Efut ye Abakpa* and Council of Efut Nation Facebook Groups), optimizing the gains of rituals and *Ekpe* would serve also as veritable revitalization tools. The paper challenges language enthusiasts, and other stakeholders, especially Efut indigenes to bring fresh perspectives to revitalize the language. No human language deserves to die!

Alexander Pavlenko (Rostov State University) and **Galina Pavlenko** (Taganrog Institute of Management and Economics)
Linguistic islands as environments favouring sustainable development of regional language varieties: Ulster and Shetland Scots

The paper deals with the effect the linguistic island environment may have on the fortunes of regional language varieties spoken in such an environment. The concept of "regional language" is considered in its narrow meaning of an underdeveloped idiom spoken by a community, which is not a minority, in a certain historical region and closely related to the dominant language of the country (cf. Wicherkiewicz 2005).

The paper puts forward a thesis that the environment of linguistic island (understood in the spirit of V.M. Zhirmunsky (1976) and P. Wiesinger (1983)) may favour sustainable development of a regional language variety, since it is in the island area that such a variety is more likely to be demanded by local nationalism (if any) as an important symbol.

On the examples of Ulster and Shetland Scots, the mechanisms of transforming an island dialect into an important element of local identity and a "spiritual connecting link" of society, are discussed. Typologically close examples in other regions of the world are considered.

Ari Sherris (Texas A&M University) & **Katherine J. Riestenberg** (Bryn Mawr College)
Complexity Theory and endangered language revitalization

Complexity Theory (CT) has begun to play a role in scholarship in applied linguistics (Larsen-Freeman & Cameron, 2008), sociolinguistics (Blommaert, 2016), linguistics (Kretzschmar, 2015), endangered language policy (Sherris & Robbins, 2015), multilingual ecologies (Kramsch and Whiteside, 2008), second language acquisition (Larsen-Freeman, 2014), social semiotics (Sherris & Adami, 2018), and English language Teaching (Kostoulas, Stelma, Mercer, Cameron, & Dawson, 2018). Either as metatheory (Larsen-Freeman, 2017) or as heterarchic commentary (Sherris & Adami, 2018), the potential for agentive richness and an embrace of difference in the practice and application of CT holds promise within and across our conceptualizations of human communication in our understandings of languages, cultures, and change. Absent from these discussions is how CT might help in endangered language revitalization efforts, which is the purpose of this paper. As such, the paper looks at key discourses from CT that might support an inclusive conception of revitalization where difference across projects might be valued and find merit. The paper discusses concepts central to CT such as fracticity, unfinalizability/openness, emergence, self-organization, dynamism, and nonlinearity. Examples from endangered languages from several continents illustrate the value CT might play in the way we understand revitalization as socially constructed phenomena in systems far from simple.

Ralf Vollman & **Tek Wooi Soon (University of Graz)**
Language revitalization in Taiwan

Background. Taiwan is the homeland of various Austronesian languages which were marginalized by the immigration of Hoklo and Hakka settlers who were linguistically marginalised themselves by the sinicization of the Kuomintang. Today's language policy in Taiwan pays tribute to the linguistic heritage through various measures including affirmative action for those who pass a minority language exam.

Material & method. In a fieldtrip in 2018, the authors visited various places of the Hakkas and various indigenous communities, interviewing people about their linguistic practices and their views on the survival of these languages.

Analysis. While some individuals work for the revival of the traditional cultures, parents are reported to favor English at school instead of the "useless" tribal language. Intermarriages, modern education, and moving to urban centres as much as the rural contact with the Hoklo language all further language shift. Literacy in indigenous languagesis difficult: the Roman script is an additional hurdle; learners complain about dialect differences and "artificial" textbook material.

Conclusion. In spite of the governmental efforts which provide minorities with recognition and self-awareness, the realities of language use in a globalized economy, modern education, and mobility of individuals will further language attrition.

Monica Ward (Dublin City University)
Language Revitalisation: Imperfect, Impure and Important

Those involved in language revitalisation often have lofty goals about what can be achieved – until they consider the realities and complexities of any language revitalisation project. Does the language have a standardised writing system? Does it have literate speakers? Are the remaining 'traditional' speakers in good health? Are they willing/able to help in any revitalisation project? Will the project involve the use of technology? Is the community happy with that? Is there access to electricity? Who has control over the process? Who should have control over the process?

Participants in language revitalisation projects will recognise these as relevant and important questions. It can be easy to feel overwhelmed by the enormity and complexity of the task. Yes, the language revitalisation process is imperfect. Participants would prefer to start off from a positive place with plenty of resources at their disposal. Yes, the process is impure as an endangered language may change as part of the revitalisation process. However, language revitalisation is important and should be encouraged. This paper looks at the language revitalisation for two different contexts: Nawat (El Salvador) and Irish. While it is imperfect and impure, it is important and perhaps also imperative.