**ECDA-7002: Societal Bilingualism**

**Foreword**

This is the second 20-credit module in the MA course, Bilingualism and Multilingualism. Societal bilingualism covers many sub-dimensions which, in turn, involve a multitude of variables emanating from the contact of two or more languages within various linguistic contexts, ranging from small social groups or communities to large countries. This Guidance Handbook is designed to introduce and discuss the main aspects of this sociolinguistic aspect of bilingualism and to assist the student in fulfilling the assessment requirements of the two assignments related to the module, details of which are provided below.

However, although the handbook provides a sound introduction to the main issues, it cannot possibly cover the work of all academics who have made a valuable contribution to this field of study. It is for this reason that students are also advised to read related chapters from the book which accompanies this course, namely, "Foundations of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism" (Baker, 2011, 2017). It will be seen that **Chapters 3, 4, 17, 18 and 19** are particularly relevant. Other readings also provide means by which knowledge and understanding of various issues discussed in the Guidance Handbook can be enhanced and enriched.
These are:

**Reading 1**: UNESCO Ad Hoc Expert Group on Endangered Languages. Language Vitality and Endangerment. Document submitted to the International Expert Meeting on UNESCO Programme Safeguarding of Endangered Languages. Paris: 10–12 March, 2003.

**Reading 2**: Appel, R. & Muysken, P. Language Contact and Bilingualism. London: Edward Arnold, 1987.

**Reading 3**: Edwards, J. Multilingualism. London: Routledge, 1994.

**Reading 4**: Dorian, N.C. Minority and Endangered Languages.
In T.K. Bhatia, & W.C. Ritchie (eds) The Handbook of Bilingualism. Oxford: Blackwell, 2006.

**ECDA-7002 Assessment**
**Coursework:** 100%
The assessment of module ECDA-7002 involves two assignments which are *unequally weighted*; the first being **60%** and the second **40%** of the final award**.** Students will be provided with details at the start of the module. Although assignments can vary from one semester to another, the weighting and specified length of each will apply until any further notice.

The following are provided ***as examples only:***

**Assignment 1** (approximately 3,500 words)
1. By referring to specific examples, discuss analytically the main factors which can ensure or undermine the vitality of a minority language within a political bilingual or multilingual context. (60%)

**Assignment 2** (Seminar presentation, 30 minutes)
By referring to various theoretical frameworks, analyse the key factors in the revitalization or language shift of a specific minority language within a bilingual or multilingual context. (40%)

**ECDA-7002: Societal Bilingualism**

**Introduction**

The study of bilingualism and multilingualism is seen as dividing into two broad areas:

1. Bilingualism / multilingualism in the individual person
2. Societal bilingualism / multilingualism relating to the use of two or more languages within society.

Each of these two broad areas, however, covers a range of aspects. Bilingualism in the individual encompasses, for example:

- linguistic competence
- psycholinguistic, cognitive and intellectual aspects
- language acquisition

Societal bilingualism encompasses political, economic and historical aspects as well as issues related to educational systems. It can, therefore, involve aspects such as:

- language contact
- language and identity
- language maintenance, shift, revitalisation or death
- language planning
- bilingual/ multilingual education

The course framework outlined in the Programme of Study Handbook illustrates how various aspects have been allocated to different modules. The first module (ECDA-7001) concentrated on bilingualism in the individual and addressed aspects related generally to linguistic competence including, for example, defining what we mean by being bilingual, levels of bilingual proficiency and methods of measuring competence. However, it would be both misleading and artificial to suggest that a clear dichotomy exists between individual bilingualism on the one hand and societal bilingualism on the other since the interface is often extremely thin. For instance, the linguistic behaviour of an individual can be influenced even *without* direct social contact or engagement with others. Conversely, as we discovered in the previous module, interference is one phenomenon which can characterise language use on an *individual* basis but which emanates ultimately from contact with other languages or speakers of those languages on a *societal* level. Nevertheless, albeit for reasons of clarity alone, it seems advisable at this stage to investigate aspects of societal bilingualism separately, although

the permeability of this relationship will become increasingly evident from time to time.
As stated previously in the Foreword, a very detailed account of the multi-faceted nature of societal bilingualism and multilingualism is difficult to encompass in a guidance handbook such as this. The aim, therefore, is to address the main aspects of the field of sociolinguistics and to provide a basis for further study. However, the book which accompanies this course, along with the various readings attached, provide adequate elaboration on the issues discussed in order to enhance and enrich one's knowledge and understanding. Students are, therefore, strongly advised to read **Chapters 3, 4, 17, 18 and 19 of Baker (2011) or (2017)** which accompanies this course, and **Readings 1-4.**

During the course of this module, the student is again reminded that what is discussed with regard to bilingual situations also applies to multilingual contexts, unless mentioned otherwise.

**Societal bilingualism and multilingualism as a field of academic study**
We shall define societal bilingualism as a context in which two or more *individuals* use language for the purpose of communicating with each other.The relationship between individual and societal bilingualism is reflected in Fishman's (1965) often quoted question, "*Who* speaks *what* language to *whom* and *when*?" The study of societal bilingualism, therefore, is essentially the study of *language contact*. This, inevitably, has a strong *dynamic* dimension which makes it multi-faceted. As Appel & Muysken (1987: 7) state:

> Bilingualism or language contact in itself is not a scientific discipline. It is an issue, a subject or a field of study to which various disciplines can contribute. The disciplines can interact or, on the other hand, function independently, because of differing viewpoints, methodologies or terminologies.

**The global context**
It would be useful in the first instance to provide an outline of the current diversity of languages which exists on a global scale. Estimates vary. Since the end of the nineteenth century we have had the following estimates of the number of languages which exist:

Whitney (1874) = 1,000
Bodmer (1944) = 1,500
Whatmough (1956) = 3,000

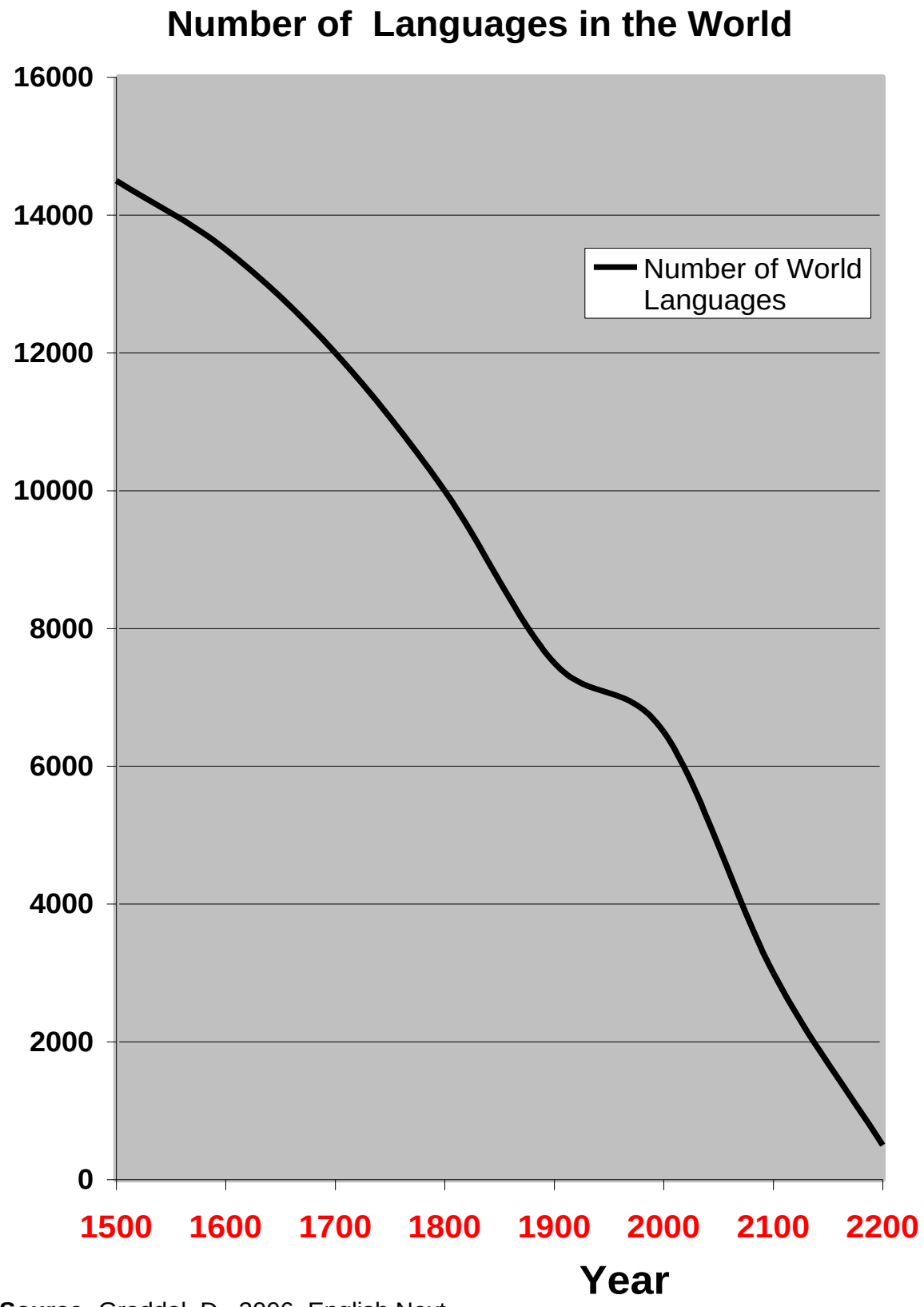
However, it is currently believed that there are still between 5,500 and 7,000 languages in existence, despite the historical extinction of many. Austin (2008) puts this number currently at approximately, 6,900 pointing to the range of numbers of respective speakers (from millions to as few as one or two unevenly distributed geographically and across speaker populations) and maintaining that only 4% of all languages (approximately 275) are spoken by 96% of the world's population. Conversely, only 4% of the world's population speaks 96% of the world's languages.
As we shall see later (Table 1), "Ethnologue" (Lewis, 2009) puts the number at 6, 909 with languages distributed globally as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| Ewrop | 3.4% |
| Americas | 14.4% |
| Africa | 30.5% |
| Asia (approx.) | 33.6% |
| Pacific | 18.1% |

Graddol (2006) provides a graphic illustration of the chronology of the reduction in the number of languages being spoken world-wide since the year 1500 (Figure 1), maintaining that, by the year 2200, the total of over 14,000 which existed previously would be reduced to only a few hundred. As Figure 1 also illustrates, the *rate* of this reduction could be described as being dramatic as well as constant.

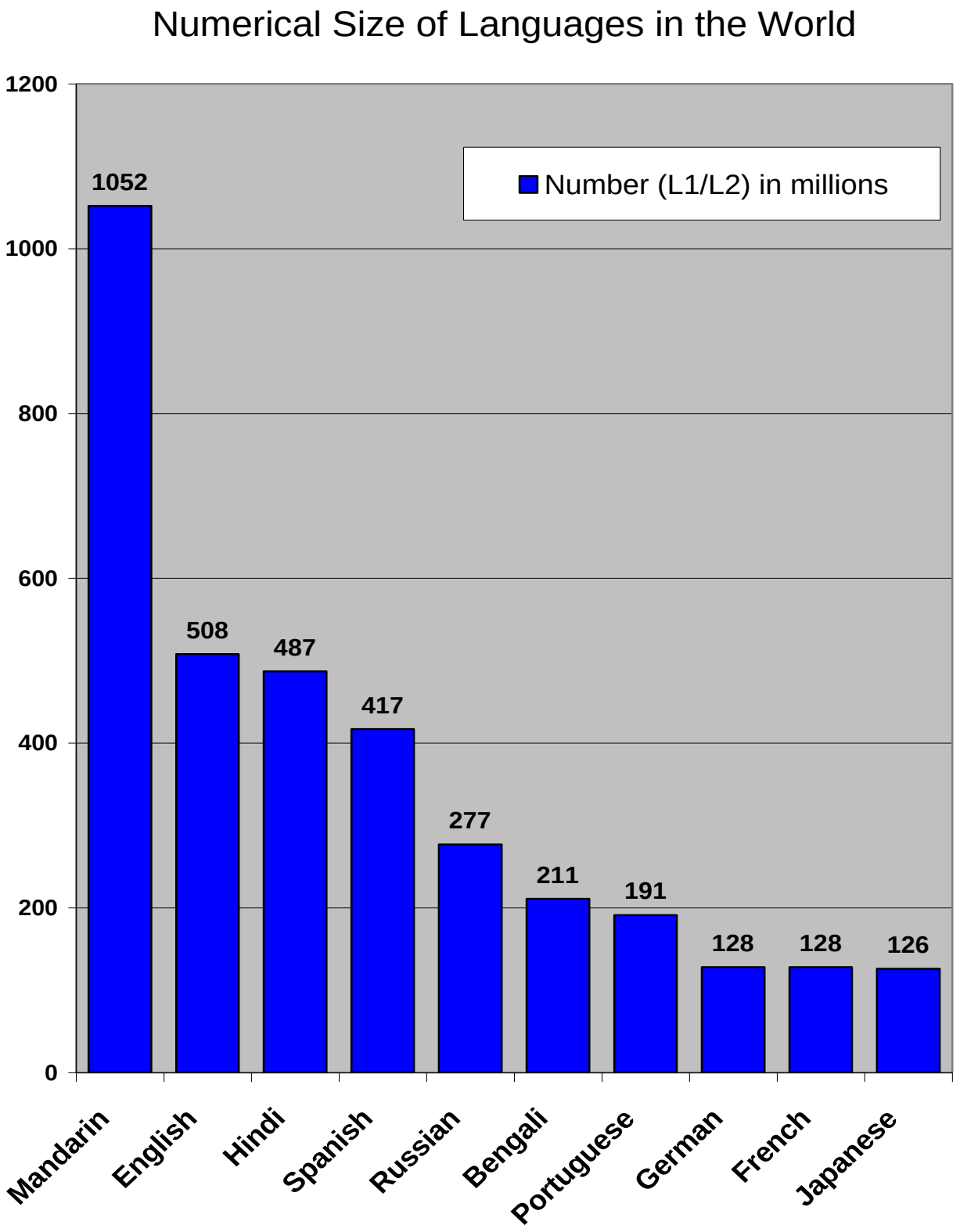
Graddol (2006) (Figure 2) also provides a graphical illustration of the world's major languages in terms of the current *number* of combined first language (L1) and second language (L2) speakers, with Mandarin (due to the obvious demographic effect of the large Chinese population) being much greater in terms of the *number of speakers*, having over twice the number (1,052 million) of a major global language such as English (508 million). However, as we shall see later, in terms of language *vitality*, one needs to be mindful of the fallacy of assessing *all* languages according to such criteria. Of course, despite the fact that Mandarin has more speakers than English, the former is not as widely spread globally and, therefore, is currently less powerful than English in terms of its global adoption as a *lingua franca*.

Figure 1




**Source:** Graddol, D., 2006, English Next. London: British Council

Figure 2




**Source:** Graddol, D., 2006, English Next.
London: British Council

According to Austen (2008), so-called major languages (namely, Mandarin, English, Arabic, Hindi, Spanish, Russian, Bengali, Portugese, German, French and Japanese) account for 40% of the world's population, each having over 150 million speakers. However, more than half of all languages have less than 10,000 speakers and more than a quarter have less than 1,000 speakers, the global overall average number of speakers of all languages being approximately only 6,000. Since 20,000 is considered to be a "danger-point", there are about 4,000 languages under threat. 472 of the languages listed in the 2009 *Ethnologue* (Lewis, 2009) are classified as virtually extinct with less than a hundred speakers. Approximately 50 languages have currently only one speaker, as found in Australia and the Americas, for example. It is estimated that approximately 50% of the world's languages are expected to die due to not being transmitted to children, which means that only around 300 to 600 languages (5%-10%) are deemed safe in the "long term".

Crystal (2000) refers to Kasabe one of the Cameroon's languages which died on November 5th, 1995, stating:

> When a language dies which has never been recorded in some way, it is as if it has never been.(Crystal, 2000:2)

The largest numbers of languages are found in Africa and Asia, and numbers are much fewer elsewhere. Papua New Guinea has 820 languages as a single island; Vanatu has the highest language density in the world with 120 languages shared amongst a population of 100,000 (Austen, 2008). Ethnologue (Lewis, 2009) provides the following data:

Table 1: Distribution of languages by area of origin

| Area | Living languages | | Number of speakers | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *Count* | *Percent* | *Count* | *Percent* | *Mean* | *Median* |
| Africa | 2,110 | 30.5 | 726,453,403 | 12.2 | 344,291 | 25,200 |
| Americas | 993 | 14.4 | 50,496,321 | 0.8 | 50,852 | 2,300 |
| Asia | 2,322 | 33.6 | 3,622,771,264 | 60.8 | 1,560,194 | 11,100 |
| Europe | 234 | 3.4 | 1,553,360,941 | 26.1 | 6,638,295 | 201,500 |
| Pacific | 1,250 | 18.1 | 6,429,788 | 0.1 | 5,144 | 980 |
| *Totals* | 6,909 | 100.0 | 5,959,511,717 | 100.0 | 862,572 | 7,560 |

Source:Ethnologue (Lewis, 2009)

Only approximately one-third of languages have a written form, most existing in spoken form only. As Austen (2008) points out, most of those which do have acquired it relatively recently, often due to education systems established during the 19th and 20th centuries. Most have taken their writing systems from neighbouring languages; for example, in the way that the Romans historically borrowed from the Etruscans who, in turn, had borrowed from the Phoenecians. Writing systems have developed independently only a few times in history. Nevertheless, even if not written down, languages have their own oral literature and much written literature originates in an oral form e.g. Homer's Odyssey and the Welsh "Mabinogi".

Various academics have classified languages according to their *vitality;* one classification being:

- Safe languages
- Languages in danger
- Dead languages

Krauss (1992) adopts the term *"moribund"* to refer to those where there is a lack of transference between generations. For example, in Alaska it is estimated that this is happening in only two out of twenty indigenous languages.
Kincade (1991) adopts the following categories:
**Viable languages:** populations of sufficient numbers without any threat to long-term survival;
**Viable but small languages:** having more than c.1,000 speakers and in isolated communities where the language is a characteristic of identity;
**Endangered languages:** spoken by sufficient numbers to make survival possible under favourable circumstances;
**Nearly extinct languages:** considered to be beyond the possibility of revitalisation and usually spoken by a few of the older generation;
**Extinct languages:** where the last speaker has already died.

Wurm (1998) categorises *weak* languages in the following manner:
**Languages having the potential to die**: being under economic disadvantage, under the threat of a majority language and beginning to lose speakers amongst children;
**Languages in danger**: no children, or only a few, speaking the language and where the youngest competent speakers are adults;
**Languages in serious danger**: where the youngest competent speakers ar 50+ years of age;
**Dying languages**: where there are only a few speakers left and being generally amongst the older generation;
**Dead languages**: no remaining speakers.

UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation) (2009) has designed a Language Vitality and Endangerment tool (**Reading 1**) and asesses linguistic vitality on the basis of nine criteria:

1. Intergenerational language transmission
2. Absolute number of speakers
3. Proportion of speakers within the total population (that is, the critical mass)
4. Trends in existing language domains
5. Response to new domains and media

6. Materials for language education and literacy
7. Governmental and institutional governmental attitudes and policies, including official status and use
8. Community members' attitudes towards their own language
9. Amount and quality of documentation.

On the basis of these criteria and according to their levels of endangerment, languages can be placed in one of 6 categories as being:

- safe: that is, spoken by every generation and transmitted from one generation to the next
- unsafe: spoken by some children in all domains and by all children in some domains
- definitely in danger: spoken by the parental generation and above and where transmission to a lower generation has ceased
- in severe danger: spoken only by the grandparental generation and above
- critically endangered: spoken by very few speakers of a grandparental generation
- extinct

Leonard (2008) adopts a continuum of language danger. On the left are placed strong languages and on the right those which are not spoken any longer but have been sufficiently documented to enable revitalisation. Between the two extremes are placed minority languages and those not being transmitted across generations. The more to the left a language can be located, therefore, the greater are its perceived chances of survival. Another method of categorising languages in danger is according to the number of *domains* and *purposes* for which the language is used e.g. for religious purposes only. Van Hoorde (1998:6) makes the following observation with regard to Dutch:

> Dutch may not be threatened with extinction in the short or medium term, but it is in danger of losing domains. It could eventually become just a colloquial language, a language you use at home to speak with your family – the language you can best express your emotions in - but not the one you use for the serious things in life: work, money, science, technology.(Van Hoorde, 1998:6)

Historically, language surveys have been few in number, incomplete and statistically problematic due to being unable to decide whether some languages were independent or variants of the same. There was also the

possibility that some were different names for the same language. Such issues raise fundamental questions.

The huge numbers of languages which seem to exist in close proximity inevitably causes us to ask what is a language?
Can we differentiate between a language and a dialect?
As Austen (2008) points out, common criteria which have mistakenly been applied to differentiate between languages and dialects include whether or not they are:

- written or spoken
- rural and highly variable or urban and standardised

We should also mention the mistaken perception that speakers of different dialects are mutually intelligible whereas speakers of different languages are not. The status of the spoken word as a "language" is often determined by *political* criteria. Austen (2008) refers to Weinrich's joking observation that "a language is a dialect with an army and a navy", making the point that it is the the *political* status of the speakers of a particular language which determines its status as a language or dialect. Danish, Swedish and Norwegian, therefore, despite being quite mutually intelligible, are seen as separate languages because they belong to separate countries. Chinese is, therefore, referred to as one language, though speakers of Mandarin (North China) and Cantonese (South China) cannot understand each other. Serbo-Croat, the language of the old Yugoslavia is now treated as Serbian, Croatian and Bosnian in the wake of political changes (Austen, 2008).

**Language contact**

As we have seen, bilingualism (and multilingualism in particular) are, therefore, common features of the global linguistic tapestry, monolingual countries and communities being extremely rare. Grosjean (1982), for example, estimates that approximately half the world's population is bilingual. Many communities, due to their geographical location, exist in complete isolation which can, in some cases, safeguard the vitality and continuity of their respective languages, at least for the time being. However, as discussed previously, since it is estimated that there are approximately between 5,000 and 7,000 languages and only approximately 190 nation states, it is obvious that bilingualism or multilingualism is characteristic of most countries; monolingualism being a rarity. Contact between various languages is, therefore, a theoretical inevitability which can have linguistic, sociolinguistic and political ramifications in terms of human behaviour involving such issues as the status of respective languages and their use for different purposes or

domains; in a word, their *vitality*. Language contact, therefore, can involve the sociolinguistic study of:

- language maintenance
- language shift
- language death
- language revitalisation.

When various languages come into contact which are not mutually understood across linguistic communities, one or another is often adopted as a "lingua franca" in order to facilitate communication. For example, Swahili is adopted over a wide area of East Africa where many different languages are spoken, as is ex-colonial French in West Africa. Languages in contact can also develop into "pidgins", mixtures which are not anyone's native language. When learned as a first language, these can develop their own grammar and expand their vocabulary to become a full language known as a "creole", as in the case of Tok Pisin in Papua New Guinea (Austen, 2008).

The multilingual nature of many geographical contexts is a phenomenon which is not widely appreciated or understood in more linguistically homogeneous countries. This can often breed ethnocentric attitudes towards minority languages which happen to exist alongside a majority official tongue within a sovereign territory. For example, Joan I Mari Bernat (Bodlore-Penlaez, 2011:4) maintains that perception of the European Union (EU) and its diversity varies, many continuing to see it simply as the sum of individual member states:

> To be visible in Europe it is necessary to have one's own state. Without this condition, it is difficult for people to find their place.

However, reflecting the fact that Europe also contains roughly thirty "stateless nations" (Bodlore-Penlaez, 2011), it also has over two hundred languages which are currently practised, although the European Union only acknowledges twenty-three of these. As Bodlore-Penlaez (2011:21) shows, these cover languages of diverse origins:

**European Language Groups**

Although Europeans speak languages of all origins, the most representative groups are Indo-European languages having common characteristics

- Germanic
- Romance
- Slavic

Other Indo-European groups include

- Celtic languages
- Baltic languages

In addition, other less prevalent groups also exist in Europe such as:

- the Finno-Ugric (e.g. Finnish and Hungarian)
- the Turko-Altaic
- Basque

As will be discussed later in relation to the process of *language shift*, state nations such as Germany, the Netherlands, France, Spain, Italy and the United Kingdom have historically adopted policies of linguistic assimilation and the use of a *single* language to integrate people politically at the expense of indigenous languages. However, under the influence of organisations such as the Council of Europe, legislation has been introduced to protect regional languages, namely:

1. The European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages (1992)
2. The Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities (1995)

In addition to the above, individual state laws may also acknowledge the existence of national minorities and the multilingual nature of their respective societies.

**1. The European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages (1992)**

As Bodlore-Penlaez (2011:21) points out, this was the first real European attempt to protect the multilingualism of member states, providing a variety of strategies that signatories undertake to protect and promote regional languages by choosing at least thirty-five areas of action crucial to language survival. These domains include;

- education
- justice
- public services
- media
- cultural activities
- economic and social life

Norway, Finland, Hungary and the Netherlands were the first to apply the charter between 1993 and 1996 having previously taken minorities into account in their existing legistlation. Many states have since signed and ratified this document which is valid only after ratification.

**2. Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities (1995)**

This is a document containing 34 articles defining the rights of minorities in terms of language and participation in public life. However, some member states have chosen not to sign or ratify it, namely France, Turkey and Greece, a situation described by Bodlore-Penlaez (2011:19) as "pathological blindness regarding the question of minorities." Portugal is another country which has not signed the European Charter but has no recognised minority. As Bodlore-Penlaez (2011:7) states:

> However, the European Council advises at a minimum, respect of minority cultures and linguistics. Protecting diversity allows preservation of the original identity of our continent. To ignore minority peoples is to drive them into decline and to lose a little bit of the soul of our continent. In an ever increasing globalised world, they represent an indisputable cultural richness.

This comment refects an ethical as well as an "environmental" aspect of the issue of preserving minority languages which is currently very prevalent, as illustrated in Garcia's (1992) adoption of the "language garden" analogy (see Language Shift).

Documents related to other international organisations also make reference to the rights of minority groups, including those of the United Nations (UN), UNESCO and the OSCE (Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe): for example, the UN Bill of Rights of Persons Belonging to National or Ethnic, Religious or Linguistic Minorities passed on December 18th, 1992, and the UNESCO Convention for the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions (Bodlore-Penlaez (2011:19).

Languages are continually at the mercy of political forces which can result in both positive and negative changes of fortune. Bodlore-Penlaez (2011) refers, for example, to the fact that in Eastern Europe, 15 years after the fall of the Berlin Wall, the breaking up of the Soviet Union, the split of Czechoslavakia and the conflict in Yugoslavia has led to eleven nations becoming independent, namely:

Latvia, Lithuania**,** Estonia, Belarussia**,** Ukrainia**,** Moldovia**,** Slovakia**,** Slovenia, Bosnia, Serbia and Croatia.

In addition, autonomy, devolution and decentralisation have also been significant political developments in Western Europe. Southern Catalonia enjoys greater status by means of autonomy; Scottish and Welsh devolution has resulted in a parliament and an assembly respectively with the former currently launching a further campaign for independence; Italy has become a federal state. Such developments usually reflect the desire amongst minorities for greater recognition and the right to self-determination in the face of political hegemony and ethnocentricism.

Bodlore-Penlaez (2011) points out that "minority" is a term which has many connotations ranging from the political to the emotional and which makes it difficult to apply a universal definition in social science.There is no official definition of the word "minority" available, even in international law, and the United Nations and Council of Europe apply the term in different ways. The UN, for example, uses the terms "ethnic, religious or linguistic minorities" whilst the European Council refers to "national minorities." However, despite the need for a legally-binding definition, the use of the term tends to be based on two fundamental sets of factors:

- Objective characteristics e.g. language, traditions, cultural patriotism
- Subjective characteristics: the will of members to assert themselves and commit themselves to that which makes their identity specific. Minorities, therefore, usually use their individual *languages* as a means of symbolising their particular identities.

It would, therefore, be useful to examine some of the terms adopted under the umberella term "minorities" as discussed by Bodlore-Penlaez (2011):

**National minority**: a population living in a minority situation within a state. There are two types:
1. people of eponymous states e.g  the Danish in Germany; the Hungarians in Romania
2. non-soverign people who do not have their own state structures i.e. stateless nations such as Brittany, the Basque Country, Friesland.
The definition of a "national minority" in Recommendation 1201 of the European Council is a group of people who:

- reside in the territory of a state and are citizens
- maintain longstanding and lasting ties with that state

- display distinctive, ethnic cultural, religious or linguistic characteristics
- are sufficiently representative in numbers while being fewer than the rest of the population
- are motivated by a desire to preserve their culture, traditions, religion or language (Bodlore-Penlaez, 2011).

**Ethnic Minority**
This group includes both:
- national minorities (see 1 above) and
- allogenic minorities i.e. non-indigenous people and foreign communities.

**Linguistic minority**
This term can include both national and ethnic minorities, but they can be in the majority in parts of the state territory in which they reside e.g. Welsh and Catalan in Britain and Spain respectively. However, sometimes a linguistic minority can speak a mother tongue other than the state majority but without being classified as national or ethnic majorities, for example, the French population in Switzerland.

In discussing the subject of ethnolinguistic vitality, Giles, Bourhis & Taylor (1977) maintain that:

> The vitality of an ethnolinguistic group is that which makes a group likely to behave as a distinctive and active collective entity in intergroup situations. From this, it is argued that ethnolinguistic minorities that have little or no group vitality would eventually cease to exist as groups. Conversely, the more vitality a linguistic group has, the more likely it will survive and thrive as a collective entity in an intergroup context.

However, as Baker (2011: 57) points out, Abrams et al., (2009) distinguish between *objective* and *subjective* representations of ethnolinguistic vitality, the former relating largely to external trappings of vitality but which may or may not make a connection with the more subjective aspects as reflected in attitudes towards language , for example. *Subjective ethnicity*, therefore, seems to encompass both *behavioural* and *mentalist* aspects of attitude as discussed by Appel & Muysken (1987) (see below).

**What causes societal bilingualism?**

The existence of two or more languages in contact within a given territory may be due to various historical and/or political factors. Apart from political marriages, the conquering of nations by warfare has been a major contributing factor (as in the case of the Romans and the Mongols) as well as colonisation; for example, the European colonial expansion which in the past resulted in high status languages co-existing side by side with native languages of conquered peoples in Africa and South America. Such situations sometimes resulted in the creation of new languages which, although similar to those of the colonial conquerors (for example, Spanish, English, Portugese and French), later developed into a creole, as in the Caribbean.

In more recent times, as Appel & Muysken (1987) point out (**Reading 2),** there has been a *reversal* of historical colonisation with the advent of post-colonial migration from the Third World to industrialised societies, as from parts of India to Britain, thus resulting in a proliferation of bilingual communities.Current European Union legislation, which allows workers from various nations to seek employment in other constituent nations, has also contributed to this linguistic phenomenon.

However, as well as being *international*, migration can also be *intra-national* involving people of different ethnicity *within* a sovereign state. Historically, one can refer, for example, to the huge influx of people seeking work from England into Wales at the beginning of the twentieth century (with a resultant attrition in the percentage of Welsh-speakers) as well as further in-migration seen in more recent years.

Appel & Muysken (1987) in **Reading 2** distinguish between three kinds of societal bilingualism:

1. Where two languages co-exist and different groups use different languages, each one being monolingual e.g.colonised countries.
2. Where the whole population is bilingual.
3. Where one group is bilingual and the other monolingual (monoglot).

This is a theoretical framework which, of course, can be more complex in reality in many countries. However, such a typology makes it necessary for us to examine the use of certain terminology adopted in the field of sociolinguistics which is essential to our understanding of societal bilingualism.

**Bilingualism and diglossia**

In common parlance, countries are often referred to as being *bilingual* or *multilingual* when two or more languages are used for various purposes, including social communication and a range of more official domains. Thus, all three groups in the Appel & Muysken (1987) typology decribed above would be considered to be "bilingual".
However, although most countries make use of two or more languages in everyday life (as we have already seen), yet, not all people can claim to be linguistically *proficient* in more than one. Nevertheless, outside academic circles, countries are often erroneously referred to as being "bilingual" either by virtue of having *populations* where one group is bilingual and the other monolingual (Group 3), or where two languages co-exist and different groups use different languages, each one being monolingual (Group 1). Within academic circles, however, "bilingual" is a term which applies to the linguistic proficiency of *individuals*. Theoretically, therefore, a "bilingual" country would imply a country where the vast majority of its residents would be reasonably proficient in the use of two languages and could communicate with others by using both interchangeably. As one can see, according to the typology offered by Appel & Muysken (1987), this would only apply to a linguistic society conforming to the definition of Group 2. Linguistic societies in Groups 1 and 3 could not, consequently, be called *bilingual*. It is, therefore, important that we make a fundamental distinction by adopting different terminology for these groups. The correct academic term used to describe societies or communities where *different* languages are adopted by *different* groups of people is 'diglossia', a Greek word which simply means two languages.

Diglossia, then, refers to situations where two languages co-exist *territorially*, but where *both* are not necessarily spoken by the population as a whole. Reflecting, as it were, the various aspects of the two main categories of the study of bilingualism mentioned earlier, namely bilingualism in the individual and bilingualism in society, Fishman (1972) maintains that bilingualism is an area of study for psychologists and linguists whereas diglossia is a study area for sociologists and sociolinguists.

The term "diglossia" was originally coined by Ferguson (1959) to describe two versions of the *same* language which he described as "high" (H) and "low" (L):

> Diglossia is a relatively stable language situation in which, in addition to the primary dialect of the language, which may include a standard or regional standard, there is a very

> divergent, highly codified, often grammatically more complex, super-posed variety, the vehicle of a large and respected body of literature, heir of an earlier period or another speech community, which is learned largely by formal education and is used for most written purposes, but is not used in any sector of the community for ordinary conversation.
> (Ferguson, 1959: 336)

High and Low languages according to Ferguson's (1959) definition are used for different purposes in different domains; "high" being used in formal situations and "low" in informal settings. We can refer, for example, to Creole (L) and French (H) in Haiti; Swiss German (L) and High German (H) in Switzerland; colloquial Arabic (L) and Classical Arabic (H) in Egypt. Edwards (1994) in **Reading 3** also provides an example by referring to two versions of the Greek language; *dhimotiki* and *katharévus*, that is, the everyday spoken language and a purer, classical variety.

However, Fishman (1972) later adopted the term "diglossia" to refer to situations in which two *different* languages co-existed in close proximity, the terms "High" and "Low" being applied to denote the *status* level being enjoyed by one over the other. We, therefore, currently apply this term to the co-existence of two *different* languages within a geographical area and where one has higher status and prestige than the other.

Adopting and distinguishing between the terms 'bilingualism' and 'diglossia', however, also enabled Fishman (1980) to create a further range of permutations in order to describe four linguistic contexts involving:

1. Diglossia and bilingualism
2. Diglossia without bilingualism
3. Bilingualism without diglossia
4. Neither bilingualism nor diglossia

In the book which accompanies this course, Baker (2011: 68-69) provides an illustration of each linguistic situation:

1. Diglossia and Bilingualism
    - Everyone can use both the High Language and the Low Language
    - The High Language is used for one set of functions or domains

- The Low Language is used for a different set of functions or domains.

Paraguay provides an example where Spanish (H) is adopted for formal, official domains such as administration and business, and Guarani (L) is used for informal domains such as the home, family and social communication.

2. Diglossia without Bilingualism
    - Two languages co-exist within the same geographical area
    - One group will speak one language and the other group will speak a different language.
      An example is Switzerland where speakers of German, French, Italian and Romansche are, generally speaking, located in different areas.

In this context, Baker (1993) refers to any fluent speakers of more than one language as possibly “the exception rather than the rule."
Fishman (1980) argues that diglossia with and without bilingualism tends to be a relatively stable linguistic situation. However, modern society is susceptible to the influence of many factors which affect language vitality, including ease of travel and communication and increased social and vocational mobility which makes language *shift* more likely than language stability (see below).

3. Bilingualism without diglossia
    - Most people will be bilingual
    - Both languages are used for any set of purposes, functions or domains.

However, Fishman (1972, 1980) considers such communities to be linguistically unstable and that, in future, one of the two languages will become dominant and serve more purposes, the other decreasing in its range of functions and status. Edwards (1994) **(Reading 3)** compares this to Gresham’s Law (see Language Shift below). Although Dorian (2006) disagrees with Edwards as being “too extreme” **(Reading 4)**, it is a view also emphasised by Dressler & Wodak-Leodolter (1977: 5) who perceive such instability as having a progressive inevitability in that the ultimate death of a language has its early beginnings in *language choice:*

> ... Language death is intimately connected with the related topics of language shift and language choice in multilingual communities.

4. Neither Bilingualism nor Diglossia. This could be:

- a monolingual society, possibly where a minority language group is not influenced (or refuses to be influenced) by the majority language of its neighbouring country, as has been shown, for example, in relation to tribes of the Amazon

- a country possibly forced to rid itself of linguistic diversity e.g. Cuba and the Dominican Republic where the native languages have been exterminated. We can also refer to efforts made to eradicate languages in the wake of colonisation, (often with an altruistic intention of promoting social progress).

With regard to the last point, and as mentioned earlier, colonialism has historically contributed to the minoritisation and eventual death of many languages. In **Reading 5**, Khleif, (1980: 15) refers to the concept of "internal colonialism" (Blauner, 1969) with regard to Britain and the dominance of English which contributed to the dramatic reduction in the number of Welsh and Gaelic speakers following the political annexation of Wales and Scotland in 1536 and 1707 respectively. This later quickened the process of further assimilation with England, both on cultural and structural dimensions (Skutnabb-Kangas, 1977). With regard to the Welsh language, for example, the following quotation reflects the *deliberate* nature of this assimilative process historically:

> It must always be the desire of a government to render its dominions, as far as possible, homogeneous. Sooner or later, the difference between Welsh and English will probably be effaced …. an event which is socially and politically so desirable. (Matthew Arnold, quoted in A.R.Jones & G. Thomas, 1973: 127)

Skutnabb- Kangas (1977) (see Baker, 2011: 392-93) differentiates between *economic-structural* assimilation and *cultural* assimilation. Although linguistic minorities often accept this process on an economic-structural level for material and economic reasons, cultural assimilation is often resisted in order to defend and preserve national identity and ethnicity, with language being an essential component.

The socio-political process opposite to assimilation is autonomy. In discussing political aspects of ethnicity, Khleif (1980) differentiates between *integrationist* autonomy and *separatist* autonomy and, in doing so, succeeds in illustrating how linguistic groups can resist the process of *total* assimilation. Khleif (1980) argues that *integrationist*- autonomy is compatible with *cultural nationalism* which emphasises the importance of language, history and education, whilst *separatist*-autonomy demands independent political powers. In a hegemonic political relationship between an ethnic minority and a dominant power, one can, therefore, tolerate cultural nationalism within a context of integrationist-autonomy without affecting the all-important political equilibrium. As Khleif (1980:2) states:

> …cultural nationalism is but nationalism with its political face dormant- it is an accommodationist type.

Figure 3 shows how these political dimensions which involve language are diametrically opposite to each other:

Fig. 3

→ → → → → ← ← ← ← ←

| | |
|---|---|
| Economic-Structural Assimilation | Cultural Assimilation |
| Integrationist Autonomy (Cultural Nationalism) | Separatist Autonomy (Political Nationalism) |

We shall return to examine political issues related to bilingualism later on when we study the process of language shift. Students are advised to read Chapters 17 and 18 of Baker (2011) (2017) which discuss various aspects of this dimension.

A stated previously, the study of societal bilingualism is essentially the study of *language contact* which has an inevitable *dynamic* dimension. Languages are rarely stable and are continually susceptible to external political and micro-political pressures, reflecting in turn processes of social change and conflict. Baker (1993) expresses this in terms of the provision of bilingual education:

> …bilingual education, whatever form it takes, cannot be properly understood unless it is connected to basic philosophies and politics in society. The activity of a

> bilingual classroom, and decisions about how to teach minority language children, are not based purely on educational preferences. Bilingual education does not just reflect curriculum decisions. Rather, bilingual education is surrounded and underpinned by basic beliefs about minority languages, minority cultures, in-migrants, equality of opportunity, the rights of individuals and the rights of language minority groups, assimilation and integration, desegregation and discrimination, pluralism and multiculturalism. (Baker 1993:247)

According to Appel & Muysken (1987):

> If one thing can be learned from language-contact studies, it is how important the overall social context is. Sociolinguistics is not like chemistry, and when you put two languages together the same thing does not always happen. (Appel & Muysken, 1987: 5)

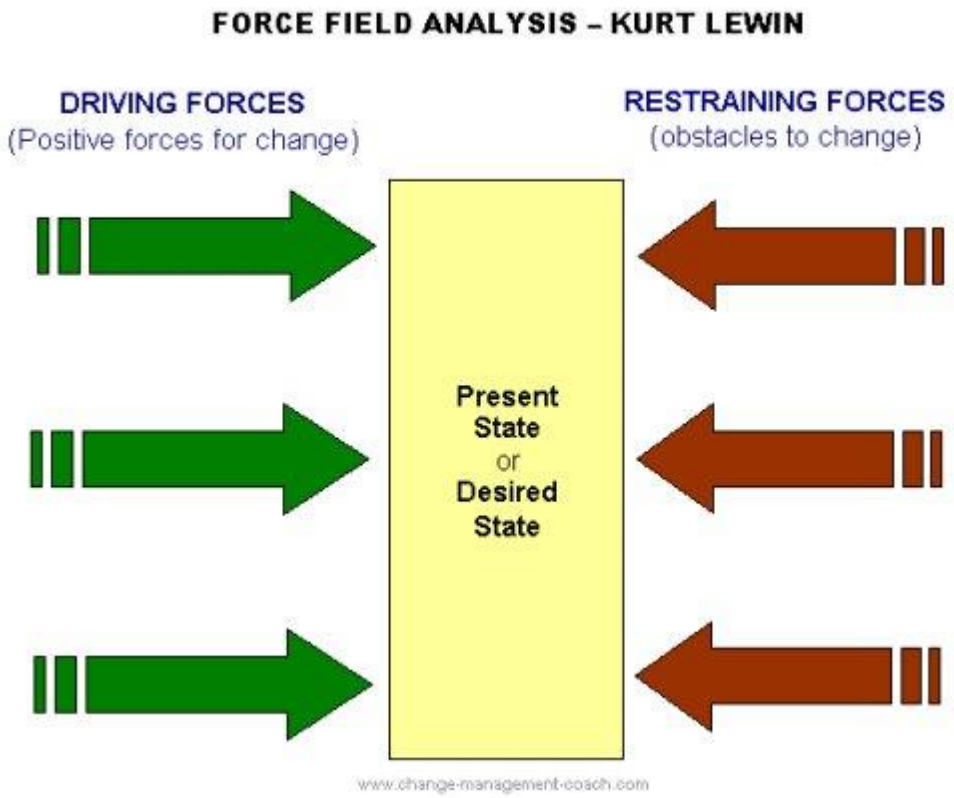
Being constantly susceptible to innumerable external forces including those of a political, economic and social nature and involving processes of *change* and/or *conflict*, Lewin's (1951) "force-field theory" is a very suitable model to illustrate the context in which most (and arguably all) languages exist. This model (Figure 4) can particularly be used to discuss the topic of language shift (see below).

Lewin's (1951) theory identifies two groups of environmental forces:

- *driving forces* which push in a given direction
- *restraining forces* which act by tending to decrease or resist the driving forces.

Driving forces initiate and promote change whereas restraining forces act as agents of a *status quo*. Lewin (1951) argues that, when these opposing forces are equal, a state of equilibrium exists. Obviously, with regard to language contact, political, economic and social issues as well as others (including religion in many cases) can act as both driving *and* restraining forces. In other words, both kinds of forces can involve a combination of different factors. Due to forces and pressures which can be *both internal and external*, languages are, therefore, rarely stable.

Figure 4

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**Additive versus Subtractive Bilingualism**

In relation to the various political, economic and social forces to which languages are susceptible and the societal contexts in which they exist, the terminology *additive* and *subtractive* is adopted. These terms are used in relation to both individual *and* societal bilingualism. Lambert (1974) first adopted the terms in the context of the former, 'additive' being used to refer to positive cognitive aspects of being bilingual, and 'subtractive' being applied to situations where bilingualism in the individual is perceived as having negative cognitive effects, as in the case of so-called *semilingualism*, for example, when both languages are underdeveloped (see module ECDA-7001).

However, these terms were later adopted by Landry, Allard & Théberge, (1991) and applied to *societal* contexts. In societal terms, therefore, 'additive' bilingualism refers to a context in which a language is highly valued and has status and vitality. 'Subtractive' bilingualism is where a language is undervalued and lacks status and prestige, often within a context of political hegemony.

As suggested previously, contact between languages can exist not only internationally but also *intra*-nationally (a term often depending, of course, on one's definition and political perception of a particular 'nation'). Either way, language contact almost inevitably leads to consequences of various kinds. In the previous module, for example, we discovered how this can result in one language borrowing from another, or in lexical and syntactical interference amongst speakers of either language. However, the political or micro-political dimensions which can impinge on the practice of bilingualism on a *societal* level can also involve issues of conflict and the inability of one language to retain its vitality.

Studying aspects of *linguistic vitality* leads us to other dimensions of societal bilingualism, such as language shift, language death, reversing language shift and language revitalisation. These sociolinguistic dimensions will, therefore, be examined in turn.

**Language vitality**

The term *language vitality* could be defined as the state of a language with regard to its general acceptance and adoption for everyday communication and usage amongst people. Needless to say, therefore, languages vary with regard to the *extent* to which this term can be applied since linguistic vitality encompasses, among others, a huge range of social, political and demographic variables which have already been mentioned in terms of the driving and restraining forces related to Lewin's (1951) "force-field theory". Reference has already been made to the way various academics have categorised languages according to their potential survival. Since languages are continually susceptible to the varying strengths of these variables at different times, *any* change can represent a shift in language vitality. 'Language shift', despite its theoretical and literal meaning of representing a change in a language's linguistic vitality in *either* direction has, nevertheless, semantically developed a negative rather than a positive connotation in the field of sociolinguistics, the terms "reversing language shift" (RLS) and language revitalisation being usually associated with positive change. We shall, therefore, in the course of this module use the term 'language shift' in relation to only *negative* changes in language vitality.

However, since such changes can happen in either direction, *language shift* and *language revitalisation* are, theoretically, two sides of the same coin. It is for this reason that it is often difficult to separate the discussion of one from the other. Lack of linguistic vitality results in lack of stability which, in turn, causes language shift. Whilst every effort will, therefore,

be made to discuss these aspects separately, analysing any factors surrounding one will, inevitably, assist in strengthening and enriching one's understanding of the other.

As mentioned earlier, one should be mindful of a common tendency to mistakenly equate the vitality of a language with the *number* of its speakers, since there are many factors which contribute to language vitality apart from (or even despite) this criterion. Is there a number which can validly represent a language's vitality? To consider a population of speakers without giving equal weight to the linguistic context is both erroneous and misleading. For example, 500 speakers within a confined rural area is obviously different from having 500 within a large city. Crystal (2000) refers to the work of Yamamoto (1997) who shows that the population of speakers is not an accurate indicator of vitality, mentioning Karitiana in Brasil for instance where there are only 185 speakers but in a community of 191 and where intergenerational transmission still seems to be evident. On the other hand, Crystal (2000) also draws our attention to the threat English presents generally to languages in South Africa, including Afrikaans despite the presence of six million speakers. A conversation with a South African driver who was conversant with all eleven of the country's official languages reflected a lack of esteem for all apart from English which he was ambitious for his children to learn.
In relation to numbers, it is the *percentage* of speakers in relation to non-speakers which is usually considered to be crucial, that is the critical mass, which is often seen as approximately 70% (Ó Giollagáin et al., 2007). Percentages below this figure usually lead to a dilution in the dynamics of everyday use and communication where even a non-indigenous linguistic *minority*, for example, using a *major* language can have greater influence in promoting the adoption of an alternative "lingua franca."

**Theoretical frameworks**
There are a number of theoretical frameworks which we can adopt to discuss language vitality. Reference has already been made to the UNESCO Language Vitality and Endangerment tool which adopts nine criteria for evaluation. However, we shall also refer to two other frameworks which will provide the student with a range of variables to consider. These are discussed in Baker (2011), namely those of :

- Giles, Bourhis & Taylor (1977)
- Conklin & Lourie (1983)

Furthermore, Fishman's (1990) Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (GIDS) will be adopted at a later stage in relation to the process of language revitalisation.

Giles, Bourhis & Taylor (1977) maintain that the following play an essential role in determining the vitality of a language:

1. **Status factors:** these sub-divide into:
   - economic status
   - social status
   - symbolic status

2. **Demographic factors** including, for example:
   - the number of speakers
   - the geographical distribution of a minority language group (critical mass)
   - the effects of interlanguage marriages or otherwise (endogamy and exogamy)

3. **Institutional support factors** including:
   - mass media
   - religion
   - administrative services
   - education systems

**Students are now referred to pages 54-58 in Chapter 3 of Baker (2011)**.

Baker (2011: 73-75) also illustrates an alternative framework of linguistic vitality devised by Conklin & Lourie (1983) which students are also advised to read. This framework presents factors underpinning language vitality in terms of two sides of the same coin, namely, language maintenance and language loss, but which (unlike Giles, Bourhis & Taylor, 1977) are presented as:

- political, social and demographic factors
- cultural factors
- linguistic factors

The student will observe, therefore, that factors referred to in the Giles, Bourhis & Taylor (1977) framework are also included in that of Conklin & Lourie (1983), although they may be presented differently. This is because academics often approach the same issues from a different perspective. Crystal (2000) acknowledges the various ways of "cutting

the cake". A further indication of this is the fact that Hyltenstam & Shroud (1996) categorise factors that affect languages (that is, can maintain vitality as well as cause language shift) on three broad levels which are described in Baker (2011: 58), namely:

- societal
- speech community
- individual

Crystal (2000) provides a further list of criteria related to ensuring linguistic vitality but which, evidently, should only be treated as *individual aspects* of the frameworks previously discussed rather than rationalised *categories* in their own right. Crystal (2000) lists the following stating that an endangered language will progress if its speakers:

1. increase their prestige within the dominant community
2. increase their wealth relative to the dominant community
3. increase their legitimate power in the eyes of the dominant community
4. have a strong presence in the educational system
5. can write their language down
6. can make use of electronic technology

**Language Shift**

Language shift is usually caused by the contact of languages representing unequal socio-political systems, resulting in economic and social changes which, in turn, affect linguistic behaviour.

The "moral" nature of such a political relationship can vary from outright political oppression to more indirect (some would say devious) means of political control, expressed by Fishman (2005) as "the soft smile and the iron fist" and by Stubbs (1991) as "multicultural rhetoric and assimilationist assumptions." When more than one language exists within a geographical area, language shift can be precipitated by the need of a "lingua franca" for communicative expediency, often a "neutral" non-ethnic language to avoid political disagreements or, alternatively, either a major language or one with historical colonial connections.

As previously mentioned, language shift reflects the loss of linguistic vitality in various domains of language use which can be gradual or even dramatic. In the context of lesser-used or minority languages in contact with majority languages and in terms of Lewin's (1951) "force-field theory", a shift can be explained as the inability of restraining forces to maintain equilibrium against opposing driving forces. In the previous section we were introduced to some *academic* frameworks which

provided some useful analysis of factors considered crucial to maintain language vitality.It needs to be emphasised, however, that sociolinguistics is such a highly complicated and unpredictable field of study that the outcome of the interaction and balance of the innumerable variables involved cannot be accurately forseen. D.P. Moran (1900) in referring to the efforts to revive Irish, once made the following cynical observation:

> Without scholars [the revival] cannot succeed; with scholars as leaders it is bound to fail.

We are, after all, ultimately at the mercy of *human behaviour* and human frailty.

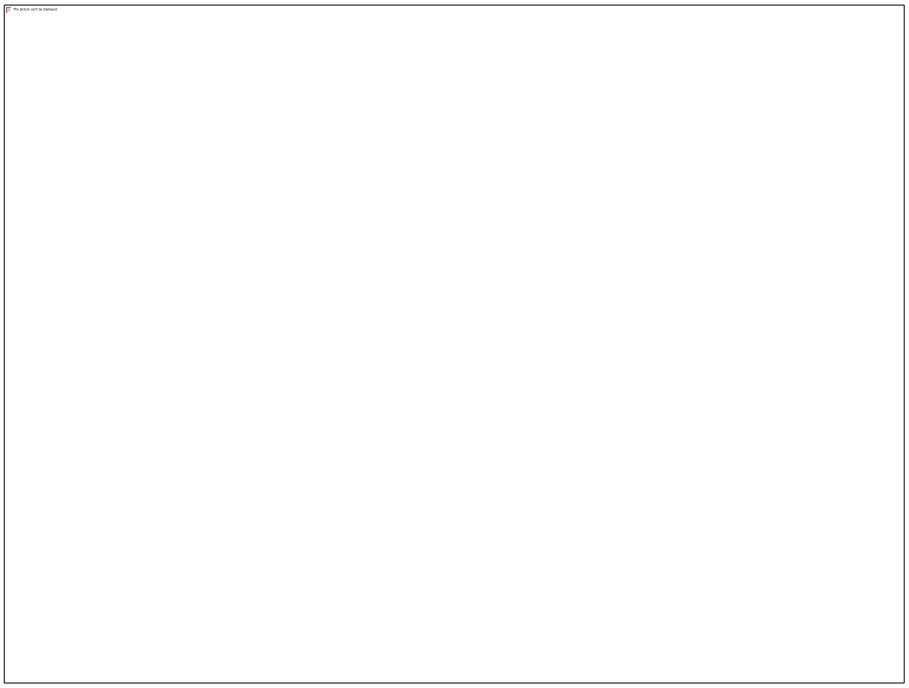
> Loss of language is not the loss of a concept, an abstraction, but rather it is what happens when people change their behaviour and stop transmitting their language intergenerationally. *It is intimately connected with people and it cannot be treated simply as an intellectual puzzle to be solved.*
> (Rhydwen, 1998: 101, emphasis added)

Lewis (2011) has argued that much of what influences human *linguistic* behaviour and practice can be related to Maslow's "hierarchy of human needs" (Figure 5). Maslow, who argues that the human being is a *wanting* animal whose needs have to be satisfied, places these in a series of hierarchical levels:

- physiological needs
- safety needs (instrumental motivation)
- social needs (integrational motivation)
- ego/ esteem needs
- self-fulfillment/ self-actualization needs

The progressive nature of such needs (in the sense that satisfication on one level only leads to a further need on the next level) has led academics to relate Maslow's theory to human motivation.

**Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs**
Figure 5



Language and linguistic proficiency, arguably, plays an important role at all levels including the highest levels of esteem and self-actualization. However, it is obviously at the level of ensuring physiological *survival* and *safety* that language is most crucial, the latter also relating to security of body and health by means of material resources and, in turn, *employment.* In most cases, such survival and safety can be sufficiently ensured by proficiency in only *one* language as long as it has relevance and use in the circumstances in which one finds oneself. In terms of motivation and behaviour, therefore, it can be argued that most do not usually *deliberately* seek to achieve *bilingual* proficiency but often find it "accidentally" by virtue of being in a bilingual linguistic context, referred to as *circumstantial bilingualism.*

It would be misleading, however, to present this argument in such stark 'black and white' terms. Whereas learning or acquiring a second or third language can obviously be seen as a characteristic of self-esteem and self-actualization, nevertheless, it can often also meet a more basic need such as the securing of employment. A context in which an individual would consider it *necessary* to learn a language for his own personal material advantage would, therefore, be an *additive* linguistic context and this would be referred to as *instrumental motivation* (Gardner, 1991). However, linguistic motivation can also be categorised as being *integrational,* which is usually described as a desire to integrate with a particular linguistic community and to share its culture. In relation to Maslow's 'hierarchy of needs', this seems to answer those aspects which

are of a more social or *esteem* nature as characterised in words such as ‘friendship, respect of others, respect by others’.

It is argued, therefore, that one needs to be mindful of the fact that achieving *bilingual* proficiency (as opposed to unilingual or monoglot proficiency), is not a concern which can be considered a particularly high priority or a strong motivator amongst humans or in relation to human *behaviour* ; the former satisfying mainly the higher level needs of a minority and the latter mainly the more *essential* needs of the vast majority. It cannot come as a surprise, therefore, if the linguistic behaviour of humans often veers towards the line of least resistance and adopts a language which is socially more prevalent or materially more beneficial.

The relevance of Maslow’s theory to our discussion of language vitality and language shift can, arguably, be clearly illustrated by the following. As representing the perception of ordinary people who are continually at the mercy of life’s economic forces, the following quotation may be said to reflect everyday reality for some:

> A Navajo student of mine once put the problem quite starkly: if I have to choose, she said, betwen living in a hogan a mile from the nearest water where my son will grow up speaking Navajo or moving to a house in the city with indoor plumbing where he will speak English with the neighbors, I’ll pick English and a bathroom !
> (Spolsky, 1989: 451)

As if having Maslow in mind, Rhydwen (1998: 101,emphasis added) states:

> When *basic needs for shelter, food, safety and health* are unmet, even thinking about language or revival seems like an irrelevant luxury.

The point being argued here is that, for the vast majority of ordinary people, economic and pragmatic considerations outweigh linguistic-cultural issues. Williams (1979: 58) states this rather succinctly:

> Language allegiance is firmly rooted in the economic order rather than in any independent cultural order.

as does Dorian (1982:47):

> "language loyaly persists as long as the economic and social circumstances are conducive to it, but if some other language proves to have greater value, a shift to that language begins."

Many languages have experienced language shift during the last century, one of the most notable being Irish, which, despite its official status both in Ireland and more recently in the European Union, has suffered substantial levels of attrition. Research which contributed to the current '20 Year Strategy' adopted by the Irish government to revitalise the language identified the importance of the following key factors:

- Capacity
- Opportunity
- Positive attitude in terms of public desire

Whereas *capacity* referred to the need to improve the levels of Irish speakers and *opportunity* to the domains in which Irish was being generally used, *attitude* was a factor which one hoped would reflect the *desire* of the Irish to see the language thrive. However, if we relate 'desire' to Maslow's 'hierarchy of needs', we can see that it corresponds more to the 'higher order' needs on the 'self-fulfilment' level. One could argue that in order to motivate people to adopt Irish as an everyday means of communication, such language planning should focus on domains directly related to more 'lower-order', *economic* needs, including, for example, domains of employment.

However, one should add that there are also groups where economic considerations do not have a role in their allegiance to language. These include:

- religious groups where faith issues are considered to be above any others, such as the Amish in Pensylvania
- groups who show linguistic and cultural allegiance to a language for its own sake but who often, according to sociologists, enjoy favourable circumstances or status within their society.

Of course, saying that language shift is fundamentally the effect of human behaviour can arguably be construed as a truism. However, humans do not behave in a particular way without reason, so that such behaviour in itself is often an *effect* rather than a cause. It is, therefore, necessary to

examine the wider linguistic context with regard to *why* individuals may behave in certain ways in their use (or non-use) of languages.

**Factors which contribute to language shift**

As Baker (1993:35) points out, "Bilingual individuals do not exist as separate islands". Individuals are conditioned by the sociolinguistic context in which they find themselves and the political, economic, social, educational and religious variables which affect that context. Due to the innumerable possible combinations of variables involved, it is, obviously, unrealistic to create a generic model which fits all situations of language shift. Given the space which this Guidance Booklet allows, however, we may investigate some of those variables which can have an impact on and cause this linguistic process generally.

Denison (1977: 21) illustrates language shift in the following formula:

**1.** A → **2.** AI / BII → **3.** BI / AII → **4**. B

In the above formula, A and B represent diffent languages and I indicates a higher language competence among speakers than II.
Despite appearing to be a rather simplistic model of the process of language shift considering the range and complicated interaction of factors involved, it does, however, provide a clear outline of the process in terms of its *incremental* stages. Whereas both Stages 1 and 4 represent monoglot societies and the completion of the total shift from one language to another, Stages 2 and 3 could be related to the permutations which Fishman (1980) presents in terms of bilingualism and diglossia as described earlier. The model does also seem to indicate the possible (some would say inevitable) role of the “acquisition of bilingual profiency” stages (stages 2 and 3) in the eventual death of a language. Depending on the status of a language in relation to another and the *subtractive* or *additive* context in which it exists, the acquisition of *bilingual* proficiency amongst speakers can signal its demise:

> …when all its speakers become bilingual, the penalty is death.(O' Rahilly: 1932)

As mentioned previously, language shift is often caused by the contact of two languages which do not share the same levels of status or vitality, whether that contact is international (that is, across sovereign states) or intra-national. In the process of examining the relative status of languages and the possible subordination of one to another, we earlier adopted terminology such as *high* and *low* languages, *diglossia* (Ferguson, 1959;

Fishman, 1972) and *additive* and *subtractive* contexts (Landry, Allard & Théberge, 1991). Subordination is a common characteristic of lesser-used languages in contact with 'major', more powerful or more widely-used languages, or languages which exist within a context of political hegemony.

Reference was made earlier to Khleif (1980), who shows how the power relationship between Wales and England has operated within a political framework of "internal colonialism" as expounded by Blauner (1969), Wales being England's first colony. Khleif (1980) discusses socio-political aspects of ethnicity and national identity, of which language is an essential component, and examines dimensions such as *integrationist* autonomy and *separatist* autonomy, referring also to the relationship between a "Gesellschaft" and a "Gemeinschaft" (Shils, 1957) and Geertz's (1973) concept of "epochalism" as opposed to "essentialism". It provides an illustration of the *macro* socio-political hegonomic contexts in which minority languages often exist and also (despite the trappings of legislature) the various assimilative dimensions which can impinge on linguistic vitality, thus contributing, overtly or covertly, to the process of language shift.

As mentioned previously in relation to those frameworks which were adopted to discuss factors considered to underpin linguistic *vitality*, language shift (being the other side of the same coin) can, of course, be largely due to the *absence* of such supporting factors. Issues presented within a negative paradigm in the following discussion will, therefore, only serve to reinforce and enrich one's understanding of the various components which are integral to linguistic vitality.

Mackey (1962) describes the status of a language as "the sum of what you can do with a language legally, culturally, economically, politically and demographically". This not only emphasises clearly the factors highlighted earlier in our examination of frameworks of linguistic vitality e.g. Giles, Bourhis & Taylor (1977), but also encompasses a whole gamut of parameters within which languages operate.
Legal status does, of course, provide a language with the constitutional support which makes its status explicit and officially recognised. However, legal status does not necessarily ensure language vitality. The current status of Irish illustrates this clearly, being legally the official language of Ireland but spoken by relatively few, whilst the vast majority of the population seem to favour English.
Although Canada is *officially* a 'bilingual' country, French having equal status with English, nevertheless, French is only spoken by a small

minority (less than 15%) in nine out of ten provinces. Despite the fact that Ontario, New Brunswick and Quebec are supposed to be officially bilingual, in reality Quebec is essentially monoglot French and New Brunswick bilingual. As Edwards (1994) points out, Canada, therefore, rather than being generally “bilingual” has moved towards a form of ‘twinned’ unilingualism. Effectively, this amounts to ‘territorial diglossia’ with Quebec rejecting bilingualism. Edwards (1994: 88) states:

> "A socially-engineered policy - which is how some have described the Canadian arrangement – must ultimately, it seems, be reconciled with widespread, popular perceptions of social reality and self-interest."

On the other hand, there are plenty of examples, of course, where languages are denied any form of legal stutus but where vitality is unquestionably strong.

With regard to public perception, however, (and the crucial factor of human behaviour), status is not always interpreted in terms of legal structures but rather in *symbolic* terms. Language also has a symbolic value as well as a communicative purpose i.e. ‘tribal’ and identity aspects (Shils, 1957). Whereas language as a manifestation of culture and identity on the one hand, and language as a means of everyday communication on the other, are usually perceived by speakers of major languages as being unified, yet, in countries undergoing a process of language shift they are often perceived as *separate* entities. We can, therefore, have allegiance to culture and/or identity as opposed to allegiance to language. In the wake of a substantial historical language shift, this seems to be the case currently in Ireland, described by Edwards (1994) as being "…a situation of reverence without cost”.

In our discussion of diglossia and bilingualism, we referred to how Fishman (1980) illustrates four linguistic societies by creating various permutations. Whereas minority languages or languages of a subordinate status can be stable within some contexts, Fishman (1980) argues that societies which are fully bilingual (bilingualism without diglossia) will prove to be unstable in the long term. Since, in practical terms, fully bilingual citizens do not need to use *both* languages for *all* domains, Fishman maintains that one of the two will eventually become dominant and serve more purposes, the other consequently decreasing in its range of functions and status. Edwards (1994:102-3) refers to this as " a sort of linguistic Gresham's Law at work”, a reference to a sixteenth century merchant who argued that the use of two forms of exchange concurrently

would only lead to the inevitable disappearance of that which proved more expensive:

> "…so the cheap all-pervasive language will drive out its intrinsically superior but harder-to-maintain competitor."

Haugen (1981) argues that:

> "Wherever two languages come into contact, there will be competition between them. The most useful language and the one that costs less to the speaker (in terms of effort, social status, economic advancement ) will always be the most successful."

This again brings us back to the crucial role of human behaviour in the process of language shift. Such a shift may well be due to a range of political, economic and social pressures and initiatives; however, it is ultimately *how people react* to those initiatives which matters. Human reaction will be seen to underpin our discussion of many issues which follow.

In reaction to various political, economic and social pressures, for example, people can exchange languages because they believe there are certain advantages in speaking one rather than another. These can include:

- social advantages
- educational advantages
- economic advantages

> "They adopt the majority language as their regular vehicle of communication, often mainly because they expect that speaking that language gives better chances for upward social mobility and social success." (Appel and Muysken, 1987: 32)

To these we can also add *cultural* advantages because some languages are seen as having kudos and prestige and being directly associated with certain cultures, lifestyles and sophistication (and, therefore, indirectly with wealth, education and social mobility). As Pool states with regard to the historical decline in Cornish speakers:

> ... they turned to English for reasons of practical convenience or social snobbery. (Pool, 1975: 15)

Other languages, therefore, lacking similar associations inevitably suffer when in contact with such prestige languages. Dorian's (1981) account of the decline of Gaelic in East-Sutherland in the Highlands of Scotland illustrates how people began to associate the Gaelic language with old-age, poverty and an old-fashioned lifestyle. In Wales, research by Brinley Thomas (1987) showed that young people living in a traditionally Welsh-speaking village (Pontrhydyfen, Richard Burton's birthplace), tended to socialise outside their community due to a lack of people of their own age. Since 1981, 70% of homes in Pontrhydyfen had had no residents below the age of 15 years, 25% of residents being of pensionable age. In this particular situation, it seems that being Welsh-speaking almost inevitably became associated with the way of life of an older generation, lacking the social status and vibrancy attached to both the English language and Anglo-American culture respectively.

Whereas stating that status can affect language growth or decline seems to be a rather obvious truism to those involved in such areas as language planning, less obvious perhaps to many is the fact that there is a clear link between the way languages are *perceived* by the public in terms of status and prestige and the contexts in which languages are adopted and *used.* Loss of status can, consequently, cause their *functions* in historical and traditional *domains* to change and diminish. Boundaries which separate the functions of two languages are never permanent. In a bilingual context the choice of language used within various domains is often influenced or dictated by various factors. Investigation of domains shows, however, how they exist on different *societal levels.* For instance, each of the factors listed below represent parameters to which we could easily attach domains where (within a national context) the use of a particular language *would be expected*, namely, the *high* language:

- **Economic:** e.g. French-speaking minorities in Canada and ethnic minorities in Britain needing English for employment:

  > Immigrants who want to get ahead in society place
  > a high value on speaking the majority language.
  > (Appel and Muysken: 1987: 33)

- **Political:** civil-servants in Ireland required to have a knowledge of Irish Gaelic
- **Educational:** The tradition of teaching Latin historically in British Grammar Schools
- **Religious:** Muslim children learning their faith in Arabic in Britain.

Reference was made earlier to the process of assimilation and how one could differentiate between ‘structural’ and ‘cultural’ assimilation. One can also, arguably, link such differentiation to the levels of language shift to which various domains are susceptible since people’s choice of language is usually influenced (or dictated) by the parameters of *officialdom* within which they find themselves.Whereas, *cultural* domains (including the cultural activities and traditions attached to them) can provide a form of resistance to the process of language shift, structural assimilation usually means adopting the use of the “high” language in “official” domains, even though this may, in certain cases, involve a gradual “voluntary” but unavoidable transition from one’s mother tongue to the adoption of a wholly new language in the face of irresistible external pressures.

There are many examples quoted by academics which give accounts of historical shifts in minority language use, due to the pressure of *official* domains as a result of making contact with more powerful languages or those of a higher status. The following quote from the ‘Language Clause’ of the Act of Union of England and Wales in 1536 presents an example where officaldom becomes oppression:

> ... from henceforth no Person or Persons that use the Welsh Speech or Language shall have or enjoy any Manner Office or Fees within the Realm of England, Wales, or other the King’s Dominion, upon Pain of forfeiting the same Offices or Fees, unless he or they use and exercise the English Speech or Language.

However, whereas the above example represents a process of *involuntary* assimilation of speakers of a ‘low’ or lesser-used language with a ‘higher’ and more powerful neighbour, there are innumerable other examples where this process has been, to a large extent *voluntary.* Pool (1975) gives an account of the indifferent reaction of the Cornish to their native language:

> … it just faded away over the centuries, the main reason being simply that the Cornish did not care enough for it and turned to English.(Pool: 1975: 15)

Dressler & Wodak-Leodolter (1977:7) refer to the historical situation in Brittany when Bretons had to exchange their native language for the more lucrative French in order to get jobs:

> ... It is necessary to present oneself as a member of the national majority to acquire positions (like jobs, official functions and educational facilities).

Earlier we described the 'driving forces' (Lewin, 1951) to which languages are continually susceptible as being generally of a political, economic, educational and cultural nature. Those general parameters do, of course, subsume innumerable sub-dimensions, all of which we cannot possibly encompass in a guidance booklet such as this. It is arguable that compressing those subdimensions into neat categories could be an unprofitable task since it would sometimes appear like disentangling a can of worms, many subdimensions being so inter-related and involving variables which defy the laws of cause and effect.
For instance, whereas it has been argued that human behaviour has an obviously crucial role in the plight of languages with regard to the way people *react* to external forces (the former being the effect and the latter the cause in this instance), we must also consider the extent to which human behaviour can *create* such forces, thus also being part (if not the whole) of the cause. For example, with reference to the above comment made by Poole (1975) on the indifference of the Cornish, could not such indifference, arguably, be seen as a (negative) 'driving force' by failing to act as a (positive) 'restraining force' in the process of language shift?
In referring to the historic plight of the Irish language and the shift to English, Fennell (1981) states:

> '... the lack of a will to stop shrinking is an intrinsic characteristic of a shrinking language minority. Consequently, any attempt to 'save' such a community must begin by arousing in them the will to save themselves.' (Fennell: 1981: 30)

Trying to separate the variables from each other on the basis of a *causal* relationship can, therefore, often appear like solving the problem of "the chicken and the egg". As a minority language weakens, it will have fewer functions and be adopted for fewer domains. Fewer opportunities to use a language can, in turn, cause speakers to question its value, thus resulting in even further attrition in the number of speakers and domains.
Languages which exist in 'subtractive' contexts, therefore, are susceptible to a downward spiral which can be very gradual or even dramatic.

The extreme complicatedness and often two-sidedness of the process of language shift is crystallised in Edwards' (1994) question of whether languages are *murdered* or *commit suicide*:

> In this way, we might resolve the murder-suicide matter (if these terms must be used at all) by considering the social pressures under which suicide occurs. In personal suicide, stress is involved: people do not kill themselves on a whim. Usually, the pressures are varied, although there sometimes exists a significant "other" who in some sense has caused the suicide. In linguistic suicide, on the other hand, there is always a significant "other" (language) which creates the pressures leading to a language shift and decline; there is always a murderer. But, just as a person may cause another's suicide without being a murder in law, so a language can bring about another's demise without directly and actively planning to do so. Very rarely, in fact, is linguistic demise so carefully planned that one can invoke the label of murder.
> (Edwards, 1994: 104)

It is here that it seems appropriate to repeat an account once given to the present author of "two ways of killing a frog"; the first method being to place the frog in a saucepan of *boiling* water, to which it will react immediately by jumping out. However, a more devious and "effective" method is to place it in *cold* water and to bring the saucepan slowly to the boil. By this method, the frog will remain in the saucepan, totally oblivious to the change in its environment, until it dies.

The question of language murder or suicide leads naturally to issues of policy-making. Language policy-making (or, in many cases, attitudes towards languages, since policy-*making* suggests deliberate action with which "laissez-faire" approaches or apathy do not fit) can, arguably, be plotted on a continuum ranging from energetic promotion on the one hand to wilful "murder" on the other. Language policies often reflect a basic political ideology. An often quoted example is that of the USA which expects linguistic pluralism to be subjected to the American "melting pot" and the adoption of a single "lingua franca", English, in order to maintain social cohesion. Speeches by Presidents Roosevelt and Regan have, in the past, emphasised this political philosophy most clearly:

> It's absolutely wrong and against American concepts to have a bilingual education program that is now openly,

> admittedly dedicated to preserving their native language,
> and never getting them adequate in English so they can go
> out into a job market and participate.
> (President Regan, 1981, quoted in Crawford, 2000).

Baker (2011: 384), in discussing linguistic policies and attitudes to language diversity in the USA and the promotion of English as a socially cohesive power (see Chapter 17), quotes President Roosevelt's well-known speech in 1917. As can be seen, it reflects a highly ethnocentric attitude being adopted towards multilingualism in that earlier period of American history also due to the political need to linguistically (if not culturally) assimilate people of diverse racial backgrounds.

However, language policies also often reflect a more *covert* ideology, albeit unconsciously or sub-conciously, as opposed to an entrenched and overt political standpoint determined to ensure or promote social cohesion. Stubbs (1991) cynically refers to such language -planning policies in England and Wales as "multicultural rhetoric and assimilationist assumptions".

Williams (1991) mentions varying "environmental" attitudes to linguistic diversity, namely:

- the **evolutionist**, which fundamentally reflects a Darwinian "survival of the fittest" attitude towards language vitality, perceiving language shift and, possibly, ultimate death as an inevitability in the face of unavoidable adverse economic, political and social pressures
- the **conservationist**, which adopts a positive approach reflecting a belief in the need to conserve and to revitalise languages under threat by providing them with special status in order to regain vitality. The establishment of the "Gaeltacht" in Ireland reflects this position
- the **preservationist,** which adopts a more protective, conservative approach in relation to the *status quo* rather than the more positive and promotional stance of the conservationist.

In elaborating on these aspects, Baker (2011:47-48) links this "environmental" approach to languages with three themes expounded by Hornberger (2006) within a perspective of language "ecology". Furthermore, Garcia's (1992) "language garden" analogy provides a strong warning of the disastrous consequences of ignoring the current threat facing languages throughout the world.

Despite referring above to the fact that there are many subdimensions (subsuming innumerable factors) which contribute to language shift and which act as ‘driving’ forces, we shall, however, highlight some further issues which are acknowledged in the academic field as being major contributors.

**Modernisation**

Modernisation is generally interpreted as a ‘positive’ aspect of economic growth. Such growth has an obvious international dimension since commerce and business usually and increasingly operate on a global scale, thus making less ‘robust’ languages vulnerable to language shift by further strengthening the vitality of existing international languages as well as, possibly, creating others.

Economic changes, including industrialisation and modernisation, can, therefore, cause people to *choose* between languages. In less industrialised societies, minority languages are known to have been consequently ‘left behind’, seen as old-fashioned, useless and diasadvantageous in terms of upward social mobility and associated with “backward” rural traditions rather than forward-looking urban modernity. Historically, O'Rahilly (1932) seems to have been already aware of this issue. However, considering the powerful force of modernism and the alternatives, such a stance as the following, arguably, generates more questions than answers:

> …when a language surrenders itself to modern idiom, and when all its speakers become bilingual, the penalty is death. (O'Rahilly, 1932)

**Educational reasons**

Modernisation is usually followed by an increasing demand for state schools and a centralised education system, the developments of which “favour the emergence and expansion of standardized national languages and disfavour the use and even the very existence of minority languages.’ (Dressler & Wodak-Leodolter: 1977:7)

Educational policies usually reflect political ideology which again brings us to the issue of power relationships between minority and majority rights. However, whereas the formulation of some damaging educational policies at the highest national (or even local) political levels can often go undetected by an unsuspecting public, educational *language* policies, due to their *direct* effect on large numbers of parents, can engender widespread political reaction. Ruiz (1984) refers to three political dimensions which underpin bilingualism generally, but which are often highlighted when it comes to *educational* provision:

- Language as a right
- Language as a problem
- Language as a resource

It will be seen that the first two are diametrically opposite to each other. What some groups consider to be rights can be perceived by others as problems. This again often reflects issues of cultural and structural assimilation or separatism, for example, and aspects of national cohesion. However, the third perspective which presents language as a *resource* to be exploited economically, politically, educationally and culturally can be seen to reconcile such opposition, presenting bilingualism as a positive advantage (and, ironically, *also* as a possible source of social cohesion).We have recently been forcibly reminded by the British Academy of the negative economic consequences of not adopting a more positive attitude to language learning in the wake of a substantial reduction in the takeup of modern languages amongst secondary pupils in the UK.

Education through the medium of a minority language is a key component in the language's viability and sustainability. Lewis Jones (1981) similarly maintains that *literacy* in a minority language is a strong indicator of its stability, whereas lack of literacy amongst speakers reflects the increasing influence of a majority language and a definite step towards language death. The way a language can accommodate dialectical variants in its *spoken* form usually reflects its strength as a living language and a means of further propagation since such *oral* variations can be unified by a widely acknowledged *standardised written* form. This is evidenced by the strength of standardised written English throughout the world (with very minor occasional deviations, as in the USA) alongside the *acceptance* of major dialectical varieties, (unlike the French perhaps, who tend to scorn the language of the Quebecois).
On the other hand, a *lack* of written reinforcement, due to illiteracy amongst *native-speakers,* can result in a proliferation of grammatical and dialectical variation which can contribute to widespread instability. The fact that a language, consequently, does not have a common *spoken* nor a standardised *written* form can undermine a language's vitality as well as its status in the perception of the speakers themselves, resulting in an almost inevitable tendency to adopt (in a bilingual or diglossic context) the alternative language which *does.* Further attrition, due to a diminution of language domains accompanied by negative aspects of *language loss* such as lexical and syntactical interference from the more dominant language, can lead to eventual language death.

Education, therefore, as a means of breaking the "viscious circle" of attrition in the relationship between loss of speakers and domains and the consequent deterioration in levels of literacy and quality of language, is widely recognised as a crucial component in language revitalisation and reversing language shift. In Wales, for example, Welsh-medium primary and secondary schools (referred to as "agencies of language revitalisation" by Khleif, 1980) are not only considered to have made an extremely positive contribution to an increase in the number of Welsh speakers (as recorded in the language census of 2001, the statistics for 2011 pending), but have led to further Welsh-medium education developments at *university* level with the establishment of the Coleg Cymraeg Cenedlaethol.

However, evaluating revitalisation only in terms of growth in the *number of speakers* can also ignore *other* linguistic issues on which there is often divided opinion amongst language activists. Efforts to resist language shift by increasing the number of speakers cannot always guarantee a correlation in language *quality.* The two do not necessarily go hand in hand and can even progress in opposite directions.

With regard to the substantial increase in the number of pupils from English-speaking homes who have attended Welsh-medium schools during the last half-century, Mathias (not dated) draws our attention to the creation of a particular brand of Welsh amongst pupils due to the interference of the mother-tongue. What appears to be "proficient" fluency can often be at the expense of accuracy. Unlike aspects of *language loss* which characterise the language of native speakers mentioned above, the negative linguistic characteristics of this "group" (interlanguage, fossilisation etc) reflect a *lack of language gain.*

> If the education system is now the primary means of Welsh language transmission, the issue of the maintenance of ability becomes even more important than previously, as the ability of those who have become second language (L2) speakers through the influence of the education system may well not be as firmly established as the ability of the home language speakers. (Jones, 2008)

We might differentiate, therefore, between the two linguistic groups by maintaining that in the case of first-language speakers it reflects language *deterioration*, whereas in the case of second-language speakers it reflects language *change*, a difference of perspective which has been a topic of debate amongsts linguists and sociolinguististsalike.

Whether it is more valid to come down on the side of linguistic deterioration (as language "purists"do) or on the side of change (or language "development"), what is of greater significance is that such instability (as well as the discussion surrounding it), becomes an *additional* contributory factor to language shift.
Such instability, inevitably, has an additional significance in the context of languages under threat. The ensuing debate over language standardisation can *in itself* be a further weakening factor and perceived as reflecting division and uncertainty which is uncharacteristic of major languages whose vitality is expressed in the acknowledgement of widespread and common linguistic standards. Standardisation has also proved to be a stumbling-block in the revitalisation of Cornish in the United Kingdom (Lowe, 2010), being, of course, a well-known example of a language which historically suffered the process of language shift and ultimate death.

Language obsolescence is an important area of research as shown by M. Jones (1998). However, any loss of language due to a reduction in use *within* certain domains must be differentiated from a circumstantial change *of* the domains themselves. George Rizkalla (quoted in Crystal, 2000: 25), lamenting the gradual loss and use of the Aramaic language to Arabic amongst the younger generation in villages outside Damascus, refers to how moving to the city is accompanied by linguistic deterioration:

> There [in Damascus] they cannot see goats or trees or peasants working in the field. So all the words for these things are forgotten because they hear such words maybe once a year. In this way the language gets poorer and poorer.

One can relate this, of course, to loss in the use of words amongst the younger generation appertaining to a way of life and traditions of which they have no experience *or which they do not find relevant*; the corollary being that language vitality also depends a great deal on a language's ability to penetrate those domains which they *do* experience and consider to be relevant; that is, to modernise (see above).

Globalisation is a phenomenon which increasingly seems to suggest that certain domains are the preserve of only a relatively few languages, as illustrated for instance by the instructions found in a limited number of languages when one buys an electrical utensil. Major languages such as English currently dominate the domains of science and technology, for example, as well as the fields of international commerce and economics.

Furthermore, even *within* this linguistic hierarchy, there is evidence that English is becoming increasingly the international "lingua franca" to the detriment of other major and previously dominant languages. For example, there are signs that European universities seem to be adopting English increasingly as a means of instruction in a number of disciplines either as well as or instead of their national languages. Therefore, with a view to safeguarding the use of the national language within a *bilingual* education system along side English, certain language activists have adopted slogans such as "Einstein was not educated in English!" Stemming the dominance of English in key domains, however, not only necessitates the *use* of an alternative language such as the respective national tongue, but also the need to ensure that a language is equipped with the necessary terminology to deal with such new developments. This is particularly true in the fields of technology and science which are continually susceptible to innovation. Related to the need to secure sufficient "corpus planning" is the fact that certain countries have been very defensive of the purity of their own language and the encroachment of others, particularly English. Kaplan & Baldauf (1997), in discussing "corpus planning" as a key component of language planning, refer to the specific role of academies in various countries in lexical modernisation; some, like the Academia della Crusca in Florence, having been established as early as the sixteenth century.

**Demographic reasons**

As was previously seen, demography was considered a key component of linguistic vitality in the framework of Giles, Bourhis & Taylor (1977). Demographic changes can significantly effect a minority language's prosperity:

> ... where both numbers of speakers and social prestige
> are overwhelmingly weighted against a language (variety),
> its survival must be seen as problematic.
> (Denison, 1977: 16)

Immigration issues have been prominent in the wake of European legislation which allows free passage to EU citizens across the continent, with the result that many geographical contexts have become more noticeably "multilingual". However, such an arrangement has not deprived languages of their official status within their respective countries so that a "territorial principle" is legally preserved. Migration has a greater effect on minority languages in countries which are part of a larger sovereign state and which, whether they have official status or not, share a diglossic existence alongside another major language.

Despite recent heated political debates regarding immigration in the United Kingdom which has been alleged to undermine the country's social cohesion, this, of course, has in no way affected the vitality of the English language.To the contrary, it has ironically strengthened the perception of English as being an inexorable assimilating force on both structural and cultural dimensions (Skutnabb-Kangas, 1977), (see above). However, the in-migration of non-Welsh -speaking workers to the coal districts and steel towns of South Wales at the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth century contributed significantly to the anglicisation of what were previously *monoglot* Welsh-speaking communities, as shown by Davies (1993). A repeat of such a migratory phenomenon from England into what remained of the Welsh-speaking heartlands in the 1980s and 1990s also had a devastating effect on the language, dramatically reducing the number of communities where 70% of the population spoke Welsh from 92 in 1991 to 54 in 2001. This led to a specific target being incorporated in a national language strategy "Iaith Pawb: A National Action Plan for a Bilingual Wales"( Welsh Assembly Government, 2003) with the aim of ensuring that "the decline in the number of communities where Welsh is spoken by over 70% is arrested."

Both Jones (2010) and Morris (2010) bear testimony to the multi-faceted sociolinguistic effects of this phenomenon, such as the demand for second or holiday homes from outsiders which affected house prices, thus causing the indigenous Welsh-speaking population to seek cheaper residence elsewhere. The in-migration of outsiders in parallel with the out-migration of the native population has, therefore, caused a significant language shift in terms of an increased monoglot English-speaking population, similar to the way the historical in-migration of tin and fish merchants had a significant impact on the use of English in Cornwall.

Official statistics analysed by Jones (2008) showed that, whereas the already significant percentage of the population born outside Wales in 1991 was 23%, it had increased to 25% by 2001 and was projected to be 29% by 2021 due to in-migration alone. However, unlike the assimilative power wielded and imposed by countries with major languages, in-migration in Wales has been characterised by low levels of linguistic integration with only 9% of those born outside Wales able to speak Welsh.

In-migration and out-migration has also reduced the levels of endogamy and has increased exogamy within the Welsh-speaking population.This seems to be a very significant factor in the transference of the language across generations. The national census in 2001 showed that, in families where *both* parents spoke Welsh, the language was transmitted to 82% of

children aged 3-4 across Wales despite some geographical variation. However, in families where only *one* parent spoke Welsh, this percentage fell to 40% of children aged 3-4. As has already been stated rather obviously, a causal factor in language shift is the geographic proximity of a minority language community to a community using a language of higher prestige and status. However, such proximity is also more likely to produce linguistically mixed marriages, which in turn lead to a language shift within the home. Therefore, a further target specified in "Iaith Pawb: A National Action Plan for a Bilingual Wales" (Welsh Assembly Government, 2003) was for the percentage of families where Welsh is the principal language of conversation to be increased by 2011. This target reflects what Fishman (1990) considers the most crucial step of all (Stage 6) in his Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (GIDS) to promote a process of language revitalisation (see below).
However obvious the importance of maintaining cross-generational language transmission seems to be in withstanding any process of language shift, nevertheless, parental choices and decisions are always susceptible to other macro-economic and political considerations which adversely affects any existing desire amongst many minority language speakers to pass on their native language to their children:

> We can say that there comes a point when multilingual parents no longer consider it necessary or worthwhile for the future of their children to communicate with them in a low-prestige language variety.(Denison, 1977: 21)

A significant statistic offered by Jones (2008) was that the under-16 age profile was projected to fall from 19.4% in 2004 to 17.8% in 2011. Falling levels of young people could also undermine the possibility for the school system to generate generations of Welsh speakers.
Such a reduction in the percentage of members of the younger generation (of which younger *Welsh-speakers* are only a sub-group) goes hand-in-hand with an ageing population.We have already referred to the research by Thomas (1987) which showed that young people in the village of Pontrhydyfen in South Wales (where, by 1981, 70% of homes had no residents below the age of 15 years) were more likely to socialise outside their community because of a lack of people of their own age. Furthermore, there was a danger of associating the language with an ageing population,

**Lack of institutional support**

As seen previously, institutional support is also one of the key-components in the linguistic vitality model of Giles, Bourhis & Taylor

(1977). A language's lack of presence in everyday institutional domains such as the mass media, religion, governmental and administrative services and education tends to be perceived and interpreted as a signal that a language has no status or use in public life, thus reinforcing speakers' tendency to succumb to the influence of other "driving forces" and a willingness to relinquish the use of a minority language in favour of another.

**Symbolic identity**

Reference was made earlier to language being an essential component of one's ethnic identity and that cultural autonomy, in which language plays an essential part, can be accommodated (or tolerated) within a wider hegenomic political context of integrationist autonomy (Khleif, 1980). Where languages become largely moribund, however, people's identity often continues to be expressed in *symbolic* rather than linguistic terms. Edwards (1994: 114) refers to this as:

> …a situation of reverence without cost, …for some declining languages the task of activists is to suggest to the wider public that what has become, or is becoming, a symbolic quantity can be revitalized into a normal medium.

Edwards (1994:111) (Reading 3) gives an account of the historical and current position of Gaelic in Nova Scotia as an example where symbols of Scottishness become adequate expressions of identity in the event of the loss of one's mother- tongue. Resisting language shift or revitalising a language can, therefore, be difficult in a context where *symbolic* cultural allegiance is considered to be sufficient. However, with regard to the above quotatation, it has been said that "what the son wishes to forget, the grandson wishes to remember." Marcus Lee Hansen (1952) once drew our attention to the fact that those who established societies in America were often third-generation citizens (Edwards, 1994: 112, 229-30).

**Mass media**

Today the mass media (e.g. publishing, television, radio, internet) pervade nearly every home throughout countries of the First and Second World, the language of communication adopted being mostly (or only) the respective majority language and usually to the detriment of a minority language. The mass media, therefore, have an immense capacity to cause language shift. It is for this reason that language campaigners consider the use of a minority language by the mass media to be crucial to the process of withstanding language shift and to language revitalisation.

**Religion**

If access to religion is only available through the majority language, this can also cause language shift.

Whilst the decision not to translate the prayer book and the Bible into Cornish is recognised as a key factor in the language's eventual death (Pool, 1975), the translation of the Bible into Welsh in 1588 by the Archbishop William Morgan is acknowledged as being a crucial step in the future survival of the Welsh language and, furthermore, in providing a standardised written form. In the same way as the Koran today acts as a source of knowledge of classical Arabic for Muslims, as well as serving its primary religious purpose, the Bible in Wales has also been a source of widespread literacy and linguistic vitality over the centuries due to the country's strong Christian traditions.

**Government and administration**

Governmental services at both local and national levels are generally perceived as high-status domains of language use. Whilst the availability of a wide range of services in one language serve to promote its "high" language perception amongs the general public, conversely, within a bilingual or diglossic context, the lack of availability in another language can only encourage a contrary perception of being a "low" language. The availability of governmental services through the medium of only the majority language only, therefore, diminishes the usefulness of the minority language.

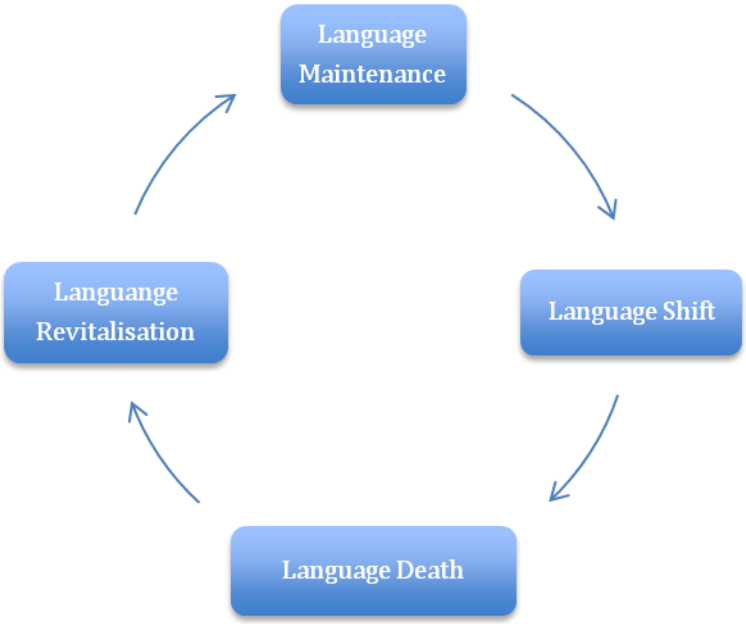
Again, the use of minority languages in official governmental and institutional public domains has been the target of language activists in various countries since those domains are seen as being crucial components of both language vitality and the process of resisting language shift. Whereas the provision of such services can often be nothing more than a cosmetic gesture of goodwill on the part of a government or a means of maintaining political equilibrium, it can also be enshrined in legislation.

## Language Revitalisation

> The whole question of language revival is inextricably associated with what might be termed the 'internal manifestations of external influences' and, on that basis alone, is complex and fraught with difficulty. (Edwards, 1994:124).

The process of language revitalisation is the reversal of language shift (RLS). Reference has already been made to the fact that the maintenance of language vitality and language shift are two sides of the same coin. Language maintenance, language shift and language death can obviously be presented as a linear continuum of *diminishing* linguistic vitality. Just as discussing language shift cannot be easily separated from language vitality, so language death is inextricably linked to language shift in its causal relationship. However, the more positive aspect of language revitalisation, along with current world-wide concerns and efforts in this direction, would perhaps suggest that we should see all four dimensions as part of a *possible* cycle as shown in Figure 6:

Figure 6




Language "revitalisation" strategies can, theoretically, be adopted at any point in the cycle, even when a language is already very strong if it should find itself unable to penetrate a limited number of domains which

are the preserve of another language (scientific research being a particular example) since its absence can be the early signs of language shift. Revitalisation, however, usually applies to languages which have already undergone a fairly major process of language shift or even reached the point of language death. The student is encouraged to revisit the way various academics have categorised languages according to their varying levels of vitality at the beginning of this handbook.
Although one cannot provide a detailed account of specific languages in a handbook such as this, the student is recommended to compare the fortunes of languages such as Hebrew and Cornish, for example.

For the remainder of this Guidance Handbook, the discussion of language death and revitalisation will be combined since they share common ground. As previously mentioned, language revitalisation is an area which currently engages the efforts and concerns of organisations and academics world-wide for reasons which have already been outlined at the start. The need to protect languages under threat of extinction has become widely recognised on an international scale, as has the need to protect wild life. In 1992, Krauss made the following statement:

> I consider it a plausible calculation that – at the rate things are going – the coming century will see either the death or doom of 90 per cent of mankind's languages. (Krauss, 1992: 68: 4-10)

As Crystal (2000) mentions, in 1992 in the following statement, the International Linguistics Congress held in Quebec called on UNESCO to act to protect languages from extinction:

> As the disappearance of any one language constitutes an irretrievabl loss to mankind, it is for UNESCO a task of great urgency to respond to this situation by promoting and, if possible, sponsoring programs of linguistic organizations for the description in the form of grammars, dictionaries and texts, including the recording of oral literatures, of hitherto unstudied or inadequately documented endangered and dying languages.

UNESCO responded by establishing the "Endangered Languages Project" in 1993 which included the “Red Book of Endangered Languages”.
In 1995, an International Clearing House for Endangered Languages was also established at the University of Tokyo as well as the Endangered

Language Fund in the USA whose committee made the following opening statement:

> Languages have died throughout history, but never have we faced the massive extinction that is threatening the world right now…The cultural heritage of many peoples is crumbling while we look on. Are we willing to shoulder the blame for having stood by and done nothing?

In 1995, the Foundation for Endangered Languages was established in Britain which maintained in a newsletter that over half the world's languages were moribund in that they were not being transmitted to the next generation with the result that most would die within two generations (Crystal, 2000).
Such awareness, however, seems to be confined to the academic fraternity with public oblivion being widespread:

> We are at a critical point in human linguistic history and most people don't know. (Crystal, 2000: ix).

As previously mentioned, Garcia (1992) expresses this in terms of the "language garden" analogy and the consequences of the "environmental" disaster of being eventually surrounded by only one botanical specimen, thus reducing the quality of human life.

Both the European Union and the United Nations by now emphasise the importance of maintaining and defending the linguistic and multicultural riches of the world. Since language and culture are attributes of identity, the government of each country has a duty to defend them.

As we have seen, amongst various efforts to revitalise languages in Europe, for example, is the relatively recent strategy for the Irish language. The "Statement on the Irish Language" was published in 2006 by the Irish government and followed by the "20 year strategy for the Irish Language" (Fiontar, 2009) on behalf of the Department of Community, Rural and Gaeltacht Affairs, the intention being:

> …to institute a language planning process to increase the number of daily or active users of Irish from the current level of approximately 77,000 to 250,000 in 20 years time. (Fiontar, 2009: 7)

Three key elements were noted in the process:

> "Extrapolating from a large body of evidence, we have concluded that language maintenance is enhanced when the conjunction of three processes is supportive: the *ability*( capacity) to use the language, *opportunities* to use it; and *attitudes* towards its use.( Fiontar, 2009: 5)

Its aim, therefore, is:

> …to convert the objectives into mechanisms to expand and develop ability in Irish, to expand and deepen the opportunities for its use and to foster positive and accepting attitudes which aim to encourage the use of Irish in all public life.(Fiontar, 2009: 24)

This may seem to *suggest* a logical progression and a *causal* relationship between the three so that one stage almost inevitably leads to the next, similar to the causal progression in Strubell's (2001) 'Catherine wheel' cycle as illustrated in **Chapter 19** in Baker (2011: 425-26) **which the student is advised to read.** However, as previously stressed, the *psychological* component which underpins linguistic behaviour involves variables too complex to make precise predictions. Can one in the first instance accept without contention the linear progressive nature of this model? Arguably, it is a change in *attitudes* towards a language (stage 3) which initially creates the desired increase in language capacity, thus creating a *cyclic* model as in Strubell (2001). However, this raises the obvious question, "what causes a change in attitude?" Even if we were to accept increasing capacity as a starting point, would this lead inevitably to greater opportunities for *using* a language? Creating greater capacity does, of course, create theoretical "opportunities" since there are consequently more people with whom to communicate; however, this again raises the issue of the difference between *ability* and *actual use* or degree and function (Mackey, 1962), which, in turn, again suggests an *attitudinal* component. This particular component, third step in the *proposed* chain of revitalisation, however, is arguably the most fundamental.

Appel & Muysken (1987) refer to the problematic methodological aspect of ascertaining people's attitudes and the need to differentiate between *behaviourist* aspects (which can be researched by adopting observational methods for example), and *mentalist* aspects which cannot be reliably researched as easily. Edwards (1994) furthermore in Reading 3

distinguishes between *attitude* and *belief.* The example given, however, seems to indicate only a difference in terminology, Edward's (1994) differentiation between *attitude* and *belief* corresponding to Appel & Muysken's (1987) *mentalist* and *behaviourist* aspects respectively, which may be explained simply as the difference between *thought* and *action.* A key point made by Edwards (1994) is that attitude comprises three components: feelings (affective element), thoughts (cognitive element) and a predisposition to act in a certain way (behavioural element). Again we see that the first two elements correspond to Appel & Muysken's (1987) mentalist aspect while the other clearly corresponds to the behaviourist factor. Edwards, however, states that there is often an inconsistency between assessed attitudes (i.e. thoughts and feelings) and the resultant behaviour (action) quoting the study of a Chinese couple touring the USA in the 1930s. This seems to lead us to the difference between *overt* and *covert* behaviour which again leads us back to the differentiation which Appel & Muysken (1987) make between *mentalist* and *behaviourist* aspects of attitude.

Whereas, attitude is an *affective* component which can be said to operate on the level of the individual, it clearly operates on a societal level also, thus affecting a language's social (but not necessarily legal) status and vitality. As Edwards (1994: 97) states, "the basis for language evaluation rests upon social convention." In terms of the complicated *interaction* of numerous variables (which is often emphasised as being crucial to understanding the concept of language vitality in this module), a further consideration is, to what extent are the various components of attitude also influenced, modified or changed by a subtractive or an additive linguistic context (see above).

"Attitude*",* therefore, seems to be a term adopted far too superficially and loosely in relation to language vitality since it is often used synonymously both in relation to *motivation* and *a liking for,* whereas these can, theoretically, be at odds with one another. A person can be highly motivated *instrumentally* to learn a language (due, for example, to economic needs) but have an extremely negative attitude towards it. Another factor often adopted as a sub-dimension of the evaluation of attitudes to a language is the level of *desire* to learn it (that is, *a liking for*), whereas the true indicator of attitude in terms of motivation is *need.* Desire emanates from within an individual and has a *self-activated* dimension. *Need*, in terms of communication, emanates from *external* pressures beyond the control of the individual and to which he/she must respond.

As we discussed earlier in relation to Maslow's "hierarchy of needs", need is a highly motivating component but which operates at various levels. In terms of learning a language, for some this will often operate at a higher level of esteem and self-actualisation (see Figure 5 above), which, it has been argued, can be related to *integrational* aspects of motivation. However, efforts to engage the majority of people in language revitalisation, must ultimately incorporate an *instrumental* and materially *self-benefitting* aspect of motivation which emanates, for example, from economic needs reflecting the more basic, essential, physiological and safety levels of Maslow's theory.Unless this is done, the motivational level will only address the higher order aspects in Maslow's framework which, as Edwards (1994 ) points out, might only engage those who *desire* such additional advantages, reflecting possibly an educational or social elite.

Williams (2000) maintains that the successful revitalisation of a minority language reflects a five-stage process:

1. **idealism.** This is driven by a vision of language revival and is often underpinned by an awareness of its past glory in better political and /or economic circumstances ; an awareness of what has been lost and deserves to be re-gained and revived
2. **protest** and the mobilisation of those who share this vision of a more prosperous future
3. **legitimacy** to ensure rights for minority language speakers so that protest and action (characteristic of the previous stage) are enshrined in law
4. **institutionalisation** and the use of the language in key establishments and domains of public life
5. **parallelism** and the extension of the minority language to other social and non-establishment domains (e.g. sport, entertainment, private industry).

This final point, which Williams (2000) refers to as *parallelism* is arguably the most valid test of revitalisation success since it reflects the *voluntary* use of a minority language amongst a population, as opposed to the *institutionalisation* stage which is more often than not a given *statutory right* but does not necessarily reflect widespread public *usage.* Furthermore, minority language penetration into the domains of the private sector is not usually legally enforceable in many countries, thus placing it at the mercy of economic considerations.

**Fishman's ( 1991) Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale for Threatened Languages**

Fishman (1991) adopted his "Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale" (GIDS) with a view to applying it to the process of language revitalisation and reversing language shift (RLS); the concept being that languages can be placed on one of eight different levels of the scale according to their current vitality so that further needs can be addressed (see Baker, 2011:60). The higher the level on which a language can be placed, the more likely its chance of revival:

**Stage 8**: Speakers of a minority language are mostly old and socially isolated. They have only a few opportunities of using the language and their proficiency has diminished considerably as a result. There is a need to record the language for later possible reconstruction.

**Stage 7**: As a community language, the minority language is used by the older but not the younger generation. The inter-generational transmission has ceased to all intents and purposes, with most speakers beyond child-bearing age. There is a need to multiply the use of the language amongst the younger generation.

**Stage 6:** The minority language is passed on from generation to generation and used in the community, especially in informal domains. There is a need to support the family in intergenerational continuity (e.g. the provision of minority language nursery schools). Fishman (1991) maintains that this is the most crucial step in the process of reversing language shift (RLS).

**Stage 5:** Literacy in the minority language exists in the home, the school and the community which facilitates communication between the speakers. There is a need to support literacy movements in the minority language, particularly when there is no government support.

**Stage 4:** Formal, compulsory education (in the lower sectors of the education system) is available in the minority language. Sometimes this needs to be financially supported by the minority language community.

**Stage 3:** There is use of a minority language in less specialised work areas involving interaction with majority language speakers.

**Stage 2:** Lower government services and mass media are available in the minority language.

**Stage 1:** Some use of the minority language is available in higher education, central government domains and the national media.

Fishman's (1991) GIDS model again seems to adopt a questionable *linear* progressive rationale to language revitalisation, a kind of "bottom-up" approach with the criteria applied to each step being general indicators of vitality and each stage leading to the next. However, as Baker (2011: 60)

mentions, Fishman (1991) himself is careful to point out that each stage is not necessarily dependent on a previous stage, stating later that the "eight stages must be seen as overlapping and interacting. In language revival, it is not the case of going one step or stage at a time" (Baker, 2011: 61).

As a mechanism for language planning, for example, one could question the validity of preserving higher education for only the *final* stage in the revitalisation process and of basing its inclusion on *prior* indicators of sociolinguistic vitality. Although it might appear reasonable and logical to consider university instruction as the ultimate stage in the promotion of a language within any educational system, however, adopting a language as a medium of instruction at university level can also act as a precursor and a catalyst to *subsequent* linguistic developments further *down* the educational chain by providing an assurance of continuing availability at the later stage. Students at the earlier *secondary* level have been known to reject the opportunity of studying courses in their mother tongue due to their unavailability at university level.

As Baker (2011: 61-62) points out, Fishman's (1991) GIDS has been criticised by individuals such as G.Williams (1992) for being based on "the supposition that change is gradual, mechanical, evolutionary and mechanical" and for playing down conflict and ignoring power relationships; variables which, however, *are* recognised in Paulston's (1980) conflict (as opposed to equilibrium) paradigm (see Baker, 2011:402).

**Language Planning**

Language *planning* is, of course, a fundamental aspect of language revitalisation and a term which, perhaps, seems self-explanatory. It is a field, however, which historically has lacked theoretical rigour and been susceptible to rather experimental, "hit and miss" approaches. The title of a fairly recent book by Kaplan & Baldauf (1997), Language Planning: *From Practice to Theory*" seems to reflect this situation. This present course, Bilingualism and Multilingualism, includes an optional module which specifically addresses the aspect of language planning. (ECDA-7008: Language Planning Essentials). However, since this obviously has a direct impact on language revitalisation, we shall briefly refer to some key issues. These are again elaborated upon in sufficient detail in the book which accompanies this course, Baker (2011: 49-54) which students should read, as well as in Reading 2, for example.

Language planning has three key components:

- status planning
- acquisition planning
- corpus planning

**Status planning**

Language status was previously seen as a crucial component in frameworks dealing with language vitality (e.g. Giles, Bourhis & Taylor, 1977). The penetration of language use in high status domains such as law courts, the media, public administration and education by virtue of achieving *official* recognition is generally recognised as an obvious fillip to the status of any language in the public's perception. Such an official status is usually seen has having, theoretically, a causal relationship with *opportunity* language planning as well as acquisition planning since penetrating wider domains creates greater opportunities for language usage and, *theoretically*, can increase motivation (see above) for language acquisition. This is a cyclic model which has been expounded at various times with, it seems, some degree of conviction. However, its *practical* application in the case of "low" status languages within *diglossic* societies does not always achieve the desired effect since the continuing ability to use an alternative language as a "lingua franca" does not create the *need*.

This again raises the crucial issue of the human factor in linguistic practice and which we can relate to Maslow's Theory of Motivation in relation to human behaviour. As Baker (2011: 51) states:

> …such actions are not guaranteed to change a language. To influence language change, status planning has to affect everyday usage in the home and the street, family and work relationships, and not just official usage.

**Acquisition planning**

Any increase in the number of speakers of a language usually has two primary sources:

- intergenerational transmission within families
- effective language teaching in school

Greater emphasis has been placed on the first of the two more recently in reaction to what seems to have been previously an increasing practice amongst parents in diglossic communities of bringing up children in the majority language. This was seen as a means of ensuring that their children enjoyed the economic and employment benefits which proficiency in the major language could provide. This attitude again

reflects the inter-connectedness of these language planning components since the importance attached to acquisition of the major language also further undermines the public perception of the *status* of the mother-tongue, being often associated with social deprivation rather than prosperity. The loss of language amongst the younger generation due to this practice often happens over a period of three generations. García and Díaz (1992) refer to this process as a "three generation shift" whereas Paulson (1994) describes a "four generation shift" in the case of Greeks in Pittsburgh, and Batibo (2005) a five stage shift.

Whatever the pace of intergenerational change, it means that efforts to maintain a language and to resist language shift consequently become heavily dependent (or over-dependent) on the effectiveness of *formal* language teaching within the education system, both in terms of maintenance-enrichment education for native-speakers and second-language instruction. The many organisational aspects of "bilingual" education will be studied in a later module (ECDA-7005). Interventionist strategies (even involving nurses and mid-wives who are in contact with expectant mothers) are currently adopted in many countries in order to raise awareness amongst parents of varying linguistic backgrounds of the cognitive, intellectual and vocational benefits of giving their children a bilingual education and of intergenerational language transmission. However, as mentioned earlier, this *educational*, persuasive or empirical-rational approach (Chin & Benne, 1976) to promoting bilingual education is often undermined by resistant forces which reflect the *political* dimensions of bilingualism and bilingual education expounded by Ruiz (1984); parents often seeing language as a problem rather than as a *resource* and being diametrically opposed to those who see language as a right.

In Wales, addressing issues of language acquisition has also included *voluntary* adult language classes as well as statutory education. In the statutory sector, however, whereas one has seen a very substantial increase in the number of pupils from non-Welsh linguistic backgrounds attending Welsh-medium (first-language) education, the vast majority of non-Welsh-speaking pupils (approximately 80%) are provided with what has been alleged to be a totally inadequate model of second-language instruction, being delivered by an unproductive methodology in terms of speakers (Lewis, 2011) and designed only to ensure a state of "political equilibrium" (Paulston, 1992).

**Corpus Planning**

For any language to maintain vitality, it has to be able to react and adapt to changes and developments in its environment and be capable of being modernised. As mentioned earlier, most corpus planning involves moderisation in terms of its lexicon, often (but not always) in the face of technological and scientific developments. However, due to globalisation and the impact of international companies who only adopt the use of a few major languages, lesser-used languages are under the increasing threat of the spread of standardised terminology. Even major languages like Spanish come under the influence of English so that countries have established academies (notably France and the Académie Française) to try to rid their language of "impurities" and developments, such as "Franglais".

It is debateable, however, to what extent one can endeavour to stem such developments in common parlance. Rather than responding to the mandate of an *academic* agency, however official, everyday speech is more susceptible to the influence of the media which often put linguistic "correctness" and "purity" at the mercy of more *populist* communicative requirements.

The inter-connectedness of the various components of language planning is again reflected in the fact that languages which cannot keep lexical pace with technological and scientific developments and which become dependent on other languages for terminology are also susceptible to the gradual *loss of status.*

Another issue which involves corpus planning is language standardisation. As suggested previously, this is an aspect which has been a bone of contention in the case of attempts to revitalise the Cornish language, as reflected in the title of an aticle by Lowe (2010) "Four Spellings and a Strategy". Ensuring that a language has a common orthography which is acknowledged and practised generally strengthens its vitality and provides stability for its written form.

**Usage language planning**

The issues discussed above are acknowledged as key components in language planning (being itself, of course, an aspect of revitalisation). Nevertheless, it is a highly complicated process and often defies logic due to the inter-connectedness of the components and involving variables which, in terms of cause and effect, are often difficult to disentangle. Every linguistic context incorporates a unique combination of variables which impacts on linguistic behaviour, thus making it impossible to adopt

a common model for all situations. Language planning is ultimately about changing human *attitudes* which, in turn, leads to a change in human *behaviour*, of which the use of language is one factor. Baker (2011: 53) states:

> It is possible to plan for the status, corpus and acquisition of a language and yet not affect the daily language usage of ordinary people. Language planning has to impact on individual language life.

It is for this reason that, in Wales, language planning has attempted to incorporate a fourth component, namely language *usage* strategies designed to expand the domains of Welsh both socially and in the workplace and to empower local communities to revitalise it by establishing Mentrau Iaith (language enterprises).

However, as Baker (2011) makes clear, there is no model which can offer any certainty of success. Language planning operates within higher-priority, macro-political concerns which often work *against* rather than in tandem, reflecting the fact that:

- so-called language "planning" is often nothing more than "piecemeal political pragmatism"
- decisions affecting languages are usually driven by or are a bi-product of more important economic and political concerns
- as previously stated, language planning is ultimately about affecting human behaviour, rarely controllable, but nevertheless a crucial factor in ensuring success.

Baker (2011: 52) provides a list of factors (to which he has since added other status factors) which make up the approach to language planning in Wales and which draws together the components previously discussed.

**Language Planning: TheWelsh Approach to Language Sustainability**

**ACQUISITION**

- Family Language Reproduction
- Bilingual Education – pre-school to university
- Adult Language Learning

**STATUS**

- Institutionalization (e.g.use in local and national government and organisations).
- Language Rights.

- Modernity (e.g. technology, use on television, internet)
- Symbols (e.g. signage)

**CORPUS**

- Linguistic Standardization (e.g. by dictionaries, school, TV)
- Public Vernacular (e.g. Clear or Plain Welsh)

**USAGE**

- Economy, workplace (instrumental use)
- Culture, leisure, sports, social, religious, social networks (integrative use).

**Conclusion**

This Guidance Handbook has attempted to introduce students to the main issues involved in the study of societal bilingualism: namely, language maintenance, language shift, language death and revitalisation; each, as we have seen, being inextricably linked to the other and often difficult to disentangle. As stated at the beginning, societal bilingualism encompasses a wide range of sociolinguistic dimensions involving innumerable variables which can impinge directly or indirectly upon the vitality of a language and its ability to survive in an increasingly linguistically homogeneous world where minority languages, despite being *academically* categorised as varying in levels of endangerment, continually face the *same* threat of extinction in the face of increasing globalisation. In view of the scale of the current threat to the world's languages, Fishman (1999: 57) provides a timely warning:

> Language itself is not enough of a bulwark to defend threatened cultures and identities. Languages cannot be the ultimate defence for threatened cultures and identities, because threatened languages themselves need defences; the distinctive values, cultural practices and beliefs (including uncompromising identity-beliefs) that make a distinctive language necessary and even possible.

We shall conclude on a positive note by quoting from the UNESCO Language Vitality and Endangerment document (2003) which is included as Reading 1:

> The world faces new challenges in keeping its languages alive and well. It is time for the peoples of the world to pool their resources and build on the strengths of their linguistic and cultural diversity…We all share the

responsibility of ensuring that no languages will disappear and that all languages will be maintained and perpetuated into the future generations.

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