

Ecological Perspectives on Language Endangerment: Applying the Sustainable Use Model for Language Development

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American Association for Applied Linguistics

Chicago, 26 March 2011

Welcome

- Introducing panelists and contributors:
 - M. Paul Lewis and Gary Simons— organizers
 - Stan Anonby, Bagamba B. Araali, Mark Karan, Amy Kim, Steve Quakenbush — presenters
 - Douglas Boone, David Moody, Louis Rose — coauthors in absentia
 - Donna Christian — discussant

Schedule

- General Intro and Welcome — Lewis
- Overview of SUM — Lewis
- Overview of EGIDS — Simons
- Motivation — Karan
- Brazil — Anonby
- Bangladesh — Kim
- Congo — Bagamba
- Malaysia — Lewis
- Lessons Learned — Quakenbush
- Response — Christian
- Questions & Answers

Introduction: The Sustainable Use Model for Language Development

M. Paul Lewis

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Background

- As the world has grown smaller and flatter there is increasing contact between language communities and the isolated monolingual community is the rare exception.
- The concept of “a language” as a discrete, isolatable unit no longer serves us well.
- The use of language in distinct ecological configurations for both identity and communicative purposes is of greater concern.

Background

- The nearly-universal fact of life for minority and minoritized language communities is the pressure to assimilate to a globalizing world.
- External identities and linguistic varieties, and both adoption/adaptation and resistance to those are ever-present factors in the ecologies in which minority language communities live.
- The ecology of language metaphor gives us a lens through which to view multilingual communities with shared norms of language behavior.

The ecology of language

“in linguistic ecology, one begins not with a particular language but with a particular area, not with selective attention to a few languages but with comprehensive attention to all the languages in the area” (Voegelin & Voegelin 1964: 2, cited by Haugen 1972, in turn cited by Hornberger 2002:32)

Some recurring patterns

- Some language communities embrace the introduction of literacy for their L₁
- Some language communities see no value in writing their L₁ and use another language for writing
- Some language communities are clearly shifting to another language but don't want to lose their heritage language and identity
- Some language communities are clearly shifting to another language and may not wish to maintain even oral use of their L₁

Sustainable Use Model

- The Sustainable Use Model for Language Development (SUM) is a theoretical framework that will assist language development practitioners to:
 - Understand their current situation
 - Understand “best practice” in language development
 - Identify a way forward in their language development activities
 - Provide a means for ongoing monitoring and evaluation

Key Concepts of the SUM

1. Minority language communities today face unprecedented pressure to abandon their local language and identity
2. Development decisions are community decisions (cf. Simons 2011)
3. Language development must take into account the entire linguistic repertoire of a community (shifting from a focus on a single language in isolation to the ecological “niche” of each language)
4. Current vitality determines both prospects for maintenance and potential for development

Four Levels of Sustainable Language Use

- **SUSTAINABLE HISTORY**

- no remaining speakers
- no one associates their identity with the language
- a permanent record (history) of the language is preserved

- **SUSTAINABLE IDENTITY**

- no fully proficient speakers
- a community associates its identity with the language
- not used for day-to-day communication; used ceremonially or symbolically

Levels of Sustainable Language Use

- **SUSTAINABLE ORALITY**

- strong identity rooted in the language
- vigorous oral use by all generations for day-to-day communication
- language transmission takes place in the family or local community

- **SUSTAINABLE LITERACY**

- not only vigorous oral use but widespread written use
- supported (transmitted) by sustainable institutions

Hierarchy of Sustainable Use

Sustainable Literacy

Sustainable Orality

Sustainable Identity

Sustainable History

Key Concepts... continued

6. Except for these 4 Sustainable Levels of Use, all others are transitory, and without some intervention will decay to the next lower level of use (or beyond).
7. Once the current level of use is identified, a community can determine which of the sustainable levels of use it desires to work towards and a language development program can be designed.
8. To achieve sustainability, there are five conditions that need to be met: The FAMED Conditions

The FAMED Conditions

- The five conditions represent aspects of broad diglossia (Fasold, 1984) that have been identified individually so that they can be addressed by specific language development activities.
- The conditions can be treated as components of sustainability - the features of a stable diglossia.

The FAMED Conditions

- **Functions** – The language in question must be useful. Uses (functions) for the language at each sustainable level must exist and be recognized by the community.

The FAMED Conditions

- **Acquisition** – A means of acquiring the needed proficiency to use the language for those functions must be operational.

The FAMED Conditions

- **Motivation** – Community members must be motivated to use the language for those functions.

The FAMED Conditions

- **Environment** – The external environment (e.g., policy, attitudes) must not be hostile to the use of the language for those functions.

The FAMED Conditions

- **Distinct Niche** – Societal norms must keep the functions assigned to the language distinct from the functions for L2.
- In sum, all five FAMED conditions must be satisfied in order for language use to be sustainable.

Summary of the SUM

- The key focus of minority language development must be on achieving a sustainable level of language use.
- Levels of language use are hierarchical: history, identity, orality, literacy
- FAMED conditions help identify which components of sustainable use may be lacking in each context.

Introduction: Expanding Fishman's GIDS

Gary F. Simons

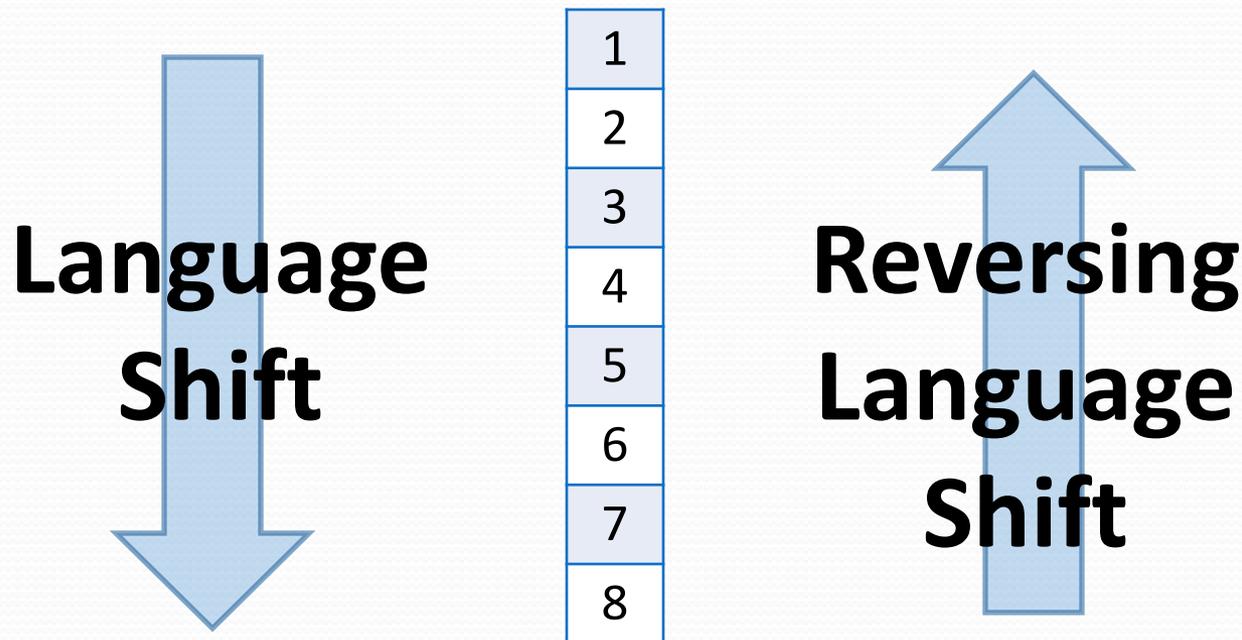
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The starting point

- We began with GIDS — the Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale from Fishman's (1991) seminal book on *Reversing Language Shift*
- He developed GIDS as a measuring rod for language shift:
 - Level 1 is highest: an official national language
 - Level 8 is lowest: a dying language spoken only by the elderly
 - The 6 levels in between represent successively more functions for language in society as one ascends the scale
 - The scale measures disruption so higher numbers represent greater levels of disruption

The basic premise of GIDS

- Language shift (ending in extinction) happens as a language loses functions in society
- To reverse language shift, the community must work to bring those functions back



EGIDS: an Expanded GIDS

- In *Ethnologue*, we wanted to provide an estimate for all languages as to where they stand on this scale. Problems:
 - Needed to add extinct languages at bottom of scale
 - Wanted to keep the *Ethnologue* distinction between dormant and extinct
 - Wanted to add international languages at top of scale
 - GIDS gave only two levels of endangerment; we wanted to harmonize with UNESCO's 4 levels of endangerment
 - Wanted to add names for the levels
- This resulted in EGIDS as a 13 level scale

The 13 levels of EGIDS

- Lewis, M. Paul and Gary F. Simons. 2010. Assessing endangerment: Expanding Fishman's GIDS. *Revue Roumaine de Linguistique* 55:103-120.
http://www.lingv.ro/resources/scm_images/RRL-02-2010-Lewis.pdf

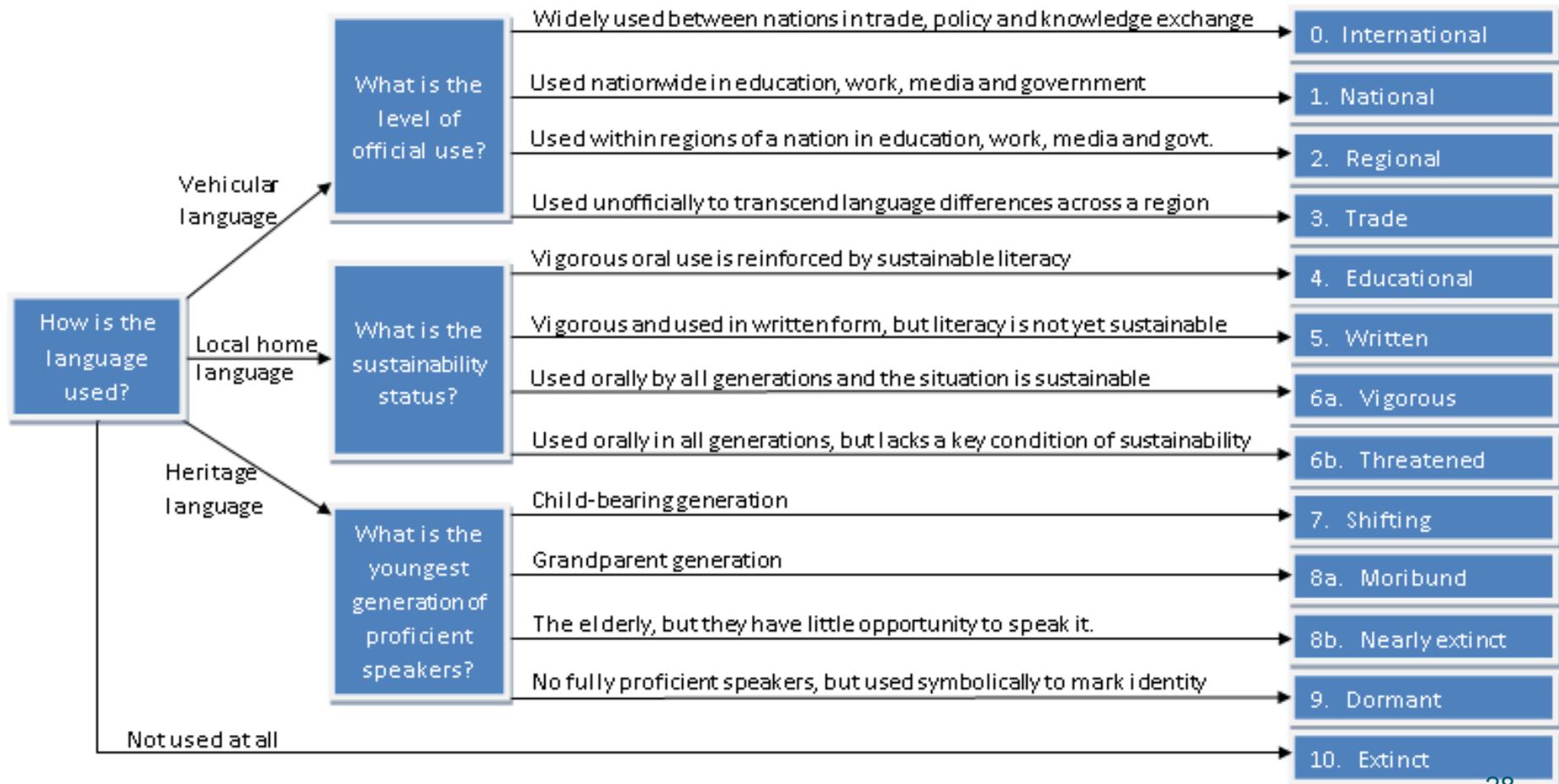
| | |
|-----------|-----------------------|
| 0 | International |
| 1 | National |
| 2 | Regional |
| 3 | Trade |
| 4 | Educational |
| 5 | Written |
| 6a | Vigorous |
| 6b | Threatened |
| 7 | Shifting |
| 8a | Moribund |
| 8b | Nearly Extinct |
| 9 | Dormant |
| 10 | Extinct |

EGIDS and sustainability

- The four sustainable levels of language use correspond directly to four levels on the EGIDS:
 - Sustainable Literacy = EGIDS 4, Educational
 - Sustainable Orality = EGIDS 6a, Vigorous
 - Sustainable Identity = EGIDS 9, Dormant
 - Sustainable History = EGIDS 10, Extinct
- The key insight:
 - These levels are inherently stable and are sustainable if the conditions for sustainability are maintained
 - The levels between (5, 6b, 7, 8a, 8b) are inherently unstable and will naturally drop in the absence of explicit efforts to move up the scale

Assigning an EGIDS level

Decision Tree for the Expanded Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale



The decision tree:

Answer two questions

- *How is the language used?*
 - IF it is a vehicular language,
 - *I.e.*, the language is widely used, not only within its native community but by other language communities as well (0,1,2,3)
 - THEN: *What is the level of official use?*
 - IF it is a local home language,
 - *I.e.*, the language is used by people of all generations within its native community in the home and community domain (4,5,6a,6b)
 - THEN *What is the sustainability status?*

The decision tree (*cont.*)

- *How is the language used?*
 - IF it is a heritage language,
 - *I.e.*, the language retains an identificational function for its native community but is no longer used fluently by all generations, (7,8a,8b,9)
 - THEN *What is the youngest generation of proficient speakers?*
 - ELSE the language is extinct. (10)

What is the level of official use?

| | |
|------------------|--|
| 0. International | The language is widely used between nations in trade, knowledge exchange, and international policy. |
| 1. National | The language is used in education, work, mass media, and government at the nationwide level. |
| 2. Regional | The language is used in education, work, mass media, and government within officially recognized regions of a nation. |
| 3. Trade | The language is used in work and mass media without official status to transcend language differences across a region. |

What is the sustainability status?

| | |
|----------------|--|
| 4. Educational | The language is in vigorous oral use and this is reinforced by sustainable literacy. <i>[Slide 33]</i> |
| 5. Written | The language is vigorous and is being used in written form in parts of the community though literacy is not yet sustainable. |
| 6a. Vigorous | The language is used orally by all generations and the situation is sustainable. <i>[Slide 34]</i> |
| 6b. Threatened | The language is still used orally within all generations but at least one of the conditions for sustainable oral use is lacking. |

Sustainable literacy: FAMED conditions

- **F:** Adequate vernacular literacy practices are in use to establish the value of reading and writing in the local language.
- **A:** Vernacular literacy is being taught by trained teachers under the auspices of a sustainable institution.
- **M:** Speakers perceive the benefits (economic, social, religious, identificational) of reading and writing in the local language.
- **E:** Government policy to cultivate this language is put into practice by sanctioning an official orthography and using public schools to transmit local language literacy.
- **D:** Speakers have shared norms for when to use the local language in writing versus when to use a more dominant language.

Sustainable orality: FAMED conditions

- **F:** The language is used orally to meet the functions of communication within the home and community.
- **A:** There is full oral transmission of the language to all children.
- **M:** Speakers perceive the benefits (economic, social, religious, identificational) of using their language orally.
- **E:** Official government policy affirms the oral use of the language.
- **D:** Members of the language community have a set of shared norms as to when to use the local language orally versus when to use a more dominant language.

What is the youngest generation of proficient speakers?

| | |
|--------------------|---|
| 7. Shifting | The child-bearing generation can use the language among themselves but they do not normally transmit it to their children. |
| 8a. Moribund | The only remaining active speakers of the language are members of the grandparent generation. |
| 8b. Nearly Extinct | The only remaining speakers of the language are elderly and they have little opportunity to use the language. |
| 9. Dormant | There are no fully proficient speakers, but symbolic use may remain as a marker of heritage identity for an ethnic community. |

Discussing Motivation as a (FAMED) Condition for Sustainable Language Use

Mark E. Karan
SIL International

Change Dynamics

- Why do we have these trends in vehicle purchase: sedan/station-wagon, mini-van, SUV, crossover?
- Why do teenagers (or anyone) have trends in clothing styles?
- Dynamic society with value changes, where identification and association are very strong motivating factors

Language Development

- Language Development includes language shift processes within a multilingual situation
- Language Shift processes are very similar to trends in vehicle styles or clothing styles
- Dynamic society with value changes, where identification and association are very strong motivating factors
- There are choices to be made, those choices are motivated choices, and the conglomerate of those individual choices establish the trends

The Nature of Language Development

Within the Sustainable Use Model for Language Development

- Language development efforts are basically attempts to modify existing language shift patterns so that a community can arrive or stay at a certain sustainable level

Perceived Benefit Model of Language Shift

(Karan 2001, 2011)

- Individuals, in different speech situations, select from their linguistic repertoire the language variety or varieties (language and dialect) that they think will best serve their interests.
- Individuals also seek to increase their linguistic repertoire with varieties they think will serve their interests.

Perceived Benefit Model of Language Shift

- Societal language shift is the result of many individual language choice decisions.
- When the motivations to use a new or different language variety in a particular speech environment or domain outweigh the motivations to use the variety normally used in that domain, language shift happens

Perceived Benefit Model of Language Shift

- Language is associative and social. These associative and social forces that form language are active in changes in its use across time
- Successful language development happens when individual speakers are making thousands of language choice decisions, and those pooled choices are resulting in shift patterns moving in the desired direction
- Motivations → Decisions → Shift Patterns → Sustainability

Motivations in the Model

- The language choice decisions (as well as language acquisition/repertoire decisions) are made based upon a limited and fairly standard set of motivations
- **Social status** and **financial well being** are motivations that are often found in language shift situations
- **communicative**, **economic**, **social** (solidarity or prestige), and **religious** motivations

Motivations in the Model

- In the interest of being able to better understanding and better discuss these motivations, this simple classification was expanded into a basic taxonomy of motivations that influence language shift
- Language choice motivations are often combined motivations

Communicative Motivations

- As language is communicative and cooperative, people will make both language use and language acquisition choices that best facilitate communication.
- This is exemplified by an immigrant learning the languages of his or her new location.
- People normally choose to use a language understood by their interlocutors
- People who speak minority languages often choose to learn and use the language of wider communication. This pattern is a basic example of communicative motivations influencing language acquisition decisions

Economic Motivations

- With Economic motivations, the prospects of financial advancement or profit are in focus. Economic motivations for language use and acquisition can be job related, trade related or network related.

Economic Motivations

- Job related Economic Motivations are evident when people choose to use or acquire a language variety in order to obtain or maintain an employment.
- Trade related Economic Motivations are evident when people choose to use or acquire a language variety in order to facilitate or improve the success of their trade
- Network related Economic Motivations are evident when people choose to use or acquire a language variety in order to create or maintain networks that will be financially beneficial to them

Social Identity Motivations

- Social Identity motivations are in effect when people want to be identified with a group or individual
- Social Identity motivations are in effect when people want to not be identified with a group or individual
- Social Identity motivations for language use and acquisition can be *prestige group related, solidarity related, distance related, conformity related, or hero/villain related*

Language Power and Prestige

Motivations

- where languages or dialects themselves are associated with power and prestige, or lack of power and prestige
- the prestige or power is perceived to be in the language variety itself
- High languages in diglossic situations are accorded prestige by the societies using the languages. Language Power and Prestige motivations are evident when people choose to use or acquire a language form accorded this kind of power and prestige

Nationalistic and Political Motivations

- When language choice is influenced by the association between a nation and a language
- Sometimes language choice is a declaration of national affinity or pride
- There can also be associations between language forms and political camps or parties
- Language choice, and even language acquisition, can be motivated by politics

Religious Motivations

Language choice is influenced by the association between a religion and a language

- Idea that a Greater Being has linguistic preferences
- Some religions see some languages as special/holy
- People choose to acquire and use languages in which their sacred writings are available
- Desires or directives to communicate religious ideas can influence language use and acquisition choices

Summary of Motivations Karan (2011)

Communicative

Economic

- Job related
- Trade related
- Network related

Social identity

- Prestige group related
- Solidarity related
- Conformity related
- Hero/Villain related
- Distance related

Language Power and Prestige

- High language forms
- Low language forms

Nationalistic and Political

Religious

- Pleasing or appealing
- Sacred language
- Access writings
- Religious communication

Motivational Studies and Planning

- Motivational and attitudinal studies need to be part of the background research for any language development, language revitalization or multilingual education program.
- When language groups and their leaders are aware of the language motivations situation of their language group, there are things that they can do to make the motivational situation more conducive to the language shift patterns or lack of language shift patterns they would like to see.

Example of Motivational Activity

- In the early 80's in West Africa, when most university graduates were integrated into government jobs when they graduated, a number of West African countries decided that in order to increase the use and status of their national languages, they would mandate that all new government employees be able to speak, read and write at least one national language.

Example of Motivational Activity

- With those mandates, economic motivation was created that led to language acquisition and use choices that had an impact on what was then a language shift toward colonial languages.
- And the national soccer teams were encouraged to start giving radio and TV interviews in the national languages

Considerations

- Language development needs to be aware of and consider language motivations and attitudes.
- The provided categorization of motivations can be helpful to this awareness and consideration.

Considerations

There appear to be universal motivational patterns

1. of people seeking their own communicative, economic, social, and religious good
2. of people desiring to act like the people they would like to be seen as or associate with
3. of responsibility and obligation toward fostering agencies such as nations, political parties and religions

Considerations

- Individual cultural outworkings of these patterns need to be understood in order to creatively influence changes in the motivational framework of the society so that it is more conducive to the agreed upon and desired language shift patterns or lack of language shift patterns.

Conclusions

- If the motivational fabric doesn't change, behaviors don't change.
- If behaviors don't change, the existing shift pattern is not modified to attain or stay at a sustainable level
- If the existing shift pattern is not modified to attain or stay at a sustainable level, the language development program fails.
- Motivations are key. Motivations are necessary conditions intrinsic to language vitality levels.

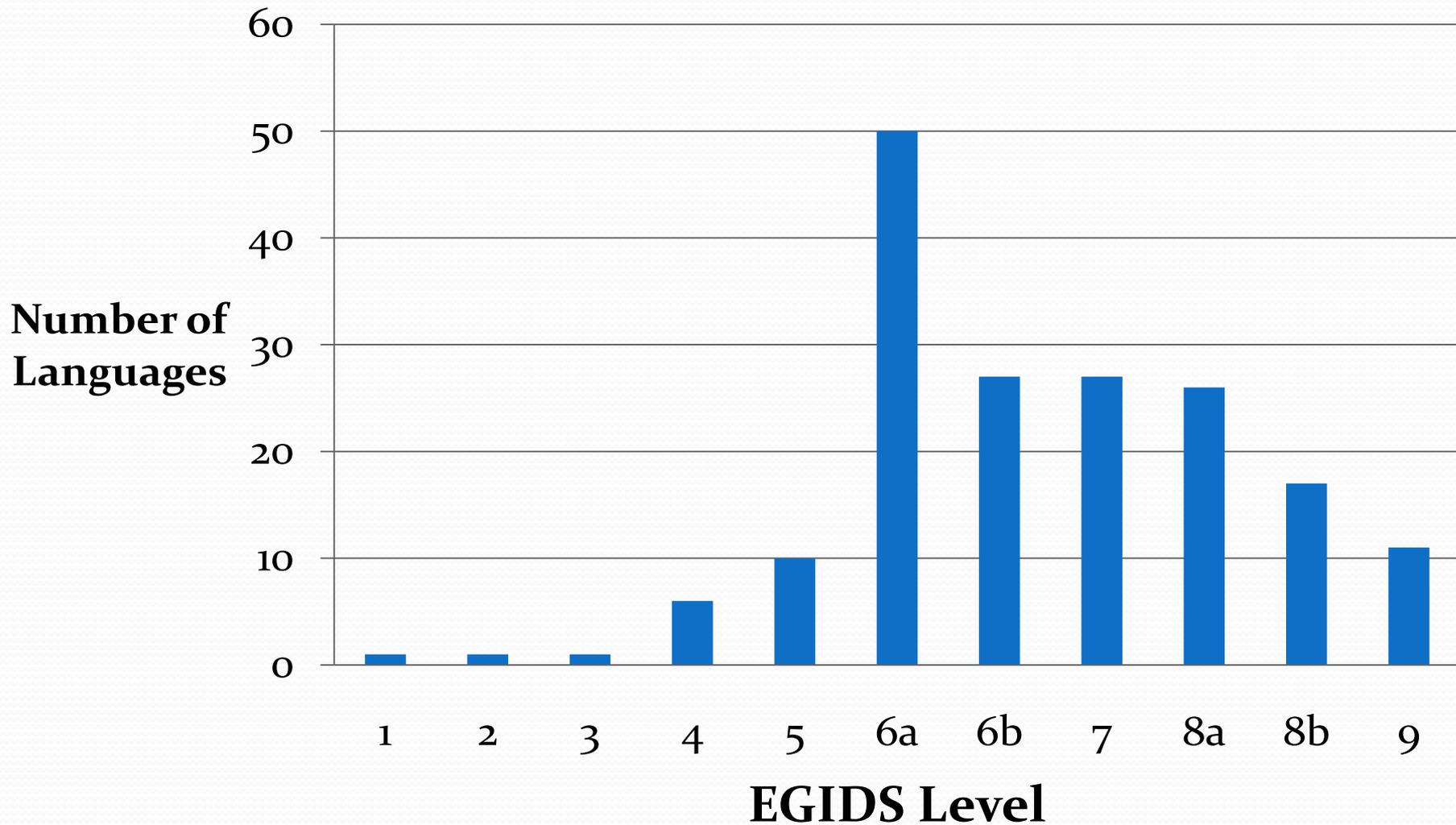
The Extended Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale Applied in Brazil

Stan Anonby
SIL - Brazil

A General Profile Of The Language Ecology

- 175 indigenous languages spoken in Brazil.
- Less than .2% of the total Brazilian population.
- 80% of Brazilians live in cities.
- 25% Indigenous people live in cities.
- Government sets up clinics and schools in the villages, discouraging urbanization.

Language Status Profile: Brazil



Pressures Facing Indigenous Languages

- Occasionally another Indigenous language
- Usually Portuguese
- Generally welcoming Brazilian society
- Growing Brazilian Economy

Languages Being Maintained Against All Odds

- Ethnographic factors, correlated with the FAMED conditions
- not based on any sort of random sampling of the populations nor statistical tests

Factors used in study

- Functions
 - Availability of goods and services in the language
- Acquisition
 - Endogamy versus exogamy
 - Availability of education in the language
- Environment
 - Neighbours hold them in high versus low esteem
- Distinct niche
 - Strength of cultural boundaries



- Motivation

- Thinking highly of their language
- Strong native religion
- Afraid of making mistakes (shame based culture)
- Strong leadership
- Slow to embrace cultural change

- Other

- Speaker population
- Economically depressed surrounding area
- Being in a language family that tends to keep their language
- Sedentary versus nomadic
- Distance from cities

- Most significant factor (92%) was (1): Thought highly of their language.
- Second factor (54%) was (2): Neighbours looked down on them.

Some persistent tribes:

- Mbyá Guaraní [gun]
- Iate [fun]



Fulnio

Brazil

Guarani Mbya

Languages That Are Shifting Quickly

- Ethnographic factors, correlated with the FAMED conditions
- Not based on any sort of random sampling of the populations nor statistical tests

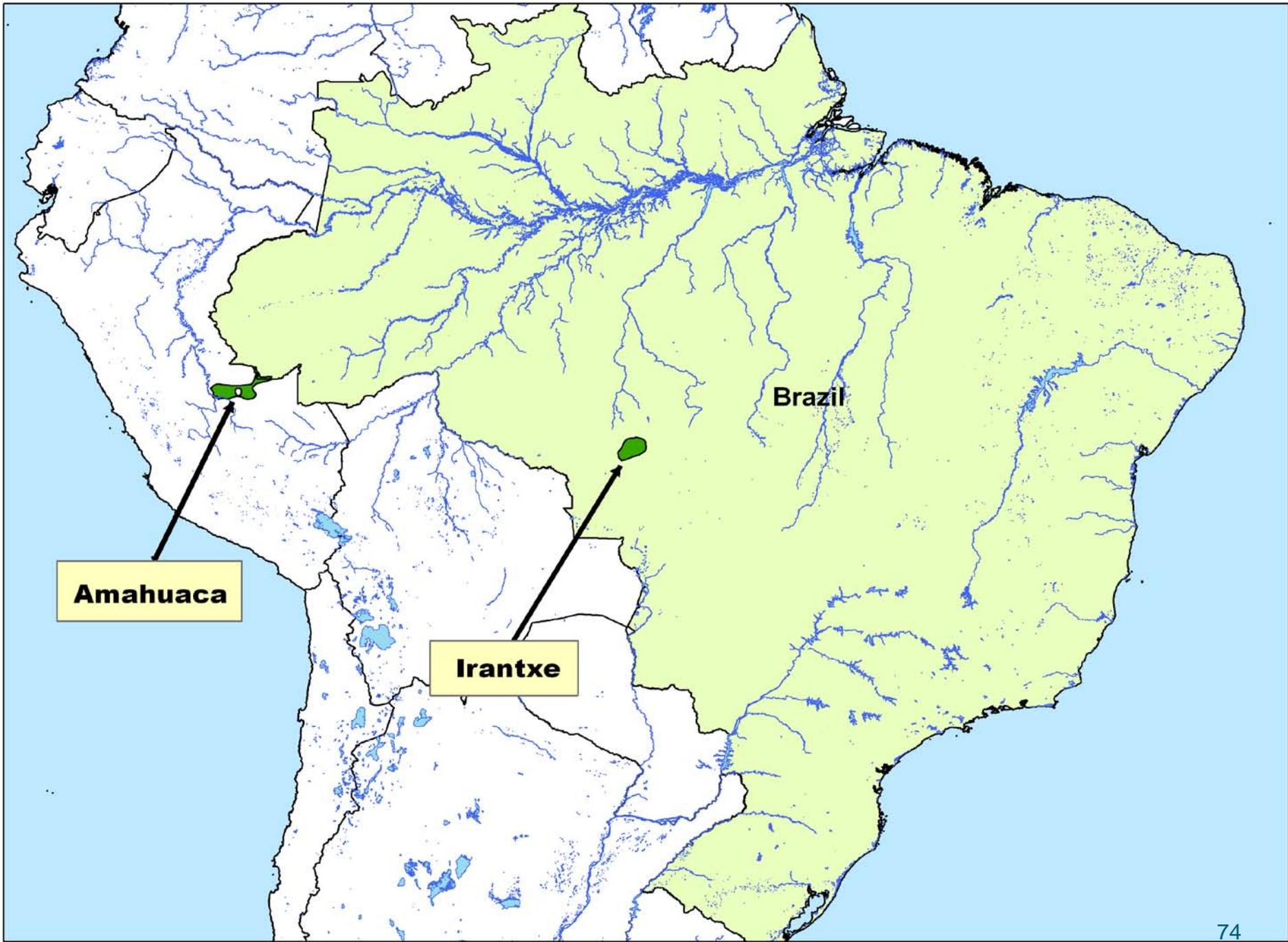
Characteristics of Quickly Shifting Languages

- High interest in the outside world
- Low population (double digits)
- Being in a language family that tends to lose their language
- Boarding school experiences
- Few cultural distinctives
- Close contact with outsiders
- Exogamy

- Most significant factor (50%) was (6) close contact with outsiders.
- Another correlative factor (40%) was (1) high interested in the outside world.
- Christina Bratt-Paulston “outmarriage is one of the earliest, and most accurate indications of the direction of a coming language shift...” (2002:7).
- In Brazil, exogamy(7) (30%)
- Except in the extremely low populations (close to single digits), small population (2) did not correlate with rapid language shift.

Some tribes that are losing their language rapidly

- Amahuaca [amc]
- Irantxe [irn]



Amahuaca

Irantxe

Brazil

EGIDS Levels, Applied Primarily to Indigenous Languages

- ***Languages at EGIDS Level 0 (International)***
 - None
- ***Language at EGIDS Level 1 (National)***
 - Portuguese
- ***Languages at EGIDS Level 2 (Regional)***
 - Tucano, Baniwa, and Nhengatu , officially recognized in Sao Grabiél
- ***Languages at EGIDS Level 3 (Trade)***
 - Waiwai and Apalaí, massive die-offs
- ***Languages at EGIDS Level 4 (Educational)***
 - If all government support were removed, these groups would continue to write in their languages.

Languages at EGIDS Level 5 (Written)

- According to FAMED, EGIDS 5 is incipient, not sustainable.
- Look at the direction of cultural change.
- Fishman: literacy strengthens a language only if it “leads inward, to the community culture, traditions, lore, practical concerns, etc., rather than outward, to the modern world with which it cannot successfully compete” (personal communication, Sept. 30 2002).
- It would be more accurate to talk about a cultural shift rather than language shift.

- Literacy usually puts Indigenous people in more **contact** with Portuguese speakers.
- FAMED: Their language will begin to have fewer **functions**, their **motivation** to use it will decrease, the language **environment** will become more Portuguese friendly, the language will lose its **distinct niche**, and eventually, there will be fewer means of **acquisition**, as parents stop talking to their kids in the language.
- Diglossia is rare in Brazil.
- Bilingualism without diglossia is common.
- Bilingualism is an important weather vane

- Paulston says, “When languages coexist ... without functional complementary distribution in a super-subordinate relationship, the norm is shift to the dominant language” (2002).
- Why maintain two languages if you really only need one?
- Perhaps the policy of having literacy in Portuguese plus the indigenous language is causing the language shift, by not allowing diglossia.
- EGIDS 5 is a place where the presentation of the EGIDS needs to be strengthened.

A Special case of Homegrown EGIDS Level 5 (Written)

- Enawenê-Nawê: Monolingual, no government schools, no standard orthography.
- Originally the NGO OPAN didn't plan to teach the Enawenê-Nawê to write. However, the cooperation of the Enawenê-Nawê in the orthography project piqued an interest and in 1995 OPAN began to teach them.
- Write papers and messages to each other
- Twenty readers, which represents over 20% of their population

Languages at EGIDS Level 6a (Vigorous)

- Group 1: Isolados
- Group 2: Contacted, mostly monolingual
- Monolingual = high vitality
- 6a is sustainable only if the FAMED conditions continue to be met.
- One of the conditions is diglossia, which is usually absent in Brazil.

Languages at EGIDS Level 6b (Threatened)

- Highly bilingual, without much diglossia.
- Characterized by Indigenous literacy, which is helping people abandon their languages.
- Fishman: “Literacy in a small and weak language cannot overcome the social, cultural and economic influences from large and strong languages (even if the school, staff, curriculum, texts, etc. are all under Xish control)” (personal communication, Sept. 27, 2002).
- Fishman: “in a shift setting [literacy] will quickly foster shift” (personal communication, Oct. 6, 2002).

- Bernard Spolsky states, “I...am coming to suspect that the long term effect of developing Navajo literacy was to weaken the language. (personal communication)
- Guarani realize that if their kids succeed in school they’re going to have to do it in Portuguese.
- Most of the factors that inhibit language shift (e.g. illiteracy) aren’t ones that we would want to promote.

Two Examples of Languages at EGIDS Level 7 (Shifting)

- Nhengatu: originally the lingua franca of much the Amazon region.
- Baniwa: Portuguese ability will likely crawl up the Içana River, decade by decade.

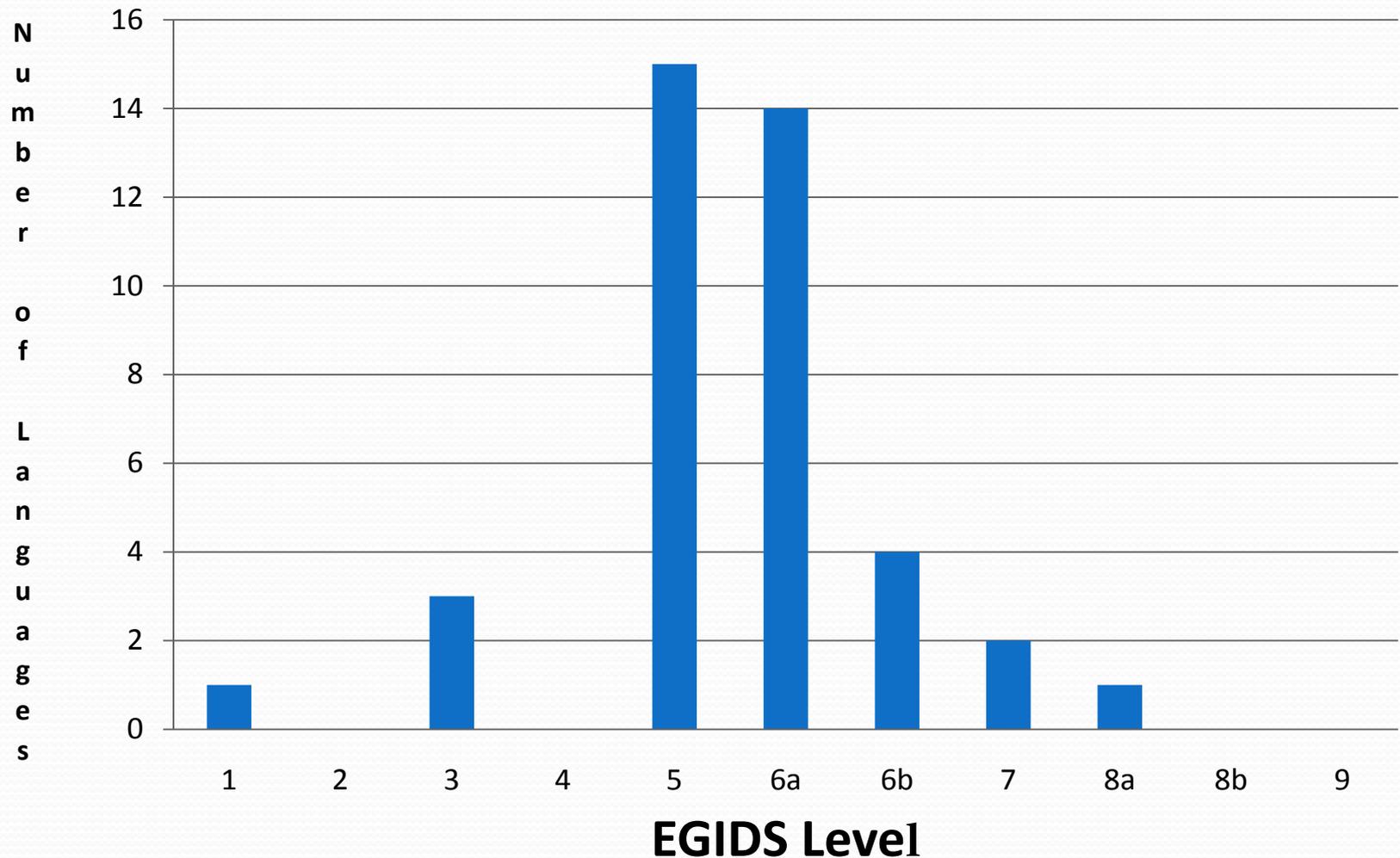
- ***Languages at EGIDS Level 8a (Moribund)***
 - Most of these languages are very small, some numbering in the double digits.
- ***Languages at EGIDS Level 8b (Nearly Extinct)***
 - Single digits, or integrated into some bigger tribe.

- ***Languages at EGIDS Level 9 (Dormant)***
 - One language right at the border of extinction, and has revitalization efforts underway.
 - Other groups have maintained their separate identity, while no longer speaking their language.
- ***Languages at EGIDS Level 10 (Extinct)***
 - Not growing
 - Languages have tended to drop down to EGIDS 9, and remain there

Towards a Language Vitality Profile of Bangladesh

Amy Kim
SIL International

Language Status Profile: Bangladesh



EGIDS level 5 languages (n=15)

| Language | ISO | Bangladesh pop'n |
|--------------|-----|------------------|
| Bishnupriya | bpy | 40,000 |
| Chakma | ccp | 150,000 |
| Chin, Asho | csb | 4,000 |
| Chin, Bawm | bgr | 10,000 |
| Chin, Khumi | cnk | 2,090 |
| Koda | cdz | 1,300 |
| Kol | ekl | 2,000 |
| Marma | rmz | 150,000 |
| Mru | mro | 30,000 |
| Rakhine | rki | 35,000 |
| Sadri, Oraon | sdr | 166,000 |
| Santali | sat | 225,000 |
| Tangchangya | tnv | 21,700 |
| Tippera | tpe | 85,000 |
| Usoi | usi | 22,400 |

EGIDS level 6a languages (n=14)

| Language | ISO | Bangladesh pop'n |
|----------------------|-----|------------------|
| A'tong | aot | 5,400 |
| Bihari | urd | 250,000 |
| Chak | ckh | 5,500 |
| Garó | grt | 120,000 |
| Hajong | haj | 8,000 |
| Indian Sign Language | ins | |
| Koch | kdq | 6,000 |
| Kok Borok | trp | 5,000 |
| Megam | mef | 6,870 |
| Meitei | mni | 15,000 |
| Mundari | unr | 2,500 |
| Pangkhuá | pkh | 2,500 |
| Pnar | pbv | 4,000 |
| War-Jaintia | aml | 16,000 |

EGIDS level 6b, 7, & 8 languages

| EGIDS level | Language | ISO | Bangladesh pop'n |
|-------------|----------------|-----|------------------|
| 6b | Khasi | kha | <1,000 |
| 6b | Kurux | kru | 50,000 |
| 6b | Lyngngam | lyg | <1,000 |
| 6b | Rohingya | rhg | 200,000 |
| 7 | Mizo | lus | 250 |
| 7 | Sauria Paharia | mjt | 7,000 |
| 8a | Riang | ria | 500 |

EGIDS level 3 vehicularity: How wide is wide enough?

- Used “for purposes of work or mass media”
- Used “widely by people who speak different first languages”

Source: Lewis and Simons 2011:3.

Languages considered for EGIDS 3

- Chittagonian [ctg]
- Sylheti [syl]
- Rangpuri [rkt]
- Chakma [ccp]
- Garo [grt]
- Marma [rmz]
- War-Jaintia [aml]

Additional vehicularity questions

1. Is this language's vehicularity becoming wider or narrower?
2. Is there another language in the area that is more widely vehicular among the same languages?
3. To what extent is the language used in work and mass media?
4. Do mother tongue speakers from a language family other than that of the language in question use the language as a lingua franca?
5. Might speakers from two other languages use the language in question as a medium of communication between them?

EGIDS level 5 languages: Applying the SUM and FAMED conditions

- EGIDS level 4 = Sustainable Literacy
- EGIDS level 5 = (Unsustainable) Incipient Literacy
- EGIDS level 6a = Sustainable Orality

Will it move towards level 4?

| Level of Use | Functions | Acquisition | Motivation |
|---|---|--|--|
| 4: Educational (Sustainable Literacy) | Adequate vernacular literature exists in every domain for which it is desired. | Vernacular literacy is being taught by trained teachers under the auspices of a sustainable institution. | Members of the language community perceive the benefits of reading and writing in the local language. |
| 5: Written (Incipient Literacy) | Enough literature exists in some domains to exemplify the value of vernacular literacy. | There are adequate materials to support vernacular literacy instruction and some members of the community are successfully using them to teach others. | Some members of the language community perceive the benefits of reading and writing their local language, but the majority still do not. |

Will it move back to level 6a?

| Level of Use | Functions | Acquisition | Motivation |
|--|---|--|--|
| 5: Written (Incipient Literacy) | Enough literature exists in some domains to exemplify the value of vernacular literacy. | There are adequate materials to support vernacular literacy instruction and some members of the community are successfully using them to teach others. | Some members of the language community perceive the benefits of reading and writing their local language, but the majority still do not. |
| 6a: Vigorous (Sustainable Orality) | Adequate oral use exists in every domain for which is it desired. | There is full oral transmission of the vernacular language to all children in the home. | Members of the language community perceive the benefits of using their language orally, but they perceive no benefits in reading and writing it. |

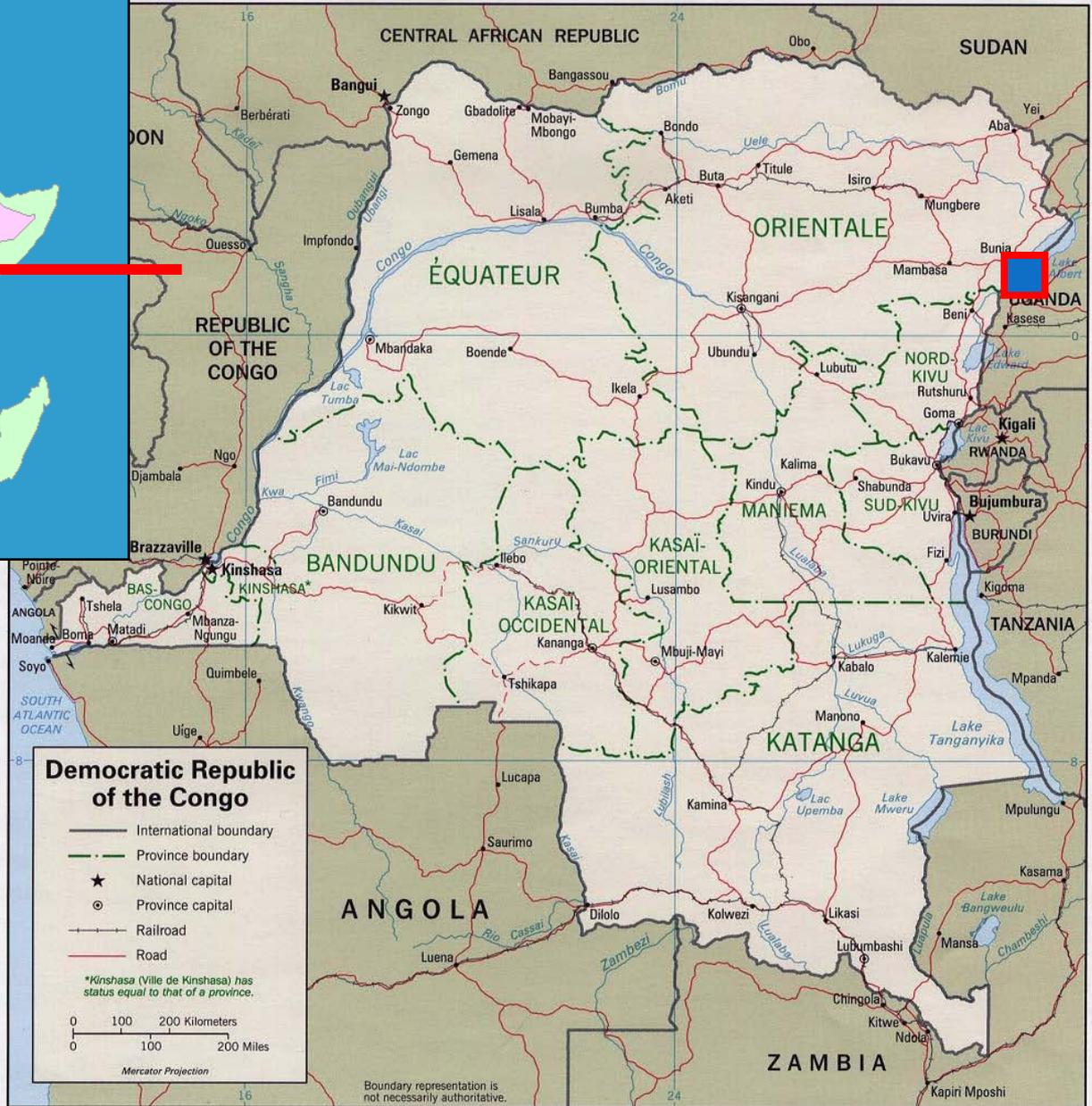
The SUM can inform

- EGIDS level 5 is not sustainable
- Efforts should not be stopped at level 5
- Areas of focus for further efforts can be identified

Challenges to applying the EGIDS in northeastern Democratic Republic of Congo

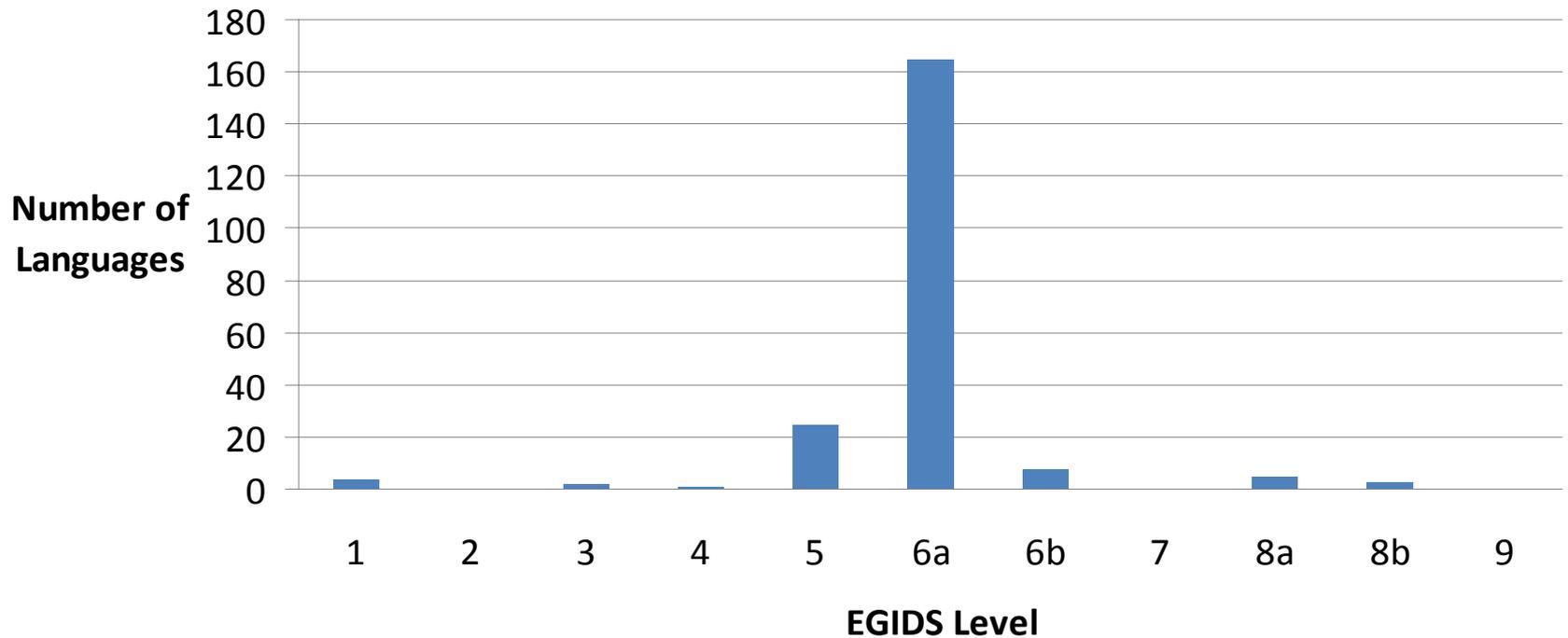
Bagamba B. Araali and Douglas W. Boone

SIL – Eastern Congo Group



EGIDS profile for DRC languages

Language Status Profile: DRC



Assigning EGIDS levels to languages of northeastern DRC

- Four students used the criteria in Lewis and Simons' 2010 EGIDS paper to assign EGIDS levels to their mother tongues
- These criteria included
 - the level descriptions
 - the decision tree

Students consistently assigned EGIDS level 6b to languages we believe to be at level 6a

Case study: Bali

- 69% of respondents said that parents speak Bali to their children, while 58% said that parents speak Swahili to their children.
- Reported language use among children: Swahili (63%); Bali (47%); Lingala (3%)
- 83% of those aged 17 and under (n=280) claimed to speak Bali, compared to 97% of those aged 18 and over (n=210).

Case study: Membi

- 89% of parents (n=49) said that they speak Membi-tu to their children, while 35% said that they speak Bangala to them.
- 87% of those aged 17 and under (n=120) reported having learned Membi-tu first, compared to 92% of those aged 18 and above (n=180).
- But: a full 97% of those aged 17 and under claimed to speak Membi-tu, compared to 95% of those aged 18 and over.

Case study: Dongo

- Only 56% of respondents said that parents speak only Dongo-ko to their children; 22% said that parents speak only Bangala to them, and the other 22% said both.
- First language among those aged 17 and under: 58% reported learning Dongo-ko first; 43% Bangala; 8% both; 11% others.
- Of those aged 17 and under (n=121), 88% claimed to speak Dongo-ko, compared to 95% of those aged 18 and over (n=80).

Case study: Bila

- Only 38% of respondents said that parents speak exclusively Bila to their children; another 50% said that parents speak both Swahili and Bila to their children.
- Only 58% of those aged 17 and under (n=80) claimed to speak Bila, compared to 86% of those aged 18 and over (n=120).
- Only 30% of those aged 17 and under said they learned Bila before Swahili; contrast 93% of individuals aged 45 years and over.

Students' Conclusions

- In all four case studies, language use findings led the researchers to conclude that their language was Threatened (Level 6b).
- Their decisions were based on the fact that not all children are learning the vernacular from their parents as first language and using it from an early age.
- However, these criteria may not be the most appropriate for their contexts.

Bale-dha: a test case

- In the last century, Bale-dha has acquired over 500,000 speakers from over 3 ethnolinguistic communities, and it is still advancing...
- In short, Bale-dha is expanding; it must surely be categorized as “safe”.
- We assign it to Level 6a “Vigorous”.

And yet ...

- If we observe some southern border Bale villages, we see a similar profile to students' case studies:
 - Swahili (LWC) is used as the intergroup medium of communication, and children learn it first
 - Some Bale in heterogeneous villages never master Bale-dha (the Lendu language).
- So, Bale-dha seems by the same criteria to be a “threatened” (Level 6b) language.

Sustainability of Bale-dha across generations

- A strong sense of identity is manifested not only in language use but also in practice of clan exogamy.
- Those few Bale in frontier villages who never master Bale-dha will marry from the Bale heartland.
- Their children will know Bale-dha.



Strength of Bale-dha

- One feature of Bale culture is a strong boundary control system (Fishman 1989, Russell 2000, Kaputo 1982)
 - There are clear criteria for group membership.
 - One of these is speaking Bale-dha.
 - There is little tolerance for not learning to speak it within a reasonable time.
- It is one of a number of languages in northeastern DRC with this cultural feature.

Documented language shift in northeastern DRC

- Northern Hema: adopted Bale
- Other Hema speakers have shifted to Alur.
- Many Membi communities have followed the same pattern of shift to Lendu or Alur.
- Two “Wagongo” counties in DRC: one has shifted to Hema, another one to Alur
- Further south: Pakombe and Mvuba are shifting to Nande

Documented language shift in northeastern DRC (cont'd)

- Further south, the Pakombe and Mvuba people are shifting to Nande.
- But no ethnic group has *ever* shifted to LWC.
- Weak boundary control: Pakombe, Mvuba, possibly others
- Strong boundary control: Nande, others

Lesson Learned: The Nature of Sustainable Orality

- Acquisition of the heritage language:
 - May at first be passive, as children hear it used.
 - Active language ability will follow as it is needed.
 - Order and degree of learning of LWC not relevant.
- Motivation to use the heritage language:
 - Community life turns around use of its ethnic language.
- Differentiation of niches:
 - Clear differentiation between local language and LWC.
 - Cultural reinforcement of heritage language means sustainable oral use.

Lesson Learned:

The Nature of Threat

- Break in transmission of heritage language:
 - Children do not hear the heritage language being used.
 - Presence of LWC is crucial to the transition.
- Weak motivation to use heritage language:
 - Where boundary control system is weak, instrumental motivations are stronger and language shift may occur.
- Differentiation of niches:
 - Clear differentiation between local languages and LWC.
 - But weak cultural reinforcement of the heritage language not sufficient to prevent its replacement by another.

Conclusion

- Threat to vernaculars generally comes from other vernaculars, possibly of the same EGIDS level
- LWCs play a transitional role but do not replace vernaculars
- Community awareness of threat to intergenerational transmission of mother tongue is dependent on the strength of their sociocultural system and thus is not a reliable indicator of threat
- As a result, we need objective and measurable indicators of when erosion of intergenerational transmission of mother tongue truly poses a threat to sustainability

Profiles of Language Vitality in Malaysia

M. Paul Lewis

SIL International

David Moody

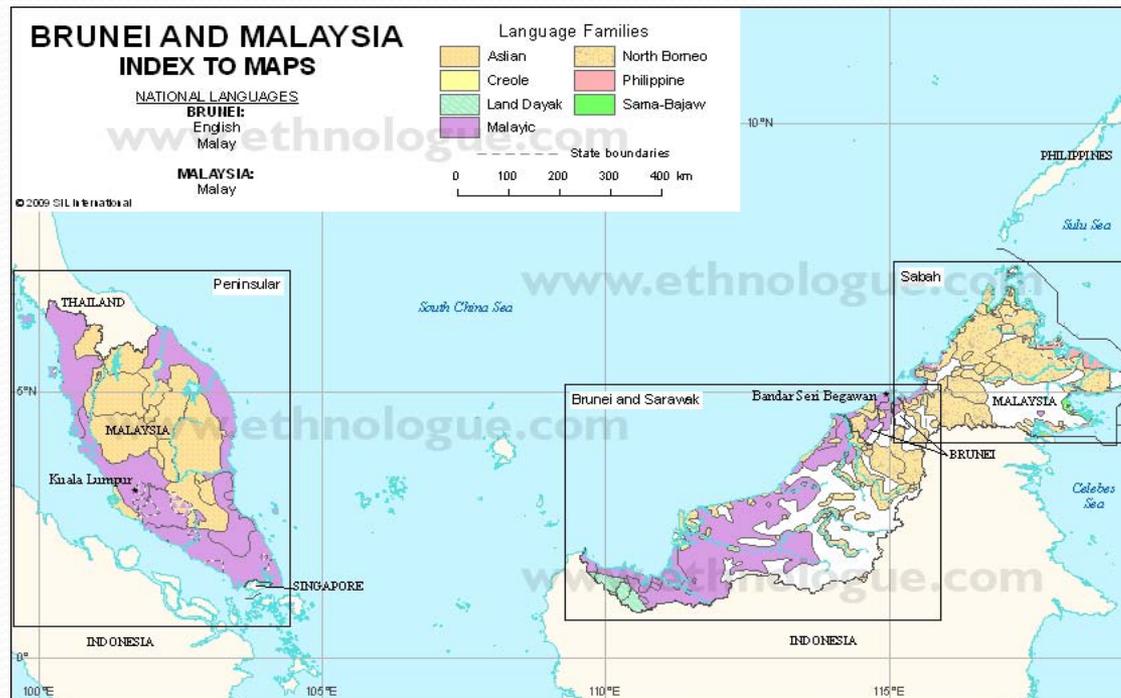
SIL Malaysia

Louis Rose

SIL Malaysia

Introduction

- Malaysia is a linguistically diverse country with 137 languages listed in Ethnologue (Lewis, 2009).

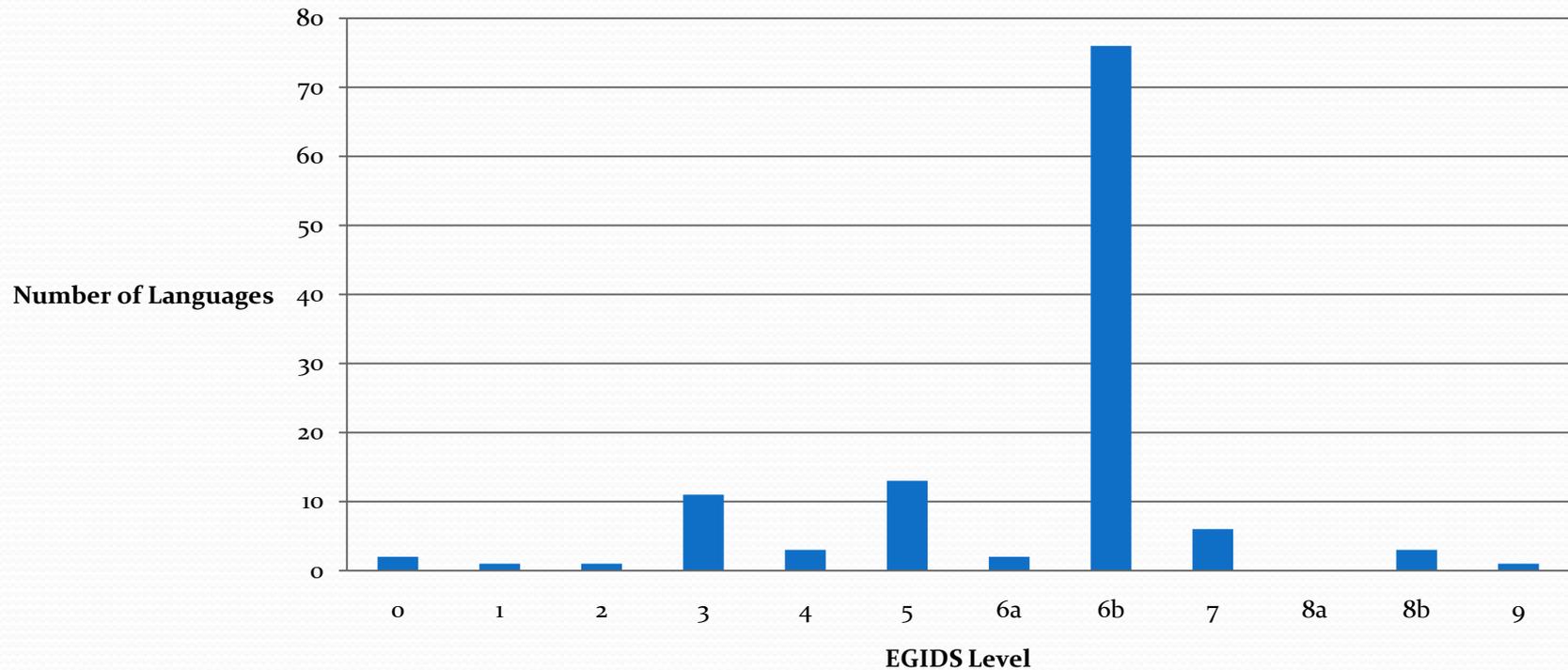


Methodology

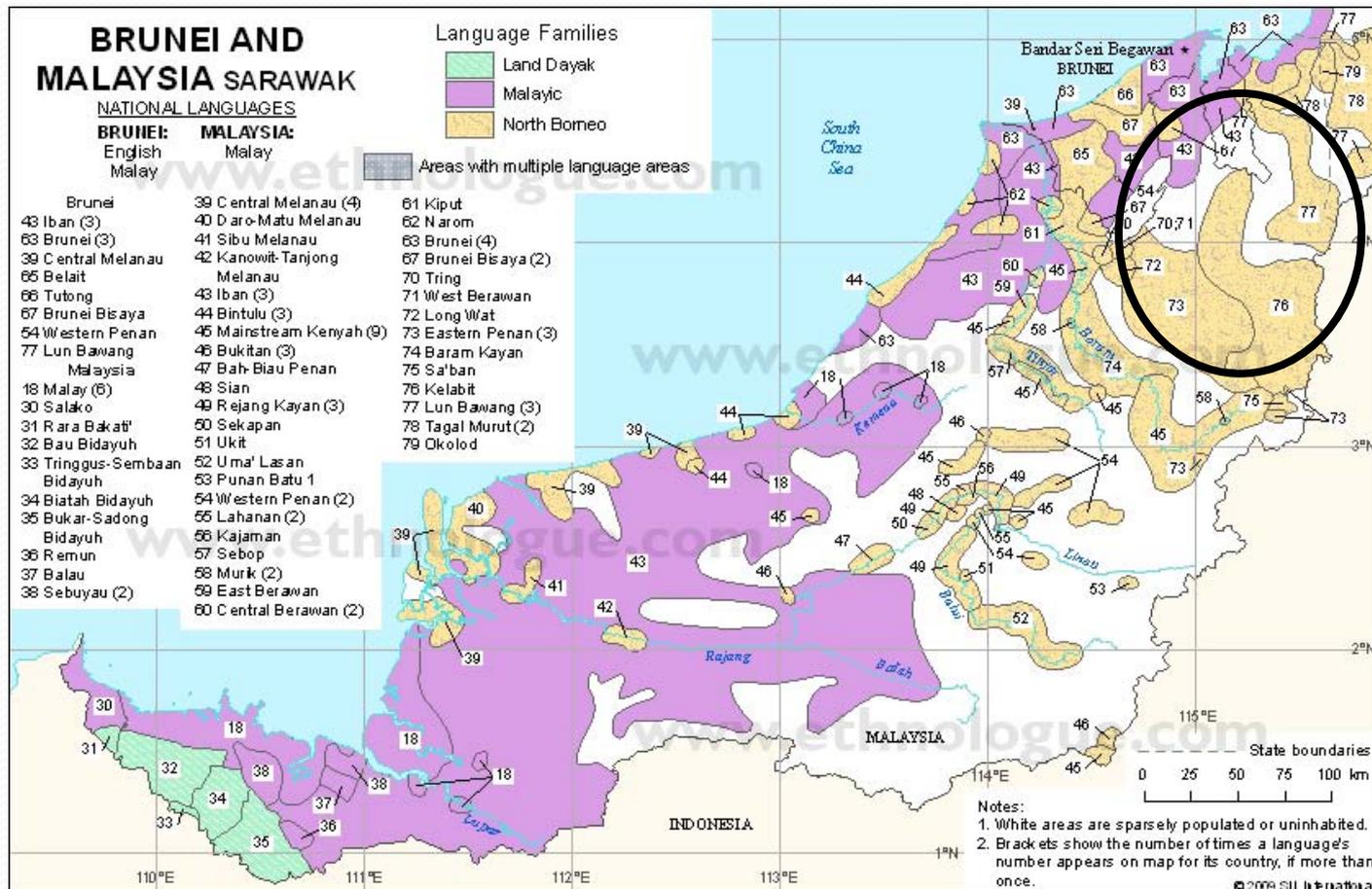
- An initial analysis by Moody identified tentative clusters of related languages.
- Subsequent review by Rose and others provided tentative EGIDS estimates.
- Description of one cluster in terms of its linguistic ecology begun by Lewis.

Profile of EGIDS Levels

Language Status Profile: Malaysia



The Kelabitic Cluster



The Kelabitic Cluster

| EGIDS | Language | ISO | POP |
|--------------|-----------------|------------|------------|
| 6a | Kelabit | kzi | 6000 |
| 9 | Lengilu | lgi | 4 |
| 5 | Lundayeh | Ind | 47500 |
| 6b | Putoh | put | 6000 |
| 6b | Sa'ban | snv | 1960 |
| 6b | Tring | tgq | 550 |

The Kelabitic Cluster Ecology

| EGIDS | Language | ISO | POP |
|--------------|-----------------------|------------|------------|
| 0 | English | eng | N/A |
| 1 | Standard Malay | zsm | N/A |
| 5 | Lundayeh | Ind | 47500 |
| 6a | Kelabit | kzi | 6000 |
| 6b | Putoh | put | 6000 |
| 6b | Sa'ban | snv | 1960 |
| 6b | Tring | tgq | 550 |
| 9 | Lengilu | lgi | 4 |

FAMED Conditions

● FUNCTIONS

- With literacy well-established in English and Standard Malay and being introduced in Lundayeh (Lun Bawang) [lnd], what uses are there for reading and writing in the other languages in the cluster?
- How useful is literacy in Lundayeh?
- Are there uses for literacy in Kelabit [kzi] that can't be met through one of the other already written languages?
- What oral uses of Putoh [put], Sa'ban [snv], and Tring [tgq] do the speakers value and desire to maintain?

FAMED Conditions

- **ACQUISITION**

- How do people in this cluster acquire Malay and English proficiency?
- Do speakers of the smaller languages use Lundayeh as a second language? How do they acquire it? Would they acquire literacy in Lundayeh?
- How do members of the EGIDS 6b communities (re-)acquire oral proficiency in their languages? What could be done to strengthen those acquisition channels? Provide new opportunities for acquisition?
- If those who retain Lengilu identity were to choose to reacquire oral proficiency in the language, what means of language acquisition might best assist them in accomplishing that goal?

FAMED Conditions

- **MOTIVATION**

- In these communities, what are the perceived benefits derived from having English or Malay proficiency?
- Are there any perceived benefits derived from having proficiency in Lundayeh [lnd]?
- What are the motivations behind the beginning language shift in the three EGIDS 6b communities?
- What motivations are behind the imminent demise of Lengilu [lgq]? What might motivate at least the retention of a Lengilu identity if not full reacquisition of oral use?

FAMED Conditions

- **ENVIRONMENT**

- Does the national and regional language policy “create space” for the local languages to be used at some sustainable level? What level is that?
- What forces within these communities either promote or inhibit the sustainable use of the languages?
- What sorts of advocacy – either externally to national and regional authorities or internally to community members – is needed to allow the communities to reach sustainable levels of language use for each of the languages in the cluster?

FAMED Conditions

- **DISTINCT NICHE**

- What agency exists within the community to promote and foster the use of these languages for the functions deemed appropriate for it?
- How much urgency is felt within the communities and what level of militancy do they deem necessary to enforce norms of language use?

Some Lessons Learned in Applying EGIDS and the Sustainable Use Model

J. Stephen Quakenbush
SIL International

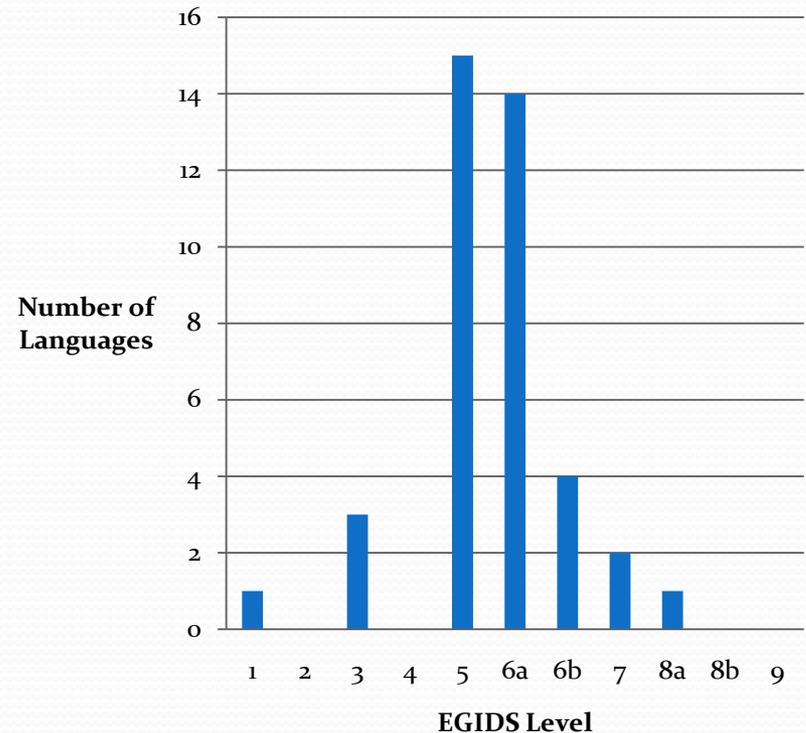
Comparing Language Situations

- EGIDS provides a consistent framework for comparing language situations in various contexts
- For example, the “country profiles” presented in this colloquium
- Profiles for larger or smaller “ecological” units would also be possible

Bangladesh – 40 languages

- Most languages 72.5% (n=29) Levels 5 and 6a Written or Oral-Vigorous
- 17.5% (n=7) at Level 6b Threatened or below

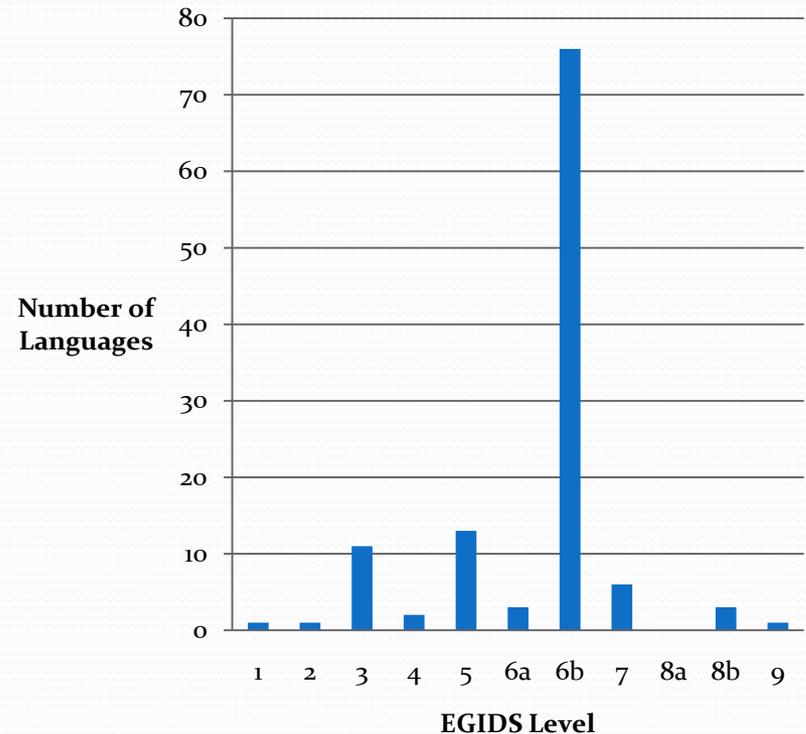
Language Status Profile:
Bangladesh



Malaysia – 124 languages

- 69% at Level 6b
Threatened or below
(61% actually at 6b)
- Very few at Level 6a
9% (n=9) or in any other
single category

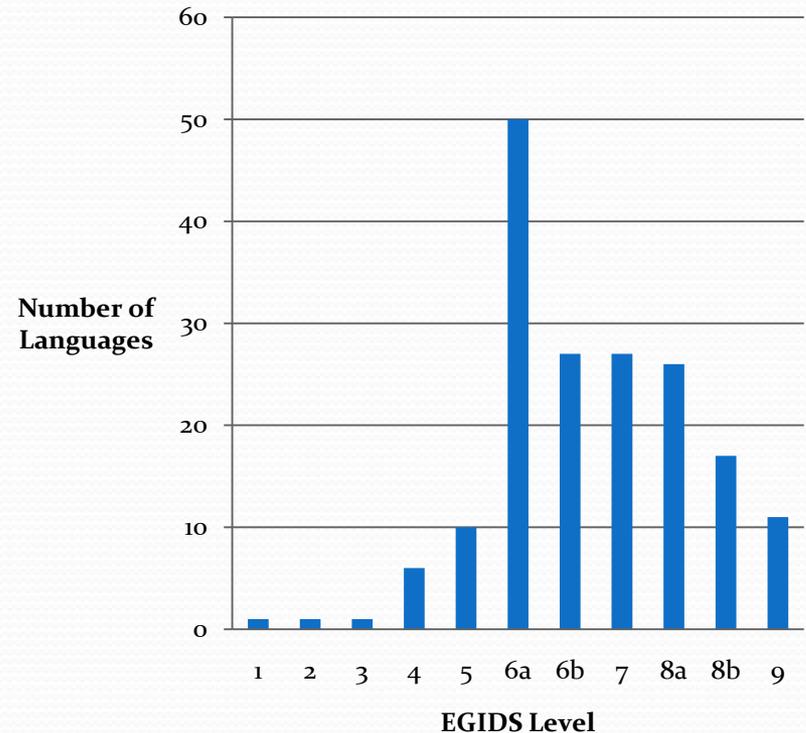
Language Status Profile:
Malaysia



Brazil – 177 languages

- 61% (n=108) at Level 6b Threatened or below
- 28% (n=50) at 6a Vigorous

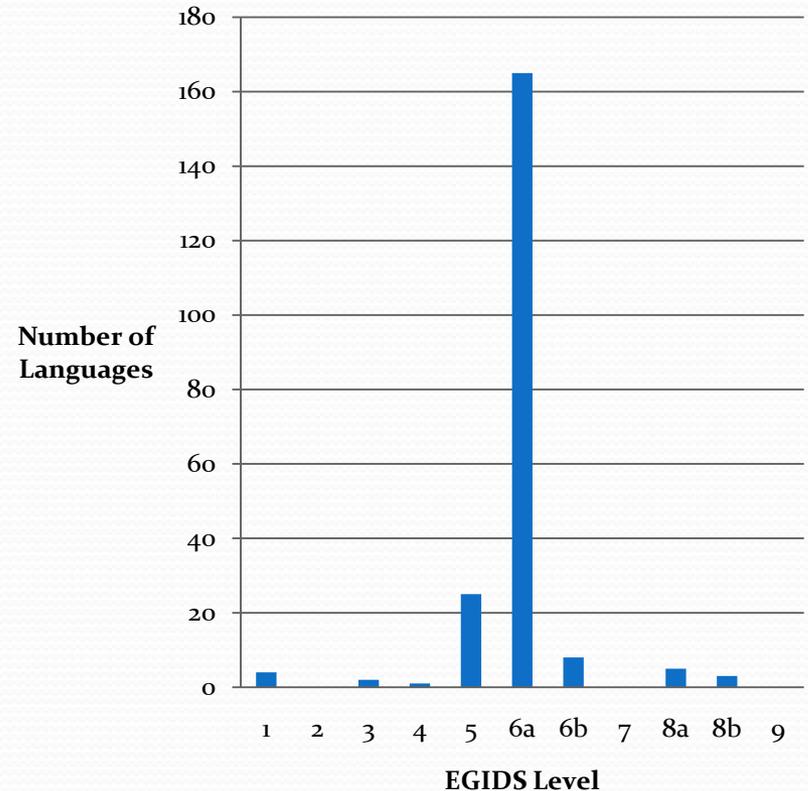
Language Status Profile:
Brazil



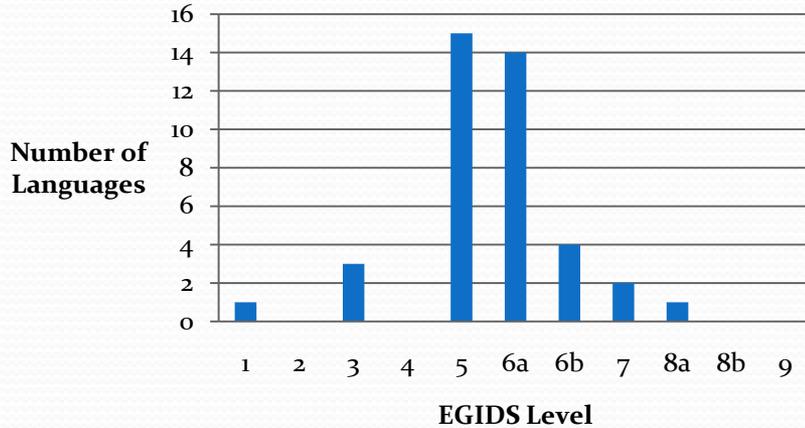
Democratic Republic of Congo – 213 languages

- 76% at Level 6a – Vigorous
- 93% at Level 6a or above

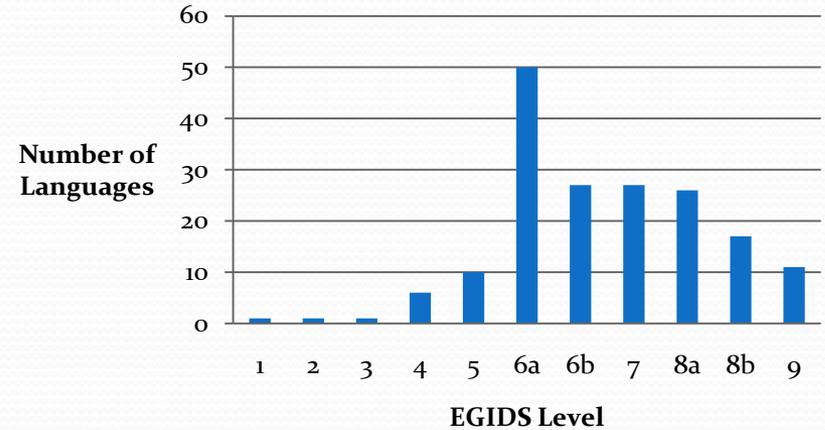
Language Status Profile: DRC



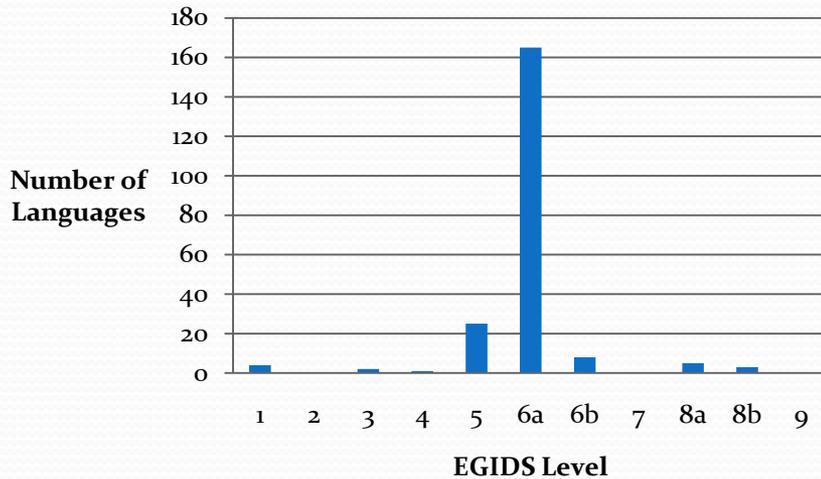
Language Status Profile: Bangladesh



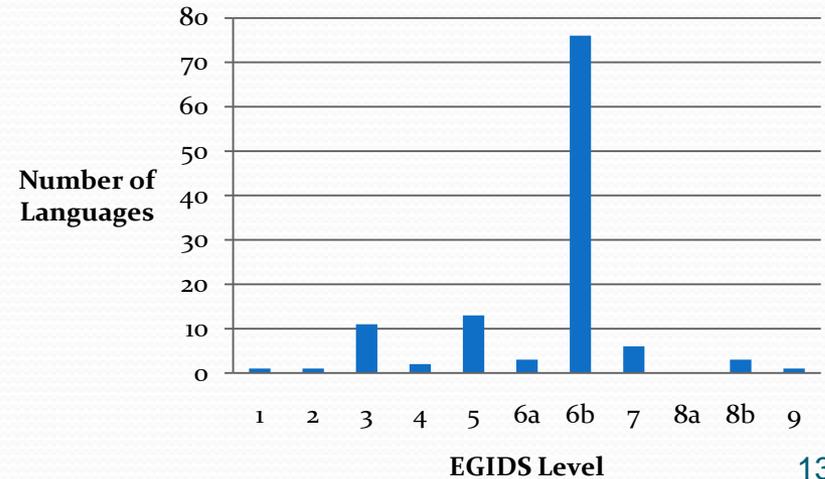
Language Status Profile: Brazil



Language Status Profile: DRC



Language Status Profile: Malaysia



EGIDS positives

- EGIDS harmonizes and expands other systems currently in use (GIDS, UNESCO, Ethnologue) and is hence more widely applicable than any of the others
 - GIDS – single most-often cited evaluative framework, 8 levels
 - UNESCO Language Endangerment Framework – 6 levels, nine factors (most salient intergenerational transmission)
 - Ethnologue – 5 levels, focus on # of L1 speakers

EGIDS positives, cont.

- Rankings can be assigned relatively easily with some basic kinds of information
- FAMED conditions provide helpful detail for ranking unclear cases

SUM overall positives

- Integrates various insights into language ecology, and gives language development practitioners and others a more precise vocabulary and framework for description, analysis, and planning.
- Intuitive and easily explained set of basic concepts
 - Reflective individuals can understand them (even when explained imperfectly in a second language)
 - Experienced language development workers comment that the model is “very helpful”

SUM negatives

- Difficulty of maintaining a linear model where a higher ranking necessarily assumes all characteristics of lower rankings
- Challenges of applying criteria to a real and messy world full of variety and gradience
- EGIDS numbers themselves are not “intuitive” to the uninitiated
- SUM does not address every possible issue related to language endangerment/vitality

SUM observations

- The same language can have different rankings in different contexts
- Real data sometimes necessitates changes in the model
- Sometimes there are surprises
- Applying the model exposes our assumptions, and deepens understanding

SUM can help language activists

- Set realistic goals
- Choose appropriate products
- Plan activities that will have strategic impact

SUM can help language theorists

- By providing a framework for overall comparison and contrast
- By providing a model nuanced enough to explain discoveries and surprises

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Discussant's response

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Overview

- Comments on framework and its use
- Issues raised by presentations
- Questions and issues on framework and its application

Theory to Action

Sustainable Use Model for Language Development

EGIDS rank

FAMED
conditions

Community input



Strategy formulation
process

Model-Framework

- SUM -focus on endangered languages
- EGIDS – objective to allow classification of all languages
- Provides common vocabulary and classifications for researchers and practitioners to use so that knowledge can be accumulated and shared more easily
- Is a tool for discovering what needs to be done to achieve the goals of a community and what goals are realistic
- Key role of diglossia

Motivation

- Plays key role in language shift or any attempt to influence shift
- Perceived Benefit model with taxonomy of language choice motivations
- Any shift (or no shift) occurs as result of many individual language use choices
- Efforts need to change the “motivational fabric of society”

Case Studies

- Brazil
 - Role of literacy
- Bangladesh
 - Internal language changes
 - Specifications for level 3 trade language
- Democratic Republic of Congo
 - More sublevels within level 6
 - Threats from rival vernaculars
- Malaysia
 - Sign language in the ecology
 - Value of looking at clusters of languages

Thoughts about US context

- Alliance for the Advancement of Heritage Languages:

www.cal.org/heritage

- Immigrant languages vs. indigenous languages
- Lo Bianco: language maintenance enhanced when supported by:
 - Capacity/ability
 - Opportunity
 - Desire/attitudes

Questions and Issues

- Unit of analysis: language/cluster/country
- How fine-grained should the model be?
- The literacy question (and others)
- Factors that may need to be considered
 - Mobility of people/urbanization
 - Technology (“unprecedented sociolinguistic climate change”)
 - Role of schooling
 - Language dispersion