EIGHTH CAMBRIDGE CONFERENCE ON LANGUAGE ENDANGERMENT

LANGUAGE ENDANGERMENT: LANGUAGE REVITALISATION AND REVERSING LANGUAGE SHIFT

ABSTRACT BOOKLET

Guillem Belmar Viernes (University of Groningen)

Social media platforms and minority languages: Opportunities and challenges from the perspective of the #europeminoritylanguages project

According to a 2013 survey (LTInnovate 2013), in 2012 digital content had doubled in only one year. The number of users of social networks is ever increasing, and in 2013 there were an estimate 174.2 million people using social networks in Western Europe alone. These numbers are probably much higher nowadays, and hint at how much of our everyday interaction takes places online. Social Networks like Twitter or Facebook are common tools of communication, especially among the youth, whose communicative exchanges consist largely of Computer Mediated Communication (CMC). Digital Presence is, therefore, an essential component of language revitalization (and maintenance). There is consensus among activists and scholars alike that a language's digital presence is of the utmost importance to be perceived as fitting the needs of the modern world» (Soria 2016). Among other things, the Europe Minority Languages Project collects information on different minority languages spoken in Europe, building a profile for each of them. We also publish a Word of the Day, we have taken part in both the Social Media Day for Small Languages (organized by Afûk) and the Meme Challenge (organized by Rising Voices) and we are currently developing more materials in a few languages (such as vocabulary lists, kahoots and quizlets).

Peter Cleave (AUT, Auckland)

Between cup and lip: Language revitalisation goals and the linguist's role in their implementation

This paper refers to several indigenous languages including Maaori and looks at setting language revitalisation goals, knowing how they might be constrained and what to do when things change. This could involve the linguist understanding the attitudes and having the approval of the speech community. How fluid might that speech community be regarding changed goals? The linguist could look at how additional members of a speech community may also be agents of linguistic change wherein new goals may emerge. After models of high and low constraint are introduced several language revitalisation goals are considered. If there is divergence or dissent within the speech community concerning goal setting in language revitalisation the linguist might make suggestions but may be trying to solve too many problems at once in an already stressed situation. The linguist might need to scope the language situation with a goals and constraints analysis or another model of evaluation. Such an analysis of goals might help in prioritisation, breaking things down to workable units and setting out perspectives. What resources exist for training in this area and where might such be found and undergone?

James Costa (Lacito (CNRS), Université Sorbonne Nouvelle) & **Sara Brennan** (Lacito (CNRS), Université Sorbonne Nouvelle)

Does a stronger association between language and place facilitate language revitalisation efforts?

Some insights from Occitania

This presentation will investigate and question the ideological and representational consequences of the recent institutionalisation of the name Occitania as a French regional entity in 2016 for Occitan language revitalisation efforts. Given the discrepancy between the way that language advocates have traditionally perceived Occitania as encompassing the entire Occitan-speaking domain, and the restricted territory comprised by the new Occitania region, we ask how different categories of social actors are currently turning this new configuration into either an object of contestation or a resource to promote the language, for example through language classes, branding, tourism, business. In order to better understand how this (re)new(ed) connection between territory and language impacts Occitan language revitalisation projects, we will seek to understand how the creation of Occitania is understood and acted upon by language advocates and Occitan speakers alike, focusing on how, if it all, the naming of this region influences linguistic practices and representations of Occitan. This presentation is based on ongoing ethnographic fieldwork in the Tolosa/Toulouse area and is part of a

wider project that seeks to understand how emplacement and language revitalization interact in everyday practices.

James Costa (Lacito (CNRS), Université Sorbonne Nouvelle) & Médéric Gasquet-Cyrus (Aix-Marseille Université)

Language ideological clarification in revitalization: Is there any point?

This presentation seeks to question the widespread assumption that revitalisation efforts are often impeded by language ideological debates and tensions, and that "language ideological clarification" might help overcome this (Dauenhauher & Dauenhauer 1998, Fishman 1991, Kroskrity 2000). We argue that this perspective derives from a dualistic and perhaps simplistic approach to language revitalisation, one which problematises it in terms of diagnosis and treatment, one that polarises debates in terms of being "in favour" or "against" revitalisation, and one that ultimately buys into the nativistic narratives at the source of revitalisation movements. Taking the position that revitalisation is primarily a groupness project (or a series of competing projects) (Brubaker 2002), some argue that it is probably not our role as linguists or anthropologists to help achieve such clarification, a task we deem inherently impossible. On the other hand, some are convinced that a certain role (to be determined) can be played by linguists or anthropologists, but within a certain limit, beyond which it is in all the cases naive to think that any "ideological clarification" can help a potential language revitalisation. Based on case studies in Scotland and Provence, we argue that it might be more productive to help map the various networks of social actors or actants involved in such endeavours and to acknowledge that while language might not be the ultimate aim of revitalisation movements, or that such movements might be misguided from our perspectives, their study reveals something of the role language has come to take in late modernity as a totem.

Eileen Coughlan (University of Oxford)

'It'll keep the Irish going, like': Attitudes to language revitalisation policies among Irish-speaking teenagers

A distinctive characteristic of the Irish state's language policy is its distinction between 'Gaeltacht' areas, where Irish remains the main language of daily life for many, and the rest of the country, where English is the main community language. This paper explores attitudes towards language revitalisation policies among students in two Irish-medium secondary schools, one located in the Gaeltacht and one outside it, based on ethnographic fieldwork. The education system is the primary focus of language revitalisation activities in Ireland, as in many other contexts. It is, therefore, particularly important to understand teenagers' attitudes to language revitalisation efforts, since they are more affected by language revitalisation policy than adults and are more concerned than younger students with language as a means of identity construction and rebellion. The Gaeltacht school encourages the use of Irish rather than enforcing it, while the non-Gaeltacht school strictly forbids the use of English. There is significant disagreement among students in both schools over whether school policies promote the use of Irish and the type of Irish they promote. In the Gaeltacht school, students argue for the importance of their local dialect, while many of the non-Gaeltacht students are proud to speak a 'modern', non-local variety of Irish.

Nicole Dołowy-Rybińska (Polish Academy of Sciences) & **Cordula Ratajczak** (Sorbian Institute Bautzen/Budyšin)

Upper Sorbian language (re)vitalization through education: When revitalization strategies disregard the community's internal language maintenance policy

Upper Sorbs are a Slavic minority living in Germany with approx. 12,000 speakers of the language. They are divided within their community, i.e. on the basis of religion. The Catholic Upper Sorbs have maintained the intergenerational transmission of the language, and their identity is based on the interrelation between language use, participation in religious life, and tradition. Most of the Upper Sorbian Protestants shifted to German. Therefore, the Catholic Upper Sorbs perceive themselves as 'real' Sorbs and – despite the decreasing number of speakers in their community – their strategy of language maintenance is through isolating themselves linguistically and culturally from Germans in order to keep the Sorbian community stable. In the interim, with forward thinking, the top-down policy of an increase in new Sorbian speakers through education has been launched with bilingual education for non-native speakers. This paper discusses the conflicting situation when the institutional

minority language revitalization strategy (in this case through education) does not fit the internal and intuitive community's language maintenance policy. The paper is based on a research project carried out at the Upper Sorbian Grammar School in Bautzen/Budyšin, with sociolinguistic observations and interviews with pupils. The analysis is augmented by research conducted within the frame of the 'SMiLE' project on the Sorbian languages revitalization efforts.

Torsten Dörflinger (Johannes Gutenberg University Mainz) *Language planning and the Gaeltacht - The case of County Donegal*

Since the establishment of the Irish State, official government policy with regard to the Irish language has aimed at both language maintenance and revival. While official census figures have shown an increase in language competence ever since, a closer look on the figures reveals that not even 80.000 people use Irish on a daily basis. Additionally, there is a dramatic decline in the language use in Gaeltacht areas, accompanied by the fear that Irish will soon cease to exist as the ordinary means of communication. At the same time, the passing of the *Gaeltacht Act 2012* presents an additional challenge to these communities. Local planning committees were founded and given the responsibility of developing their own strategies to save Irish. This presentation offers an evaluation of the language situation in the Donegal Gaeltacht. Data was derived from multiple sources – interviews with language activists and language planning authorities as well as findings from a recent survey with schoolchildren – for the purpose of providing a thick description of the research subject. It might lead to a better understanding of the dynamics of language maintenance and shift as well as to a depiction of the consequences for the larger political and societal setting.

Vijay A. D'Souza (University of Oxford)

Context-based language revitalisation: A case study of emerging language revitalisation efforts among the Hrusso Aka

In this presentation I explore a context-specific approach to language revitalisation based on my ongoing work with the Hrusso Aka tribe of Arunachal Pradesh, Northeast India. Hrusso Aka is an endangered language with approximately 4000 speakers. Having been a part of the community's efforts to preserve their language for the last twenty years, I propose a model of revitalisation with the following key elements: (1) Context-based: Through the Hrusso Aka myth 'The alphabet that got eaten up', I shall discuss why revitalisation efforts without a deep understanding of the context and culture are likely to fail; (2) Empowering native speakers: Members of the native-speaker community, empowered with relevant skills and motivation, are the best driving force of revitalisation; (3) An evolving model: A model that begins small and evolves constantly based on the community's needs, aspirations, philosophy, attitudes, creativity and resources.

Osiris SinuhéGonzález Romero (Leiden University)

Inclusive research methodologies and multidisciplinarity in Nahuatl revitalization

At this time, my goal is the analysis of inclusive research methodologies applied to two different projects related to Nahuatl revitalization. Firstly, I will explain briefly the framework used by Nahua teachers in San Miguel Xaltipan and Santa Ana Tlacotenco and secondly I will focus on two case studies in indigenous communities. The participation of Nahua speakers, teachers and researchers is very important to develop different methodologies grounded on the needs of indigenous communities. Moreover, inclusive research methodologies are useful to face the question: to what extent are the attitudes and approval of the speaking community key to the successful implementation of RLS strategies? Additionally, the role of multidisciplinarity is very useful to face another question: should revitalization strategies involve both 'top down' and 'bottom-up' initiatives? As a result of this fieldwork experience I want to highlight that multidisciplinarity involves the use of science and art to develop didactic materials and also to improve public policies related to language revitalization.

James Hawkey (University of Bristol)

Revitalising Catalan in France: Language rights and tailor-made policy proposals

Catalan is an autochthonous variety in the region of Northern Catalonia, found in Southern France. Centuries of monocentric language policy in favour of French have resulted in the precarious ethnolinguistic vitality of Catalan in the region. This paper addresses the language rights concerns

of Catalan speakers in France. The successful identification of these rights issues serves to act as a foundation for the proposal of situation-specific revitalisation policies in Northern Catalonia. In order to pinpoint the needs of Catalan speakers in Northern Catalonia, this paper compares the situation in the region against a number of language rights benchmarks, as advanced in the Girona Manifesto. Unsurprisingly, support for Catalan in France is shown to fall short of ambitious language rights suggestions. Comparatively modest revitalisation efforts are suggested, involving the increased presence of Catalan in the media and education sectors. I conclude that the most suitable vehicular language for such efforts is supralocal (and not local) Catalan. This decision is supported by the abundance of extant resources in supralocal Catalan, as well as the existing presence of supralocal varieties in the region, and the typological similarity between supralocal and local varieties.

Sawsan Khalaf (University of Oxford)

L1 attrition in an L1 environment: The strangecase of English-Arabic language contact in Bahrain

The impact of both education and language contact on language shift has been amply documented. Such shift, however, disproportionately occurs among either minority ethnic groups, migrants in an L2 environment, or speakers of a national minority language. Not yet observed is first-language attrition in a first-language environment, as is currently unfolding among Bahraini children of Arabic-speaking parents in Bahrain, where Modern Standard Arabic enjoys official status and Gulf Arabic is spoken by 51% of the resident population (36% of which is Bahraini). For at least one demographic, however, which is young, middle-class and privately schooled, Arabic has become not only a second language, but in many cases one of which children scarcely even have passive knowledge, corresponding to the third stage of Joshua Fishman's model of language shift. Combining a sociohistorical study of the Bahraini linguistic landscape with interviews of non-Arabic-speaking children under 18 and their parents, this study finds that English- medium education can outweigh the contributions of a largely L1 environment. Here bilingual parents are, as ever, mediators of the process - although, as the findings show, they do not always realise it. Those who do emphasise the importance of English-language fluency in preparation for higher education abroad, whatever the cultural cost.

Soung-U Kim (SOAS, University of London)

Managing ideology: Language-ideological surveying for language revitalisation

This talk re ects on qualitative 'ideology surveys' as part of what Kroskrity (2009) calls "ideological clari cation". Such explorative studies elucidating ideological con- nections between language and culture have the potential of not only uncovering a speech community's "shared basis of commonsense notions about the nature of lan- guage" (Rumsey 1990: 346), but more importantly, they help understanding crucial aspects of the underlying "cultural system of ideas" motivated by "moral and political interests" (Irvine 1989: 255). As language revitalisation operates in multilingual contexts with impactful ideolo- gies of language choice, such surveys can identify potential obstacles that may impede revitalisation e orts. To exemplify, I present the results of a qualitative study on ide- ologies associated with Standard Korean and Jejuan (Koreanic, South Korea; Moseley 2010) language use. Jejuan language use was characterised as symbolising historic- ity, connection, closeness and the absence of social and linguistic boundaries, whereas Standard Korean was associated with images of remoteness and social distance. Drawing on that web of ideological connections, I conclude that existing language ideologies on Jeju Island may stand at odds with the aim of revitalising Jejuan unless some kind of 'ideology management' is incorporated into a language revitalisation framework.

Martin Kohlberger (University of Texas at Austin/Leiden University) *Revitalising endangered knowledge: Insights from the Shiwiar Nation*

Since the early 1990s, language endangerment and revitalisation has increasingly been a concern in the field of linguistics. Although most of the attention has been given highly endangered languages, this presentation showcases the urgency of revitalisation even in cases where the language itself continues to be used vigorously by a community, but where cultural and ethnolinguistic knowledge is being rapidly lost by younger generations. The Shiwiar language is spoken by around 1,200 people in the lowlands of eastern Ecuador and northern Peru. Although Shiwiar communities are multilingual, the Shiwiar language is the primary language in all Shiwiar villages, and it continues to be transmitted

to younger generations. Nevertheless, despite the vitality of the language, missionisation and integration with the broader Ecuadorean society have brought on a rapid change of lifestyle which has almost completely halted the transmission of traditional knowledge to younger generations. The realisation that this knowledge is becoming critically endangered has alarmed the community, and many Shiwiar people are now exploring ways in which this knowledge can be documented and preserved. This case study will address the revitalisation of traditional prayers and incantations (anent), knowledge of flora and fauna (including an avoidance register used for hunting), and toponymy.

Rajendra Kumar Dash (K L University, AP, India)

Public-Private Partnership (PPP) for revitalisingendangered languages in India: Prospects and challenges

As per UNESCO's *Atlas of the World's Languages in Danger* (2010), nearly 2,500 languages are endangered out of the 6000-odd languages spoken across the world. With 196 endangered languages of its 600 tongues spoken, India tops the list. Language loss results in the loss of secret practices, environmental knowledge, ancestral world views, and cultural heritage. To protect, preserve and promote the endangered languages, the Govt. of India has put in place the Scheme for Protection and Preservation of Endangered Languages of India (SPPEL) in 2013 for reverse language shift (RLS). The Central Institute of Indian Languages (CIIL), a research and teaching institute of Govt. of India, which is overseeing its implementation, Central Universities have been entrusted with the documentation of 500 languages that are spoken by less than 10, 000 people. This paper argues that the *active* involvement of the endangered speech community is a must to preserve and promote the language, hence it requires both 'top down' and 'bottom-up' approaches which is largely absent in India. This paper presents a Public-Private Partnership model (*www.pppinindia.gov.in/*) and explains how central/state/govt. agencies and institutions and representative linguists and private stakeholders can carry out protection, preservation, and promotion of endangered languages in India.

Adaobi Ngozi Okoye (Nnamdi Azikiwe University) *Reversing language shift: A case for Etulo*

Language is a central feature of identity and identity is often reflected in a groups' language use. Usually ethnic minorities tend to believe that the majority group holds more prestige and status, thus they feel the need to adopt the language of the majority group and to conform to it. This adoption often culminates in language shift. In language shift, a speech community gradually abandons their first language for another. The study explores language shift and proposes ways of reversing it in Etulo, a language spoken by a minority group in Benue State, Nigeria. The study applies Lewis and Simon's Expanded Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (EGIDS) for reversing language shift to the Etulo language situation and suggests reversing language shift through training Etulo native speakers as teachers and creating teaching devices. The devices (books, audios) shall be used in teaching Etulo language as a subject in the school curriculum or as an after school program. The study opines that these strategies, apart from encouraging literacy in Etulo, will further endear Etulo native speakers to their language thus disrupting the shift to Tiv, which is the dominant language in Benue.

Ben Ó Ceallaigh (University of Edinburgh) *Irish language policy: ten years after the financial crash*

The dramatic consequences of the economic crisis which began in Ireland in 2008 have been frequently discussed over the last decade. In spite of this, the implications of the state's far-reaching austerity measures for Irish language policy, have, to date, remained absent from such discussions – despite the linguistic crisis currently facing Irish-speaking communities.

This paper will attempt to rectify this deficit by examining how the recession provided the state with an opportunity to radically reform its language policies. I will discuss the cuts to Irish language organisations, which were hit much harder by austerity than comparable English language institutions and contend that this is due to the neoliberal opposition to "culturalist" endeavours such as language revitalisation. I will argue that key policies like the *20-year Strategy for Irish* and the *Gaeltacht Act 2012* can too be seen as products of the neoliberal paradigm, deeply unsuitable for their declared purposes. Referring to literature on both RLS and public policy studies, I will demonstrate what

Ireland can teach us about the challenges neoliberal policy regimes present for RLS efforts, a topic of relevance to minoritised language communities throughout the developed west and beyond.

Margaret M. Okon (University of Calabar) & Paulinus Noah

Cultural dominance and language endangerment: The case of Efut in Cross River State, Nigeria

The Efut culture, and by extension language, seems to have been mortally threatened after their speakers' migration to Nigeria from Cameroun in the 16th Century. The linguistic situation was especially exacerbated in the last seven decades, due largely to the dominant cultural influence of Efik, Ibibio and English. The most ostensive vestige of the language manifests in *Ekpe* society songs, rituals and proverbs (performed by and intelligible mostly to octogenarians). The Efut language sociolinguistic status is between *post moribund* and *dead* stage(s). This paper attempts, therefore to xray ways to revitalize and revive it, One such revival strategy is the use of digital communication technology. Data for this work came mainly from songs, proverbs, interviews, wordlist and available literature. The prognosis for reviving Efut appears, realistically, poor, at present. However, with appropriate input and pragmatic will from all stakeholders, it would be hasty, uncharitable to consign the language to irreversible extinction. This optimism is sustainable only if language engineers, policy makers and the Efut nation do not continue on sit on the fence.

Christian Pischlöger (University of Vienna)

Which language do we want to save? Udmurt language ideologies on social media

Udmurt, an endangered Uralic language spoken in the Russian Federation by 324,000 speakers (i.e. 59% of ethnic Ud- murts), is one of the most visible minority languages of Russia on the Internet, in numbers of groups on VKontakte (the equivalent of Facebook in Russia) outscoring even Tatar and Bashkir, languages which considerably more speakers. But the Udmurt on- line success is not undisputed since the language use on social me- dia, including vernacular varieties and code-mixing, is criticized by influential linguists, poets, journalists, activists and laymen like- wise. The standard language ideology which is representative for the Russian speech culture tends to be adopted by members of minority language communities like the Udmurt and hence the vernacular language varieties, which are used by the majority of Udmurts, are often disparaged by native speakers themselves. The aim of the presentation is to show how these language ideologies are represented (discourse analysis of online postings and scientific publications) and which impacts this could have on the potentially positive role of the Udmurt internet success in reversing the impending language shift. The role of sociolinguists, due to their descriptive and not prescriptive approach often percepted as use-less "suffixologists", shall also be discussed.

Patrick de Rezende Ribeiro (Pontifícia Universidade Católica do Rio de Janeiro) *Translation as reparation: A language perspective shift in indigenous languages from Brazil.*

Since 1500, when the Portuguese Crown invaded the territories afterwards named Brazil, the indigenous groups have been suffering from many types of violence. Their territories have been occupied, their languages prohibited and their cultures have been shaped in accordance with European interests. However, since the new Brazilian Constitution (1988), there has been a paradigm shift concerning the indigenous groups. For the first time in Brazilian history, these peoples were allowed to live according to their cultures and use their languages. Some other laws guaranteed their right to have access to an educational syllabus that respects their needs. Due to this new conjecture, many books have been published and translated allowing many indigenous to rediscover their traditions. The aim of this communication is to present the case of the Kotirias, indigenous located in northwest of Brazil between the Colombian and Brazilian Amazon, who have been (re)discovering their history and traditions through the rewriting of their narratives. The present work will present the complex revitalization work organized by anthropologists, linguists and indigenous that culminated in the *Série Kotiria*, a collection of 4 narratives – published in Kotiria, Portuguese and English – that has been used to avoid the extinction of this indigenous language.

Elyse Ritchey (University of California, Berkeley)

The promise and limits of civil society organisations in language revitalisation: The case of Occitan

The major instruments used to describe language endangerment and vitality are based in large part on domains of language usage in society (Fishman 1981, Euromosaic 1996, UNESCO 2003). I take a new approach to the metric of domains by applying it to a corpus composed of contemporary public discourse in southern France. In this corpus, which I developed, I identify the domains to which Occitan language and culture are linked. A major finding of the study is that the majority of references to Occitan involve the domain of associations and clubs active in local cultural life. This tendency reflects the paucity of family transmission of Occitan as well as the marginal role of governmental support. It also indicates that Occitan is esteemed as a symbol of local identity, but that its persistence is highly dependent on a fragmentary network of volunteers. My study thus demonstrates the unique place of *la vie associative* in French life and sheds light on the promise and fragility of that domain's role in language revitalization.

Julia Sallabank (SOAS, University of London) What's in a word? Authenticity in a highly endangered language

This paper focuses on the revitalisation of Guernesiais, the highly endangered former vernacular of Guernsey, Channel Islands. As the vitality of Guernesiais declines (increasingly rapidly), its perceived value for individual and collective identification has grown. However, there is little effective coordination of language policy at government level, so community language ideologies assume a salient role. This talk will focus on a recent controversy concerning the use of a particular word, 'warro', meaning 'hi' or 'hello'. As a useful term which is easy to pronounce and distinctively local, 'warro' had become almost a brand name for language revitalisation in Guernsey; but the word's authenticity has been challenged by some speakers. I will examine coverage of this controversy in the local press in order to highlight overt and covert ideologies embodied in discourses on the topic. An underlying factor that emerges is *epistemic positioning*: who owns knowledge (Sharrock 1974; Avineri 2012). This has potentially serious consequences for revitalisation of highly endangered languages such as Guernesiais, as it influences whether they should be valued only as largely symbolic post-vernacular 'languages of the past', or whether they can be regenerated by and for a new speaker community.

Hélène Yèche (Université de Poitiers)

Language warriors? Contemporary conceptions and practices of Lakota in the US

A Native language in the US still spoken by the Lakota people of the Sioux tribes on several reservations in North and South Dakota (Standing Rock, Pine Ridge, Rosebud Reservation), Lakota is one of the few Native American languages with a significant chance of survival. However, with only 2,000 first-language speakers left, Lakota is currently an endangered language. The Lakota revitalisation movement is one of the most active among many Native American languages facing endangerment. It has become more structured as of 2004 with the advent of the Lakota Language Consortium (LLC), an educational non-profit that provides essential learning and teaching resources and programs. Exploring the reactions and attitudes of the Lakota speech community towards RLS strategies led by the Lakota Language Consortium, this presentation focuses on better understanding whether language revival may be an important step toward reclaiming identity and building community among the Lakota people. Using data from a recent case study (LSI 2017) and from a new field study to be conducted on the Pine Ridge reservation in South Dakota in early June 2018 I will be discussing contemporary conceptions and practices of Lakota in the US.