Sustaining Language Use

Perspectives on Community-Based Language Development

M. Paul Lewis and Gary F. Simons

Foreword by G. Richard Tucker

Pike Center
for INTEGRATIVE SCHOLARSHIP

Sustaining Language Use

Perspectives on Community-Based Language Development

M. Paul Lewis and Gary F. Simons

This book is for sale at http://leanpub.com/sustainininglanguageuse

This version was published on 2017-10-25

Pike Center for Integrative Scholarship is an initiative of SIL International that builds capacity for language development through scholarship. Our Agile Publishing program uses the Lean Publishing platform to incubate in-progress ebooks using lightweight automated tools. These tools are placed in the hands of our scholars so that they can iterate and act on reader feedback to improve their work. Many of our titles are works in progress that are not yet ready for conventional publishing, but nonetheless have content that is worth sharing in its current state.

Contents

Preface

This volume is the result of about ten years of reflection and discussion by the authors and a large and experienced group of colleagues regarding SIL International's corporate learning after 80 years of working in local communities to develop less-commonly known languages. Of course, not all the details of that corporate experience are documented here, nor is all of that experience necessarily useful for the purposes of this book, but the distillation of that experience, its refinement and reformulation in light of current realities, has led us to the elaboration of a model of language development, the Sustainable Use Model (SUM), which we present here.

As with any model, we have attempted to base our approach on sound theoretical principles. However, the aim of this book is not so much to introduce a new theory or set of theories, but rather to provide a practical explanatory framework for understanding the dynamics of language and culture maintenance. It is our hope that this framework can be used by those working with communities, including community members themselves, who are experiencing the pressures created by increasing contact with the outside world. This book is aimed at activists, consultants, and advisers who, confronted with the current realities, are searching for a way to address the issues in terms that make sense to members of local speech communities. We don't discard theory, nor do we discount the concerns of academics, but we don't want knowledge of theory or academic rigor to become prerequisites for well-informed action. Instead, we want the important ideas that local speech communities need to understand to be framed in such a way that they resonate with what at least some members of those communities are thinking and feeling.

How to Use This Book

This book is aimed at those who are "on the ground" working with a community to address the issues that arise from language and culture contact. Ideally, many in that audience will themselves be members of those communities. Others may be concerned outsiders who bring with them both their concern and some particular area of expertise. A third audience are those in positions of influence regarding

language and diversity policy. We believe that all three of these audiences can benefit greatly by looking at diversity issues through the twin lenses that we present here: a focus on local community-based development and a focus on sustainable knowledge transmission as foundational to the sustainability of language use.

Collectively, we refer to these three audiences as reflective practitioners. Whatever their role, our audience is made up of those who are reflective practitioners of language development. Not only are they doing the hard work of language and culture maintenance and revitalization, but they are also committed to growing in their understanding and professionalism in that work. Readers of this volume are excluded from that audience only to the degree that they exclude themselves by either failing to be reflective or by isolating themselves from praxis. Though we build on well-established theoretical concepts, this book is not intended for armchair theorists who will very likely point out its many omissions of literature citations, its incomplete coverage of the many alternatives available to practitioners, and a host of other lapses. We are sure that there are many valuable theoretical contributions that we are unaware of, have ignored, or have chosen not to mention. Our primary effort has been to lay a conceptual groundwork, a single coherent model, for effective action. We are more concerned about what needs to be done and with providing a theoretically sound, but practical, rationale for those actions, than we are with tracing the historical development of scientific thinking or defending one theoretical approach against another.

By not only doing what needs to be done, but by reflecting on what they are doing and identifying the rationale for engaging in any particular set of activities, reflective practitioners increase the potential for their efforts to be both relevant to the context in which they are working and to be effective in bringing about desired results. To that end, we have divided each chapter of this book into two sections. The first part of each chapter contains what we hope are fairly clear and logical explanations of concepts for planners, decision makers, and implementers. The second part is a "Going Deeper" section which provides a rudimentary literature review, identifying references to the academic and theoretical literature. In the Going Deeper section, we try to cover the ground of relevant literature, but we have made no attempt to be comprehensive. Most often we provide the references to the literature and discuss the approaches that we have mentioned or are following in the first part of the chapter. It is expected that this volume may, on occasion, be used in conjunction with other introductory works on sociolinguistics. Where that is the case, on some topics, there

may be some overlap in coverage in the Going Deeper section, but we include our general summary to ensure that the volume can stand on its own. For the reflective practitioner, the first part of each chapter will be of primary interest. For those who wish to do even more reflection, the Going Deeper section will provide the references to the academic literature that we have drawn upon and that will get them started on a more in-depth study of the topics we've discussed.

The chapters are organized to facilitate the understanding of the concepts. Each chapter begins with a box that encapsulates the "big idea" that is about to be discussed. Examples and "points to ponder" are included in shaded boxes throughout the chapters.

The chapters follow the logical sequence of the Sustainable Use Model beginning with a presentation of the general situation that local language communities encounter, moving to an overview of the Sustainable Use Model (SUM), and then progressively working through each of the components of the model. This organization not only follows the logic of the SUM but traces a planning process that community planners and decision makers can follow in evaluating their situation. In practice, language development practitioners will very likely find themselves dealing with various parts of the SUM and different levels of assessment, evaluation, action, and implementation all at the same time and, almost certainly, iteratively.

Where no previous overt language development has been attempted, or for those completely unfamiliar with the model, it may be helpful to attempt to start at the beginning and follow the SUM's logical progression from start to finish. In most cases, however, there will already be a history of language development efforts that needs to be taken into account. Some activities may have been tried with varying degrees of success. Some may have failed. Others may have produced unexpected or very mixed outcomes. In such cases, it may be more fruitful for language development planners to begin (after reading this book!) somewhere in the middle or nearer to the end of the process that we have described here. They may wish to address a particular set of issues first and then work back through the model to fill in, dig deeper, or explore anomalies. Using the SUM as a guide for such planning, however, will inevitably require community-based language developers to account for the missing pieces and make adjustments to their plans and activities as needed.

While we present the SUM as a whole and expect it to represent a coherent perspective, we do not present it as complete or as the final answer. As stated above,

the SUM represents a distillation of many years of experience, but there is still much to learn. Our hope in presenting this material is that as practitioners reflect on their own experiences, they will be able to add to the model in ways that will make it even more useful and productive as a tool for community-based language development.

Acknowledgments

The development of the SUM has not happened in isolation. Numerous colleagues have sat with us for long hours as we've attempted to step back from our long-developed habits of the mind in order to take a fresh look at what happens when a community begins to engage in its own language planning in the current global context. The authors of this volume are the scribes, collators, and organizers of the substance of those conversations. We have reflected on those discussions and the model that has emerged is an attempt to apply these new perspectives to the issues that communities face. We have framed our questions (and answers) in light of current global realities. By involving those with years of experience in all parts of the world, we have a good deal of confidence that the model we present can be used widely and beneficially. Our discussants collectively represent centuries of field experience. It is rare to have such resources to call upon and we are grateful for the opportunity. Participating with us, and meriting considerable credit for what follows, are: Stan Anonby, Bagamba Araali, Eric Bartels, Douglas Boone, Ken Decker, Paul Frank, Maik Gibson, Raymond Gordon, Bryan Harmelink, Richard Harmon, Sue Hasselbring, Deborah Hatfield, Ellen Jackson, Mark Karan, Amy Kim, Tom Marmor, Georgetta MacDonald, Hannah Paris (especially for her research for Chapter 9), David Pearson, Doyle Peterson, Todd Poulter, Steve Quakenbush, Frank Robbins, Brian Schrag, James Stahl, Janet Stahl, John Stark, Barbara Trudell, and many others.

We are grateful to participants in the workshops, seminars, and courses in Nepal, Indonesia, the Philippines, the United States and Canada where initial versions of this material were presented. Especially helpful in those pilot programs were Ken Decker, David Jeffery, Mark Karan, Alex Larkin, Mary Morgan, Chari Viloria. We benefited greatly from the interactions with the participants and students as they applied the model to their own situations, struggled with the concepts, and asked questions and made suggestions both about content and presentation. We also acknowledge the valuable contributions, comments, and suggestion of those who have responded to our progress reports and summaries in Bangkok, Dallas, Nairobi, and elsewhere.

This work has also benefited greatly from the editorial and development assistance of Bonnie Henson and the proofreading and commenting skills of Sue Hasselbring and Linda Simons who have reviewed the manuscript making many helpful suggestions regarding the clarity of the content, providing additional examples, and especially, doing careful copy editing of the text. The authors accept full responsibility for any remaining shortcomings.

We are also grateful to the administrators and leadership of SIL International who have encouraged us in this multi-year effort and who willingly set us free to engage with the concepts and develop and test the model as it emerged.

M. Paul Lewis
Gary F. Simons
October 2014, Dallas, TX

1. The Sustainable Use Model

The Sustainable Use Model helps members of local speech communities and those working with them to think about how they will transmit life-crucial knowledge to future generations.

1.1 Introduction

The loss of linguistic diversity is one of the primary areas of current focus and concern in linguistics. It is, however, most-of-all a matter of critical concern for members of local speech communities who daily confront the pressures of a globalizing world. As the world grows smaller and "flatter" there is increasing contact of those communities with those around them and with each other. The totally isolated, monolingual, uncontacted community is increasingly rare. Where in the past we measured contact primarily in terms of physical access (via roads, rivers, and air transport) and to a lesser extent in terms of access to information (mainly through broadcast and print media), we must now also consider telephony and internet as additional means, the virtual highways, by which people initiate and maintain contact with each other.

In addition, urbanization and mobility have emerged as increasingly powerful phenomena. Motivated by perceived economic benefits and by the ease of movement afforded by advances in both transportation and communication, the growth of cosmopolitan cities with burgeoning populations of domestic and international immigrants brings into much sharper focus the dynamics of language and culture contact.

These technological and socioeconomic developments certainly bring great benefits but they also change the sociolinguistic ecology in which local language communities live and function. We find ourselves and those in smaller and less

powerful local communities in the midst of an unprecedented sociolinguistic climate change.

None of the phenomena we are observing are particularly new. Contact between speakers of different languages has always occurred in the past, and it will continue into the future. What is different is the scale and scope of the contexts which bring about that contact. The pace of the contact-induced processes themselves, aided by a global economy and advances in technology, has increased. The current movement of people into the cities, both through domestic and international migration, ranks with other historical periods of massive global migration. Physical migration is paralleled by virtual migration as people from all languages and cultures interact with each other in cyberspace.

Though this volume is primarily about language development and focuses on the important role that language plays in the construction and maintenance of a community's identity, it starts by recognizing how the current environment of heightened contact poses risks not only for local languages but for local communities and the knowledge that they possess. With that larger context in view, the Sustainable Use Model provides a theoretical perspective that will assist reflective practitioners of language development to find a way forward in addressing the needs and desires of local communities that are, in some cases unwittingly, endangered or threatened by the current environment.

1.2 Why the Sustainable Use Model?

The Sustainable Use Model (SUM) begins, not with language, but with the notion that local communities must concern themselves with the preservation and transmission of knowledge that is, for them, crucial to their way of life (like their history, traditions, folklore, and other arts) or crucial to their well-being (be it physical, spiritual, social, or economic). The basic decision that members of these communities must make is how they will sustain their identity and how the essential bodies of knowledge associated with that identity will be transmitted to succeeding generations.

This initial focus on knowledge management, rather than language maintenance, allows the community to recognize that in addition to their own traditional bodies of life-crucial knowledge, they must also consider how they will manage new bodies of knowledge which they are encountering as they come into contact with people from other communities. The SUM has been developed to help local communities

think through their current circumstances and design responses that will meet their ongoing needs in all areas of life. Language, of course, is an important, perhaps the most important, means by which life-crucial knowledge can be transmitted. The choice of communication genres to be used, and provisions for the preservation, development, acquisition and transmission of those communication genres within a community's total communication repertoire are major areas of concern. Any knowledge management strategy must take into account the realities of the contemporary world.

1.2.1 Multilingualism and Language Shift

In a world where contact is the norm, local language communities are, of necessity, becoming increasingly multilingual. Multilingualism *per se* is beneficial both for an individual and for a community. However, the competition that language contact often creates between a more prestigious language and a local variety often results in users abandoning the local language in favor of the more dominant and prestigious language. The result is language shift. In many cases, language shift ultimately leads to language death, the situation where there are no remaining speakers of the local variety. Since languages are closely associated with particular bodies of knowledge, the loss of a language may also bring about the loss of a body of knowledge. That is why knowledge management efforts must take into account the entire linguistic repertoire of a community. The perception that the bodies of knowledge of more economically developed and powerful communities are of greater value and usefulness leads some to abandon their heritage languages in favor of the languages which are most closely associated with those more-highly-valued bodies of knowledge. Increasingly, local speech communities are needlessly giving up their local languages based on belief that by doing so they will increase their opportunities and better their circumstances and the prospects of success for their children. In the process, however, they may lose much of their heritage life-crucial knowledge impoverishing themselves and generations to come.

Not too many years ago, language contact was understood in terms of physical access. The development of national infrastructure, roads, schools, broadcasting, telephony, were the primary means by which contact was facilitated. More recently, language contact must be understood in terms of new networks of communication and interaction, primarily via digital means. These networks are much larger, more

diverse, and are not necessarily confined by geographical or even social space. The anonymity of electronic communications systems overcomes the social barriers that may exist where communication is more localized or confined to face-to-face interactions. People who might be unlikely to interact with each other face-to-face, now are able to interact frequently online and may participate in a broad range of bodies of knowledge that extend well beyond their physical, geographical, or social setting.

Participants in these networks have a larger set of interactional tools that they can use to construct, modify, and hybridize their identities. Their online virtual personae may enable them to participate in social networks that were previously inaccessible to them. This opens a new world of opportunity for some members of local communities but it also increases the pressure on these communities to acquire the sociolinguistic and communicative capacities that give them greater mobility in this larger ecological setting.

This increase in intergroup contacts and the resulting multilingualism means that the most significant issue confronting local communities in the 21st century is the endangerment of their identity, their knowledge, and their languages. The value assigned to local bodies of knowledge that once were highly valued may not be so readily apparent in this wider global environment. And knowledge previously unknown or inaccessible is seen to have value as a means to gain access to and fuller participation in that broader set of global relationships. This is why knowledge management, planning, and strategizing by local communities inevitably must deal with the issue of language and identity maintenance. This broad range of concerns and the activities related to them are what we are calling language development.

1.2.2 Language Endangerment

Because of these global changes, observers of these trends need to better understand the state of the languages of the world. As the contact between users of different languages increases, the pressures towards language shift (and eventual death) of local languages grow. At the same time, efforts are underway in many local languages to maintain and even expand their use. A mechanism is needed to evaluate both language loss and language development on a global scale. Much attention is being given to language endangerment as a growing crisis in need of urgent action. At the same time language development activities that might address and remedy the

endangerment crisis need to be developed, implemented, evaluated and modified to meet the knowledge management needs of local communities.

The 17th edition of the *Ethnologue* represents the first fully comprehensive, albeit preliminary, assessment of the state of vitality of all the world's languages. That assessment uses the Expanded Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (EGIDS), the vitality assessment scale that is a core component of the Sustainable Use Model (see Chapter 5.). The global distribution of languages on this scale is shown in Figure 1-1.

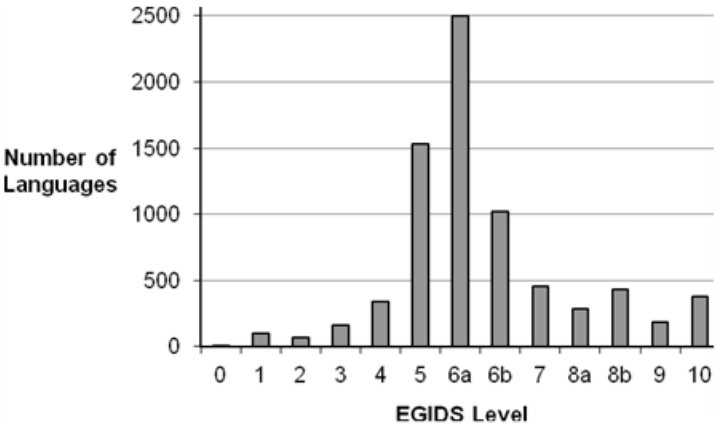

Figure 1-1: Current Status of the Languages of the World

An analysis of the data from the *Ethnologue* shows that of the 7,480 languages known to have been in use since 1950, 33% of languages fall right in the middle of the scale as being in vigorous unwritten use (EGIDS 6a). To the left of that, 30% have a stronger level of development (EGIDS 0–5) while to the right 32% are in some stage of loss or shift (EGIDS 6b–9) and the remaining 5% are now completely extinct (EGIDS 10). The number of threatened and dying languages slightly exceeds the number of languages that are at some stage of development.

This situation is dynamic and changing. As described above, the pressures of language contact, in most cases, work against the maintenance and sustainable use of local languages. At the same time, language development work attempts to promote ongoing use of many local languages, though the effectiveness of those efforts is yet to be fully understood.

1.3 What is the Sustainable Use Model?

The overall approach of the SUM is to start with the bigger picture, gaining a general assessment of the situation, and using that as a launching point for action as early as possible. More in-depth research of the dynamics of language use in each community will inevitably be called for as the language development effort progresses, but in cases where language vitality is weak or is severely threatened, waiting until an in-depth study can be completed is generally not advisable. The SUM helps reflective practitioners of language development think about the larger issues and then work down to the more detailed concerns of what to do, when, and how. The overall organization of the SUM consists of three major sets of activities as shown in Figure 1-2.

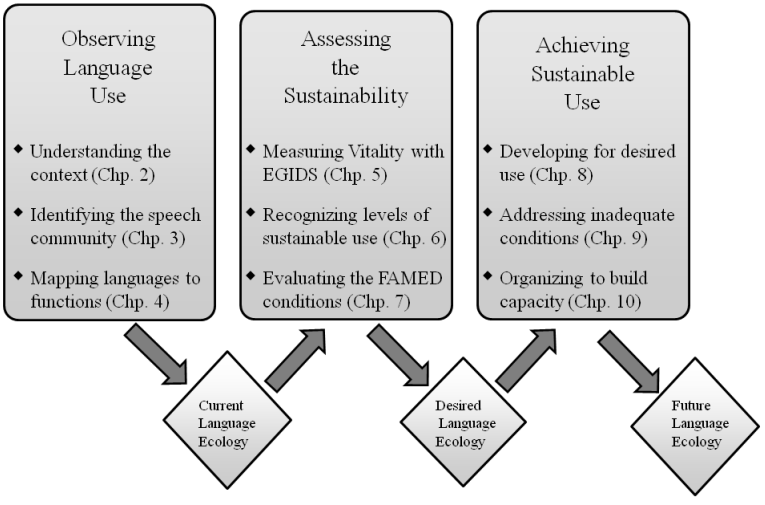

Figure 1-2: Overview of the Sustainable Use Model

Initially, those activities are focused on observing language use in a speech community. This involves observations of the socioeconomic context and the linguistic ecology as well as the identification of the speech community that will be the focus of language development work. Then follows assessment of the sustainability of the languages in the linguistic repertoire of the speech community. Finally, based on that work, specific activities are designed that are aimed at achieving sustainable language use. The following subsections briefly introduce four of the repeating themes of the model: sustainable levels of language use, using EGIDS to

assess language vitality, the role of community agency and capacity in achieving sustainable use, and using the assessment of the situation to effectively plan for results.

1.3.1 Sustainable Language Use

The heart of the SUM is the notion that there are only three sustainable levels of language use:

- Sustainable Literacy in which both written and oral use of the language are maintained over the long term,
- Sustainable Orality in which only oral use for everyday communication is maintained, and
- Sustainable Identity is which the on-going use of the language is limited to functions that maintain ethnic identity.

Other levels of use are transitory. Without some overt language development intervention they will deteriorate to the next lower level of sustainable use. The levels of use are directly related to the overall vitality of the language and so we will often use the terms level of use and level of vitality interchangeably.

There are many factors which contribute to sustainability. The level of use of a language can be measured using a graded scale that takes these factors into account. Several different scales have been proposed and used by different evaluators. In the SUM, we use the Expanded Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (EGIDS). Similarly, the factors which need to be assessed to determine a level of use for a language can be categorized in different ways. We have organized these within a framework of conditions consisting of Functions, Acquisition, Motivation, Environment, and Differentiation, which collectively we identify by the acronym FAMED. The FAMED conditions provide a coherent approach that can be readily used by both outside experts and community members themselves to address the issues faced by local language communities.

1.3.2 Assessing Vitality with the EGIDS

The SUM uses the EGIDS to evaluate the current vitality status of each language in the linguistic repertoire of a speech community. Not all of the languages in that

repertoire may be at one of the sustainable levels. It will then fall to the community to decide how they wish to respond. The current vitality status of a language in that community serves as a baseline for making language development decisions based on the community's decisions regarding how it wishes to manage its life-crucial knowledge. The current status of a language also serves as an indicator of what will be required for the community to achieve a sustainable level of use and vitality for that language (moving either up or down the scale to one of the sustainable levels).

Much of what needs to be addressed, particularly at the higher, stronger levels of language development, lies outside of the purview of language development *per se*. Economic, political, religious, and social changes are needed and few communities are prepared to take on all of those at once or even in sequence. The SUM is an attempt to assist local communities in identifying how to apply their resources most effectively and efficiently. The FAMED conditions provide a way for community language development efforts to target the specific factors that are more likely to result in the needed outcomes.

The SUM stresses that vitality can be re-established most effectively in an incremental fashion by moving languages up the vitality scale (or sometimes down the scale) to a level of use that is sustainable.

1.3.3 Community Agency and Community Capacity

Another foundational perspective of the SUM is that language development decisions are, most appropriately, community decisions. Outside agents, at best, can only contribute (mostly theoretical) information and provide perspective. Language development strategies must be community-based and language development goals should be developed from each community's vision, based on well-informed awareness and perspectives, of its desired future. As with medical interventions on individuals, community language development activities need to be undertaken with the informed consent of the community. The full participation of the community in the decision making constitutes their consent. And the fostering of awareness and perspective constitutes their being informed. Without both components, language development may be either hegemonic or poorly designed or both.

While we believe that the maintenance of linguistic and cultural diversity is preferable, not every community will opt to maintain the bodies of knowledge which are life-crucial for their distinct identity. In some cases, they may wish to disengage

from their heritage identity and assimilate or hybridize. These decisions, while lamentable, should be respected. Having said that, however, we should not minimize the role that the outside expert can play in providing awareness and perspective. Communities need to make informed decisions and outside expertise can provide them with important information and perspectives that they may not otherwise have access to. Many local language communities accept uncritically the prevailing views of the dominant communities regarding the value and potential of their heritage language. Even when they may not share those dominant perspectives, they may feel timid or unqualified to express their own opinions. Often neither the views of the local nor of the dominant communities are scientifically accurate or represent well-founded principles of language use and language maintenance. While it is not appropriate for an outsider to impose their views nor to usurp the decision-making role, it can be extremely beneficial for such an expert to educate and inform all those involved in an effort to increase the capacity of the community members themselves to make informed decisions and to engage in the language development program design and implementation to the greatest extent possible. This process involves much more than having an outside consultant "show up" with expert information. There is a lengthy process of relationship and trust building that must be engaged in before an outsider may have enough knowledge of the situation and achieve enough credibility to be given a platform for sharing what he or she knows. Those activities, however, go beyond the scope of this volume.

1.3.4 Planning for Results

Once the desired level of sustainable language use is identified by a community, a language development program can be designed to address the interconnected factors that are necessary to achieve that sustainable level.

In general, such a program of language development interventions should be designed specifically to move the community towards the desired level of sustainable use. All too often, language development activities are unfocused or attempt to include any and all areas of activity that are seen to have been effective in some other context. This frequently results in the inefficient use of resources. In the worst cases, counterproductive or unexpected consequences are the result. By providing a comprehensive and coherent theory of how to assess a situation and to identify what factors must be addressed, the SUM gives local language communities a framework

for shaping and designing language development activities that will more effectively bring about the desired results.

Activities that are part of a language development program can address the specific conditions that are weak or lacking in the situation. Activities that do not effectively address those conditions can be avoided. In addition, the coherent framework found in the SUM provides a way for a more rational and well-founded planning and design process, and a framework for ongoing monitoring and evaluation of progress towards the desired outcomes.

Many development agencies have adopted a formal system for planning community-based change projects that are focused on achieving specific results. Such a system is extremely useful as a tool for planning and managing language development programs as well and merits investigation by those who wish to engage in language development work. The companion volume in this series, *Perspectives on Language Program Management* (Marmor, forthcoming), lays out the major features of such a results-based planning and program management system with specific application to community-based language development.

1.4 How This Book is Organized

Each chapter in this book deals with a significant component of the model, starting with a description of the major issues confronting minoritized communities and ending with a discussion of sets of activities that can be helpful in specific contexts. The overall organization of the book into three sets of three chapters each can be seen in Figure 1-2. The early chapters in particular introduce concepts and terminology that will be used throughout the book.

Chapter 2, "Local Language Communities in a Globalizing World", lays out the general problem that local communities must recognize and respond to. In a globalizing world, with increasing and often overwhelming levels of contact, it is exceedingly difficult for non-dominant communities to maintain their cultural and linguistic distinctives. We approach this problem in terms of the disruption of the transmission of life-crucial knowledge. While language plays an important role in the transmission of knowledge, most community members find the abstract concept of "language" to be too far removed from more concrete and salient daily issues of life to be much concerned about its loss. In contrast, many will readily recognize that knowledge management, both the preservation of traditional knowledge and

the acquisition of new technological and scientific knowledge (among others), is important. Different segments of a community may be more concerned about different bodies of knowledge. Elders may be more focused on the loss of traditions and cultural lore. Young people may be drawn to globalized culture and actively seeking to participate in it. Often, the heritage language of the community is seen as part of the problem rather than the solution. So starting with the issue of how a community wants to manage the transmission of life-crucial knowledge—the knowledge that is important for its survival and well-being—frames the discussion in terms that are much more salient and actionable.

In Chapter 3, we propose that "Community-Based Language Development" is a way to address the phenomena described in Chapter 2. We describe the overall approach of community-based language development, how it builds on and differs from previous approaches, and we describe its distinctives. By starting with the notion of life-crucial bodies of knowledge and taking into account that the focus of language development needs to be the speech community (in contrast to a single language in isolation), community-based language development using the Sustainable Use Model provides a way for members of local communities to analyze the current configuration of their linguistic repertoire and identify the bodies of knowledge that they deem to be life-crucial. Once that assessment is in place, the community can make a better-informed decision regarding the language development goals they wish to achieve in each of the languages in their linguistic repertoire. At that point, a more detailed analysis of the conditions affecting sustainable language use is carried out and specific actions are designed to address the conditions that are not adequate.

Chapter 4, "Local Languages in Ecological Perspective," argues that the development of local languages cannot be addressed without consideration of the more dominant languages that are part of the context. Language development is the overt directed purposeful reconfiguration of the functional assignments of the languages in a speech community's linguistic repertoire. Because of heightened language contact as described in Chapters 1 and 2, established domains of use are encroached on by larger, dominant languages. Because of these pressures, the linguistic ecology, the configuration of the ways in which the languages in a speech community are being used is changing. As the dominant language becomes associated with more and more domains (topics, participants, locations) and the local language is gradually losing its close associations with those domains, the overall patterns of language use change. Language development as we envision it in the SUM is the intentional altering of the

linguistic ecology in order to re-establish and preserve domains of use (Functions) for the local language. As with any intervention in an ecological system, change must be introduced with caution and based on as thorough an understanding of the ecology as possible.

Chapter 5, "Assessing the Ecological Profile of a Speech Community," explains how the current profile of language vitality can be assessed using the Expanded Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale, or EGIDS. This tool consists of a 13-level scale that identifies possible levels of development versus endangerment of a language. The EGIDS gives the local community a more readily understood description of the position of their language(s) on a natural scale of language development versus decline. This assessment provides the basis for establishing a desired sustainable level of language use.

Community-based language development must focus on helping local speech communities identify and achieve a sustainable level of language use for each of the languages in their linguistic repertoire. Chapter 6, "Sustainable Levels of Language Use," describes the kinds of sustainable language use that are possible for local languages. The SUM identifies three sustainable vital levels of language use: Sustainable Identity, Sustainable Orality and Sustainable Literacy. A fourth level, Sustainable History is applied to adequately documented but no longer spoken languages. These sustainable levels correspond to EGIDS level 10 where adequate documentation also exists (Sustainable History), EGIDS 9 (Sustainable Identity), 6a (Sustainable Orality) and EGIDS 4 (Sustainable Literacy). Other levels of language use (as measured by EGIDS) are transitory and subject to the pressures of contact. Without intervention, these unsustainable levels of language use are likely to give way over time and the language will slide down the EGIDS scale to a lower level of vitality.

Sustainable language use can only be achieved when certain conditions are met. Chapter 7, "Conditions of Sustainable Use," describes what those conditions are. The SUM identifies five conditions which are identified using the acronym FAMED: Functions, Acquisition, Motivation, Environment, and Differentiation. These five concepts are major components of the SUM and are treated as proper nouns throughout this book; when you see one of these words capitalized in the middle of a sentence it is an explicit reference to one of the FAMED conditions. Each of these conditions can be assessed and specific activities designed to address inadequacies or to re-enforce conditions that are minimally adequate. The FAMED conditions

provide a way to analyze the state of stable multilingualism (diglossia) in the speech community:

- The Functions condition accounts for the bodies of knowledge that are associated with the language (the content or topic component of a domain of use).
- Acquisition deals with the means by which users acquire proficiency in the language for those Functions.
- Motivation addresses the perceived benefits associated with using the language for those Functions.
- Environment describes the policy environment in which language use for the specified Functions must operate.
- Differentiation describes the degree to which language use for the desired Functions is compartmentalized into distinct niches for each language in the linguistic repertoire and how that compartmentalization is maintained and enforced.

The analysis of the FAMED conditions serves as the beginnings of the development of an action plan for language development as it provides a description of the conditions that are inadequate for the desired level of sustainable use. Planned interventions can then work towards the outcomes of a results-based plan that specifically addresses the inadequate conditions.

Chapter 8, "Language Development Function by Function," discusses the kinds of language development activities that relate to sustaining a particular body of knowledge. Bodies of Knowledge correspond in large measure to Functions as introduced in Chapter 7. The identification of bodies of life-crucial knowledge, both internal knowledge and external knowledge, provides a useful organizing framework for language development efforts. It is then possible to identify the specific language development activities that are needed for each body of knowledge. Some language development activities, like standardization, may apply to all Functions. However, some bodies of knowledge or Functions may require specific language development interventions, for example, the development of content-specific terminology, in order to achieve the desired sustainable level of use. Some segments of the speech community may be more concerned about some bodies of knowledge than others. Not all segments of the community may be willing (or able) to work together. While one part of the community may be investing in heritage lore, another

may be more focused on HIV/AIDS awareness and prevention. Yet another may focus on the production of religious materials. Rather than being an obstacle to language development, this diversity of interests and participation can be leveraged to maximize the community's investment in the language development process and to expand the perceived benefits associated with the use of the local language.

In Chapter 9, "Language Development: Achieving Sustainable Use," we turn to the practical problem of identifying activities that could be used to achieve the conditions of sustainable language use in a particular situation. With the association of certain bodies of life-crucial knowledge with a specific language within a speech community, and the identification of a desired level of sustainable use for that language (for at least some Functions), activities specifically designed to address inadequate FAMED conditions can be designed. These tactical decisions must reflect current realities including an examination of previous similar efforts and their reception, the political, social and economic contexts in which language development is now being implemented, expected costs, and actual and potential resources available to the overall program. There are many examples of activities that have been tried. Some have proven to be very effective, others have not. Chapter 9 describes some general principles and summarizes the primary objectives that should be in view as language development work attempts to move a language towards a sustainable level of use.

Finally, Chapter 10, "Organizing for Community-Based Language Development," introduces planning and managing a community-based language development project. As described in Chapters 8 and 9, the SUM allows for multi-faceted and diverse participation of different segments of the speech community in the overall language development effort. Organizing and coordinating that participation may not always be possible where parallel and sometimes competing efforts are being implemented simultaneously. In addition, some language development efforts may apply widely to multiple language communities that are not part of the same speech community. It is hoped that diverse segments of the community can at least reach a consensus at the strategic level (an agreed upon desired sustainable level of use) and can coordinate with each other in areas of common concern such as orthography design and standardization. Apart from that, language development may be decentralized and distributed among distinct segments of a community.

1.5 Going Deeper

This chapter has provided an overview of the Sustainable Use Model and introduces many topics that will be discussed in much greater detail in the rest of the volume. Concepts presented above as part of the general context in which local communities find themselves are further elaborated in the following sections.

1.5.1 Diversity

Much of what this book deals with is the existence, maintenance, or loss of linguistic and cultural diversity. The loss of linguistic diversity is what currently most occupies the attention of linguists and many members of local communities. The value of linguistic diversity has been contested with some having argued that linguistic diversity correlates with lack of economic development though that idea has been widely disputed. There is now a well documented body of evidence demonstrating that linguistic diversity and economic development are not directly related to each other (e.g. Pool, 1972; Fishman, 1990;). The first chapter of Fasold's introductory volume on sociolinguistics (1984) traces the early stages of this discussion.

The ideological position that causally linked diversity to lack of development led to polices which promoted assimilation of diverse groups into the "mainstream" cultures and languages of dominant groups in part as a means of promoting economic growth. For more on ideological orientations towards diversity, see our discussion of language planning ideologies in the Going Deeper section of Chapter 3. More recently, diversity has come to be viewed as beneficial, with linguistic diversity in particular seen as a resource that enriches a nation (Ruíz 1984). In spite of this shift in ideology many local communities are motivated by the advantages of participation in the larger dominant socioeconomic system to redefine their particular identities or to abandon them all together. Generally, these dynamics can be seen at work in the approaches to multilingual and multicultural education adopted by governments (Lewis and Trudell 2008).

1.5.2 Globalization

Globalization is most specifically defined as an economic process where goods and services are spreading across national boundaries. In effect, however, the term

globalization as used in this volume is much broader than the expansion of economic markets and the wider distribution of goods and services. "Indeed, globalization is best thought of as a multi-dimensional process that cuts across various spheres of activity in the realms of economy, politics, culture, technology and so forth…" (Rubdy and Alsagoff 2014:1). As a result there is a very large literature dealing with both the causes and effects of globalization in a wide range of areas of life. The recent edited volume by Rubdy and Alsagoff (2014) explores the interaction of globalization and language with case studies from a number of different parts of the world. That volume provides numerous links to the foundational literature on identity construction, hybridity, and other important concepts that have come into focus as a result of globalizing forces affecting local communities. For the most part, we focus on the increase in contact among ethnic groups that these advances in communication and transportation have brought about. Contact has also been increased as a result of widespread migration, largely motivated by the new economic opportunities available to previously less-resourced communities. The leveling process which globalization is bringing about has been described by Friedman (2005) as the world becoming "flatter."

The *Ethnologue* (Lewis, Simons, and Fennig 2014) is a comprehensive catalog of the languages of the world that began as a research project in the early 1950s. The *Ethnologue* database provides the best available source for analyses of the global language situation (e.g., Simons and Lewis 2013).

1.5.3 Language Contact and Multilingualism

Linguists have a great deal to say about the effects of language contact on both the languages-in-contact themselves and on the societal uses of those languages and the meanings associated with language choice, language mixing, code-switching, and other phenomena that occur when speakers of different linguistic varieties come into contact with each other. One obvious result of contact is that language learning begins to take place with at least some speakers of each language gaining some level of proficiency in second languages as they come into contact with those who speak them. The literature on multilingualism both in individuals and in a society as a whole is too large to even begin to review here though we will refer to some of these topics in later chapters.

Some studies focus on bilingual proficiency, second language acquisition, and the

assessment of second language proficiency, (e.g., Baker 1988, Cummins 1980, Grimes 1992, Jones and Spolsky 1975, Lyon 1996, and many more). Others, too numerous to mention, look at the societal aspects of multilingualism. Many of these will be mentioned in the Going Deeper sections of later chapters in this volume. Good introductory volumes that cover most aspects of the topic are Edwards (1994) and Romaine (1995).

1.5.4 Language Shift and Language Endangerment

Language shift is another topic that has had extensive treatment in the sociolinguistic literature. Most introductory sociolinguistics textbooks (e.g., Fasold 1984, Holmes 1992, Wardhaugh 2002) describe the general phenomenon. It is most often described in terms of intergenerational shift occurring prototypically over three generations where grandparents are largely monolingual in the heritage language, their children (the childbearing generation) are bilingual in that language and a dominant language, and their children (the grandchild generation) are largely monolingual in the dominant language.

Another perspective on language shift focuses not so much on language shift over time from generation to generation, but on the diminishing use of a language in social space. This occurs when another language spreads and begins to be used for more and more functions within a community, displacing the local language for those uses. This spread of a language is the inverse of language shift. A good foundational work on the dynamics of that process can be found in Cooper 1982. In effect, the two perspectives on language shift, loss of intergenerational transmission and loss of functions go hand in hand. As a language is used for fewer functions, there is less opportunity and need for it to be learned. As there are fewer fully proficient users of a language, there are fewer and fewer opportunities and needs to use it.

When widespread in a community or where language shift is occurring in all of the communities where a language is spoken, it can lead to complete loss of speakers resulting in language death. The death of local languages is the focus of concern for linguists and community members alike and is the motivation for a volume such as this one aimed at sustaining language use.

Language endangerment refers to the growing trend of language loss through the processes of language shift and death. Local languages have long been subject to these pressures but the severity of the crisis was declared clearly in a series of related

presentations published in 1992 (Hale et al 1992). Most often cited among these is a set of predictions regarding the potential loss of up to 90% of the world's languages (Krauss 1992). A more recent look at the state of the world's languages in crisis can be found in Simons and Lewis 2013.

1.5.5 Sustainability and Vitality

For more detail on sustainability of a language and its overall vitality see elsewhere in this book. They are dealt with in considerable depth in Chapters 5 (vitality) and 6 (sustainability).