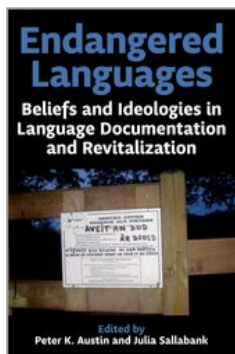


University Press Scholarship Online

British Academy Scholarship Online



Endangered Languages: Beliefs and Ideologies in Language Documentation and Revitalization

Peter K. Austin and Julia Sallabank

Print publication date: 2014

Print ISBN-13: 9780197265765

Published to British Academy Scholarship Online: May 2015

DOI: 10.5871/bacad/9780197265765.001.0001

Introduction

Peter K. Austin

Julia Sallabank

DOI:10.5871/bacad/9780197265765.003.0001

[–] Abstract and Keywords

This introductory chapter gives some background on the loss of linguistic diversity worldwide and the increased interest in this field since the late twentieth century: in academia, among the (Western) general public and in communities affected by language loss. A major factor in language shift is negative attitudes, which often become ‘naturalized’ through hegemonic ideologies of linguistic inferiority and inculcated beliefs regarding the value or utility of particular ways of speaking. The chapter discusses the nature of beliefs and ideologies as they relate to endangered languages, and some terminology relevant to the book, especially ‘speech communities’. The Introduction also provides an overview of the chapters in the book, highlighting recurring and emergent themes and key contributions that the collection makes to the field.

Keywords: Linguistic diversity, language shift, beliefs and ideologies, folk linguistics, disciplinary ideologies, speech communities, language endangerment and revitalization, hegemony, valorization, ideological shift, ethnographic and collaborative fieldwork, linguistic ecology

1.1 Language Endangerment

APPROXIMATELY 7,000 languages are spoken on earth today; however, the size and distribution of languages are far from uniform across the globe. Rather, there is a small number of very large languages with tens or hundreds of millions of speakers each, and a very large number of languages with just a small number of speakers, having sometimes only thousands or hundreds of people using them on a regular basis. Indeed, as Crystal (2000) and Austin (2008)

point out, the top ten languages currently spoken account for over 40 per cent of the world's population; the population estimates in Table 1.1 are from Lewis et al. (2013).

Crystal (2000) also notes that 96 per cent of the world's population speaks just 4 per cent of its languages (around 300) while just 4 per cent of the population speaks 96 per cent of the languages (the remaining 6,700).

Over the past few centuries, and since the mid-twentieth century in particular, there has been a tremendous reduction in global linguistic diversity (or different ways of speaking) as people abandon minority language varieties and switch to larger and what they perceive to be more economically, socially, and politically powerful regional or national languages. In addition, governments have been promoting limited numbers of standardized official languages for use in schooling, media, and bureaucracy, often under a rubric of linguistic unity supporting, or even being a precondition of, national unity. A further factor that has been influential in more recent times is globalization, including the spread of computer and media technologies, which has given a further impetus to the widespread use and adoption of languages such as English and Mandarin Chinese.

This change in language choice is referred to as 'language shift' and it can take place quite rapidly, so that within one or two generations individuals and whole communities can move from speaking a given language to using another one in their daily lives. The result is that languages become 'endangered', in the sense that they are no longer being learnt by children and are only regularly used by an aging population in increasingly restricted domains. Over time, communities undergo 'language loss' and languages fall into disuse. Indeed, a widely accepted estimate is that at least 50 per cent of the currently spoken languages in **(p.2)**

Table 1.1 Numbers of speakers of the world's top ten languages

| Language | First-language speakers |
|--------------------|-------------------------|
| 1 Mandarin Chinese | 1,200 million |
| 2 Spanish | 406 million |
| 3 English | 335 million |
| 4 Hindi/Urdu | 260 million |
| 5 Arabic | 223 million |
| 6 Portuguese | 202 million |
| 7 Bengali | 192 million |
| 8 Russian | 162 million |
| 9 Japanese | 122 million |
| 10 Javanese | 84 million |

the world are endangered and likely to disappear during the twenty-first century. Language loss has been calculated to occur at a rate of roughly one language every three months (Campbell et al. 2013), a trend which is likely to accelerate in the future.

Since the 1990s there has been a significant increase in interest in minority languages and the phenomena of language shift, endangerment, and loss. As noted by Grenoble (2009): 'In this time, the issue of language endangerment has engaged increasing numbers of not only anthropologists and linguists, but also members of the general public.' Since the turn of the millennium there has been a steady trickle of books on the subject aimed at the (Western) general public, such as Crystal (2000), Nettle and Romaine (2000), Hagège (2000), Dalby (2002), Abley (2005), Harrison (2007), and Austin (2008), as well as workshops, papers, and volumes aimed at more academic audiences (Austin and McGill 2011; Austin and Sallabank 2011; Austin and Simpson 2007; Fishman 2001; Flores Farfán and Ramallo 2010; Gippert et al. 2006; Goodfellow 2009; Grenoble and Furbee 2010; Grenoble and Whaley 2006; Himmelmann 2006; Hobson et al. 2010; King 2001; King et al. 2008; Meek 2011; Mühlhäusler 2003; Romaine 2002, 2006; Tsunoda 2006). Two new academic journals have also been established (*Language Documentation and Description* in 2003 and *Language Documentation and Conservation* in 2007).

Some individuals and communities have become interested in 'language revitalization' as a response to the growing realization that many minority languages are under threat. This involves activities aimed at reversing language shift and redressing the loss of speakers and domains of use. Among indigenous communities, in the 1980s the Māori of New Zealand were among the first to make moves towards revitalization (see King, this volume), and they have been followed by other groups throughout the Pacific, Australia, the Americas, and Europe. There is a growing literature on language revitalization (Fishman 1991, 2001; **(p.3)** Grenoble and Whaley 2006; Hinton and Hale 2001; Hobson et al. 2010; Reyhner 1999; Reyhner and Lockard 2009). There have also been some attempts to encourage cross-disciplinary study in support of language revitalization efforts, for example by encouraging the involvement of applied linguists in the teaching of endangered languages (Cope 2012).

The reasons for language endangerment on the one hand, and for interest in language revitalization on the other, are complex and vary from one language community to the next; however, several characteristics do appear to be common across language groups and contexts. These include a shift away from negative attitudes and beliefs regarding minority languages towards positive ones. In language attitude research, negative attitudes are generally assumed to lead to language loss, and positive attitudes to support ethnolinguistic vitality or to assist revitalization (Bourhis and Sachdev 1984; Bradley and Bradley 2002; Currie and Hogg 1994). Schiffman (1996: 5) notes that:

the beliefs (one might even use the term myths) that a speech community has about language (and this includes literacy) in general and its language in particular (from which it usually derives its attitudes towards other languages) are part of the social conditions that affect the maintenance and transmission of its language.¹

In addition, judgements about the significance of minority languages as markers of individual and/or group identity are seen as key factors (high identity marking tending to support language maintenance and revitalization: see Kroskrity and Field 2009).

However, the processes of attitude change and how beliefs and ideologies are played out in the construction of linguistic identities and in supporting or undermining endangered languages have been largely unexplored by linguists and anthropologists. It is our contention—our belief, if you like—that the study of language ideologies and beliefs can provide insights into reasons for both language decline and revival, and may help us to assess the likely success (or otherwise) of language revitalization projects. We also contend that raising awareness of language ideologies can facilitate a more principled approach to language policies, from the family to the international level (cf. Spolsky 2004).

1.2 What Do We Mean by *Ideologies and Beliefs*?

Language ideologies have been described and (re)defined numerous times, so rather than propose a new definition we will explore some of those already **(p.4)** suggested in the literature. Language ideologies may be defined, very broadly, as:

ideas about language and about how communication works as a social process; (Woolard 1998: 3)

or

socioculturally motivated ideas, perceptions and expectations of language, manifested in all sorts of language use. (Blommaert 1999: 1)

Although these descriptions stress the social or sociocultural aspect of language, they do not adequately convey the systematic nature of ideologies, which is articulated more clearly by Steger (2003: 93):

an ideology can be defined as a system of widely shared ideas, patterned beliefs, guiding norms and values, and ideals accepted as truth by a particular group of people.

This definition includes the word ‘beliefs’—the joint focus of this book—and conveys the notion that ideologies are a social phenomenon shared by members of a group (see the discussion of ‘speech community’ in section 1.4); however, it does not make any mention of the unconscious acceptance of ideologies which makes them all the more powerful as drivers of practices, since many people are unaware that their actions and reactions are based on socioculturally inculcated beliefs (Bourdieu 1977a, 1991). In this volume we aim to demonstrate that beliefs and ideologies do not simply arise without foundation: they are based on deep-seated predispositions and strongly held ways of thinking and perceptions concerning both language practices (what people do) and policies (what people *should* do). We therefore propose to follow McCarty’s (2011) efficient summary:

Ideologies about language are largely tacit, taken-for-granted assumptions about language statuses, forms, users, and uses that, by virtue of their ‘common sense’ naturalization, contribute to linguistic and social inequality. (McCarty 2011:10, who in turn acknowledges Tollefson 2006: 47)

Kroskrity (2000: 7) observes that:

speakers' explicitly verbalised models are no longer scorned but valued as constructs that are by definition 'real' to the members of groups and can provide resources for members to deliberately change their linguistic and discourse forms.

This is akin to the increased attention being paid to 'folk linguistics' (Nieldzielski and Preston 2003) or non-specialists' perceptions of language (Long and Preston 2002; Preston 1989, 1999; Watts and Trudgill 2002). Such 'folk linguistic' beliefs are explored in many of the chapters in this book, especially by Ó hlfearnáin, Hadjidemetriou, Räisänen, Rasom, King, and Freeland and Gómez.

With regard to language shift, Kroskrity and Field (2009: 3-4) note that language practices such as:

(p.5) decisions about when to speak heritage and/or other languages, a community's linguistic repertoire and choices about whether to actively participate in language renewal efforts—or to assiduously avoid them—are prompted by *beliefs and feelings about language and discourse* that are possessed by speakers and their speech communities. These beliefs and feelings, which linguistic anthropologists term 'language ideologies', vary dramatically within and across native cultural groups. (Italics in original)

Such observations underline the importance of investigating ideologies and beliefs regarding language endangerment and revitalization.

It is clear from the literature that there is little consensus about terminology regarding language ideologies and beliefs. Baker (1992: 13) stresses that the notions of attitudes, ideologies, motives, traits, beliefs, concepts, constructs, and opinions are interrelated, observing that the lack of agreed definitions makes it difficult to compare theoretical propositions. Edwards (1999: 101, n. 1) suggests that many studies of 'language attitudes' are in fact studies of beliefs, which he does not define but clearly feels are less complex, or less advanced in the definitional hierarchy, than attitudes or ideologies. He remarks that it would take further probing (which is rarely done) to add the affective dimension needed for a fuller attitudinal evaluation: for example, one might believe French to be important while heartily disliking the language and its speakers. However, Spolsky (this volume), like McCarty (2011) and Kroskrity and Field (2009), equates ideologies and beliefs:

I use the cover term language beliefs to include all the individual and group reactions to language, languages, language varieties, language variants, and language users, whether attitudes, motivations, or values, or gathered into recognizable ideologies.

Ideologies and beliefs can be seen as points on a continuum (though there seems to be no consensus as to where each comes, or what constitutes the continuum) or as manifestations of overall predispositions. In many of the chapters in this book, beliefs are treated as overt manifestations of implicit ideologies, or as the stated articulation of a (perhaps partial) recognition of an underlying ideology. Conversely, ideologies might be said to be social manifestations of implicit belief systems. Baker (1992: 14) cites Cooper and McGaugh (1966), who regard ideology as:

an elaborate cognitive system rationalising forms of behaviour ... Ideology tends to refer to codifications of group norms and values. At an individual level, ideology tends to refer to broad perspectives on society—a philosophy of life. In this sense, ideology may be a global attitude.

In the current orthodoxy in sociolinguistics and linguistic anthropology, ideologies are held to be more 'explanatory' than attitudes or beliefs; however, this too has become a disciplinary ideology that is rarely questioned.

(p.6) Both Blommaert (1999) and Dorian (1994) stress that people are often faced with a lack of freedom in language choice, due, for example, to economic or political necessity; they then internalize ideologies of linguistic inferiority, which can lead to linguistic and cultural shift. This is analogous to the concept of *hegemony* elaborated by the Italian political theorist and linguist Antonio Gramsci (1891–1937) (Gramsci et al. 1971), who viewed ideology in terms of cultural beliefs presented by the bourgeoisie or capitalist state (or the group whose language practices are dominant) as a means of establishing and maintaining control. Hegemony propagates the notion that the status quo represents a 'common-sense' or 'normal' state of affairs and reflects 'natural' values.

Some of the arguments supporting the role of ideologies in the propagation, reproduction, and maintenance of beliefs about language can seem somewhat deterministic (Bourdieu 1977a; Kroskrity 2000; Schieffelin et al. 1998). However, one of the themes of this book is that the more aware speakers and members of speech communities are of ideologies, the more they can be challenged and contested. As Kroskrity (2000: 13) observes: 'even dominant ideologies are dynamically responsive to ever-changing forms of oppositions', for example the move from 'generic he' to 'he/she' (or even 'they') in English since the 1980s. Ideologies can thus be seen as similar to cultural patterning, which can be overcome through awareness-raising and human individuality or agency. Like Freeland and Patrick (2004: 12), we stress that Bourdieu's notion of *linguistic habitus*, like socialization, does not determine behaviour but predisposes social actors to respond in particular ways. This releases people from absolute associations of language and culture in a crude interpretation of linguistic determinism (one version of 'Whorfianism', see Deutscher 2011 for discussion), and explains why people can be both attached to and able to move beyond certain ways of behaving—and be motivated both to shift and to revitalize languages.

We are following current practice in linguistic anthropology in employing the term *ideology* in a wider sense than is usual in Italy, for example, where it can have negative connotations because of its use in political discourse (Olimpia Rasom, personal communication, 22 July 2011). There are, however, some overlaps between our use of the term and a Marxian understanding of 'ideology'. One of these is the notion of 'false consciousness', or the masses not being able to see their situation clearly. It is clear from many of the descriptions of 'naïve perceptions that directly energise stereotypical beliefs about ingroups and outgroups' (Cargile and Bradac, 2001: 355) that people are not necessarily aware of the ideologies that drive their language beliefs, policies, and practices.

Along with Gumperz and Cook-Gumperz (1982: 3), '[w]e do not intend to claim that ideology shapes language and that since language shapes social reality there is no way out'. We seek to challenge deterministic beliefs about ideologies themselves, so that language choice becomes liberating rather than constrained. **(p.7)** We propose that by researching and revealing unconscious language ideologies, and challenging consciously accepted ones, we can demonstrate that it is possible to overcome deeply ingrained beliefs about, for example, the inferiority of a particular way of speaking, the notion that acquiring a language of wider communication necessitates abandoning other languages and dialects, or the assumption that a small language needs to have all the attributes of a larger one. This leads us to the chapters in Part 2, which explore motivations behind and beliefs about language documentation and revitalization. The fruits of such investigations then enable suggestions to be made with regard to policies and practice(s).

As Jaffe (1999) comments, the dominant Western European language ideology is that linguistic or cultural homogeneity is 'normal'. Such beliefs are not only held by speakers of dominant or Western languages, but may also be 'naturalized', in Bourdieu's (1991) terms, by speakers of minority languages (see the discussion of hegemony above). This can lead to 'linguistic insecurity' and unwillingness to speak these languages. These kinds of beliefs are both a cause and an outcome of language shift and endangerment. The chapters in Part 1 of this volume explore these issues in communities around the world.

Resistance to dominant discourses does take place in communities who wish to see their languages and cultures continue in the face of pressure from dominant political and social groups. In addition, language planning (or *language management*, as Spolsky (2009) prefers to call it) is predicated on the notion that as discussed above, beliefs and ideologies can change. The chapters in this volume by Hadjidemetriou and Räsänen report on research into how beliefs and ideologies about endangered languages are changing, and how this may affect practices within communities.

Dauenhauer and Dauenhauer (1998: 63) distinguish between overt (stated, conscious, public) and private (unstated, unconscious, covert) beliefs, the latter being more likely to affect actual behaviour. Private beliefs may be seen as more closely reflecting underlying ideologies. In the Tlingit revitalization movement described by Dauenhauer and Dauenhauer, stated beliefs about the indigenous language were positive, and were reflected in involvement in revitalization efforts, yet unstated beliefs and ideologies prevented these efforts from affecting individuals' actual language practices. Such contradictions are explored in the chapters in this volume by Marquis and Sallabank, Boynton, Ó hÍfearnáin, and Grenoble and Whitecloud. Endangered language communities and activists may, for example, find it easier to focus on a campaign to get their language introduced into the school curriculum than on changing their own intra-family behaviour by, for example, renewing the practice of speaking a particular language at home; this could be seen as an abdication of responsibility by effectively handing over custodianship of the language to schools (see also King 2001). As Costa's chapter reveals, it is by no means certain that children who **(p.8)** learn a language only at school will speak it outside, or even that they will realize why they are learning it.

1.3 Studying Ideologies and Beliefs on Endangered Languages

Since the 1990s there has been a growing interest within the anthropological linguistics community in the study of both vernacular and disciplinary language ideologies (Bauman and Briggs 2003; Blommaert 1999; Errington 2003; Jaffe 1999; Kroskrity 2000; Mar-Molinero and Stevenson 2006; Schieffelin et al. 1998; Woolard and Schieffelin 1994). As discussed above, vernacular language ideologies can be defined as tacit or explicit ideas and beliefs that members of a speech community have with respect to their own linguistic repertoire (Woolard and Schieffelin 1994). Disciplinary language ideologies consist, instead, of more or less explicitly articulated theoretical principles and methodological practices that orient work undertaken by linguists and anthropologists engaged in language documentation and analysis (see, for example, Bauman and Briggs 2000; Errington 2001; Irvine and Gal 2000; Silverstein 2000). Several of the chapters in this volume examine the disjuncture, not to say conflict, between vernacular and disciplinary language ideologies, as well as between the beliefs of members of speech communities and the ideologies of institutions and governments with regard to language policies, and their implications.

This book would not have been written without the ideological shift since the 1990s towards broadly positive attitudes in favour of ‘saving’ endangered languages. As recounted in the chapters by Minasyan and Grinevald and Bert (this volume), this transformation led to the valorization of endangered languages in the 1990s, from the community to the international level. Indeed, it may be a sign that the study of language endangerment is becoming mature, or even mainstream, that there is debate and criticism of the rhetorics and methodologies of language documentation and revitalization, chiefly from the field of linguistic anthropology (Duchêne and Heller 2007; Hill 2002; Mufwene 2004) but also from within (Dobrin et al. 2009). There have been some important publications on this topic (such as Dobrin 2005, 2008; Duchêne and Heller 2007; Grenoble and Furbee 2010; Newman 2003) that have brought these issues to the consciousness of linguists concerned with the documentation, description, and revitalization of endangered languages. There has recently been an increase in the publication of edited collections of papers describing case studies of language revitalization efforts, but these rarely evaluate processes or outcomes or relate these to *ideological clarification* (Flores Farfán and Ramallo 2010; Goodfellow 2009; King et al. 2008). A number of publications do examine practices and ideologies in language revitalization, but most focus on ‘fourth-world’ indigenous communities in the Americas, Australia, or Europe, with little reference to **(p.9)** other areas of the world (Jaffe 1999; King 2001; Kroskrity and Field 2009; Mar-Molinero and Stevenson 2006; Meek 2011; Reyhner and Lockard 2009; Urla 2012).

Although there have been individual calls for incorporating ethnographic methodologies and giving due attention to language ideologies in the endangered languages research agenda (see, for example, Newman 2003), the full potential of this line of research (theoretical and applied alike) has yet to be recognized. The chapters in Part 2 of this volume explore the reasons for this and suggest current and future directions for improved understanding.

More recently scholars have turned their attention towards analysing the ways in which language endangerment discourse is presented (Duchêne and Heller 2007), noting that the discourses involved valorize traditional people and practices in a way that pits them against

'modernity' while 'hypertraditionalizing' them, and, some say, dehumanizing participants in the population concerned. Furthermore, the ideologies that underpin such efforts reshape the way in which language is envisaged, sometimes through the discourse itself and at other times through the intersection of access to tangible (even if imagined) benefits and language-based processes of authentication. These ideologies can unintentionally effect ideological changes among the target population of language work and other political action (as Boynton discusses in her contribution here).

Relatively few book-length studies focus specifically on beliefs and ideologies with regard to endangered languages. The aim of this volume is to bring together chapters on theoretical and practical issues to do with ideologies and beliefs about language, especially with regard to the views of linguists and communities about the support and revitalization of endangered languages. The chapters in this collection go straight to the heart of ideological bases of reactions to language endangerment by community members and linguists. They draw their discussion from case studies on how language ideologies affect language practices (and vice versa). Theory emerges from the data rather than the other way round, and, as discussed below, each discussion sheds light on processes that both illustrate and extend the cutting edge of thinking in this field.

Part 1 of the book contains case studies that explore these issues in communities around the world. They demonstrate that situations are never as simple as acceptance of, or resistance to, subalternity by an oppressed minority. To a large extent, the beliefs that these chapters examine concern the definition (or construction) of a group, or language community, and its relationship with language as a marker of group identity (or not).

The chapters in Part 2 explore motivations behind, and beliefs about, language documentation and revitalization. They engage more critically with received ideas in language documentation and revitalization, and relate the common threads identified to insights into motivations, processes, and outcomes, in order to contribute to ideological clarification (Dauenhauer and Dauenhauer (p.10) 1998; Fishman 1991, 2001; Kroskrity 2009). Several of these chapters deal with 'what is being revitalized?' (King) or 'what are we trying to preserve?' (Di Carlo and Good). The international, national, and local political contexts affecting ideologies and beliefs about language (as well as the rhetorics consequently taken up by linguists, communities, and indigenous support organizations such as Survival International) are also highlighted in several chapters (Austin, Boynton, Couzens and Eira—see also Minasyan in Part 3).

Part 3 takes up a theme that permeates several of the chapters in Parts 1 and 2: disjunctures in ideological perspectives between local and dominant language ideologies, or between what might be termed vernacular and institutional ideological positions (including within the discipline of linguistics). These chapters extend the book's perspectives to ideologies with regard to language endangerment at international and interdisciplinary levels.

1.4 Language and Speech Communities

Linguists going into the field to document endangered languages are generally concerned with one particular language and speak of the 'language community' as their primary target (sometimes adopting a puristic approach that aims to document the 'true' language, untainted

by loans and language mixing). However, they may also need to think about the 'speech community' and the relationships that the language they want to document enters into with other codes, registers, and so on that speakers are choosing between and using in their daily lives, and, in some cases, shifting towards. Yet the concept of 'speech community' is deeply problematic: how can it be defined? What are its boundaries? What is its scale?

Documentary linguists often use the term 'community' in a rather vague manner (Grinevald and Bert 2011). Sometimes they mean a 'language community' as a group of people 'sharing a denotational code' (Silverstein 1996: 126) or 'a group of people who make use of a given lexicogrammatical code' (Jeff Good, personal communication, 18 September 2012).² In other words, they are people who consider that they speak the same language. Austin (this volume) also uses the term 'speaker community' for this notion. It is important to note that such a 'community' may not live in a traditional close-knit grouping (Gumperz and Cook-Gumperz 1982; Milroy 1987) or even in the same place. In the context described by Di Carlo and Good (this volume) they are dispersed within a region, but in other contexts they may have migrated to cities or to diaspora settings around the world—both of which are also key sites for both language shift and language maintenance and revitalization movements. Such **(p.11)** communities are increasingly linked through social media (Facebook, Twitter, blogs) or media technologies such as mobile phones and voice or video communication over the Internet.

Spolsky (1998: 24) explains that:

for general linguistics, a speech community is all the people who speak a single language (like English or French or Amharic) and so share notions of what is same or different in phonology or grammar ... Sociolinguists, however, find it generally more fruitful to focus on the language practices of a group of people who ... share not just a single language but a repertoire of languages or varieties. For the sociolinguist, the speech community is a complex interlocking network of communication whose members share knowledge about and attitudes toward the language use patterns of others as well as themselves.

An important difference between documentary linguists working on endangered languages on the one hand, and linguistic anthropologists and sociolinguists on the other, has to do with the fact that the research object of the first tends to be 'a language', while the latter tend to focus on the 'speech community'.

However, decisions about what constitutes 'a language' or what is considered to be 'a dialect' are often ideologically or politically biased. In addition, authors influenced by postmodern thinking argue that boundaries between languages are largely constructed for the convenience of linguists and administrators (which can be argued to be true of any kind of boundary or label). The concept of language endangerment is, to a certain extent, predicated on the belief that languages can be delimited as discrete entities. In recent years it has become part of the disciplinary ideology of linguistic anthropology and sociolinguistics to call into question the notion of defining and enumerating languages (Dobrin et al. 2009; Hill 2002; Irvine and Gal 2000; Makoni and Pennycook 2006; Pennycook 2005; Ricento 2005). Mühlhäusler (1996) illustrates how beliefs about how languages should be defined and categorized were spread around the world by colonizers, missionaries, and linguists educated in the world view inherited

from nineteenth-century European thinkers such as Herder and von Humboldt (who is considered by some to be the ‘father of linguistics’). The consequences of such historically inherited beliefs and ideologies are explored in this volume by Stebbins, Costa, Freeland and Gómez, and Di Carlo and Good.

Postmodernist authors such as Pennycook (2007) also argue that the arbitrary chopping up of a chain of dialects (called a ‘dialect continuum’) is complicated further by ‘transnational flows’ of migration and worldwide social media, which have led to increased language contact, mixing, and hybridity. In this volume, Di Carlo and Good show that such ‘hyperdiversity’ is not necessarily a new or purely urban phenomenon. They also emphasize that languages never exist in isolation and are always embedded in relationships with other languages and varieties, and other codes, styles, registers, and so on, in what has been termed a *linguistic ecology* (Calvet 2006; Grenoble 2011; Haugen 1972; Mühlhäusler 1996, 2000). **(p.12)** This is all the more so in the case of endangered languages, which, as noted by Schmidt (1985) and Nettle and Romaine (2000), never exist in isolation (indeed their status as being endangered comes from being in contact with other more dominant tongues) and are subject to extreme linguistic contact, rapid change, and fragmentation (Heinrich 2005), to the extent that members of the ‘language community’ may not agree on ‘what is same or different phonology or grammar’, what is ‘correct’ or desirable in terms of usage, or whether a particular way of speaking counts as a ‘language’. The ideological tensions that such differences can bring about are explored in the chapters by Ó hlfearnáin, Marquis and Sallabank, Costa, King, Boynton, and Couzens and Eira.

Due to the fact that endangered languages researchers often work in plurilingual speech communities, it is essential to look at such languages in their linguistic ecologies (Grenoble 2011; Grenoble and Whitecloud, this volume). Placing languages in their broader context allows us to achieve a better perspective on speakers’ ideas of their linguistic repertoire and on the place that a particular language has in the local linguistic market (Bourdieu 1977b; Harbert 2011). Both Di Carlo and Good’s chapter and those by Costa, Stebbins, and Couzens and Eira challenge assumptions that linguists (and activists) may make about language(s). As Couzens and Eira note in their contribution to this volume:

[T]he many points of lack of fit between learned practice and what is useful and needed in this context brings linguists into direct confrontation with the ideological underpinning of the discipline—that is, the systems refined over decades which define and constrain what constitutes a language, an analysis, a valid data source, language change, and so on.

This lack of fit with Western perceptions of language and identity is highlighted in Dobrin’s chapter on linguistic and cultural shift in a community in Papua New Guinea, where ‘repeatedly in this area of the world we find that high-level group boundaries fail to coincide with linguistic ones. In the Arapesh area there was never any basis for people to assume that they would share the most important features of their social identity with fellow speakers.’

Costa (this volume) cites Silverstein’s (1998: 402) definition of language communities:

groups of people by degree evidencing allegiance to norms of denotational ... language usage, however much or little such allegiance also encompasses an indigenous cultural consciousness of variation and/or change, or is couched in terms of fixity and stasis.

He links these ideologies of ‘what language is’ to revitalization, commenting that: ‘[L]anguage communities are thus largely imagined communities based on a shared charter myth founding the group around language.’

In sociolinguistics, as Patrick (2002) notes, there is no unified definition of ‘speech community’, but the overall broad consensus seems to follow the **(p.13)** definition proposed by Hymes (1967/72: 54–5): ‘A community sharing rules for the conduct and interpretation of speech, and rules for the interpretation of at least one linguistic variety.’ Spolsky (2004: 14) adds that:

The members of a speech community share also a general set of beliefs about appropriate language practices, sometimes forming a consensual ideology, assigning values and prestige to various aspects of the language varieties used in it.

So a speech community can be multilingual, but importantly it is made up of people who share folk linguistic ideologies (Niedzielski and Preston 2003) of what language is and what it indexes: which varieties are most suitable for which domains, the social hierarchies associated with particular ways of speaking, and so on.

At other times the notion of *community* in documentary linguistics seems to extend to a *community of practice*, in the sense of Eckert (2000), as members who share practices (distinctive ways of speaking) and orientation to the world around them. Costa (this volume) too likens speech communities to ‘communities of everyday shared practice, [which] can involve several “languages”’. It is important to note that the ‘shared ideology’ of a speech community does not imply that the ‘general set of beliefs’ is held consciously, or that the members of the community have somehow agreed on a particular viewpoint. Dobrin (this volume) points out the contrast between the way that modern Western group identities are ideological projections of the *possessive individual* (Handler 1988) and the construction of identity in traditional Melanesian culture, where ‘a key concept is that of *relational personhood*: the way persons are idealized less as autonomous individuals than as the intersection of others to whom they are connected (Robbins 2004)’.

One of the problems with the use of the term ‘community’ in documentary linguistics is an often implicit assumption that ‘the community’ is in agreement about linguistic norms or community language policy—or that certain community members, notably ‘elders’, may be delegated (or take on themselves) the right to speak on behalf of the community in this respect. In contexts where some members of a community (however defined) have decided that it is desirable to reclaim, revitalize, or renew what they see as their heritage language (or at least some elements of it), not only may the language practices of younger generations differ from those of their parents’ or grandparents’ generation, but elders ‘preconceived notions of ‘correctness’ (or ‘purity’) may also clash with language activists’ notions of ‘progress’. The issues of who ‘owns’ language, and of legitimate authority on questions of language, are discussed in the chapters by Boynton, Costa, Dobrin, Marquis and Sallabank, Ó hÍfearnáin, and Couzens and Eira. It thus appears that in contexts where language shift or loss is endemic, there may not necessarily be shared norms, knowledge about, or attitudes towards language use, or even ‘a shared charter myth founding the group around language’.

(p.14) We have spent some time on these definitions because the word ‘community’ is frequently used oversimplistically in the field of language documentation. As noted by Sallabank (2012), it is important to realize that communities are not monolithic: there are frequently conflicting beliefs and ideologies within speech (and language) communities regarding language, its status, domains, functions, and policy, and who has the authority or legitimacy to decide any of these. Such issues are often not discussed openly, as language movements have enough to contend with without criticism from people from whom they might reasonably expect support, such as linguists and anthropologists. But we have come to the conclusion that to hide issues relevant to ideological clarification ‘under the carpet’ does not help the cause of preserving linguistic diversity, or healthy language ecologies in viable speech communities (cf. also Dauenhauer and Dauenhauer 1998; Hoffman 2006; Whaley 2011).

In this discussion we are aware that we may be falling into a fallacy, first identified by Labov (1973), who raised the suspicion that linguists might be seriously different from the regular speakers of the languages and varieties they study. Linguists of all persuasions share what Spolsky (2011) calls ‘lingui-centrism’,³ the assumption that language is at the centre of human culture and existence. The fact that so few people and governments, including so many of those most directly concerned in language shift, seem to care about the threat to the survival of the majority of existing varieties should warn us to think very carefully before we assume that the beliefs and ideologies of linguists, sociolinguists, and linguistic anthropologists are in harmony with those of the speech communities, and speakers of languages, and varieties that we study. This issue is addressed in this book in the chapters by Grinevald and Bert, King, Stebbins, Dobrin, Di Carlo and Good, and Couzens and Eira.

1.5 Language Ideologies and Revitalization

Language revitalization movements often unthinkingly follow what Dorian (1998) has called a ‘western language ideology’ of how languages ought to (be) develop(ed) and increase their domains, or an ‘autonomous’ model of standardization (Grenoble and Whaley 2006; Sebba 2007; Street 1984). One criticism of the approach of language planners for Welsh and Basque, for example, is that they focus on teaching a ‘unified standard’, which can be argued to contradict the stated aim of preserving linguistic diversity, as it entails loss of dialects (e.g. Sayers 2009). Woolard (1998: 17) observes that:

(p.15) movements to save minority languages are often structured, willy-nilly, around the same received notions of language that have led to their oppression ... language activists find themselves imposing standards, elevating literate forms and uses, and negatively sanctioning variability in order to demonstrate the reality, validity, and integrity of their languages.

While this might be adequate in Europe (as well as being a pragmatic policy that suits the funding model for regional and minority languages promoted by the European Union), situations vary greatly in other contexts. The processes of revitalization, including discourses, narratives, practices, ideologies, and myths, therefore need to be examined further.

At a community level, this dominant ideology of language revitalization influences expectations and assumptions which may stand in the way of achievable goals. For example, many

communities embarking on revitalization projects state that their goal is to create fluent speakers or to reinstate intergenerational transmission, but omit to create domains of use for the language outside formal education, which may again be a feature of the 'western language ideology' of how languages ought to (be) develop(ed). Ideologies may thus contribute to a mismatch between desired results and methods, and, if these ideologies remain unconscious, the reasons why language planning measures are not working may remain undiscovered. In the Australian case study discussed by Boynton, a Western language ideology is assumed or imposed by (sometimes) well-meaning policy-makers who are unaware that 'language' might mean something quite different to indigenous people.

The chapters in this volume by Ó hlfearnáin, Freeland and Gómez, Marquis and Sallabank, Stebbins, Austin, and Costa illustrate both the pervasiveness of such ideologies, and also ways in which they are being challenged (implicitly or explicitly) by new generations who wish to add new uses for heritage languages to their linguistic repertoires. This volume thus responds to a call by Dorian (1993), who warned that research that only reports on the abandonment phase of a language, and which concentrates on negative attitudes and ideologies, can obscure a longer-term dynamic by overlooking revitalization efforts.

Languages learnt in school may not be native-like (the same as those learnt in childhood in the home), but in situations where all the native speakers are elderly, if language revitalization goes ahead, second-language speakers will soon be in the majority. A language restored for modern use is not necessarily the same as the one that was going out of use. Expansion of functions may lead to a reversal of traditional diglossic domains, so that the endangered language is used more in 'high' domains such as education, official documents, or ritual events than as a means of everyday communication. There may also be unrealistic notions of how much fluency can be retained or regained in daily use by second-language learners. This may accelerate language change, which is inevitable but not necessarily welcomed by 'elders' or by language enthusiasts.

(p.16) As Bentahila and Davies (1993: 359) note, '[T]hose who feel moved to act in favour of reinstatement of the language are not always those for whom it is still an essential part of daily life.' Even the perception of the role of language in the everyday lives of traditional speakers may be coloured by the combined lens of nostalgia and ideology; as noted by Dorian (2009) and Grenoble (2010), people who are perceived by themselves and by 'the community' as 'good speakers' may rely on a restricted range of relatively simple formulaic language to give an impression of fluency, and may also have a very restricted range of interlocutors and domains of use (Sallabank 2010). This may also lead to tensions between linguists (who favour 'objective' corpus-based measures of fluency) and traditional speakers who may consider themselves 'language guardians'. In their chapter in this volume, Marquis and Sallabank highlight ideological differences between activists who want to see the language modernized, and purists whose attachment to their native language is also an attachment to a disappearing culture. Some purists may even prefer the language to die with them rather than survive in what they see as a garbled, or modernized, form (cf. King et al. 2009). Yet, as Thieberger (2002) argues, token maintenance (e.g. rituals, greetings) may be adequate for identity purposes (see also Austin's discussion in this volume). Also, as Boynton argues in her contribution, the *practice* of language may not be as relevant in questions of language rights or revival as the *idea* of language; and King observes how language itself may not be the prime motivator for activists.

Fishman's (1991) framework for language revitalization is prefaced by an important caveat, 'assuming prior ideological clarification' (that language activists have agreed basic foundations such as the relationship between language and culture) of what exactly it is they are trying to preserve or reclaim, and why it is desirable. In revisiting the framework ten years later, Fishman (2001: 541) admits that it is quite common for enthusiasts to embark on language planning and revitalization activities without such clarification, and without convincing arguments with which to counter critics. Similar points are made by Dauenhauer and Dauenhauer (1998) and Kroskrity (2009), who underline the significance of implicit beliefs in the success or otherwise of revitalization efforts. We thus hope that this volume will also contribute to the study of language revitalization, which itself is under-theorized, particularly with regard to *ideological clarification* (as Austin and McGill (2011) point out in their general introduction). Ideological clarification can itself be interpreted through ideological lenses. The chapters by Austin, King, Marquis and Sallabank, and Grinevald and Bert, for example, examine the relationship between practice(s) and ideology by comparing rhetoric regarding 'saving a language' with actions and results, providing a critical examination of the motivations, methods, and outcomes of language revitalization efforts. Dobrin draws attention to the 'Ethnic Revitalization Paradox', which is 'a term coined by Rindstedt and Aronsson (2002) to describe the disconnect these authors found between the way people speak *about* their **(p.17)** languages on the one hand, and the way they actually *use* them on the other'. Simpson (2013) provides a detailed examination of this disconnect among Warramungu people in the Northern Territory of Australia.

This interpretation of ideological clarification overlaps with the focus of Stebbins, Couzens and Eira, Di Carlo and Good, Boynton, Freeland and Gómez, and Costa on the way in which language is envisaged, either from the point of view of the discipline of linguistics, or by community members, who may be more concerned with tangible (even if imagined) benefits from 'language rights' or language-based processes of authentication.

This leads to another intersecting theme of 'what is being revitalized?' (King) or 'what are we trying to preserve?' (Di Carlo and Good): language for its own sake or as a symbol of something else? Discrete languages and/or language ecologies, as discussed above? Cultural concepts or ideologies of language? Can these be separated?

1.6 Emergent Themes and Conclusion

The chapters in this collection explore the intersection of explicit and implicit beliefs and ideologies in contexts of language shift and revitalization. The apparent divergence between explicit and implicit, between practices and expressed beliefs, and even between what people believe they are doing, their observed practices, and the ideologies that these practices reveal, is explored, especially in the chapters by Austin, King, Boynton, Marquis and Sallabank, Grenoble and Whitecloud, and Grinevald and Bert.

In addition to continuing or (hopefully) advancing previous discussions in the field, this volume tackles new themes that are emerging from the research. The chapters by Rasom and Costa focus on sectors of the population who are often omitted from research into language revitalization: children and women. According to one of the key ideologies of both language documentation and revitalization, namely Fishman's (1991, 2001) insistence on the primacy of intergenerational transmission, they are crucial to its success (but see Romaine (2006) for an

alternative view). Intergenerational transmission within the family is also treated as the key factor in language vitality by most measurement scales, such as UNESCO (2003) or Krauss (1997). It thus comes as somewhat of a shock to realize that Costa's chapter is one of the few studies of the beliefs and perceptions of children at the 'chalkface' of language revitalization, although so many language movements rely, through education, on children to carry languages forward. This chapter thus makes an important and thought-provoking contribution to ideological clarification in revitalization movements. Rasom's chapter moves on from the traditionally accepted view of women in language maintenance (as mothers or grandmothers whose main role is to transmit the **(p.18)** language and reproduce speakers), by examining the beliefs of women who are proactive in a revitalization movement. Both Costa's and Rasom's chapters thus give voices to key players with agency in language maintenance and revitalization who are often treated simply as intermediaries.

Another recurrent theme in this book is disjuncture in language ideologies. The chapters by Ó hlfearnáin, Boynton, and King examine local language ideologies and the extent to which these resonate or conflict with the dominant ideology underpinning official language policy. Couzens and Eira, Di Carlo and Good, and Freeland and Gómez compare what might be termed 'institutional' or 'disciplinary' ideological positions within linguistics, with vernacular ideologies. Dobrin contrasts some assumptions of stereotypical Western language ideologies with the more culture-based focus of the field of anthropology. The chapters by Boynton and Grenoble and Whitecloud go beyond the tendency that can be discerned in the field to valorize (and 'exoticize') unquestioningly ways of knowing and learning privileged in Aboriginal and indigenous communities (also known as 'Traditional Knowledge') to examine the ideologies behind such valorizations. Grinevald and Bert examine conflicting ideologies in the various spheres, from individual to institutional, where policies about endangered languages develop. Hadjidemetriou, Räisänen and Marquis and Sallabank conduct detailed ethnographic examinations of ideologies at community level, where ideological disjunctures regarding change and continuity in language become apparent. All of these authors conduct collaborative community-based research and take a stance that we term *reflective engagement* to investigate (potential) clashes in ideological perspectives.

Finally, one word that might seem conspicuous by its absence in this book is *essentialism*. There has been some significant criticism of what might be termed the 'endangered languages movement' (Costa 2013; Duchêne and Heller 2007; Errington 2003; Freeland and Patrick 2004), especially with regard to what are perceived as its 'essentialist' underpinnings. This term is rarely defined, but has come to be perceived as a 'latter-day sin' (Schiffman 2002: 141). In this field it can be understood to include chiefly the demarcation and reification of languages as entities, and oversimplifying perceived links between languages thus defined with identity, culture, and ethnicity. As noted above, these and other issues are addressed in this book, but without the 'essentialist' label, which we feel has become an almost routine and meaningless denunciation that can obscure our preferred focus on ideologies at grass-roots level (see Sallabank 2009).

The editors of this volume openly and unashamedly position themselves as 'engaged' linguists supportive of efforts to maintain linguistic diversity (however it might be defined) and of efforts to overcome societal marginalization through linguistic empowerment. It is our belief that it is

time to move on from both claims of essentialism and ‘mud-slinging’ to examine the ideological bases of reactions to language endangerment by those most closely involved (communities (p. 19) and linguists) as a basis for informed, reflective action in both language documentation and language policies, from family to international level.

References

Bibliography references:

Abley, Mark. 2005. *Spoken Here: Travels Among Threatened Languages*. London: Arrow.

Austin, Peter K. (ed.). 2008. *1,000 Languages*. London: Thames & Hudson.

Austin, Peter K. and Stuart McGill (eds.). 2011. *Critical Concepts in Linguistics: Endangered Languages*. London: Routledge.

Austin, Peter K. and Julia Sallabank (eds.). 2011. *Cambridge Handbook of Endangered Languages*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Austin, Peter K. and Andrew Simpson (eds.). 2007. *Endangered Languages*. Linguistische Berichte Sonderheft 14. Hamburg: Helmut Buske Verlag.

Baker Colin. 1992. *Attitudes and Language*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Bauman, Richard and Charles L. Briggs. 2003. *Voices of Modernity: Language Ideologies and the Politics of Inequality: Studies in the Social and Cultural Foundations of Language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Bentahila, A. and E. E. Davies. 1993. Language revival: restoration or transformation? *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* 14: 355–74.

Blommaert, Jan (ed.). 1999. *Language Ideological Debates*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Bourdieu, Pierre. 1977a. *Outline of a Theory of Practice*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Bourdieu, Pierre. 1977b. The economics of linguistic exchanges. *Social Science Information* 16: 645–68.

Bourdieu, Pierre. 1991. *Language and Symbolic Power*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Bourhis, Richard and Itesh Sachdev. 1984. Vitality perceptions and language attitudes: some Canadian data. *Journal of Language and Social Psychology* 3: 97–126.

Bradley, David and Maya Bradley (eds.). 2002. *Language Endangerment and Language Maintenance*. London: Routledge Curzon.

Calvet, Jean-Louis. 2006. *Towards an Ecology of World Languages*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Campbell, Lyle, Nala Huiying Lee, Eve Okura, Sean Simpson, and Kaori Ueki. 2013. New knowledge: findings from the *Catalogue of Endangered Languages* ('ELCat'). 3rd International Conference on Language Documentation and Conservation.

Cargile, A. C. and J. J. Bradac. 2001. Attitudes toward language: a review of speaker-evaluation research and a general process model. In W. B. Gudykunst (ed.), *Communication Yearbook 25*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Cooper, J. B. and J. L. McGaugh. 1966. Attitude and related concepts. In M. Jahoda and M. Warren (eds.), *Attitudes—Selected Readings*. Harmondsworth: Penguin.

Cope, Lida (ed.). 2012. *Applied Linguists Needed: Cross-disciplinary Networking in Endangered Language Contexts*. Abingdon: Routledge.

Costa, James. 2013. Language endangerment and revitalisation as elements of regimes of truth: shifting terminology to shift perspective. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* 34: 317-31.

Crystal, David. 2000. *Language Death*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

(p.20) Currie, M. and M. A. Hogg. 1994. Subjective ethnolinguistic vitality. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 108: 97-115.

Dalby, Andrew. 2002. *Language in Danger*. London: Penguin.

Dauenhauer, Nora Marks and Richard Dauenhauer. 1998. Technical, emotional, and ideological issues in reversing language shift: examples from Southeast Alaska. In Lenore A. Grenoble and Lindsay J. Whaley (eds.), *Endangered Languages*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Deutscher, Guy. 2011. *Through the Language Glass: Why the World Looks Different in Other Languages*. New York: Arrow Books

Dobrin, Lise. 2005. When our values conflict with theirs: linguistics and community empowerment in Melanesia. *Language Documentation and Description* 3: 42-52.

Dobrin, Lise. 2008. From linguistic elicitation to eliciting the linguist: lessons in community empowerment from Melanesia. *Language* 84: 300-24.

Dobrin, Lise M., Peter K. Austin, and David Nathan. 2009. Dying to be counted: the commodification of endangered languages in documentary linguistics. In Peter K. Austin (ed.), *Language Documentation and Description*, vol. 6. London: SOAS.

Dorian, Nancy C. 1993. A response to Ladefoged's other view of endangered languages. *Language* 69: 575-9.

Dorian, Nancy C. 1994. Choices and values in language shift and its study. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 110: 113-24.

Dorian, Nancy C. 1998. Western language ideologies and small-language prospects. In Lenore Grenoble and Lindsay J. Whaley (eds.), *Endangered Languages*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Dorian, Nancy C. 2009. Age and speaker skills in receding languages: how far do community evaluations and linguists' evaluations agree? *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 200: 11–25.

Duchêne, Alexandre and Monica Heller (eds.). 2007. *Discourses of Endangerment: Ideology and Interest in the Defence of Languages*. London: Continuum.

Eckert, Penelope. 2000. *Linguistic Variation as Social Practice*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Edwards, John. 1999. Redefining our understanding of language attitudes. *Journal of Language and Social Psychology* 18: 101–10.

Errington, Joseph. 2001. Colonial linguistics. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 30: 19–39.

Errington, Joseph. 2003. Getting language rights: the rhetorics of language endangerment and loss. *American Anthropologist* 105: 723–32.

Fishman, Joshua A. 1991. *Reversing Language Shift: Theoretical and Empirical Foundations of Assistance to Threatened Languages*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Fishman, Joshua A. (ed.). 2001. *Can Threatened Languages be Saved? Reversing Language Shift, Revisited: A 21st Century Perspective*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Flores Farfán, Antonio Jose and Fernando F. Ramallo (eds.). 2010. *New Perspectives on Endangered Languages: Bridging Gaps Between Sociolinguistics, Documentation and Language Revitalisation*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Freeland, Jane and Donna Patrick (eds.). 2004. *Language Rights and Language Survival Encounters*. Manchester: St Jerome Publishing.

Gippert, Jost, Nikolaus Himmelmann, and Ulrike Mosel (eds.). 2006. *Essentials of Language Documentation*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Goodfellow, Anne Marie (ed.). 2009. *Speaking of Endangered Languages: Issues in Revitalisation*. Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.

(p.21) Gramsci, Antonio, Quintin Hoare, and Geoffrey Nowell-Smith. 1971. *Selections from the Prison Notebooks of Antonio Gramsci*. New York: International Publishers.

Grenoble, Lenore A. 2009. Review of K. David Harrison. 2007. *When languages die: the extinction of the world's languages and the erosion of human knowledge*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. *Anthropological Linguistics* 51: 179–82.

Grenoble, Lenore A. 2010. Switch or Shift: Code-Mixing, Contact-Induced Change and Attrition. Annual Public Lecture, Hans Rausing Endangered Languages Project, SOAS, University of London, 22 February 2010.

Grenoble, Lenore A. 2011. Language ecology and endangerment. In Peter K. Austin and Julia Sallabank (eds.), *The Cambridge Handbook of Endangered Languages*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Grenoble, Lenore A. and Louanna N. Furbee (eds.). 2010. *Language Documentation: Practice and Values*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Grenoble, Lenore A. and Lindsay J. Whaley. 2006. *Saving Languages: An Introduction to Language Revitalisation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Grinevald, Colette and Michel Bert. 2011. Speakers and communities. In Peter K. Austin and Julia Sallabank (eds.), *The Cambridge Handbook of Endangered Languages*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Gumperz, John J. and J. Cook-Gumperz. 1982. Introduction: language and the communication of social identity. In John J. Gumperz (ed.), *Language and Social Identity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hagège, Claude. 2000. *Halte à la mort des langues*. Paris: Odile Jacob.

Harbert, Wayne. 2011. Endangered languages and economic development. In Peter K. Austin and Julia Sallabank (eds.), *The Cambridge Handbook of Endangered Languages*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Harrison, K. David. 2007. *When Languages Die: The Extinction of the World's Languages and the Erosion of Human Knowledge*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Haugen, Einar. 1972. *The Ecology of Language: Language Science and National Development*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Heinrich, Patrick. 2005. What leaves a mark should no longer stain: progressive erasure and reversing language shift activities in the Ryukyu Islands. *Refereed Papers from the 1st International Small Island Cultures Conference, Kagoshima University Centre for the Pacific Islands (7-10 February 2005)*, 61-72. <<http://sicri-network.org/ISIC1/j.%20ISIC1P%20Heinrich.pdf>> (accessed 16 April 2013).

Hill, Jane. 2002. 'Expert rhetorics' in advocacy for endangered languages: who is listening, and what do they hear? *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology* 12: 119-33.

Himmelmann, Nikolaus P. 2006. Language documentation: what is it and what is it good for? In Jost Gippert, Nikolaus Himmelmann, and Ulrike Mosel (eds.), *Essentials of Language Documentation*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Hinton, Leanne and Kenneth Hale (eds.). 2001. *The Green Book of Language Revitalization in Practice*. New York: Academic Press.

Hobson, John, Kevin Lowe, Susan Poetsch, and Michael Walsh (eds.). 2010. *Re-awakening Languages: Theory and Practice in the Revitalisation of Australia's Indigenous Languages*. Sydney: Sydney University Press.

Hoffman, Katherine E. 2006. Berber language ideologies, maintenance, and contraction: gendered variation in the indigenous margins of Morocco. *Language and Communication* 26: 144–67.

(p.22) Hymes, Dell. 1972. Models of the interaction of language and social life (revised from 1967 paper). In John J. Gumperz and Dell Hymes (eds.), *Directions in Socio¬linguistics: The Ethnography of Communication*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Irvine, Judith and Susan Gal. 2000. Language ideology and linguistic differentiation. In Paul V. Kroskrity (ed.), *Regimes of Language: Ideologies, Politics, and Identities*. Santa Fe, NM: School of American Research Press.

Jaffe, Alexandra. 1999. *Ideologies in Action: Language Politics on Corsica*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

King, Jeanette, Ray Harlow, Catherine Watson, Peter Keegan, and Margaret Maclagen. 2009. Changing pronunciation of the Māori language: implications for revitalisation. In Jon Reyhner and Louise Lockard (eds.), *Indigenous Language Revitalisation: Encouragement, Guidance and Lessons Learned*. Flagstaff: Northern Arizona University.

King, Kendall A. 2001. *Language Revitalisation Processes and Prospects: Quichua in the Ecuadorian Andes*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

King, Kendall, Natalie Schilling-Estes, Lyn Wright Fogle, and Jia J. Lou (eds.). 2008. *Sustaining Linguistic Diversity: Endangered and Minority Languages and Language Varieties*. Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press.

Krauss, M. 1997. Indigenous languages of the north: a report on their present state. In H. Shoji and J. Janhunen (eds.), *Northern Minority Languages: Problems of Survival*. Senri Ethnological Studies 44. Osaka: National Museum of Ethnology.

Kroskrity, Paul V. (ed.). 2000. *Regimes of Language: Ideologies, Politics, and Identities*. Santa Fe, NM: School of American Research Press.

Kroskrity, Paul V. 2009. Language renewal as sites of language ideological struggle: the need for 'ideological clarification'. In J. Reyhner and L. Lockard (eds.), *Indigenous Language Revitalisation: Encouragement, Guidance and Lessons Learned*. Flagstaff: Northern Arizona University.

Kroskrity, Paul V. and Margaret Field (eds.). 2009. *Native American Language Ideologies: Beliefs, Practices, and Struggles in Indian Country*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press.

Labov, William. 1973. The linguistic consequence of being a lame. *Language in Society*, 2: 81-115.

Lewis, M. Paul, Gary F. Simons, and Charles D. Fennig (eds.). 2013. *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. (17th edn.). Dallas: SOL International. See <<http://www.ethnologue.com>> for online version.

Long, Daniel and Dennis Preston (eds.). 2002. *Handbook of Perceptual Dialectology*, vol. 2. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

McCarty, Teresa (ed.). 2011. *Ethnography and Language Policy*. New York/Abingdon: Routledge.

Makoni, Sinfree and Alastair Pennycook (eds.). 2006. *Disinventing and Reconstituting Languages*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Mar-Molinero, Clare and Patrick Stevenson (eds.). 2006. *Language Ideologies, Policies and Practices: Language and the Future of Europe*. Language and Globalisation. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Meek, Barbra A. 2011. *We Are Our Language: An Ethnography of Language Revitalisation in a Northern Athabaskan Community*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press.

Milroy, Lesley. 1987. *Language and Social Networks*. Oxford: Blackwell.

(p.23) Mufwene, Salikoko. 2004. Language birth and death. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 33: 201-22.

Mühlhäusler, Peter. 1996. *Linguistic Ecology*. London: Routledge.

Mühlhäusler, Peter. 2003. Language endangerment and language revival. *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 7: 232-45.

Nettle, Daniel and Suzanne Romaine. 2000. *Vanishing Voices: The Extinction of the World's Languages*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Newman, Paul. 2003. The endangered languages issue as a hopeless cause. In Mark Janse and Sijmen Tol (eds.), *Language Death and Language Maintenance: Theoretical, Practical and Descriptive Approaches*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Nieldzielski, Nancy A. and Dennis Richard Preston. 2003. *Folk Linguistics*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Patrick, Peter L. 2002. The speech community. In J. K. Chambers, Peter Trudgill, and N. Schilling-Estes (eds.), *The Handbook of Language Variation and Change*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Pennycook, Alastair. 2005. Postmodernism in language policy. In Thomas Ricento (ed.), *An Introduction to Language Policy: Theory and Method*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Pennycook, Alastair. 2007. *Global Englishes and Transcultural Flows*. Abingdon: Routledge.

Preston, Dennis Richard. 1989. *Perceptual Dialectology*. Dordrecht: Foris.

Preston, Dennis Richard (ed.). 1999. *Handbook of Perceptual Dialectology*, vol. 1. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Reyhner, Jon and Louise Lockard (eds.). 2009. *Indigenous Language Revitalisation: Encouragement, Guidance and Lessons Learned*. Flagstaff: Northern Arizona University Press.

Ricento, Thomas (ed.). 2006. *An Introduction to Language Policy*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Rindstedt, Camilla and Karin Aronsson. 2002. Growing up monolingual in a bilingual community: the Quichua revitalization paradox. *Language in Society* 31: 721-42.

Romaine, Suzanne. 2002. The impact of language policy on endangered languages. *International Journal on Multicultural Societies* 4: 194-212.

Romaine, Suzanne. 2006. Planning for the survival of linguistic diversity. *Language Policy* 5: 441-73.

Sallabank, Julia. 2009. Review of Alexandre Duchêne and Monica Heller (eds.), *Discourses of endangerment: ideology and interest in the defence of languages*. *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 13: 106-12.

Sallabank, Julia. 2010. Endangered language maintenance and revitalisation: the role of social networks. *Anthropological Linguistics* 52: 184-205.

Sallabank, Julia. 2012. From language documentation to language planning: not necessarily a direct route. In Frank Seifart, Geoffrey Haig, Nikolaus P. Himmelmann, Dagmar Jung, Anna Margetts, and Paul Trilsbeek (eds.), *Potentials of Language Documentation: Methods, Analyses, and Utilisation*. Language Documentation and Conservation Special Publication No. 3. Mānoa, HI: University of Hawai'i Press.

Sallabank, Julia. 2013. *Endangered Languages: Attitudes, Identities and Policies*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Sayers, David. 2009. *Reversing Babel: declining linguistic diversity and the flawed attempts to protect it*. Unpublished PhD dissertation, University of Essex.

(p.24) Schieffelin, Bambi B., Kathryn A. Woolard, and Paul V. Kroskrity (eds.). 1998. *Language Ideologies: Practice and Theory*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Schiffman, H. F. 1996. *Linguistic Culture and Language Policy*. London: Routledge.

Schiffman, H. F. 2002. Comment. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language special issue on Diglossia* 157: 141-50.

- Schmidt, Annette. 1985. *Young People's Dyrbal: An Example of Language Death from Australia*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Sebba, Mark, 2007. *Spelling and Society: The Culture and Politics of Orthography Around the World*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Silverstein, Michael. 1996. Monoglot 'standard' in America: standardisation and metaphors of linguistic hegemony. In Donald Brenneis and Ronald K. S. Macaulay (eds.), *The Matrix of Language: Contemporary Linguistic Anthropology*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.
- Silverstein, Michael. 1998. The uses and utility of ideology: a commentary. In Bambi B. Schieffelin, Kathryn A. Woolard, and Paul V. Kroskrity (eds.), *Language Ideologies: Practice and Theory*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Silverstein, Michael. 2000. Whorfianism and the linguistic imagination of nationality. In Paul V. Kroskrity (ed.), *Regimes of Language: Ideologies, Politics and Identities*. Santa Fe, NM: School of American Research Press.
- Simpson, Jane. 2013. What's done and what's said: language attitudes, public language activities and everyday talk in the Northern Territory of Australia. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* 34: 1-16.
- Spolsky, Bernard. 1998. *Sociolinguistics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Spolsky, Bernard. 2004. *Language Policy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Spolsky, Bernard. 2009. *Language Management*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Spolsky, Bernard. 2011. Language and society. In Peter K. Austin and Julia Sallabank (eds.), *The Cambridge Handbook of Endangered Languages*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Steger, Manfred B. 2003. *Globalisation*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Street, Brian. 1984. *Literacy in Theory and Practice*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Thieberger, N. 2002. Extinction in whose terms? In David Bradley and Maya Bradley (eds.), *Language Endangerment and Language Maintenance: An Active Approach*. London: Curzon.
- Tollefson, J. W. 2006. Critical theory in language policy. In T. Ricento (ed.), *An Introduction to Language Policy: Theory and Method*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Tsunoda, Tasaku. 2006. *Language Endangerment and Language Revitalisation*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization) (Ad Hoc Expert Group on Endangered Languages). 2003. *Language vitality and endangerment: by way of introduction*. Paris: UNESCO.

Urla, Jacqueline. 2012. *Reclaiming Basque: Language, Nation, and Cultural Activism*. Reno and Las Vegas, NV: University of Nevada Press.

Watts, Richard and Peter Trudgill (eds.). 2002. *Alternative Histories of English*. London: Routledge.

Whaley, Lindsay J. 2011. Some ways to endanger an endangered language project. *Language and Education* 25: 339-48.

(p.25) Woolard, Kathryn A. 1998. Introduction: language ideology as a field of inquiry. In Bambi Schieffelin, Kathryn A. Woolard, and Paul V. Kroskrity (eds.), *Language Ideologies. Practice and Theory*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Woolard, Kathryn A. and Bambi B. Schieffelin. 1994. Language ideology. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 23: 55-82. **(p.26)**

Notes:

Proceedings of The British Academy, **199**, 1-26. © The British Academy 2014.

⁽¹⁾ Schiffman is here using the term 'speech community' differently from our interpretation: see section 1.4

⁽²⁾ The term 'denotational code' is discussed by Costa, this volume.

⁽³⁾ Spolsky coined this word to distinguish it from 'linguacentrism', which, on analogy with ethnocentrism, would mean looking at things through the lens of a single language.



Access brought to you by: School of Oriental and African Studies