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Conchúr Ó Giollagáin Daniel Bourgeois, Brian Ó Curnáin, Iain Caimbeul Gordon Cameron

# Language Dynamics in Society (LanDS): The LanDS Analytical Framework for Majority and Minority-Language Ethnolinguistic Vitality

#### **Abstract**

Language Dynamics in Society (LanDS) is an analytical framework to reappraise ethnolinguistic vitality (EV) which is key to societal processes affecting the stability of language groups. LanDS proposes an enhanced academic analysis of EV and Language Promotion and Protection. This EV approach addresses the dynamics of how social players participate in the processes which are beneficial or detrimental to EV. LanDS posits four analytical Developmental Quadrants: Language Transmission and Acquisition, Socialisation and Reinforced Acquisition, Civic Expansion, and Coherent Ethnicisation. Each Quadrant is affected by the four core concepts of Direction, Process, Participation, and Competition. Collective community continuity or instability are shaped by the language group's participation in these key developmental stages.

#### **Keywords**

ethnolinguistic vitality, societal language dynamics, language transmission, ethnicisation, LanDS framework, minority sociolinguistics

#### Corresponding author

Conchúr Ó Giollagáin, UHI Language Sciences Institute, The University of the Highlands and Islands, Inverness, Scotland; **e-mail**: conchur.ogiollagain@uhi.ac.uk, **ORCID**: https://orcid.org/0000-0001-8383-2782

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> UHI Language Sciences Institute, The University of the Highlands and Islands, Inverness, Scotland

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Institut Beaubassin, Moncton, Canada

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Dublin Institute of Advanced Studies, School of Celtic Studies, Dublin, Ireland

### 1. Introduction

Ethnolinguistic vitality (EV) is contingent on language dynamics in society (LanDS), functioning according to interrelated and mutually reinforcing societal processes. These complex dynamics may be positive and beneficial to the overall EV or negative and detrimental, resulting in ethnolinguistic fragility. Both positive and negative aspects – EV and fragility – can, of course, occur simultaneously. For ease of presentation, we discuss these issues from the positive EV viewpoint. From this dynamic perspective, EV ensues from the collective and organisational capacity of a language group to protect and regenerate key intergenerational, communal/social, institutional, and civic processes which are critical to the societal stability and continuity of the group. Therefore, the societal continuity of a language minority is based on its socio-political organisational competence, reinforcing communal activities, and institutional support (cf. Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 1998, 76–82; Grin 2016; 2024), as well as the amalgamation of individual competences, ideologies/motivations, and practices within viable demolinguistic densities. The holistic and systemic heuristic proposed here as LanDS strives to delineate a planned approach to the protection and promotion of EV as both a consequence and an objective of these socio-economic, civic, and cultural assemblages, which involve various linguistic repertoires and other forms of ethnolinguistic capital.

The structure of this article is as follows. We first introduce the rationale for this new LanDS theory, which we justify through a review of core publications in the existing literature. This review concludes with a discussion of key concepts from our co-authored 2024 publication on Language Policy and Planning (LPP) and Language Protection and Promotion (LPrPr). We then present the LanDS structural theory of circular, sustainable EV; first regarding LanDS' General Tenets (GTs), followed by the discussion and analysis of the social dynamics involved in four Developmental Quadrants (DQs). We elaborate on an initial simplified model to demonstrate the roles of various participants and their interactions. This is followed by a short minority-language (Min-L) case study of Irish. We then argue for the advantages of this new framework and its improvements on much current LPP discourses which are overreliant on post-structuralist assumptions. We conclude by suggesting further steps to elaborate our theoretical framework and related LPrPr interventions.

This LanDS concept emerges from various sociolinguistic research contexts that demonstrate significant discrepancies and divergence

between empirical findings and policy aspirations inherent in formal provision for minority speakers and their communities (cf. Ó Giollagáin et al. 2007a; 2007b; Ó Giollagáin & Charlton 2015; Ó Giollagáin et al. 2020; Bourgeois 2024a; 2024b). We propose our LanDS framework to improve academic analysis of EV and Language Promotion and Protection (LPrPr) approaches (cf. Ó Curnáin & Ó Giollagáin 2024; Ó Giollagáin & Caimbeul 2021), and Language Policy and Planning (LPP) aimed at sustaining vulnerable Min-L communities. This would entail reassessing efforts to address the inequity in the distributions of public and private resources and agencies. The LanDS approach encompasses both the Min-L and Maj-L perspectives, but in this article we emphasise the Min-L standpoint on EV. For reasons of brevity, this article concentrates on the asymmetrical societal relationship between minoritised bilingualised Min-L communities and socio-politically dominant, often monolingual, Maj-L communities. Nonetheless, the analysis can also be of relevance to many multilingual contexts.

## 2. Theoretical Conceptualisation

The LanDS approach posits a theory of EV based on the multifaceted societal interactions which determine a minority group's collective continuity, instability, or decline. As societal demise is ubiquitous among language minorities (Crystal 2000; Harrison 2007; Bradley & Bradley 2019), understanding the social dynamics which may culminate in ethnolinguistic shift is an analytical prerequisite for describing, explaining, and prescribing collective, institutional, or state initiatives to seek to arrest or reverse the destabilising trajectory. Min-L societal sustainability or demise are features of complex interactional dynamics and, therefore, operate according to "complex adaptive systems" (Larsen-Freeman & Cameron 2008, 4). LanDS interdisciplinary analysis focuses on the communal/social dynamics within a minority group as well as between the minority and the majority (and other groups). These dynamics frame individual and communal ethnolinguistic behaviour and social psychology.

Our framework rests on key concepts relating to how minority ethnolinguistic societal dynamics operate in socio-political competition with subordinating language majorities, regardless of whether this subordination is accidental or intentional, formal or informal, implicit or explicit. It seeks to address the limitations of existing frameworks, and how they inform or influence existing LPP dispensations for minoritised language groups. Many current LPP approaches are insufficiently fo-

cused on minority societal dynamics or their challenging socio-cultural reality. Since Min-L provision is first filtered through Maj-L political concerns or tolerance, much current minority LPP fails to accommodate or prescribe for many central societal dynamic contexts for Min-L communities.

Our main contention is that sufficiently sociologically informed positive EV outcomes should be maximally explicit in how LPP is formally pursued. Contemporary approaches to LPP tend to leave struggling Min-L communities in a disempowered reactive relationship to highly circumscribed formal, sectoral Min-L official provision, and of course in an even more disempowered relationship to Maj-L dynamics. Much of current LPP fails to increase the capacities and opportunities of the minority group to be proactive players in prescribing feasible strategies to address their societal concerns (see our Irish case study below). As a corollary, the influence of existing EV frameworks on current LPP has not adequately enhanced the collective facilities of Min-L groups to counteract the Maj-L dominated competitive dynamics inherent in the various societal challenges of (post-)modernisation, e.g. how Maj-L dynamics dominate cultural, communicative, and technological innovation. Our EV-informed empirical approach to LPrPr is primarily focused on creating the socio-political and civic conditions capable of increasing the proactive and prescriptive abilities of Min-L groups.

The LanDS framework argues for a reappraisal of current approaches to EV and LPP in order to identify and proactively engage with core social processes underpinning both. This includes processes of primary socialisation in the Min-L; secondary peer-group socialisation of the Min-L and its culture among the young; processes of civic and socio-economic reinforcement of the Min-L in more formal or institutional contexts; and processes that enable participation in formal and informal reflexive social interactions (Giddens 1991, 20–23) in which affiliation processes to the minority's ethnolinguistic identity are experienced as a coherent collective identity. WEIRD¹ modernity (cf. Henrich 2020) involves processes of Maj-L advantages and Min-L disadvantages, entailing an inherent threat to Min-L group stability. Nevertheless, instances of relative stability of Min-Ls are found in WEIRD societies where small-scale cantonisation (local autonomy) applies.

Due to the complex relations between the four DQs in the LanDS framework, our analysis is rooted in Complexity Theory. Complexity Theory seeks to account for the interdependence and interactivity of constituent factors in how dynamic systems are sustained or disrupted. Bastardas-Boada (2013) sets out the challenges involved in adapting as-

pects of Complexity Theory to sociolinguistic dynamics that determine ethnolinguistic group stability or instability:

Organizations of systems of meaning used between humans, which, although subject to constant intergenerational replacements, maintain (or not) the former in operation and modify them in accordance with their global socio-communicative needs. Linguistic structures live, therefore, in this incessant flow, just as the socio-meanings that are adhered to them, changing and innovating in accordance with the vicissitudes of the general socio-cultural current of peoples. Our challenge, therefore, is to go beyond prevailing perspectives that are more static than dynamic [...] (Bastardas-Boada 2013, 161).

Complexity Theory in language sciences addresses the dynamic, non-linear, and emergent aspects (cf. Larsen-Freeman & Cameron 2008, 2–4) of how various social players adapt and contribute to societal processes. These determine personal and collective affiliation to, social and institutional practice of, and adherence to the civic reinforcement of language(s), as well as the general level of salience of language(s) as embodied dynamic competence and lived dynamic identity. Building on other EV models, especially those proposed by Fishman (1991), Lewis and Simons (E)GIDS (2016), and Landry et al. (2022), our LanDS framework models the complex progression of the individual or cohort as they develop through various social stages. LanDS EV offers an analytical model to explain the influence of competitive social pressures on the individual or cohort as they move from one developmental or collective stage to another (see Figure 3 below).

Given that the majority of the world's living languages are experiencing various degrees of societal fragility and endangerment (Crystal 2000; Ó Curnáin & Ó Giollagáin 2024, 398–399; Lewis & Simons 2016, 3), speakers of these threatened languages are increasingly constrained in their individual and collective capacity or communal agency to adapt to a social dynamic which would support the continuity of the language and culture as lived social practice. From this perspective, participants in endangered language cultures are enmeshed in various mal-adaptive competitive dynamics with a more dominant language culture, dynamics which include a multitude of psychological and interpersonal issues (cf. Bradley 2022, 456; Krauss 1992; Crystal 2000; Nettle & Romaine 2000; Batibo 2005; Hagège 2009; Ó Giollagáin et al. 2007a; 2007b; Ó Giollagáin et al. 2020; Ó Curnáin 2009). This reality is insufficiently addressed in much of the academic literature and discussions of LPP. Indeed, Min-L sociolinguistic discourses which disregard, deny, or

minimalise this challenging Min-L societal reality risk undermining their own relevance as Min-LPP analyses (e.g. the debate following the publication of Ó Giollagáin et al. (2020) in: Nance (2021), McLeod et al. (2022), Armstrong (2021a, 2021b) and Armstrong et al. (2022); for an alternative view in response, see: Ó Giollagáin et al. (2022a; 2022b), Ó Curnáin & Ó Giollagáin (2021) and McEwan-Fujita (2006). In short, post-structuralist LPP has propagated an approach to (Min-L) promotion which has enabled a neo-liberal *laissez-faire* outlook detrimental to vernacular groups in decline (see also our Analysis below).

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# 3. Existing Ethnolinguistic Vitality Frameworks and Their Limitations

Giles et al. (1977) proposed the first EV framework. It posits a structural analysis of intergroup relations based on three variables: status, demography and institutional support. Four status indicators are presented: social, economic, sociohistorical, and language (within and without the minority group). Demographic factors are divided into two categories: numbers (absolute, birth rate, mixed marriages, immigration and emigration) and distribution (national territory, concentration, and proportion). Institutional support can be formal (mass media, education, government services) or informal (industry, religion, culture). They contend that "these three types of structural variables [...] interact to provide the context for understanding the vitality of ethnolinguistic groups" (1977, 309).

The framework is based on Tajfel's (1974) theory of intergroup relations and Giles's (1973) theory of speech accommodation. The former posits that individuals use social categories to define themselves and the world around them. Their knowledge of membership in various social (ethnic) groups, as well as the value they attribute to their membership in such groups in positive or negative terms, shape their social identity and conception of self. Relatedly, Ehala's (2010) EV conceptualisation relies on four social psychological factors: perceptions of group strength differentials, intergroup distance, utility of socio-cultural capital, and intergroup discordance.

In their article, Giles et al. (1977) posit that the more a language group has strong demographics (numbers and proportions), the more it controls important societal institutions, and the higher its status in society, the more it is likely to "survive and thrive as a collective entity in an intergroup context" (1977, 308), thereby enhancing its vitality and

increasing its ability to transmit its language and culture to subsequent generations. However, "a group's subjective assessment of its vitality may be as important as the objective reality" (1977, 318).

Edwards' (1992) taxonomic-typological model describes the complexity of Min-L community make-up based on geographic, demographic, economic, political, and other variables. For instance, he categorises Min-L environments regarding: a language being unique to one state; attitudes of the majority to the minority; community support for the Min-L; type and strength of association between Min-L and religion; and economic development of the region.

Similar to Strubell's (2001) Catherine Wheel Model,<sup>2</sup> Mac Donnacha's (2000) Integrated Language Planning Model stresses the centrality of social and institutional capacity-building measures to reinforce the societal sustainability of the Min-L community and to maintain the relevance of the civic provision for their concerns.

In 2003, UNESCO published a Language Vitality and Endangerment (LVE) framework. It presents an inventory of factors that should be considered when evaluating language vitality, including the rate of intergenerational language transmission, the number and proportion of speakers, the loss of existing language domains, community members' attitudes towards their own language, and governmental and institutional language attitudes and policies. The methodology produces an analysis to determine the level of vitality/endangerment, ranging from "extinct" to "safe" (Brenzinger et al. 2003).

Borrowing from Fishman's (1991) EV framework, presented as the Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (GIDS), Lewis and Simons (2016) propose a Sustainable Use Model (SUM) and an expanded GIDS (EGIDS). Fishman's GIDS measures the degree of disruption in intergenerational language transmission, the fundamental pillar of EV. He argued that there were eight levels of EV, ranging from the lowest (the only remaining speakers of the Min-L are members of the grand-parent generation) to the highest (the Min-L is used in education, work, mass media, and government at the national level).

Lewis and Simons adapted Fishman's framework by adding dimensions (official recognition, vehicularity, educational use, intergenerational transmission, identity, and documentation) and levels (motivation, literacy, use in literature, face-to-face functions, etc.). They specify that language use at any level can only be achieved if five conditions are met (Lewis & Simons 2016, 125). First, functions associated with the language must exist and be recognised by the community. Second, a means of acquiring the needed proficiency to use the language for

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those functions must be in place and accessible to community members. Third, motivation: community members must perceive that the use of the language for those functions is beneficial in some way. Fourth, the policy environment must not be hostile to the use of the language for those functions. And finally, societal norms must clearly delineate the functions assigned to the Min-L marking the group as distinct from the functions for other languages.

Over the years, Landry (2015; 2018; 2020) and his colleagues (Landry et al. 1989; 1990; 1992a; 1992b; 1994; 1996; 1997; 2003; 2005; 2006; 2007; 2008; 2009; 2022; Allard et al. 1986; 1994; 2005; Deveau et al. 2005; Godin et al. 2022) expanded the EV model, specified variables, hypothesized relations, and measured the interrelations between variables and the impact of each variable on EV, mostly in minority Francophone communities in Canada. Their detailed empirical research produced two main conclusions. First, significant links exist between all variables and between the variables and EV. Second, some links are stronger than others. Thus, outside the family, schools are the most important contributor to linguistic and cultural acquisition and maintenance. Min-L schools, especially if they are managed by minority members and do not only teach subject matters in the Min-L but also teach the group's history and culture, act as a compensatory weight to the family on the scale to tip the balance in favour of additive bilingualism (added ability in language B without loss of language A), rather than subtractive or replacive bilingualism (loss of ability in language A with added ability in language B).

Their initial findings motivated Landry et al. to propose their Selfdetermination and Ethnolinguistic Development (SED) model (2007; 2022). This "macroscopic" model is based on the proposition that "group vitality in an intergroup context can be conceived of as a power struggle between a top-down force of social determinism and a bottom-up force of minority group self-determination" (2022, 242). The authors explain that social determinism occurs when EV structural factors favouring the dominant language at the societal level lead to subtractive bilingualism among the minority group members and Min-L loss, while self-determination is a force based on a critical social consciousness of these external forces and on strategies and action that focus on social change fostering additive bilingualism and Min-L maintenance (2022, 243). The model posits that objective EV is related to three types of socialisation experiences of minority group members ("enculturation, personal autonomisation, and critical consciousness-raising" (2022, 242); see also Bourhis and Landry's (2008) group vitality and cultural

autonomy model), and how each of these is related to four crucial bilingual development variables: language competencies, group identity, community engagement and subjective ethnolinguistic vitality. The model also posits that different linguistic socialisation experiences and bilingual development have specific effects on Min-L use in different social domains like the family, friends, media consumption and public spaces.

Landry et al.'s model and hypotheses, based on enculturation, personal autonomisation, and critical consciousness-raising, provide an excellent framework for describing, measuring, and predicting EV. However, like the Lewis and Simons framework, it does not grant sufficient importance to the political dynamics involved in almost every step of LPP. They neglect the "black box" in which political decisions are made (Easton 1965a: 1965b), including bureaucratic specifics and implementational challenges of LPP (Bourgeois 2006). They simply assume that requests for EV strategies drawn from empirical research or community initiatives (inputs) will be transformed rationally into effective policies (outputs). The literature in policy analysis shows how irrational the various stages of policy formulation, notably implementation, as well as the various stakeholders involved in each stage, can be (Edwards & Sharkansky 1978; Demszky & Nassehi 2014, 11; Marume et al. 2016; Godenhielm 2024).

Both frameworks (Landry et al. and Lewis & Simons) assume implicitly that politics is involved, but only as abstract manifestation of interrelations between majority/dominant and minority/subordinate language groups. Our LanDS EV framework, on the other hand, makes this competitive political dimension explicit in its various communal, civic, and broader societal contexts. Account should be taken of the fact that minority and majority groups are not necessarily homogenous in their socio-political and economic objectives. For instance, some may oppose other members of the same language group, for ideological or practical reasons, regularly or sporadically. On the other hand, some members of the majority group may support the minority group's initiatives and defend them in the face of other members of the majority and the majoritarian government. The bureaucracies responsible for the implementation of LPP, which can include both the majoritarian bodies and seconded minority stakeholders, may make or break LPP efficacy. Indeed, bureaucrats may implement policy à la lettre, deviate from it, sabotage it, etc., to protect their organisational or individual interests (Wilson 1989; Niskanen 1971; 1994; Gaspard 2024).

In general, the (E)GIDS and other existing EV models risk an overly

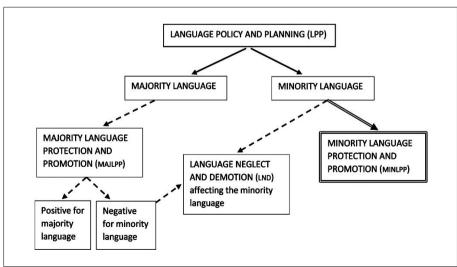
static interpretation of Min-L sustainability, given their predominant linearity. Our cyclical and multidimensional LanDS framework, on the other hand, incorporates insights from previous models while present-34 ing the key developmental and societal dynamics to include a more socially, individually, and psycho-sociologically attuned representation of FV<sup>3</sup>

## 4. Minority Language Protection and Promotion versus Language Neglect and Demotion

Our reconceptualisation of Min-L societal dynamics through our framework builds on two complementary concepts previously developed in Ó Curnáin and Ó Giollagáin (2024, 397, 409):

a) There are positive and negative aspects to the Min-L vitality/fragility spectrum, entailing the propensity for non-optimal Min-L promotion to descend into or acquiesce with Min-L Neglect and Demotion (LND); LND often occurs when Min-L Promotion is pursued as a policy dispensation with insufficient focus on Min-L Protection of the existing speaker group, i.e. Language Promotion without sufficient Language Protection, as discussed in Ó Giollagáin and Caimbeul (2021);

Figure 1: Positive language protection and promotion and negative language neglect and demotion

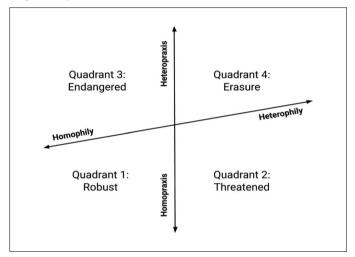


Source: Ó Curnáin and Ó Giollagáin (2024, 397).

b) Unidirectional factors in Maj-L power dynamics drive Min-L affiliation (homophily) and praxis (homopraxis) towards mal-adaptive interaction (heterophily) and interconnectedness (heteropraxis) with the Maj-L language and culture which threatens Min-L individual and community continuity, i.e. a trajectory towards ethnolinguistic shift and even societal erasure;

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Figure 2: Two-dimensional space of ethnolinguistic identity scale with ethnolinguistic praxis scale



Source: Ó Curnáin and Ó Giollagáin (2024, 409).

# 5. General Tenets in Minority Social Dynamics of Direction, Process, Participation, and Competition

Our LanDS framework is predicated on the four key General Tenets (GTs): Direction, Process, Participation, and Competition, which we set out below. These four tenets are of central relevance in each of the four Developmental Quadrants (DQs). Ideally, the four DQs entail a progressive movement from one stage to the next, while the internal dynamic in each DQ is affected by these four GTs. The overarching crucial concept of comprehensiveness in sustainable EV, LPrPr and LPP (Ó Curnáin & Ó Giollagáin 2024, 412) entails all these GTs and DQs in dynamic complementary interaction. The four GTs are ever-present influences on the structured and inter-related dynamics of LanDS EV. It is important, however, not to assume an overly categorical interpretation of the

DQ stages, as we envisage an iterative dynamic within and between the processes, as EV is comprised of multiple reinforcing cross-contextual variables. These DQs can be viewed as sequential stages for the individual, as well as spheres of action, participation, and development for the ethnolinguistic group. Other relevant processes can be added to the framework as identified, but the purpose of the LanDS approach is to concentrate on what we consider the core societal issues.

#### 5.1 Direction

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The concept of direction in minority social dynamics in Figure 34 can be viewed as operating on two directional axes. Firstly, there is a vertical axis indicating the social transfer of the Min-L between generations, including the transmission of the social and cultural capital (Bourdieu 2017, 183-184) associated with the language. The key component, therefore, on the Y-axis (Figure 3) is the transfer of language skills and associated culture from the previous generation(s) to the young. Figure 3 below illustrates this as a vertical trajectory from the primary transfer of the Min-L entailing stages in social DQ1-2 to socialised transfer pertaining also to institutional/formal DQ3-4; as socialised transfer is a continuation from primary transfer of intergenerational transmission on the vertical axis. Critical-period bilingual acquisition can clearly occur outside the home or primary socialisation, for instance in Min-L preschools where Maj-L children can acquire the Min-L. However, the programmed acquisition (Calvet 2006, 60–61) of a Min-L as a secondary language also operates according to a vertical dynamic as it is mostly dependent on the transfer of skills and knowledge from teachers and authority figures in school and educational settings. The cyclical LanDS model is based on the order of four primary DQs from micro- to macrolevels, encompassing the biological and chronological development of the individual or cohort and the expanding nature of the societal and civic networks as the individual or cohort mature and develop socially (see the discussion below about Process).

Levels in Fishman's GIDS diagnostic schema can be easily accommodated in our LanDS cycle: GIDS levels 4 to 1 correspond to DQ3–4, while GIDS levels 5 and 6 correspond to DQ1–2 EV activities. Aspects of GIDS levels 7 to 8 (EGIDS 7 to 10) occur in DQ3–4 reflecting societal issues in DQ1–2. Similar to other complex systems, our DQs can be subdivided to delineate further categorical differentiation.

Figure 3 depicts the four Developmental Quadrants in the sustainable inter-generational social dynamic:

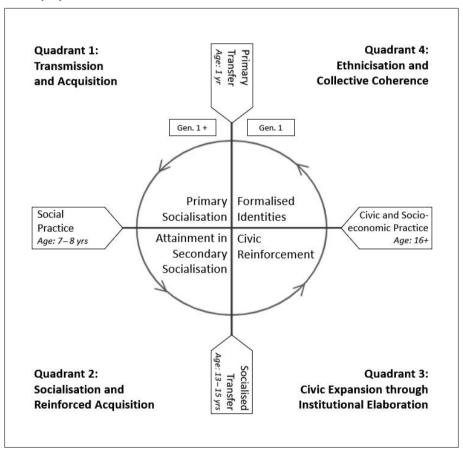
**Developmental Quadrant 1** – Transmission and Acquisition of the Language;

**Developmental Quadrant 2** – Socialisation and Reinforced Acquisition of the Language;

**Developmental Quadrant 3** — Civic, Socio-economic and Institutional Elaboration;

**Developmental Quadrant 4** – Coherent Ethnicisation.

Figure 3: Four developmental quadrants of sustainable EV in language community dynamics



Source: Authors' own representation.

The directional arrows of the circular dynamics in Figure 3 represent sustainable EV flows through the four DQs. Direction in the dynamic can also be observed as operating on a horizontal axis, i.e. the practice of Min-L and culture, i.e. homopraxis, in various (inter-)generational social

and geographic settings. This would include Min-L practice in communities, schools, civic institutions and promotional sectors. Figure 3 above illustrates this as a horizontal trajectory from the Social Practice of language entailed in DQ1–2 to Civic and Socio-economic Practice pertaining to DQ3–4 institutional/formal processes, operating on a monodirectional micro- to macro-context trajectory, as Civic and Socio-economic Practice and positive identity formation, i.e. homophily, is proceeded by the more informal Social Practice in the vernacular social context. The widening DQ stages portrayed in the LanDS framework involves expanding networks of communities of practice, encompassing the dynamic progress from the more micro to societally expansive macrocontexts.

#### 5.2 Process

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The concept of Process pertains to the social dynamic of moving progressively within, through, and from one social or developmental stage to another. In this societal dynamic framework, the progression through four DQs indicates optimal adherence to the developments leading to greater societal sustainability. In this context, we can now discuss the four DQs.

**Quadrant 1: Transmission.** This pertains to the critical-period acquisition of the Min-L and culture through their transmission in the family or primary care context in which the initial processes of primary socialisation occur and embodied socio-cultural competences initially develop (Clark 2009; Montrul 2008; Péterváry 2016; Benmanoun et al. 2013).

**Quadrant 2: Socialisation**. This involves the maturational and social reinforcement in youth or peer-group practice of the Min-L and culture, following primary transmission in DQ1 (cf. Hasan 1988). This social reinforcement emerges from communal contexts in which the minority group has the capacity to generate sufficient social densities of young people who have previously experienced primary socialisation. This is the Process by which young people become socialised into their minority peer group beyond the home/family context. From this perspective, DQ2 can be portrayed as minority secondary socialisation. This encompasses the social opportunities in which linguistic competences can be reinforced and enhanced through social and cultural exchange between proficient speakers (as relevant to the age cohort).

**Quadrant 3: Civic and Socio-economic Expansion**. This emerges from the civic reinforcement of the Min-L practice in schools, collective organisations, civic institutions, and other public bodies or fora. Spheres

of employment and socio-economic mobility take place in DQ3. Partner selection and family/household formation occur within DQ3. These processes serve to reinforce formally or institutionally that which has been previously experienced in intimate, informal, and non-programmed social or communal contexts, entailing the advanced developmental stages of adults and groups (cf. Bernstein 1971 (regarding elaborated codes); Hulstijn 2017 (regarding higher language cognition)).

The credibility and effectiveness of the formal and informal language politics in DQ3 and DQ4 may determine: a) the relevant strategic efficacy/traction of Min-LPP; b) actual acceptance level of Min-LPP by the Min-L community; and c) the efficiency and relevance of Min-LPP to the socio-economic, psycho-social and other benefits of adherence to the Min-L group. Indeed, Min-L opinion formation processes, rooted in the doxa of DQ4 public discourses which are only weakly relevant to the episteme of DQ3's societally attested evidence, will inevitably militate against the possibilities of achieving coherent ethnicisation/cogent identity formation, and thus undermine meaningful community-wide adherence to collective rationales to support EV.

Quadrant 4: Coherent Ethnicisation. This creates the broader societal context in which disparate members of the minority group contribute and adhere to sustainable identity, ideological formation, and social reinforcement practices. In the context of competition with Maj-L Ethnicisation, each Min-L generation negotiates and formulates their identity through intra-Min-L and inter-ethnic discourses and participation. The aim of these continual negotiations is to achieve a sustainable compromise between assimilatory majoritarian ethnicisation on the one hand and the attainment of Min-L Civic Expansion with sustaining and (re)vitalising homophily in homopraxis on the other hand (see Figure 2, Q1). This DQ encapsulates aspects of individual and collective processes in which ethnolinguistic issues are consolidated or formalised as consequential and recognisable elements of the group's collective identity. This includes processes of how the identity is individually perceived and collectively ascribed and prescribed. The collective coherence of a minority group's sense of identity can be demonstrated by the desire and capacity of the minority to align identity ascription processes with praxis, including practical efforts to protect or enhance their societal position vis-à-vis competing cultural groups. Part of the essence of assimilatory processes is the naturalisation of the prescriptive Maj-L capacities and the denaturalisation of the prescriptive Min-L capacities. The normalisation of Maj-L Civic Expansion is driven by the linguistic pragmatic concept of prioritisation of a common code for communica-

tion. The Process in DQ4 is dependent on the individual's experience of DQ1—3 (see Figure 3), and on how those experiences align with identifiable or common perceptions of the rewards, challenges, and socio-political benefits/disruptions of ascribing to a Min-L collective identity. Importantly, participation in this DQ provides a sense of coherence to the minority's collective identity. It is through involvement in, or experience of, DQ4 that members of the minority community feel that their identity is psychologically, collectively, and societally meaningful to them. In the case of recessive minorities or language groups experiencing significant ethnolinguistic fragility or demolinguistic decline, individuals may maintain a sense of minority identity, but due to issues of the demographic disruption and contraction, it becomes more challenging for them to see how their individual identity can contribute to sustaining a coherent sense of collective identity aligning with embodied praxis.

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Through engagement in the psychological and societal identityforming interactions of DQ4 Processes, individual minority speakers can gain or demonstrate a sense of solidarity through their collective adherence to the group. The Process also encapsulates actions by which groups of people support and take pride in minority organisations that seek to demonstrate and foster positive perceptions of the minority group and a productive sense of collective identity. This perception of a coherent identity is often dependent on community and civic leaders articulating realistic views of both the advantages and challenges to the minority's societal condition. Positing a feasible minority social identity into the future becomes increasingly difficult if minority speakers cannot attest to collective coherence vis-à-vis Min-L identity. Incoherent or sectionalist assertions of minority identity, especially appeals to minority identity that are overly dependent on participation in (DQ2-4) formal and informal organisations, or in programmed acquisition in schools (e.g. New-speakerism, cf. O'Rourke & Walsh 2020),<sup>5</sup> can create the social conditions in which individual Min-L identity on the one hand and processes of collective affiliation with minority culture on the other begin to diverge. This divergence in individual and collective identity formation processes (cf. Jenkins (1997, 12-14) on cultural differentiation) has been exacerbated, chiefly discursively but also practically, in recent years by the influence of post-structuralist approaches on formal Min-LPP frameworks (cf. e.g. the discussion on Gaelic LPP in Williams (2023, 110-148, 154-211) and McLeod (2020); MacLeod & Smith-Christmas (2018) and Royles et al. (2024) for Welsh LPP). The poststructuralist approach to Min-LPP can be summarised as prioritising the individualised take-up of Min-L opportunity or programmed practice,

arising from official Min-L promotion, to the detriment of the necessary organisational and strategic focus on the collective societal concerns of the minority group. An all-pervasive challenge for EV, present in all four DQs, is the contraindication of late-modernity and collective participation and action, i.e. the gap between elaborated and fragmenting individualism, including mediatised mobilities, and the necessity for collective identity formation and participation.

The emergence and elaboration of language politics pertains to DQ4. Language politics here refers to:

- a) How language issues impinge on the general politics of the Min-L community;
- b) The politics of the language minority's engagement with sympathetic or hostile majority politics;<sup>6</sup>
- c) The reflexive engagement of the minority with formal language promotion agencies;
- d) The minority's engagement with informal as well as officially or academically derived discourses.

In some cases, the lack of political adroitness or weak societal relevance of the formal administration or implementation of DQ3 civic initiatives can have a detrimental effect on DQ3–4 operating as positive dynamics for the Min-L. DQ3–4 are of vital relevance in stabilising the Min-L in society as these DQs provide the critical collective context in which a Min-L cohesive group devises and implements creative approaches to bolster their situation (cf. Fishman 2001). As discussed in Ó Curnáin and Ó Giollagáin (2024, 403) regarding "Anglobalisation" and World Language Systems, demographically large and even mega languages (e.g. French, Hindi, Bengali, non-English European languages, etc.) are involved in this dynamic interplay of individual and collective agency as both minoritised and minoritising language cultures in what can be characterised in its negative aspects as the tragedy of the global sociolinguistic commons.

## 5.3 Participation as Praxis

The concept of Participation in the dynamics refers to the various social players, participants, groups or communities of practice in varying social, socio-economic, political, and cultural activities pertaining to minority society across DQs, including their involvement in institutional sectors, such as sports clubs and schooling, that aim to serve the communal requirements of the Min-L group.

The social players encompassing the societal dimensions of minority social dynamics include:

- Minority primary language speakers entailing participants in primary Language Culture;
- Minority secondary language speakers entailing participants in a Minority Tangential Culture (see below) relating to the primary Language Culture;
- Minority secondary language learners/speakers encompassing adherents or participants in a Minority Neo-culture (see below);
- Majority members in favour of provisions for the minority;
- Majority members opposed to provisions for the minority;
- Community leaders of the primary Language Culture, and importantly those leaders based in the Min-L social geography;
- Sectoral leaders in the Min-L civic promotion or in LPP bodies;
- Political, bureaucratic and institutional leaders influencing (positively or negatively) civic provision for the primary Language Culture and Min-L civic sectors.

The implication of our framework is that the individual and collective actions (and inactions) of all participants during each of the four processes shape the LPP outcomes and affect Min-L EV.

## 5.4 Competition between Participants

The fourth GT of Competition between Participants concerns the pivotal competitive dynamics between the various Participants in relation to prescriptive and political power, geo-demography, and socio-economic, civic and cultural resources. A key aspect of the competitive dynamic in EV is the comparative dimension, as Maj-L developments may far outstrip those of the Min-L group, producing a perception of Min-L underdevelopment and restricted options. This competition contributes to positive or negative societal forces determining a supportive or a detrimental dynamic for maintaining the social integrity and the in situ salience and EV of the Min-L. From the Min-L group's perspective, the Min-L Participants require greater power to allow for the productive progression through the four DQs. Min-L group relative competitive advantage builds minority confidence and affords the minority collective capacity to address the competitive dynamic with majority speakers and their societal advantages. On the other hand, a Min-L disadvantage and impediments to minority speakers progressing through the four DQs undermines the Min-L and culminates in:

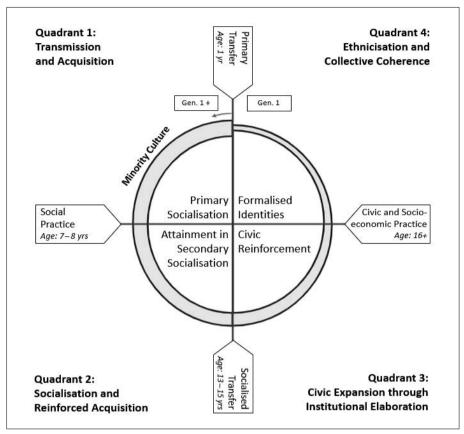
- a) the growth of majoritarian power in the minority societal context;
- b) the increasing assimilation of minority members into the majority's dominant social and cultural praxis; and, ultimately;
- c) the monolingualisation in the Maj-L of a formerly differentiated Min-L group.

The LanDS theory of EV will have obvious LPP and LPrPr implications as interventions in relevant DQs will vary dependent on the measurable effects of contributing variables in specific DQs and in the overall LanDS dynamics (see the discussion in Analysis below).

## 6. Social Dynamics of Progression through the Developmental Quadrants of Minority-Language Ethnolinguistic Vitality

Figure 4 illustrates the circular progression from DQ to DQ in Min-L EV. The contracting flow represents the typical threatened ethnolinguistic minority – the contraction of the flow indicating demolinguistic deterioration in the social dynamic, as in the case of language shift pressures. The comparative contraction in the Min-L flow also represents the disjunctures and impediments for the Min-L community to reproduce commensurately its group vitality from generation to generation and to maintain its demolinguistic status. As sections of the Min-L vernacular (L1) community have been experiencing assimilative pressures from the competing stronger ethnolinguistic group(s), the contracting flow depicts the lack of continuity in Min-L transmission from a generation with Min-L competence and social capital to the subsequent generation raised in the language of the competing ethnolinguistic group. As stated regarding Figure 3, Min-L EV is dependent on the four key GTs of Directional, Processual, Participatory and Competitive progression through the DQs by individuals, cohorts and groups. As a fluvial metaphor, EV's directional tenet is that of an intergenerational cycle, recalling, for instance, the familiar water cycle from rain to stream to river to evaporation and rain again. The LanDS logic, therefore, encompasses an evolving, intergenerational, biological/chronological cyclical dynamic operating in the linguasphere with its myriad internal and external interrelations (cf. Mufwene 2001).

Figure 4: The four developmental quadrants in minority-language contracting social dynamics



Source: Authors' own representation.

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The demographic extent of the linguistic minority is a primary factor in a minority's capacity to preserve its ethnolinguistic vitality, as argued by Giles et al. (1977). Relatedly, Ó Giollagáin et al. (2007a; 2007b; 2020) indicated that maintaining high proportional densities of active speakers in the specific social geographies of the vernacular group is the strongest determining factor in ensuring the social reproduction of the minority in the next generation(s) (see also Norris 2004; Ó Riagáin 1997). The correlation between geodemographic factors and EV is a common conclusion in the literature (Fishman 1991; Landry et al. 2002; Lewis & Simons 2016). Ongoing contractions, therefore, in the absolute demographic extent of the minority group, and significant demise in the geographic social densities of the minority speakers, obviously imply that there are fewer and fewer individuals participating in the four DQs.

Reductions in numbers of participants experiencing the benefits of socialised transfer, and peer and civic reinforcement, militate against possibilities for the successful collective and socio-economic progression from one stage to the next in sufficient numbers and cohort densities to make these processes salient features of the youth minority intra- and inter-group relations. Figure 4, therefore, depicts the social dynamic of a Min-L group contending with the societal pressure of language shift to the dominant language and the ongoing assimilation of the minority group in the normative functions of the dominant culture.

# 7. Social Dynamics – Majority-language Speakers in the Minority Context

Quadrant 1: Quadrant 4: Transmission Ethnicisation and and Acquisition **Collective Coherence** Wind Callage Primary Formalised Socialisation Identities Social Civic Practice Practice Attainment in Civic Secondary Reinforcement Socialisation Quadrant 2: Quadrant 3: Socialisation and Civic Expansion through **Reinforced Acquisition** Institutional Elaboration

Figure 5: Majoritarian culture in the minority-language social dynamic

Source: Authors' own representation.

Figure 5 expands on the presentation of the LanDS structure by illustrating the influence of the Maj-L Participants in the Min-L social dynamic. The Figure includes a darker grey, expanding flow with directional arrows indicating that the majority speakers act in accordance with a positive dynamic through the DQs in the context of the Maj-L and culture. The expanding dimension to the Majoritarian flow indicates the demolinguistic growth of Maj-L speakers through the DQs, and, by corollary, expresses the detrimental or subtractive effect, from a minority perspective, caused by the (dominant) practice of the Maj-L in the social geography, as well as the civic and institutional contexts of the minority group. The outer Majoritarian Culture flow encircles the Minority flow to indicate that minority cultures undergoing LS have to function within the strictures of their subordinate relationship to the power structures, civic dominance and normativising influence of the Majoritarian Culture. From a Maj-L/Lingua Franca perspective, their interventions and influences typically intensify initially at DQ2-4, often implicating the recruitment of parental/early-years input into LS. The mid- and high-level Maj-L interventions are reflected in similar level Min-LPP attempts to generate agency in DQ2-3 concerns in particular.

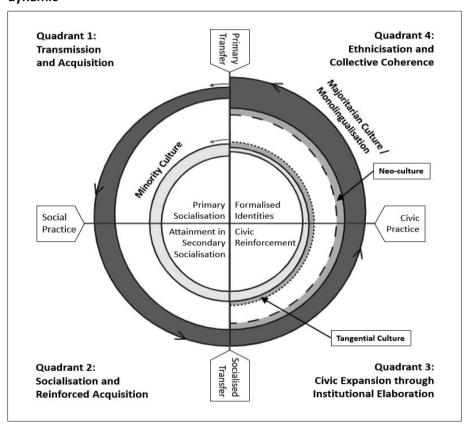
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# 8. Social Dynamics – Participants in the Tangential Culture and Neo-culture in the Minority Context

In Figure 6, two additional semi-circular bands are added to the Min-L social dynamic – one representing the Tangential Culture in the Min-L society and the other indicating the Minority Neo-culture. The semicircular band, attached to the outside of the Minority Culture, with a dotted border portrays the Tangential Culture in the Min-L social dynamic. This Tangential semi-circle represents the role in the minority social dynamic of some Min-L speakers who are not L1 speakers of the Min-L. A Participant in the Tangential Culture refers to a speaker who has acquired the Min-L through participation in some communal aspects of the Min-L peer-group socialisation in the social geography of the Min-L L1 community. The Tangential Participants (TP) may be considered to be in a tangential relationship with the L1 community as they have had social experience of witnessing the L1 language and culture in their in situ social milieu, rather than relying entirely on school-based acquisition of some Min-L competence. As they have not experienced Min-L primary socialisation (DQ1) and have only partial experience of the Process of secondary socialisation (DQ2), their inclusion in the minority social dynamic commences at the intersection of DQ2-3. The

TPs have, therefore, participated in some of secondary socialisation and have the linguistic competence to avail of and contribute to the Civic Reinforcement of the Min-L, hence the Tangential semi-circle pertaining to DQ3–4 and adjacent to the Minority Culture flow. The trajectory on the Tangential partial circle can be considered to align favourably with positive aspects of the Min-L social dynamic in DQ2–4. The trajectory of the TP circle continues through DQ2–4 (marked by a dotted circle).

Figure 6: Tangential Culture and Neo-culture in the minority-language social dynamic



Source: Authors' own representation.

An example of a TP would be an L1 speaker of the competing Maj-L who had the opportunity to actively participate in higher-density minority L1 social networks and to acquire aspects of his or her Min-L competence in social interactions. The TP can be differentiated from the minority L2 learner in that the L2 learners are generally dependent on school-based

pedagogical inputs. Due to aspects of the *in situ* Min-L acquisition process, the TP can be distinguished from Min-L L2 learners in that TPs generally are more likely to achieve a higher level of linguistic attainment in the Min-L and to be more aware of aspects of the social culture associated with the minority than those solely reliant on school-based Min-L learning.

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# 9. Social Dynamics – Participants in the Neo-culture in the Minority Context

Also in Figure 6, an inner semi-circle, adjacent to the Majoritarian Culture and bordered by a dashed line, is added to the social dynamic to represent the Participants who pertain to the Min-L Neo-culture. This semi-circle, therefore, represents the L2 dimension in the minority societal condition, and the effects of the L2 learners' and speakers' interactions in the minority dynamic. Participants in the Neo-culture (Neo-Ps) can be differentiated from both the L1 speakers and Participants in the Tangential Culture in that they have not experienced or gone through DQ1 primary socialisation or DQ2 secondary socialisation as practiced by the L1s or the partial societal experience of TPs in Min-L peer-group practice. In general, the Neo-Ps may ascribe or assert a Min-L identity by virtue of benefitting from pedagogical or curricular provision in Min-L schooling, either by participating in Min-L classes in the Maj-L school system or by virtue of being enrolled in Min-L immersion programmes. The Neo-Ps – in the circumstances where they wish to ascribe to the minority identity – conform to a process of programmed acquisition which entails little or no interaction with those who have been involved in social networks where Min-L socialisation is communally possible, hence the Neo-culture semi-circle pertaining to DQ3-4 and adjacent to the Majoritarian flow in Figure 6.

Neo-Ps can be considered to have a beneficial effect on the dynamic when their concerns align with those of the minority L1 and TPs. This can often be the case when the interests of the Neo-Ps evolve beyond them having a focus on the Min-L as a school subject. As educational provision for Min-L curricular concerns can be costly from the perspective of human resources, institutional energy, political focus, and financial expenditure, a schools-based focus on the minority that fails to develop or engender a societal dimension may be deemed as a drain on resources and energy, and a deflection from the required societal focus. Therefore, from this resource-allocation and outcomes perspective, Neo-Ps may be depicted as contributing negatively or detrimentally

to the minority dynamic. This occurs where the interests or engagement of the Neo-Ps in the Min-L are realised as a desocietalised and decontextualised focus on the Min-L culture. We see this phenomenon in New-speakerist Min-L identity ascriptions and assertions crowding out the group identification practices of vulnerable L1 communities undergoing LS.<sup>7</sup> In such cases, language minorities who are losing their local societal pre-eminence in their traditional social geography find themselves being subsumed into the symbolic requirements that the majority group and majority speakers may have for the Min-L and culture. Put simply, the civic promotion of the Min-L on the one hand and the societal realities of the existing community of Min-L speakers on the other may diverge ideologically.

However, in the cases where initial schools-based engagement with the Min-L may evolve into a more societal and cultural focus (as with the TPs), the Neo-culture can be deemed to align with a positive, supportive minority social dynamic. Hence, certain Neo-Ps in the overall Min-L context can contribute beneficially, particularly in DQ3–4. Intradiasporic Min-L speakers from other jurisdictions or social geographies, especially where they are Maj-L speakers, may also boost Min-L EV (cf. the case of the Min-L Austrian Slovenians being boosted by Maj-L Slovenian immigrants to Austria discussed in Zorčič & Sorgo (2025)).

# 10. Social Dynamics – (Re)assimilation of the Participants in the Minority Social and Cultural Dynamic into the Majoritarian Social and Cultural Context

Figure 7 expands the model further by illustrating the assimilatory pull towards the majoritarian culture, associated with the various Min-L Participants. The curved unidirectional arrows represent the assimilatory pull from the Minority, Tangential Cultures, and the Neo-culture to the Majoritarian Culture and to its social dynamics. Figure 7, in essence, expresses the ubiquitous assimilation of minority speakers into majority society. This phenomenon is particularly noticeable in the case of threatened Min-L groups experiencing the detrimental social dynamic of LS.

Figure 7 includes three important flows represented by specific curved arrows:

**Black curved arrows**: The four curved arrows in each DQ from the Minority Culture to the Majoritarian Culture represent the loss of Min-L

speakers to Maj-L assimilation during the various DQ social dynamics, indicating: disruption to primary and secondary socialisation of DQ1–2; Min-L speakers having no recourse to Min-L Civic Reinforcement as in DQ3; and circumstances where participation in coherent Min-L affiliation, identity-formation, or feasible Min-L politics becomes collectively untenable or societally impossible as in DQ4.

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**Dotted curved arrows:** The two dotted curved arrows in DQ3–4 depict the (re)assimilatory force on TPs back to the Majoritarian Culture. TPs originally emerged out of the Maj-L group via community exposure to Min-L secondary socialisation. However, for those TPs in the social geography of the minority culture who no longer attach social or cultural value (capital) to the social practice of the Min-L, or for those for whom the Min-L no longer holds symbolic value, the re-integration or re-assimilation of the TPs back into the Majoritarian culture becomes inevitable. This occurs for the TPs for whom their practice of the Min-L was both time- and process-specific.

**Square-dotted curved arrows:** The two square-dotted curved arrows in DQ3–4 depict the (re)assimilatory force on Neo-Ps back to the Majoritarian Culture. Similar to the TPs, the Neo-Ps originally emerged out of the Maj-L group via the Maj-L's interest in the symbolic value of the Min-L. These arrows, therefore, represent the re-integration or reassimilation of the Neo-Ps back into the monolingualising and monoethnicising dynamic of the Majoritarian culture for those whose interest in or commitment to the Min-L has waned.

In the case of endgame LS, the differentiation of the social dynamics of the various participants becomes an irrelevance as assimilation into the subordinating majoritarian culture necessarily becomes the only viable societal option.

Figure 7 depicts the disruption engendered by the majority speakers to the potentially positive dynamic of the minority speakers and the disturbance to their progressive movement through the DQs. For example, the participation of monolingual Maj-L speakers in the schooling of minority speakers will almost certainly lead to the situation where the *lingua franca* of the primary pupils will be the Maj-L, thus precluding the possibility of the undisrupted progress of the young minority speakers through the Min-L peer-group social reinforcement of DQ2 Processes. In this case, for the young minority speakers, their language will be confined to a home language which has limited wider social functions. The narrowing of the social function of the Min-L to increasingly isolated family units or formal contexts is a typical process in LS.

Quadrant 4: Quadrant 1: Transmission Ethnicisation and and Acquisition **Collective Coherence** Neo-culture Formalised Primary Social Socialisation Identities Civic Practice Practice Attainment in Civic Secondary Reinforcemen Socialisation **Tangential Culture** Quadrant 2: Quadrant 3: Civic Expansion through Socialisation and

Figure 7: The (Re)assimilatory pull from the minority-language participant categories into the majoritarian culture

Source: Authors' own representation.

**Reinforced Acquisition** 

# 11. Brief Case Study for the LanDS Framework: The Irish-speaking Community

Institutional Elaboration

The following subsection includes data on the Irish language and speaker communities in Ireland as an initial case study to illustrate the analytical relevance of the LanDS framework, as Irish is conceivably the most supported Min-LPP endeavour in modern times, providing a wealth of relevant data to all of the theoretical concepts relevant to the theory expounded in LanDS. Some of this data is presented according to our DQ structure:

**Quadrant 1** – Transmission: Various studies and data sources indicate that the Irish-speaking vernacular or native-speaking community in the official Gaeltacht now numbers around 20,000 people ( $\acute{O}$  Giollagáin

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et al. 2007a; 2007b; Ó Giollagáin & Charlton 2015; the demolinguistic data, including age profiles, of the Irish Census on the amount of Daily Speakers of Irish in the Gaeltacht<sup>8</sup>). This statistic represents the demolinguistic extent of the speaker cohorts in the community with the capacity to provide the social-linguistic context in which the Gaeltacht youth cohort can experience the Process of primary socialisation in Irish

Quadrant 2 – Socialisation: Sociolinguistic surveys in the Gaeltacht indicate that the peer-group use of Irish among the young is less than the proportions of Irish speakers reporting a fluent competence in Irish. For instance, in Ó Giollagáin et al. (2007b), 24% of the respondents in the higher Irish-speaking social density Category A Gaeltacht districts (67%+ daily speakers of Irish) reported in the study's Teenager Survey that they mainly spoke Irish to their friends, despite 91% of the Category A teenagers reporting a fluent or good competence in Irish. See also data from Mac Donnacha et al. (2004) and Péterváry et al. (2014). This implies that only a quarter of the youth in the strongest Irish-speaking Gaeltacht areas have experienced Secondary Socialisation in Irish. The corresponding youth cohort statistic for the whole of the official Gaeltacht districts is 9% of the youth cohort. Attendance at Gaeltacht summer colleges by L2 learners, and other youth courses, provides the social context for Tangential speakers of Irish to emerge.

Quadrant 3 – Civic Expansion: Irish is arguably the most civically reinforced Min-L in the world. Irish is provided for in constitutional recognition, various legislative provisions, official promotional and other civic agency supports (see Ó Giollagáin (2008) for a discussion on the scope of the official provision for Irish-language civic promotion). Primary and secondary schools in the Irish Republic teach Irish as a core curricular subject. This provision in the educational system creates the institutional context in which the young are initially exposed to the symbolic and cultural appeal of Irish as a second language. The status and teaching of Irish in the educational sector provides the pedagogical basis for the growth of the Irish-language L2 Neo-culture (see Figure 6). Academia, arts and media sectors receive relatively generous public subventions to provide Min-L services and conduct Irish-language initiatives and ongoing projects. All the mainstream political parties operating in the Irish State attest to the symbolic value of Irish and the important role of Irish as a significant component of Irish identity. The British Parliament ratified legislation, the Identity and Language (Northern Ireland) Bill, in 2022 to recognise Irish as an official language of Northern Ireland.

Quadrant 4 - Coherent Ethnicisation: Ó Giollagáin and Ó Curnáin (2016; 2024) have argued that the collective coherence of Irish-language identity has been compromised by the prioritisation of L2 concerns in the official approach to Irish-language civic promotion. Ó Giollagáin's (2014b) analysis contends that the official reluctance to differentiate between L1 and L2 sociolinguistic concerns has led to the counterproductive LPP approach where L2 sociolinguistic perspectives are being foisted on the remaining L1 Gaelic communities of the official Gaeltacht, now in crisis. The analysis argues that this L2 prioritisation in the I 1 context has contributed to the demise of the Gaeltacht via a LPP misdiagnosis of the sociolinguistic situation, while also encouraging a form of civic denialism about the ongoing societal collapse of Irish-speaking communities in the Gaeltacht. In the Irish context, feasible, differentiated LPP approaches to L1 and L2 requirements have been replaced by irrelevant institutional orthodoxies which are obstructing those with a sincere sense of affiliation with Irish-language identity from engaging in relevant political and institutional endeavours to bolster and protect their language.

## 12. Analysis

Frameworks and models are measured by their heuristic contribution: whether they encapsulate most (if not all) of the pertinent variables and situations they seek to illustrate. In this case, does the social dynamic theory discussed here describe, explain, and predict the societal phenomena underpinning the prospects for the EV of a minority group? If so, they may also provide a practical (normative) purpose by suggesting effective policies and programmes to enhance the societal sustainability of an ethnolinguistic group. Our contribution is academic: we hope our LanDS framework improves upon existing frameworks, notably those of Fishman, Landry et al., and Lewis & Simons. Our framework is based on our review of the literature on EV, including other frameworks, and on fieldwork experience as well as Min-LPP analysis in several Min-L contexts (cf. Ó Giollagáin et al. 2007a; 2007b; Ó Giollagáin & Charlton 2015; Ó Giollagáin et al. 2020; Bourgeois 2024a; 2024b). The improvement introduced by the LanDS structural theory is that it accounts for the progress of the individual through key developmental (DQs) stages while also indicating the parallel reinforcing social developmental processes (see Figure 3), which entails sociolinguistically relevant General Tenets (GTs) such as comparative resource distribution among Min-L and Maj-L speakers and groups. LanDS focuses on, therefore, the in-

terplay between the individual and society, and society's impact on the individual.

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Our LanDS evidence-based and universalising approach provides a useful structured approach for devising policies to improve EV and assessing actual impacts on minority situations. Implicitly, the framework suggests that effective Min-LPP will work as a holistic integration of DQ1–4 and the four GTs, aiming at comprehensiveness pertaining to the individuals and the ethnolinguistic groups, while recognising the foundational relevance of DQ1–2. DQ3–4 build on the formative socialisation processes in DQ1–2. Indeed, prioritising DQ3–4, at the expense of DQ1–2, is unlikely to produce the most beneficial societal outcomes or the optimal cost-effective results from LPP inputs (cf. Grin 2003; 2024).

The case for this new social dynamic approach to EV stems from the growing awareness of a "reality gap" between the formal aspirations for Min-L promotion and the lack of traction of aspirational Min-LPP in existing speaker communities (cf. Ó Giollagáin et al. 2020; 2007a; 2007b; Ó Giollagáin & Caimbeul 2021; Lenoach et al. 2012; Ó Giollagáin & Ó Curnáin 2016; Brookes & Roberts 2013; Ó Riagáin 2008; Iurrebasso 2023; Bourgeois 2024b). Similarly, we propose this new EV framework to: a) support more socially attuned diagnostics of minority speaker realities; and b) provide an analytical context for reformulations of Min-LPP to address issues of societal endangerment in the contemporary Min-L condition (cf. Bradley & Bradley 2019, 1-5). Individualised (or often atomised) language promotion at the expense of Min-L community protection is in danger of eliding the obvious reality that Min-L groups are perishable ethnolinguistic entities. Unless an ethnolinguistic group possesses/generates the social (interpersonal), societal, cultural, institutional, and political capabilities and related collective capacities that frame and orient individual and collective behaviour to maintain and replenish themselves intergenerationally (cf. Ó Curnáin & Ó Giollagáin 2024; Bastardas-Boada 2013, 161) in sufficient societal densities, the prospects of language minorities sustaining themselves as differentiated ethnolinguistic groups will inexorably fade.

As languages are socially perishable, it is critical to understand the social dynamics by which they defend or maintain their vitality in the societal spheres most relevant to their collective maintenance. The expenditure of public money and human resources on providing the institutional opportunities for individual take-up of Min-L opportunities or symbolic practices can only make strategic and financial sense if it is balanced by a policy and support framework that aims to attenuate the

trajectory of demolinguistic decline in the existing minority vernacular group. Admitting officially this Min-L societal challenge would be a first step in mitigating collective Min-L anxieties about minority-community demise (cf. Ó Giollagáin et al. 2020, Chapter 5).

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Our assessment of the limitations of existing EV frameworks is that they are not sufficiently cognisant of: a) the interactional, intra-stage social dynamics in the various societal processes that govern and sustain Min-L practices in primary socialisation (DQ1 above), secondary socialisation (DQ2), civic reinforcement (DQ3), and the processes of psycho-social affiliation and adherence to the minority cultural group (DQ4); and b) the inter-stage interdependency of the productive participation in the various processes to progress positively to subsequent DQ stages in the overall Min-L social dynamic. A new model incorporating these social dynamics and facilitating dynamic progression is required. The Min-L planning cycle, as discussed in Gazzola et al. (2024, 4–5; cp. 2016), for instance, falls within our systemic approach primarily under the scope of DQ3 Processes and initiatives. However, non-optimal Min-L politics emanating from approaches to DQ4 concerns can often lead to dereliction or inertia in what are initially conceived as positive recommendations for Min-LPP engagement with DQ3 concerns. A corollary of these DQ3 impediments to DQ4 progress is that chronic social dynamics in DQ4 language politics can void the civic aspirations and institutional efforts of DQ3, especially when the societal collapse of the Min-L community becomes evident (see Fishman (1991, 143) on the "Irelandization" problem in LPP, where in our terms, DQ3 prioritisation, supported by post-structuralist discourses, offers symbolic institutional engagement to Min-L communities without sufficiently addressing their (post)modern assimilation to Maj-L societal normativity, involved in our DQ1-4). Put simply, the common prioritisation of DQ3 civic concerns at the expense of DQ1-4 comprehensiveness is ineffectual as Min-LPP.

The archetypal trajectory indicated by the grey circle in Figure 3 refers to the societal condition of relatively stable language-in-society maintenance in both multi- / monolingual contexts as experienced in premodernity. Although not central to our framework, Figure 3 can provide a heuristic overview of Maj-L stability historically and in modernity. The central theme in LPP is the unprecedented instability of language-in-society at a global and local level which occurs in (post)modernity caused by the increases in physical and virtual mobility, entailing, for instance, migration and digital revolution. Our framework helps to analyse the four major thematic GTs (Direction; Process; Participation and Competition) which are central to the dynamics of (in)stability in (post)

modernity. This overall framework displays the processes of (post)modern reflexivity in that it engages with actual Min-L societal conditions which both drive the instability and inform the analytical tools and practical interventions to address the socio-cultural, economic, political, demolinguistic, and identitarian interactions between Min-L and Maj-L speakers and groups. It must be acknowledged, however, that formal Min-LPP is either impractical or unfeasible for most ethnolinguistic groups "because of their subordination to an exclusive Dominant MA-JLPP" (Ó Curnáin & Ó Giollagáin 2024, 405). In order to address modern problems, one needs to use modern tools. The progression from Figure 3 to 7 is an indication of the processes of sociolinguistic complexification in modernity, where in particular DQ3–4 increase their intensity and, therefore, their societal relevance.

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Figure 5 typifies common Min-L contexts with rudimentary and clearly unsuccessful Min-LPP. Figure 5 illustrates the exceptional situations of extensive Min-LPP where there are formal Min-L interventions concentrating in DQ2—3. In a global context, of course, the type of Min-L represented in Figure 6 is mainly found in the highly modernised societies, although even in those societies it is rare. Figure 7 is illustrative of the societal collapse of the Min-L group, again within the rare context of highly modernised LPP interventions.

The overall framework also provides an analytical tool to help clarify the academic, political and civic discussions and approaches to these issues, especially Min-L instability. For instance, an over-prioritisation of any DQ will be less than optimal in addressing Min-L realities. Much of current LPP discussions and interventions revolve around what are primarily DQ3 Processes. The prioritisation of DQ3 contexts appears to be based on the capacity for formal agency among civic bodies to intervene at this level. The romanticisation and aesthetisation of the Min-L culture (i.e. the aesthetic version of linguism)<sup>10</sup> also emanates from these dynamics primarily from within DQ3 (cf. Cronin 2019), and risk deflecting focus through naïve or deliberate attention away from pressing Min-L social concerns. Interventions should encapsulate all DQs holistically (cf. the discussion in Ó Curnáin and Ó Giollagáin (2024) on Min-L comprehensiveness).

As much of current Min-LPP is primarily concerned with supporting institutional provision for Min-Ls,<sup>11</sup> officially backed Min-L provision is chiefly focused on institutional concerns pertaining to DQ3 Processes, such as Min-L media, arts, schooling, and the symbolic civic/administrative visibility of Min-Ls. Formal supports which align with the social dynamics of DQ1–2 rarely occur in Min-LPP. Indeed, the Irish govern-

ment discontinued a DQ1-targeted initiative in 2011, Scéim Labhairt na Gaeilge (the Gaeltacht Irish-speaking family grant scheme). One hundred years of the Irish State's LPP exertions and expenditure already abundantly illustrate that the DQ3 institutional focus is unlikely to compensate for deficiencies in DQ1-2 social prerequisites.

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The basis to the academic contentions between the mainstream language-in-society approach (cf. Ó Giollagáin et al. 2020, § 8.4.1) and some of the practitioners of the "barren verbiage" of the post-structuralist approach (Edwards 2012, 38) can be located in the lack of agreement about what constitutes the core meaningful unit for assessing a group's EV (i.e. DQ1 Transmission, DQ2 Socialisation, DQ3 Civic and Socio-economic Expansion, and DQ4 Coherent Ethnicisation): the individual practitioner of the Min-L on the one hand, or the interactional capacity of the minority speakers to develop and maintain meaningful levels of collective salience for the Min-L on the other (cf. Williams 2023, 148-151). Both individual needs and collective requirements should be addressed; however, given the reality of language as a social phenomenon, the communal-focused interventions are more effective, as would be expected. Indeed, although the options for the post-structuralist individual may appear to open a broad vista of experimental possibilities, an amalgamation of individualised possibilities can never amount to a coherent sense of ethnolinguistic minority identity in the absence of the social salience of the Min-L in a given geography. This salience axiomatically stems from the in situ transmission and socialised transfer of the Min-L (see DQ2 above), i.e. the "[o]rganizations of systems of meaning" (Bastardas-Boada 2013, 161).

This language-in-society/post-structuralist dichotomy is akin to academic debates in oncological biology between those concentrating their analysis on individual cells, referred to by Smithers 1962 (cited in Ball 2023, 407–409) as "cytologism", on the one hand, and those whose analysis leads them to argue that "[c]ancer is a disease of organization not a disease of cells" on the other. The analogy in the language sciences would be that the key to understanding language maintenance and shift is not primarily analysable at the level of individual speakers' circumstances, but at the organisational societal level which determines the competitive social and intergenerational dynamics between speakers of Min-Ls and those practising or affiliating with Maj-Ls. Just as studying "internal-combustion engines would not help anybody to understand our traffic problems" (Ball 2023, 407–409), studying exclusively the perspectives of small samples of individual minority speakers in contextual isolation will never lead to a cogent analysis of their societal condition.

Min-L groups mired in a trajectory of societal decline, while also being subject to formal LPP interventions, often manifest common societal and institutional features. We posit six common societal features and five common institutional features:

#### 12.1 Common Min-L Societal Features

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- The loss in absolute numbers and in social densities of vernacular Min-L speakers (Ó Giollagáin et al. 2007a; 2007b; 2020; Ó Giollagáin & Charlton 2015; Roberts & Ó Giollagáin 2024);
- The ongoing contraction in the social geography of higher density Min-L areas, i.e. an erosion of the social geography of the Min-L (Ó Giollagáin et al. 2020; Jones 2012);
- 3. A recognisable preference for social use of Maj-L, especially among younger Min-L speakers (Mac Donnacha et al. 2004);
- 4. Evidence of higher linguistic attainment of the Maj-L among significant proportions of younger Min-L speakers, indicating levels of nonoptimal Min-L acquisition even in vernacular contexts (Péterváry et al. 2014; Montrul 2008; Lenoach 2012; 2014);
- 5. A reduction in the social esteem of Min-L cultural capital (beyond aesthetic or symbolic performance/practice), i.e. Maj-L cultural capital crowding out Min-L socio-cultural practice (Ó Giollagáin & Ó Curnáin 2016; 2024);
- 6. An observable social trend towards the monolingualisation of the formerly bilingualised minority, i.e. the bilingualisation of the Min-L community as a stepping stone to its ultimate Maj-L monolingualisation (Ó Riagáin 2008).

### 12.2 Common Min-L Institutional Features

- Much of official Min-LPP is implemented while simultaneously disregarding the societal reality of Min-L group endangerment or erasure, i.e. Min-LPP often operates in a contradictory relationship with speaker group social challenges (20-Year Strategy for the Irish Language (Government of Ireland 2010): cf. Ó Giollagáin 2014b);
- 2. Bureaucratic official language plans struggle to achieve more than anaemic levels of social traction in non-institutional speaker communities or social networks (Ó Giollagáin & Caimbeul 2021);
- Min-LPP tends to emphasise symbolic civic engagement with the Min-L at the expense of pursuing meaningful engagement with speaker group realities, based on credible societal diagnostics of the communities' challenges (e.g. Council of Europe 2023; cf. MacKinnon 2021);

- 4. Min-L communities observe a gap between aspirations for Min-LPP and day-to-day struggles of the average speaker, i.e. the difficulty of reconciling Min-LPP official assertions with the lived experience of the Min-L speakers (Camshron 2021);
- 5. Much of the Language-in-Institutions approach, stemming from poststructuralist LPP, operates incongruously vis-à-vis pressing Min-L community Language-in-Society requirements (Lenoach et al. 2012).

The combined effect of the Common Societal and Institutional Features is that state support for Min-LPP has been based on and has propagated a confused analysis of the societal problem it is purporting to address. Thus, it is perceived as undermining its own Min-LPP credibility by promoting a misdiagnosis of identifiable social challenges. In short, by favouring an individualistic (rather than collective) approach to Min-LPP, many in the Min-L community associate the official provision for the minority with the naïve prioritisation of resources and effort. The preference in Min-LPP for the symbolic expression of the Min-L culture, mainly in schools, 12 while discounting evidence of deeper societal pressures often serves to alienate the existing speaker group from language politics of Min-L officialdom (MacLean 2022). Ineffectual official Min-L engagement via the sectoralist approach (arts, media, educational provision, and the symbolic use of the Min-L in civic bureaucracy) to Min-L promotion can create the institutional conditions for the emergence of a clientelist hierarchy (Ó Giollagáin 2024; cf. McLeod 2020, 52–53). As is the case in the Gaelic LPP in Scotland and Ireland, the scope of the standardised political focus (Ó Giollagáin & Ó Curnáin 2024) of the Min-L speaker concerns is constrained by the sectoral interests of this hierarchy. Indeed, the obfuscatory emphasis on the symbolic aspects of the Min-L and of the Min-LPP is in itself a mechanism for control which the Min-L sectoral hierarchy can deploy in acquiescence with Maj-L containment of Min-L problems. In the circumstances where official Min-LPP is in denial or pays scant regard for the difficult societal challenges of Min-L communities, Min-L promotion inevitably becomes enveloped in a pseudo-politics of language issues which is of limited intellectual or political value to communities in societal demise.

Politically and sociolinguistically, Min-L groups undergoing the socio-political process of minoritisation have been subject to five stages of demise:

 Their political subjugation to a more dominant ethnolinguistic group (delineated in O'Neill 2018; Canny 2010; cf. Hagège 2009, and Kaufman 2004, 6–8);

 The integration of the dominated ethnolinguistic group into the socio-economic market of the dominant ethnic group on terms that are advantageous to the majority's control over the minority (Ó Riagáin 1997);

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- 3. The minoritisation of the subjugated group in the established social geography of the dominated group, entailing the extension of the institutional influence of majoritarian concerns in that geography (Gaeltacht Act 2012; cf. Ó Giollagáin 2014a; 2014b);
- 4. The desocietalisation of the social and cultural capital of the dominated ethnolinguistic group, indicating the socio-cultural assimilation of the minoritised group into the societal norms of the majority, which can occur in tandem with the institutional promotion of the Min-L and culture (Meek 2019, 238–242; Ó Giollagáin & Ó Curnáin 2024);
- 5. The four previous stages culminate in the erasure of the remaining societal salience of the minority's language and social culture, beyond possible or optional ritualised practice in sanctioned institutions facilitating the symbolised heritage of the eroded culture (Calvet 2006; Ó Giollagáin 2021).

The sectoralist approach to Min-L promotion and its post-structuralist individualised perspective are of limited relevance to Min-L groups enduring the desocietalisation of their social and cultural capital (Meek 2019, 238–242; Ó Giollagáin & Ó Curnáin 2024) which precedes Min-L social erasure. Post-structuralist Min-LPP is realised societally as compulsory bilingualism for the minority speakers and optional, occasional bilingualism for the majority speakers (cf. Ó Giollagáin 2010; 2012). The compulsion involved in the minority experience of bilingualism indicates that the power dynamic favours the majoritarian culture and its discretionary engagement with the Min-L and its speakers. From this perspective, the presentism<sup>13</sup> in much of Min-L formal promotion (cf. May 2005), emanating from the post-structuralist Min-LPP approach, is akin to an analysis at a synchronic level only. Our social dynamic approach, by contrast, entails a diachronic level of analysis, incorporating key stage-to-stage (DQ) Processes in the Min-L social dynamic, and accounts strategically for the historical legacy of prolonged minoritisation, particularly in modernity, but also in historical LS scenarios.

The four DQs in the Figures indicating the four Processes fall into two broad societal categories. The left-hand side of the Min-L social dynamic (DQ1-2) in Figure 6 above expresses the social (more informal) aspects of the broader societal context of Min-L *in situ* practice, while

the more formal, institutional and political aspects of the social dynamic are conveyed on the right hand of the LanDS framework (DQ3-4). This left-right contrast in the Min-L social dynamic also corresponds to the emic and etic perceptions of Min-L society and culture. As Min-L official promotion is commonly dependent on majoritarian political sanction, Min-LPP is largely derived from outgroup or etic assessments of Min-L requirements, which can often occur as colonial-like control, containment and/or majoritarian othering. The social dimensions of language transfer and peer group socialisation and Min-L cultural reinforcement represented on the two left hand side DQs of the Min-L social dynamic diagrams (Figures 3-7) are more likely to operate according to emic concerns, as the social dynamics entailed in the left-hand Processes are derived from interpersonal and communal interactions. In many cases, these are social dynamics which occur independently of formal Min-L initiatives and aspirations emanating from DQ3 institutional concerns, especially. This emic vs. etic dichotomy in Min-L promotion perhaps also explains why official Min-L promotion is more likely to align or curtail its remit to DQ3 concerns rather than formally engaging with the scope of Min-L social dynamics across all four DQs. There is a problem in the reluctance or refusal of post-structuralist LPP to engage strategically with the full scope of minority dynamics in society, beyond its pragmatic alignment with a DQ3 focus. This reluctance explains the perceived inertia and lack of authority of formal Min-L promotion in the minority first-language language community. Such post-structuralist LPP is all the more challenging in neoliberal contexts (cf. Ó Giollagáin et al. 2020; Ó Giollagáin & Ó Curnáin 2024; MacLean 2022; and Ó Giollagáin & Caimbeul (2021, 190-191) on the Min-L "referent class").

Indeed, post-structuralist discourses (e.g. Glaser 2007, 305–308; Dunmore 2018, 38<sup>14</sup>) often ascribe essentialist motivations to ingroup Min-L concerns. However, in such post-structuralist discourses, the Min-L identity, having been desocietalised by Maj-L assimilation, is further undermined by the outgroup essentialisation or "othering" of the disempowered Min-L group identity. Typically, challenges from the Min-L group to the dominance of the Maj-L group tend to be branded as essentialist. This occludes actual essentialised dominance of the Maj-L outgroup. To over-ascribe essentialising ideologies to the Min-L group is to be blind to the essentialised dominance of the Maj-L group (ironically, even when symbolically supportive of the Min-L perspective). In short, the Min-L ideology perceived by Maj-L "gatekeepers" as exhibiting symbolic essentialism is discursively subordinated to the empowered essentialised hegemony, which emerges from the Maj-L

perspective (although this hegemonic discursivism is not recognised as essentialised). Much of the DQ3-focused Min-LPP can be incognisant of the essentialising dynamics of these imbalanced power relations, which in turn risks perpetuating the destabilising imbalances, and, thus, provides an unsound basis for Min-L diagnostics and strategies. Nonetheless, an over-essentialising Min-L tendency should be avoided so as not to fall into the identity trap, entailing a loss of philosophical universalism as a basis for action (Mounk 2023).

## 13. Conclusion

The LanDS framework makes the case for an analytical social dynamic approach to the DQs contributing to the EV of a group in a minority setting. The framework visualises the sustainability of a language group as a series of the core component social and formal processes which determines a Min-L group's viability or vulnerability: a positive social/ formal dynamic contributes to a groups' viability, and negative or subtractive dynamic processes in the Min-L group culminate in its societal decline and erasure. The LanDS framework portrays EV as a societal emergent feature of a Min-L group's capacity to cultivate and enact key social processes of primary and secondary socialisation (entailing the socialised transfer of the minority's language and cultural capital). LanDS EV also entails the Civic Reinforcement of the Min-Ls language and culture, and affiliation processes generating a meaningful sense of belonging to a coherent collective identity. EV is realised, therefore, as the societal outcome of a group's organisational facility to generate and sustain key inter-related social, institutional, civic and affiliative processes on which the societal continuity relies. Just as individual-focused and sectoral-specific interventions will fail to ensure Min-L EV, so will other LPPs that do not follow holistic, communal, and long-term (multiple generations) goals towards sustainability.

In contrast with more circumscribed current approaches which overconcentrate resources, particularly in DQ3, the LanDS approach provides a framework by which empirical evidence from various ethnolinguistic contexts can be tested for positive impact and for assessing returns on investment. Our LanDS EV framework suggests that significant aspects of current LPP approaches to Min-Ls require substantial revision to align Min-LPrPr to the developmental social and formal dynamics indicated in this initial delineation of feasible Min-L societal sustainability.

- Applying the LanDS framework entails:
- Examining the existing levels of focus in current Min-LPP regarding LanDS;
- b) Devising Min-LPP approaches that are more relevant to DQ social dynamics and to more optimal EV outcomes;
- c) Quantitative and qualitative assessments through demolinguistic and sociolinguistic surveys of the actual, meaningful (rather than purely or predominantly symbolic) engagement with the social dynamics entailed in the four DQs of LanDS and their EV outcomes;
- d) Adjusting and amending the ongoing Min-LPP based on the ongoing EV research.

Undoubtedly, existing research evidence (e.g. Ó Giollagáin et al. 2020; cf. Mac Giolla Chríost 2022) already demonstrates the need for an increased and more pertinent focus in Min-LPP on holistic, multi-level solutions with ideological coherence. Issues relating to integrating primary and secondary socialisation of Min-L cohorts and individuals into formal Min-L promotion and protection are pivotal for ensuring the societal viability of Min-L communities.

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## **Notes**

- <sup>1</sup> WEIRD: Western, Educated, Industrialised, Rich, Democratic first coined by Henrich et al. (2010).
- <sup>2</sup> See the discussion in Ó Giollagáin et al. (2020, 370–372) on Strubell's Catherine Wheel model.
- <sup>3</sup> For reasons of space, we cannot discuss in detail insights from the academic literature relevant to many of the processes entailed in our EV framework, as illustrated in Figures 3–7. This introduction to the LanDS theoretical framework cannot be exhaustive as the framework can easily incorporate additional conceptual tenets, structural quadrants, and inputs (see General Tenets and Developmental Quadrants).
- <sup>4</sup> The authors are grateful to Nóirín Ní Ghiollagáin for her design work on preparing the LanDS conceptual diagrams (Figures 3–7). Áine Uí Ghiollagáin prepared Figures 1–2, previously published in Ó Curnáin and Ó Giollagáin (2024).
- <sup>5</sup> In his case study of minority-language education in Prince Edward Island, Canada, Bourgeois (2024a) discusses community and formal support, such as youth extra-curricular Min-L activities and identity reinforcement, needed to counter the assimilatory trend towards the Maj-L when schools replace parents as the principal (often only) agent of transmission of the minority language and culture.
- It should be acknowledged, of course, that many Min-L groups are not integrated into broader societal contexts by which they can develop a political approach to their concerns beyond their communal situation. This results from them being ignored or too isolated from the political apparatus or discourses that dominate the polity in which they reside (cf. de Sousa Santos (2014, 172) on people living below the "abyssal line").
- <sup>7</sup> See the discussions on New-speakerism in Ó Curnáin and Ó Giollagáin (2024, 406) and Ó Giollagáin et al. (2020, 386–388).
- 8 In the 2022 Irish Census (Central Statistics Office / Phríomh-Oifig Staidrimh 2022), 1.7 million people reported an ability in spoken Irish (cf. Ó Giollagáin and Ó Curnáin (2024) for a discussion on the divergence between the symbolic appeal of L2 Irish and the limited vernacular reality of L1 communities).
- <sup>9</sup> See also the European Language Equality Network statement on the Kontseilua Resolution that Basque-language communities are in a "linguistic emergency" (ELEN 2024).
- Linguism here refers to a focus in LPP discourses on language without sufficient emphasis on the societal and political context of speaker groups.
- E.g. states' efforts to adhere to the LPP criteria of the European Charter for Regional and Minority Languages; the prioritisation of L2 concerns in the 20-Year Strategy for the Irish Language (Government of Ireland 2010); the institutional focus in various iterations of the National Gaelic Language Plan in Scotland.

- <sup>12</sup> In Canada, minority-language schools are the most important public institution in support of (or, often, in replacement of) parental transmission of the minority language and culture (Bourgeois 2024b). However, schools cannot by themselves save a minority language and culture (Landry & Rousselle 2003). If they are to be of societal relevance, steering them towards EV is required.
- Presentism here refers to an overemphasis on present Min-L concerns without sufficient cognisance of past and future issues and dynamics. This overemphasis decontextualises historical and generational legacies and ongoing processes and thereby impedes any current and future realistic Min-LPP.
- <sup>14</sup> Smith-Christmas et al. (2018), containing Dunmore's article, has multiple instances of the term "essentialist", all of which are disapproving.

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# Jezikovna dinamika v družbi: analitični okvir za etnično-jezikovno vitalnost večinskega in manjšinskega jezika

#### Izvleček

Jezikovna dinamika v družbi (ang. *Language Dynamics in Society*, LanDS) predstavlja analitični okvir za presojo etnolingvistične vitalnosti (EV). Ta je ključna za družbene procese, ki vplivajo na stabilnost jezikovnih skupin. LanDS omogoča izboljšano akademsko analizo EV ter spodbujanja in zaščite jezika. Omenjeni pristop se osredotoča na dinamiko sodelovanja družbenih akterjev v procesih, ki EV škodijo ali koristijo. LanDS tako predlaga štiri analitične razvojne kvadrante: prenos in pridobivanje jezika, socializacija in okrepljeno pridobivanje, družbena ekspanzija in koherentna etnizacija. Na vsak kvadrant vplivajo štirje osnovni koncepti: smer, proces, sodelovanje in konkurenca. S sodelovanjem v teh ključnih razvojnih fazah lahko jezikovna skupina vpliva na kolektivno kontinuiteto oz. nestabilnost skupnosti.

### Ključne besede

etnično-jezikovna vitalnost, družbena jezikovna dinamika, prenos jezika, etničnost, okvir LanDS, manjšinska sociolingvistika