The Cambridge Handbook of

Language Policy

edited by Bernard Spolsky

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The Cambridge Handbook of Language Policy

Over the last fifty years, language policy has developed into a major discipline, drawing on research and practice in many nations and at many levels. This is the first *Handbook* to deal with language policy as a whole and is a complete 'state-of-the-field' survey, covering language practices, beliefs about language varieties, and methods and agencies for language management. It provides a historical background which traces the development of classical language planning, describes activities associated with indigenous and endangered languages, and contains chapters on imperialism, colonialism, effects of migration and globalization, and educational policy. It also evaluates language management agencies, analyses language activism, and looks at language cultivation (including reform of writing systems, orthography and modernized terminology). The definitive guide to the subject, it will be welcomed by students, researchers and language professionals in linguistics, education and politics.

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Bernard Spolsky



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For Robert L. Cooper,
who inspired us with his clear view of language policy

Contents

List of figures *page* ix
List of tables x
List of contributors xii
Preface and acknowledgements xv

Part I Definition and principles 1
1 What is language policy? *Bernard Spolsky* 3
2 History of the field: a sketch *Björn Jernudd and Jiří Nekvapil* 16
3 Philosophy of language policy *Denise Réaume and Meital Pinto* 37
4 Language policy, the nation and nationalism *Sue Wright* 59
5 Ethnic identity and language policy *Ofelia García* 79
6 Diversity and language policy for endangered languages *Julia Sallabank* 100
7 Language is just a tool! On the instrumentalist approach to language *David Robichaud and Helder De Schutter* 124

Part II Language policy at the macrolevel 147
8 Language policy at the supranational level *Fernand de Varennes* 149
9 Language policy, territorialism and regional autonomy *Colin H. Williams* 174
10 Imperialism and colonialism *Robert Phillipson* 203
11 Language policy at the municipal level *Peter Backhaus* 226
12 Language policy and management in service domains: Brokering communication for linguistic minorities in the community *Claudia V. Angelelli* 243
13 US language policy in defence and attack *Richard D. Brecht and William P. Rivers* 262
14 Language policy and medium of instruction in formal education *Stephen L. Walter and Carol Benson* 278

15 Language policy in education: additional languages *Jasone Cenoz and Durk Gorter* 301

Part III Non-governmental domains 321
16 Language policy in the workplace *Alexandre Duchêne and Monica Heller* 323
17 Language policy and religion *Christina Bratt Paulston and Jonathan M. Watt* 335
18 Language policy in the family *Stephen J. Caldas* 351
19 Language policies and the Deaf community *Sherman E. Wilcox, Verena Krausneker and David F. Armstrong* 374

Part IV Globalization and modernization 397
20 Transnationalism, migration and language education policy *Kendall A. King and Adam C. Rambow* 399
21 Language management agencies *John Edwards* 418
22 Literacy and writing reform *Florian Coulmas and Federica Guerini* 437
23 Language activism and language policy *Mary Carol Combs and Susan D. Penfield* 461
24 English in language policy and management *Gibson Ferguson* 475

Part V Regional and thematic issues 499
25 National language revival movements: reflections from India, Israel, Indonesia and Ireland *Joseph Lo Bianco* 501
26 Colonial and post-colonial language policies in Africa: historical and emerging landscapes *Sinfree Makoni, Busi Makoni, Ashraf Abdelhay and Pedzisai Mashiri* 523
27 Indigenous language planning and policy in the Americas *Teresa L. McCarty* 544
28 Language policy in the European Union (EU) *Ulrich Ammon* 570
29 Language policy management in the former Soviet sphere *Gabrielle Hogan-Brun and Svitlana Melnyk* 592
30 Language policy in Asia and the Pacific *Richard B. Baldauf Jr and Hoa Thi Mai Nguyen* 617

Notes 639
References 663
General index 715
Index of languages 733

List of figures

5.1 Ethnic identity and language policy theoretical framework *page* 87
8.1 Meetings held at or serviced by UNOG 2000–2009 155
9.1 Correlation between the relative size of the local minority and service provision in the minority language 194
13.1 The market forces framework for language 266
13.2 Government language talent source stream architecture: pipelines and reservoirs 269
13.3 The language field architecture model 274
14.1 Progress towards becoming a reader – a comparison of two countries and two models 294
14.2 Plot of differential percentiles based on the impact of the intervention of language of instruction (Walter and Dekker 2008) 299

List of tables

5.1 Graded components of ethnolinguistic identity and language policy *page* 89
6.1 Distribution of languages by area of origin (from Lewis 2009) 105
6.2 UNESCO's Language Vitality and Endangerment framework (adapted from www.unesco.org/culture/ich/index.php?pg=00139) 107
8.1 UNESCO: Breakdown by language of meetings held in 1998–2000 157
9.1 Summary of legislative enactments and implementation requirements 191
9.2 Municipalities in Finland 2008–2010 and their linguistic status 192
9.3 Statutory obligations to provide language services 193
14.1 Distribution of the world's language communities according to language category 282
14.2 Use of first languages as languages of instruction 283
14.3 Dislocated language populations and their access to education in a first language 284
14.4 Mean performance of student cohorts (all English language learners) under varying amounts of instructional support in their first language 292
14.5 Educational implications of the Thomas and Collier model in terms of differential outcomes (Walter 2003) 293
14.6 Performance on a standardized math assessment in rural schools in Cameroon 295
14.7 Comparison of enrolment and promotion data from Spanish- and Mayan-medium schools in highly ethnic areas in Guatemala for the period 1991–1997 (data from the Guatemalan Ministry of Education) 297

14.8 Data on continuing on to secondary education in Guatemala (Walter and Morren 2002) 298
27.1 Linguistic diversity in North America: some examples of Indigenous languages, locations and speakers north of Mexico (*Source*: NCELA 2002; Statistics Canada 2006) 547
27.2 Linguistic diversity in Latin America: some examples of Indigenous languages, locations and speakers (*Sources*: Archive of Indigenous Languages of Latin America [AILLA] 2010; Baldauf and Kaplan 2007) 548
28.1 EU member states and their national-official languages 576
29.1 The subjects of the Russian Federation and state languages (source: Mikhalchenko 2002: 4–6) 597
29.2 Status of languages in post-Soviet countries 599
30.1 Key characteristics of seven East Asian polities 621
30.2 Key characteristics of ten South Asian polities 624
30.3 Key characteristics of eight South Asian polities 626
30.4 Key characteristics of seventeen Pacific Basin polities 628
30.5 Key characteristics of eight French possessions and United States states and territories 630
30.6 Policy and reasons for the introduction of English in various Asian and Pacific polities 632

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Preface and acknowledgements

My interest in the topic of this Handbook was whetted by conversations during weekly coffee meetings in Jerusalem with Robert Cooper who was at the time writing his seminal book on language policy (Cooper, R. L. 1989: *Language Planning and Social Change*, Cambridge University Press.) It took shape during a resident fellowship from 1991–1992 spent at the National Foreign Language Center (then part of the Johns Hopkins University in Washington DC) under the directorship of Richard D. Lambert. There, it was nurtured in discussions with Lambert and with his associate directors Richard Brecht and Ronald Walton and with other visiting scholars at the Center including John Trim and Elana Shohamy. Shohamy and I continued this debate when we returned to Israel, resulting in our drafting (at the request of the Minister of Education) of a policy for language education in Israel. We also wrote a book on the topic (Spolsky, B., and Shohamy, E. 1999, *The Languages of Israel: policy, Ideology and Practice*, Clevedon: Multilingual Matters) where the theoretical model was set out. My academic interests earlier focused on educational linguistics and language testing, continued to move more and more to language policy, encouraged by regular visits to Washington, both to the National Foreign Language Center after it moved to the University of Maryland and to the Center for Advanced Study of Language when it was first established there. After my retirement from Bar-Ilan University in 2000, I published two monographs on the topic with Cambridge University Press and was easily persuaded by the Press to start work on this Handbook.

The experience of editing reminded me of the many problems that academics face in keeping to deadlines – ill-health, operations and family deaths, demolition of departments, a failed major grant proposal, all led to delays and withdrawals (two critical). I am thus deeply grateful to the contributors who managed, in spite of other professional and personal pressures, to produce the chapters included here. I am also grateful to

the Center for Applied Linguistics in Washington DC (especially its past president, Donna Swain, and incoming president, Terrence Wiley) which provided me with a Charles Ferguson Fellowship (what could be more appropriate than time to finish editing a book about the field he helped establish!).

The idea of this Handbook was suggested to me by Andrew Winnard of Cambridge University Press, and my deepest gratitude is due to him and to the other people who helped in the editing process: Sarah Green who was an efficient and friendly editor, Jodie Barnes who supervised production of the book, Penny Wheeler who managed the challenging task of copy-editing, and Sue Lightfoot who produced the excellent indexes. I also want to acknowledge the assistance of Google and the Library of Congress Catalog in finding answers to editing queries, thus saving me the need to write to contributors and the extra time it would have added to the editing process.

There are gaps left in coverage – in particular, we lost two planned chapters, one on language cultivation and one on treatment of non-standard varieties, but both issues are dealt with in other chapters. The treatment is biased towards the Western perspectives of most of the writers, their common assumption that even important topics can be studied scientifically and without postulating anonymous conspiracies, and their professionally acquired sense of the significance of language and the desirability of maintaining language diversity. Reviewers will have the chance to point out other failings, and future editors to build more balanced or more exciting collections. But the field is now well launched.

The statistics in Table 6.1 are used by permission, © SIL (*Ethnologue* 16th edition, 2009).

Part I

Definition and principles

1

What is language policy?

Bernard Spolsky

At an early meeting of the American Association of Applied Linguistics (perhaps 1979), one of the founders of the field, Charles Ferguson, remarked on the difficulties that linguists have in naming concepts. Although we agree (and teach) that words mean what everyone uses them to mean, we regularly tell enquirers that a linguist is not someone who speaks many languages but someone who studies language. The field of language policy is no exception: we use the term *planning* in a special sense, and produce esoteric combinations like 'status planning' and even more frighteningly 'corpus planning' for central notions. And we share with sociologists the liking for pretentious Latinate combinations, calling the choice of a variety to speak to a baby 'natural intergenerational language transmission'. In this opening chapter, I will mention these not uncommon terms (in Chapter 6, Julia Sallabank lists terms used when talking about language loss), but try to use more transparent vocabulary to describe the principal concepts of the field.

A first puzzle is the name of the field. It was created as a field of study in the optimistic days after the Second World War, when many societies were facing up to the challenge of rebuilding. As scientists had played such a strong role in wartime victory (in developing radar and the atomic bomb for instance), social scientists expected to be able to help solve postwar problems by developing economic plans. Linguists too were hopeful of resolving the language problems of newly independent states and called their endeavours language 'planning', although it was far from clear what a language plan might look like. Rather, they generally agreed that language planning produced a language 'policy', an officially mandated set of rules for language use and form within a nation-state.[1] The process turned out to be similar to the language policy-making of newly independent nations in the nineteenth century (Norway as studied by Einar Haugen (1966) was the prime exemplar) and the decisions made about the nations carved out of defeated enemy empires at the

end of the First World War, where the underlying principle established by France and Germany in the nineteenth century – a nation is defined by its territory and its language – was generally adopted. The challenge then became what to do about the many other languages, large and small, but defined as 'minority' by their powerlessness (Paulston 1998) within the new or newly defined nations. Europe proved fairly straightforward, as the political divisions set up by the Treaty of Versailles and the forced and voluntary population movements that followed left reasonably homogenous nation-states, which could then decide to ignore or recognize their minorities as expressed in a policy set out in law or constitution.[2] Once the policy allocated a function for each language (the official language in particular being selected for governmental and educational use – this selection process was what Kloss (1966) labelled 'status planning'), it remained to modify the national language to serve its new functions, by standardizing it and its writing system and developing new terminology to handle science, technology and commerce – Kloss called this 'corpus planning'. In the 1960s, the linguists working with the newly independent states of Africa and Asia first tried to define the various functions that language varieties could be called on to perform (see the taxonomy proposed by Stewart (1968)), then to help national governments establish appropriate agencies to enforce the decision and modify the language.

In practice, the linguists' plans (like the plans developed by their economic and social colleagues) seldom worked, for they came up against the counter-pressures of actual demographic situations (the complex sociolinguistic ecology as Haugen 1972 noted that made up the ethnography of communication (Hymes 1974) in a given speech community[3]) and the emotionally powerful factors (nationalism, religion, ethnicity, identity, power, communicative strength) that accounted for the significant values a language variety[4] had for various members of a society. As a result, with little if any formal evaluation, the various classical language planning activities of the 1960s faded, and the language policy that developed in the nations of the world continued to evolve with little reference to plans. Africa is of course the clearest example, as the complexity of the linguistic mix produced by imposing colonial boundaries on constantly moving populations encouraged the undesired continuation of the official and educational status of imperial languages. Central Europe (Kamusella 2008) too and former Soviet nations (e.g. Landau & Kellner-Heinkele 2001; Marshall 1996), once released from the Soviet-imposed Russification, moved to establish national languages (old or invented) to guarantee identity, while meeting the challenge of globalizing English and an idealistic European Union policy of protecting minority languages.

It was not unreasonable in the 1960s to call the efforts to modify national language policy 'language planning',[5] but as Nekvapil (2006)

rightly notes, in the new understanding of the nature of the process, a better term is probably 'language management', with the results seen not as 'plans' but as 'strategies'[6] – approaches that set values and direction but admit the continual need for modification to fit specific and changing situations.[7]

I find it appropriate then to name the field as a whole 'language policy',[8] and see it as made up of three inter-related but independent components (Spolsky 2004). The first of these is the actual language practices of the members of the speech community – what variety do they use for each of the communicative functions they recognize, what variants do they use with various interlocutors, what rules do they agree for speech and silence, for dealing with common topics, for expressing or concealing identity. This is what actually happens, the 'real' language policy of the community, described by sociolinguists as the ecology or the ethnography of speech, exceptions to which may mark the speaker as alien or rebellious. The second component, formed in large measure by the first and confirming its influence, is made up of the values assigned by members of a speech community to each variety and variant and their beliefs about the importance of these values. At times, the beliefs may be organized into ideologies (Blommaert 2006; Silverstein 1998), more elaborate combinations of the values shared by certain members of the community. The third component is what used to be called 'planning' and what I prefer to call 'management',[9] efforts by some members of a speech community who have or believe they have authority over other members to modify their language practice, such as by forcing or encouraging them to use a different variety or even a different variant (Spolsky 2009). In my approach, a constitutional or legal establishment of a national or official language is a clear example of language management, although just as speed limits do not guarantee that all cars abide by them, so a language law does not guarantee observance.

Some of the questions about approach and definitions are answered in Chapter 2 by Björn Jernudd and Jiří Nekvapil who provide a 'sketch' (albeit in considerable detail) of the history of the field and its current state. They start with some early examples of the development of language policy: the significant case of the *Académie française*, the European nationalist movements of the nineteenth century, the remarkable but short-term support of linguistic diversity in the Leninist Soviet Constitution of the 1920s, and the Prague School approach to cultivation of the standard language in the period between the two World Wars. All this provides background to what they call 'classical language planning', the activities of linguists in the 1970s and 1980s who believed that language planning was as possible as economic planning, and applicable to solving the linguistic problems[10] of the newly independent nations of Africa and Asia.

For many in the field, this is still the most common approach: a detailed survey of the language situation in the nation-state,[11] a rational decision

on the language (or occasionally languages) to choose as official (*status planning*), and consideration of the steps required to suit the chosen language to its new tasks (*corpus planning*, or language cultivation including development of the writing system, spelling reform, standardization of grammar, modernization and development of needed terminology. In the 1990s, two main developments shook this approach: first, the failure of economic models and so the loss of confidence in planning in language as well, and secondly the realization of the existence of other actors and agencies besides the nation-state, including especially minorities. This latter point was stressed with the development by Joshua Fishman of the model of 'Reversing Language Shift (Fishman 1990), which recognized the existence of strong counter forces working against the pressure of the central nation-state for linguistic homogeneity; it is supported by movements for recognition of minority rights in the sphere of language too. Jernudd and Nekvapil conclude their survey with an account of their own Language Management Theory which attempts to incorporate all these elements as well as recognizing that language policy occurs not just at the level of the nation-state, but can also be found in other domains and other speech communities, and which relates more strongly to views of language rights.[12]

Chapter 3 by Denise Réaume and Meital Pinto sets out to present recent positions taken by philosophers on language policy. It starts by analysing arguments in support of unilingualism (such as ease of communication) and of multilingualism, the most prominent of which is the argument that diversity in languages is as important as biodiversity; the arguments for each are impressive, but can be answered; and no conclusion is reached, although it is mentioned that many scholars (non-philosophers and philosophers alike) come down strongly in favour of one position or the other. Réaume and Pinto then move to an equally balanced and detailed analysis of the various positions taken on language rights. Again, in spite of the tendency of some language policy scholars to assume that there is a simple solution, they show the difficulty of taking any final position. At the end, the authors draw attention to the gap between philosophers with their tightly argued theories and the complex reality of the data they are trying to account for but seldom cite. They call for closer collaboration between the approaches.

Chapter 4, by Sue Wright, provides a thorough account of the nationalism that has come to govern the ideology of the language policy of nation-states. She starts with the French model, the belief that a nation-state needs a common language to hold it together, and shows how this was bolstered by the German Romantic ideal of states being appropriate expressions of unified languages. As Ammon has remarked (see Chapter 28 in this volume), the French assumed that all their metropolitan and colonial citizens should speak Parisian French, while the Germans took it that any people speaking German should be part of a unified political

unit. Wright traces the view that nationalism requires a monolingual nation, and sets out in some detail the management activities (the classical status, corpus and acquisition planning) intended to achieve this effect. She concludes by considering the changing situation in what some people claim is a post-national situation, the effect of growing recognition of minorities (ethnic and linguistic) and their human rights, and the development of transnationalism and globalization and the growing status of English.

In Chapter 5, Ofelia Garcia describes one major counter-force to the nationalist homogeny and hegemony, the development of ethnic identity. She traces how ethnic identity and language became linked, presenting succinctly Joshua Fishman's pioneering notions on the nature of ethnicity and its close link with language policies of minority groups especially in the mid-twentieth century. Each of the phenomena is complex and evolving; neither language nor ethnicity is the fixed and defined concept that is often assumed. Ethnicity is self-perceived or externally attributed, complex and constantly modified by changing social, political and demographic conditions. Language symbolizes and represents ethnic identity. Because of the fluidity and complexity of identity, it is easy to assume that language can be modified and planned. The link was assumed to be close. The dissolution of empires coincided with the birth of sociolinguistics, which was seen as a natural ally in bolstering the status of previously oppressed ethnic identities. Garcia also describes the postmodern view recognizing the hybridity of ethnic identities and of language practices. In this situation, the manipulation of language and identity (she calls it 'languaging' and 'ethnifying') provides a major tool not just of nation-states but also for individuals within all domains and speech communities. Garcia analyses four cases which illustrate the working of her model: Luxembourgish, where strong ethnic identity plus focused language policy support language maintenance; Māori where strong ethnic identity is backed by ideology and management but practices are weak so that further development depends on finding a way to modify home practice; Tseltal and Tsotsil with strong identity where the languages are used in private but not in public, and so are under threat; and Gallo where identity is moderate and policy is weak leading to language shift.

Julia Sallabank in Chapter 6 deals with the effect of the centralizing tendency of nationalism, modernization and globalization on the smaller languages, describing the recognition of the rapidly increasing death of endangered languages. She defines the basic concepts and the notions of endangerment, moribundity, attrition, obsolescence and loss, as well as the other terms used in discussions of the phenomenon. There are four main categories of causes: natural disasters, war and genocide, resettlement and repression, and political, cultural and economic dominance. She discusses the difficulty of obtaining accurate measures of

language use and knowledge, and the even greater problem of assessing the 'health' of a language and the various scales proposed. She then looks at arguments for the maintenance of linguistic diversity, and describes various attempts being made to achieve this for the myriad of threatened language varieties, including home, school and community revitalization efforts. She concludes by surveying some successful policies.

Chapter 7 by Robichaud and De Schutter returns to a philosophical discussion of language values, seeking to analyse instrumental (as opposed to intrinsic) arguments for a language's value. Six uses (communication, economic success, unity, democracy, cultural diversity, equality) function as arguments for the importance of the dominant language; two (autonomy and dignity) argue for supporting small or minority languages. While they do not aim to support instrumentalism, their analysis helps explain the weight of such considerations in language policy.

Part II moves to the macrolevel of language policy, beginning in Chapter 8 written by Fernand de Varennes with an account of the development and nature of post- and supra-national notions of human and civil rights affecting language as they are proposed and implemented in regional and international organizations. The two conflicting approaches (or ideologies) are efficiency of communication (a force driving towards recognition of the fewest possible languages – even one) and the symbolic recognition of rights of national members of the organization or citizens of the member nations, calling for maximal multilingualism. Fully international organizations (like the United Nations) tend to the efficiency point of view; regional organizations (especially the European Union) favour actual or symbolic recognition of all member states' languages. But in practice, it turns out to be difficult to implement multilingual policies, and there are many exceptions such as ideological monolingual international organizations like the Arab League and Francophonie and historically monolingual organizations like the Universal Postal Union and the World Court. There are also functional differences, such as public meetings of governing bodies, communication between the international organization and its national members, communication among bureaucrats, and communication with individuals.

One method of dealing with the language conflicts of heterogeneous states is discussed in Chapter 9, where Colin Williams describes the territorial model exemplified in Switzerland and Belgium and the granting of a degree of autonomy (including language policy) exemplified in Spain, the United Kingdom and Canada. He provides details of the way the model is implemented, making clear the complexity of the bureaucratic arrangements needed.

Both of these forces may be called on to counteract the homogenizing and centralizing results of imperialism and colonialism, tackled by Robert Phillipson in Chapter 10. Phillipson's first major published research focused on the effects of European conquests of Africa and the

failures of classical language planning to restore the place of indigenous languages. In this survey, he defines various relevant terms like *empire* and *colony*, and sketches the history of associated language policy first in Europe (starting with Rome) and the spread of European imperialism to America, Africa, Asia and the Pacific. He traces the development of philosophies which glorified the metropolitan language and stigmatized local indigenous varieties in Africa and India and elsewhere. Colonial language polices were established by the French, the Spaniards and the British and other imperial powers in the nineteenth century, and continued after independence in the twentieth; he traces in particular the growing power of English which he blames in large measure on policies of the English-speaking countries.

Empires are big government and have good reasons (power and efficiency) to develop strong language policies leading to homogeneity and hegemony. At the other end of the political scale, there is evidence of somewhat different developments. In his pioneering work on municipal language management in a number of cities, Backhaus in Chapter 11 tracks a number of different tendencies. His ground-breaking research focused on Tokyo, a largely monolingual city which made efforts in signs and public services to allow for a growing multilingual population and increasing numbers of tourists. A quite different pattern has emerged in a number of US cities, where the English Only movement, frustrated by the failure of its efforts to make English the sole official language, has managed to have ordinances passed in some towns to work against the earlier acceptance of multilingualism. Ottawa in Canada shows another approach, as a largely bilingual city attempts to establish multilingualism that reflects federal policy. In contrast, in Upper Nazareth (a small Hebrew-speaking town in Israel surrounded by four Arabic-speaking towns), he finds the local municipality working against the official national recognition of Arabic. He finds a similar reluctance to multilingualism in Kosovo, where strong conflicts between Albanian and Serbian speakers are carried over to language policy. Finally, he traces the difficulty of providing local recognition in Capetown and in another South African city of implementing the constitutional status of the eleven official languages.

Continuing the consideration of levels of policy, in Chapter 12 Angelelli surveys language policy in service domains (I take the term and concept from Fishman 1972) dealing first with a theoretical model of the interpreted communicative event, the growing need for interpreting as a result of immigration, and the shortages of interpreters leading to the use of bystanders, amateurs and children as substitutes. She then analyses the three major settings in which interpretive services are required: health, police and legal, and discusses the reasons that they are not provided adequately (cost and lack of concern for minority speakers). Finally, she considers models for education and qualification of interpreters,

concluding with a summary of some recent developments in professionalization of the field and of testing.

One governmental domain where language policy is important (if not studied much) is defence, tackled by Brecht and Rivers in Chapter 13. Rather than attempting a summary of military language policy in various nations and times (as for example Spolsky 2009: 129–43), they focus on the US, the major military power in the world today and one where the defence establishment has recently established and started to implement a complex language policy. They discuss the actual and ideal architecture for such a policy, outlining the steps that have been taken or should in their opinion be taken to develop a working system that will make up for the failures of the US educational system to produce graduates ready to function in a multilingual world.

Education is a key domain for language policy, and two chapters in the Handbook focus on it. In Chapter 14, Walter and Benson present arguments for the importance of the choice of language as medium of instruction in schools. Noting that complexity is often offered as an excuse for ignoring the needs of minorities, they present a survey of empirical studies which establish the commonly ignored principle that the ideal medium for teaching, at least at the level of basic education, is the language that the pupils know best. This notion of using what is commonly called the mother-tongue as medium has been widely promoted since it was endorsed over fifty years ago by UNESCO. They analyse actual practices, showing how many languages and how many pupils are ignored in current choices of educational medium. They discuss in detail the reasons for current policies, before presenting a range of research studies which provide convincing evidence of the value of mother-tongue as language of instruction.

Chapter 15 by Cenoz and Gorter analyses the situation in teaching additional languages. Most school systems teach more than one language. In the first half of the chapter, they show how in much of the world today, English is gradually becoming the first additional language taught, so that 'foreign language teaching' is now being replaced by 'English language teaching'. In the second part, they describe and evaluate European Union efforts to counteract this pressure for English and preserve linguistic diversity, by teaching other major European languages or (more rarely) by giving a place to regional and minority languages.

Readers will have noted that I accept the view, increasingly common in the field, that any speech community has a language policy (practice, values and perhaps management). Moving on from education, Chapter 16 by Alexandre Duchêne and Monica Heller looks at language policy and policies in the workplace. In particular, they trace development of what is called the new economy, where physical labour is replaced by information and communication. Linguistic competence (including control of acceptable style and pronunciation) becomes a key criterion for hiring,

as workers are expected to advertise or communicate with customers in a suitable variety. Whereas the old economy discouraged speech at work, the new one demands it. The call centre is the typical example, and until it may one day be replaced by computerized speech devices, provides the model for a valued work ability.

Religious language policy, described by Paulston and Watt in Chapter 17, is another obvious non-governmental domain to analyse. They start by outlining the developing field of the Sociology of Language and Religion (Omoniyi and Fishman 2006), setting out its basic concepts. They then undertake two case studies, using as framework for analysis Dell Hymes' ethnography of communication and Spolsky's three component approach to language policy. The first case they choose is Islam, a religion inextricably bound to Qur'anic Arabic but spread now to millions for whom Arabic in any variety is neither a native language nor intelligible. The second is the activities of religious missionaries who had to learn the native languages of the many peoples they set out to convert and to decide whether to translate sacred texts into their language varieties or to teach the sacred language to the new converts. In both cases, the results were massive and far-reaching language management activities.

Another critical domain, dealt with by Caldas (Chapter 18 in this volume) is the level of the family. The participants in this domain are the initial husband–wife couple who must choose, if their language varieties differ, which to use with each other, and who then, as parents, face the fateful decision of which variety to use with their offspring, (one of) their own languages, or the dominant language of their wider speech community (neighbourhood, province, nation), or in some cases, a highly valued heritage or ancestral language. This decision, as Caldas notes, is the crucial one that accounts in large measure for language maintenance: when immigrant or minority parents no longer use their heritage language with young children, it will soon disappear. But there are other potentially influential participants at the family level. The first are the children themselves, who may reject their parents' lead in favour of the variety of their peers (Harris 1998) – the children they play or learn with – or the language of their school. By setting a language for school use, a force exterior to the family (religion, language activist group, school managers, city council, provincial or national government) may attempt to influence the policy of the family, by persuading the children of the higher value of the variety they are imposing. Caldas shows the complexity of counter-forces in a few of the cases that have so far been studied – Māori families in New Zealand, former Soviet families in Israel, and Cajun families in Louisiana.

One of the clearest cases of the working of language policy (though only recently discussed under this heading) is presented in Chapter 19, where Sherman Wilcox, David Armstrong and Verena Krausneker summarize

language policy for the deaf. This turns out to be a field particularly sensitive to management, for most Deaf signers acquire their proficiency from institutions. There are many 'natural' sign languages, but the hearing administrators and teachers who control schools for the Deaf seldom know them and regularly attempt to replace them by artificially engineered varieties (such as the methodical sign languages based on oral languages, or fingerspelling) or by oral speech. They trace the history of these damaging management policies, and describe the worst examples (the effort to develop a Unified Arabic Sign Language) and their ideal (the Gallaudet program, noting its recent political struggles as Deaf people seek to determine their own linguistic fate). They outline the recent technological innovations reducing the size of the Deaf community, the mistaken beliefs about Sign Language held by the hearing, and the growing understanding of sign languages on the one hand and the recognition of the rights of the Deaf on the other.

Opening Part IV ('Globalization and modernization') on the effects of globalization on language policy, in Chapter 20 Kendall A. King and Adam C. Rambow deal with the growing transnationalism produced by migration (whether internal or international) and the way in which language education policy in particular must cope with concepts of simultaneity, polycentricity and hybridity which challenge the approach that assumes teaching a single homogenous variety to speakers of single other languages. They discuss the subsequent effects of teaching other languages, the growth of digital literacies, and, going beyond education, deal with language management as it concerns citizenship (should an immigrant know the dominant language?) and identification of asylum seekers (what does their mixed variety show about their origin?).

Given this evidence of continuing variation in language practice, in Chapter 21 John Edwards deals with the goals and nature of language management agencies, a topic central to but seldom covered in the language policy literature. He presents two main themes. The first is that these agencies, whatever their form, are fundamentally concerned with prescriptivism, working to guarantee what they consider the purity of their chosen language. Second, he makes clear the complexity and variety of forms that the agencies take, ranging from individual scholar-activists through activist associations to formally established government-supported academies. Generally they include in their role the support of a specific variety (status planning) but most of their activities involve purism, spelling and writing reform, and terminological development for modernization.

In Chapter 22, Florian Coulmas and Federica Guerini deal with one aspect of language management, the writing system. They show how historical conditions tend to favour the development of a writing system and raise its status, trace the growing dominance of the Western

Roman alphabet, and consider the complexity of undertaking reform in the system.

Mary Carol Combs and Susan D. Penfield deal in Chapter 23 with language activism, the various approaches taken by those who wish to manage the language of others. They distinguish between central management (nation-states) and what can be considered grassroots activities, and in the latter, between promotion of dominant languages (e.g. the English Only movements in the USA) and of minority and endangered languages, linked and supported by beliefs in language rights. They call for increased activism in this direction.

The idea proposed by Phillipson that language imperialism was the major cause of language spread may well account in part at least for Arabic policy in the spread of Islam, Spanish policy in the conquest of Latin America, German and Belgian policies in their colonies, Japanese policy during the expansionist policy of the early twentieth century, Russification under Soviet rule and French policy since the Revolution, and the new campaigns to teach China in Afirca and elsewhere, but it is most commonly applied to the global spread of English in the last century. Lambert (2006) remarked that 'foreign language teaching' as a field is largely confined to English-speaking countries: in the rest of the world, the topic is likely to be, as Cenoz and Gorter explain in Chapter 16, 'English language teaching'. Ferguson (in Chapter 24) describes this exceptional language spread, and sets out to analyse its causes, arguing that it is not just a matter of management (language diffusion policy) by English speaking nations (as argued by Phillipson on Chapter 10), but the result of the values of the language for science, technology, commerce, tourism and international communication as perceived by speakers of other languages. He sees it then not so much a result of language management but as a factor that needs to be taken into account in the development of language policy in most of the world.

In Part V, we move to regional and thematic studies. In Chapter 25, Joseph Lo Bianco traces the four 'classic' cases of national language movement – the revival of Hebrew in Israel, the struggle for Irish in Ireland, the effort to establish a national language policy in India, and the success in establishing Bahasa Indonesia in Indonesia. He shows first how different these situations are, and how each is now dealing with new complexities produced by the spread of English, globalization, migration, ethnic and regional pressures, and the gap between central policy and local implementation.

In Chapter 26, Sinfree and Busi Makoni with Ashraff Abdelhay and Pedzisai Mashiri discuss language policy in Africa, the site of major classical language planning in the 1960s, and show that the simple view of colonialism might be inappropriate: colonial language policies were neither clear nor precisely implemented, explaining in part their lack of success. They look in some detail at the pattern of Arabicization in North

Africa. Finally, they suggest that the increased influence of Chinese seems to provide evidence not just of the weakening of Western influence but of a new foreign-based imperial policy.

In Chapter 27, Teresa McCarty looks at the effects of Western conquest of the Americas on the indigenous people and languages. Under Spanish, French and English domination, the autochthonous inhabitants of the Americas were killed, enslaved, or otherwise reduced to minority and stigmatized status, and their languages were similarly attacked. By the middle of the twentieth century, many had been exterminated and they provide the major examples of endangered and dying languages. More recently, heartened by slow acknowledgement of the rights of minority groups and depending on grass-roots movements for ethnic and linguistic identity, there are hopeful signs of reversing language shift, with new recognition of indigenous languages in Canada, the US and Latin America.

One of the most complex examples of a supranational speech community is the European Union, whose language policy is thoroughly analysed in Chapter 28 by Ulrich Ammon. A union currently of twenty-seven nations, who have granted some of their sovereign autonomy to the central organization and some of its constituents, the development of language policy is made even more complex by the demands of two principles: the need for simplicity in communication (favouring one or few working languages) and the historical demands of national identity (calling for recognition of all national languages). Ammon shows how this works out in detail, and traces also the policy towards minority and regional EU languages, presenting an up-to-date picture of a developing linguistic system.

The former Soviet Union, discussed by Gabrielle Hogan-Brun and Svitlana Melnyk in Chapter 29, shows the break-up of an imperial policy of centralized Russification, and the effect of the intermediate history of colonization and rediscovery of national identity in a multilingual region. There remain forces favouring Russian (especially years of compulsory migration and high status), but the so-called titular[13] languages have been gaining status and use, leading to bilingualism at the least and monolingual hegemony of the original titular language. The penultimate chapter of the Handbook thus illustrates the complex interplay of history and politics in developing language policy.

In the last chapter (30) Richard B. Baldauf Jr and Hoa Thi Mai Nguyen look at language policy in the Pacific region, a region which includes a wide variety of language policy situations, ranging from monolingual to multilingual, with examples of colonialism, imperialism, settlement, modernization and responses to globalization. The unity threatened by Japanese imperialistic plans in the period before the Second World War (involving banning of local languages in conquered nations) did not occur, and while English is slowly invading much of the region as

elsewhere with globalization, there are important local initiatives including the highly successful Indonesian national language programme that keeps up the diversity of policies and makes this a good example of the complexity of language policy.

Language policy, like other fields studying dynamic and changing systems, must itself be ready to change and not just recognize new phenomena but re-evaluate old data and existing theories in the light of new knowledge. Attempting not just to account for current observations but also to provide guidelines for those who wish to solve conflicts and increase communicative efficiency while respecting language variety, its theorists and practitioners are regularly hard put to avoid rushing to over-simple models and solutions. This explains why this Handbook does not offer a list of straightforward pieces of advice,[14] but rather attempts to portray the complexity of challenges involved in understanding language policy, in describing the sociolinguistic ecology of speech communities, in recognizing the myriad conflicting beliefs influencing the field, and in proposing how to chart a route through the complexity of planning and management.

2

History of the field: a sketch*

Björn Jernudd and Jiří Nekvapil

Introductory remarks

Scientific linguists who collect and dissect utterances and from such data generalize to construct grammars represent one trend of study in the linguistics discipline; scientists who study how people behave towards languages and utterances, how people manage their discourse, how they evaluate languages and their features and think about adjusting them and occasionally do, another. Language policy and planning belongs to the second trend of study.

We view this trend of study as language management behaviour, and take it as our point of departure in this article. In it, a group, in the case of language planning specifically the state or authorized agency, articulates and acts in accordance with a language policy which essentially means determining which language variety or varieties shall be encouraged for use in which domains, and bringing about the development of the variety or varieties to be fully adequate for use in those domains. It also implies implementing the policy which, if the policy so entails, means acquiring users of the thus selected varieties. According to Rubin and Jernudd (1971b: xvi):

> language planning is *deliberate* language change; that is, changes in the systems of language code or speaking or both that are planned by organizations that are established for such purposes or given a mandate to fulfill such purposes. As such, language planning is focused on problem-solving and is characterized by the formulation and evaluation of alternatives for solving language problems to find the best (or optimal, most efficient) decision. In all cases it is *future-oriented*; that is, the outcomes of policies and strategies must be specified in advance of action taken.

* This chapter represents a revised version of Nekvapil (2010) and Nekvapil (2011).

In a similar way, Jernudd and Das Gupta in the same volume (1971: 211) claim the following:

> Public planning, that is, orderly decision-making about language on a national level, is motivated by public effects of some language problems and by the social context. We maintain that language is subject to planning because it is a resource that is and can be valued. Aspects of language code and language use can be changed to better correspond to the goals of society.

Our sketch will show that the recent broadening of the field beyond a focus on the state as manager has allowed the development of a more general theory of language management, by way of a renewed interest in language policy, and therefore also a clearer separation of enquiry into linkages of behaviour towards language on the one hand and of enquiry into competing interests in society with an impact on behaviour towards language on the other.

Until the response of an emerging sociolinguistics in the 1960s to world-wide concerns with the development of newly independent nations, mainstream scientific linguists in a post-Second-World-War idiom of elaboration of structural linguistics paid little attention to peoples' behaviours towards language and generally rejected engaging with normative activities. Antagonism between descriptive and prescriptive approaches to linguistic phenomena, emphasized by linguistic structuralism, devalued attention to language cultivation, sidelining work by for example the Prague school linguists (see e.g. Garvin 1964) and by terminologists (e.g. Wűster 1931), devalued activities concerned with planned language, whether with auxiliary languages such as Esperanto or as per Jespersen (1928) or as practised and vigorously discussed contemporaneously or earlier in many countries (cf. Raag 1999 on Estonia, also Fodor and Hagège 1983). This rejectionist attitude by linguists was due not only to the ideological foundations of structuralism, and to the structure of international academic networking, but also to the fact that language planning extends beyond the margin of linguistics even in a very broadly conceived sense; it is interdisciplinary, and as concerns both policy formulation and implementation, it is clearly also socio-political.

Language planning as a contemporary branch of sociolinguistics was recognized as an interdisciplinary enterprise and has existed as a subdiscipline with this name for some fifty years. Vagaries of its academic development steered it into becoming in the main a specialization of sociolinguistics (in turn located within the discipline of academic linguistics) rather than into parallel interdisciplinary development in a range of disciplines including economics, sociology, law and political science, or as a specialization within one of these latter. Fortunately, the recent emergence of the broader concepts of language policy and language management promises to enable the integration of interdisciplinary aspects

of language planning with grammar and the production of utterances. There is also a spreading interest in explicitly linking work on language change to interaction (discourse), necessarily and unsurprisingly motivated by taking the consequences of the study of grammaticalization.

Intervention in language and communication is a perpetual activity (see Jernudd 1973a on Australian indigenous speech communities). As examples from history, we will briefly recall four sets of organized action at state level that can be cited as predecessors of modern language policy and planning or as significant sources of inspiration: The French academy, European national movements, Soviet Union of the 1920s and 1930s and Czechoslovakia and the Prague Linguistic School.

Periodization of language policy and planning

Neustupný (1993, 2006) describes the history of language planning as social practice using the concept of developmental types which are determined by the specific values of a number of sociocultural features, e.g., means of production, social equality level, dominant ideology or attitude toward language variation. He postulates four historical types of language planning: Premodern, Early Modern, Modern and Postmodern. These types correspond broadly with specific time periods (on evolution of systems and Zeitgeist, see also Blommaert 1996 and Jernudd 1996). The first three of these historical types can be found in the following examples. The postmodern type which corresponds broadly with the current ecology of languages paradigm will be presented in a subsequent section.

Examples from the now distant past

The French academy

The initial activity of the *Académie française*, the language academy founded in 1635 (www.academie-francaise.fr) can be categorized as of the (late) premodern type. The language academy came into being on the initiative of Cardinal Richelieu during the time when European elites began to use the local vernacular languages in functions which had up to that time been reserved for Latin, and specifically because Richelieu wanted to strengthen the unity and order of the French state through bringing about the unity and order of the language. The French academy's aim, according to its article XXIV, was to give explicit rules to the language and to render it pure, eloquent, and capable of treating the arts and sciences, 'la principale fonction de l'Académie sera de travailler avec tout le soin et toute la diligence possibles à donner des règles certaines à notre langue et à la rendre pure, éloquente et capable de traiter les arts

et les sciences'. This aim was to be achieved through the publication of a major dictionary, the participation of academicians on language management committees, and the active engagement by academicians in public discourse. The French academy became a model for the founding of similar institutions in Europe (e.g. the Swedish Academy, see Ljunggren 1886 and Schűck 1935). The French academy is not the oldest institution of its kind in Europe. The *Accademia della Crusca* is a half century older and is still active in Italy (www.accademiadellacrusca.it).

European national movements

The language planning which was a part of the European national movements of the nineteenth century out of which arose a number of modern nations in the Herderian sense (Slovak, Czech, Norwegian, Finnish and other nations) illustrates the early modern type. Some of these movements mobilized ethnic groups (nations), whose members were governed 'from outside' in an ethnically heterogeneous state. These movements oriented toward cultural and linguistic demands, anticipating and legitimating social and political ones (see Hroch 1998). Political and cultural demands eventually reinforced each other but did not have to occur historically in coordination. Hroch writes of Norway: 'From the angle of the quantitative growth of the national movement, all the political activity of 1814 [Eidsvoll Assembly, based in the merchant class] and subsequent years was carried on by a small handful of patriots. We can speak of mass participation in political life from the 1860s, whereas the growth of linguistic and cultural self-confidence took somewhat longer' (Hroch 2000: 34). And of Finland: 'Language and culture very definitely did not belong at first among the vital elements hastening the formation of a national whole … The Finnish language remained marginal, and was unable to become a force for integration, because in any case there hardly existed an old Finnish "national" culture or a cultural tradition in that language' (Hroch 2000: 75). Significant is the fact that when language became an issue in Finland, 'it was directed against the language of the nobility and the high bureaucracy' and therefore 'it came near to being a democratic programme' (Hroch 2000: 75). If we add the influence of Romanticism with its focus on national (ethnic) authenticity and uniqueness, it becomes clear that questions of language came to hold a significant position in these movements, once they were underway.

For Czech, the most significant representative of the first generation of the Czech national movement, Slavic studies scholar Josef Dobrovský (1753–1829), codified the norm of Humanistic Czech, that is, a variety of Czech that had not been used for a long period of time, as the standard language in a grammar in 1809 (second edition 1819). Czech speakers and writers can still feel the effect of his initiatives today. Characteristic of language planning of the early modern type were large changes

(reforms) concerning not only the selection or construction of varieties to be standardized, and their implementation in use in desired domains, but also the normalization of orthography and the controlled expansion of the lexicon, above all for the purposes of science and art. In the Czech national movement, which was battling the more powerful German culture, the second generation of patriots led by Josef Jungmann (1773–1847) laid out the principles for enriching the Czech lexicon: they designated Old Czech, dialects, and Slavic languages as the sources of the new lexicon – the invention of new words was also considered acceptable – and they summarized the results of their work, typical of the products of the time, in an extensive five-volume *Czech–German Dictionary* (1834–1839). In terms of linguistic development, the early modern type fits well actions taken by language planning agencies in the post-colonial new nations. A rather different approach was taken by Norwegian language reformer Ivar Aasen (1813–1896). Haugen (1969) analyses an essay written by Aasen in 1836, and characterizes this essay as 'a paradigm of a program of LP [=Language Planning]' (288). Since Haugen placed the linguist's action programme in the definitional centre, this is understandable. However, Aasen targeted his programme to replace the use of Danish in Norway and postulated – reconstructed, as a matter of linguistic fact – a new Standard Norwegian norm drawing on Norwegian dialects.

Soviet Union of the 1920s and 1930s

Another example is language planning in the Soviet Union in the 1920s and 1930s. It can be categorized as belonging to the early modern type, yet with the presence of several features of the premodern and modern types. The formation of the Soviet Union meant that more than 100 ethnic groups at very different levels of socio-economic development found themselves together in one huge state, the central organs of which for a limited period of time recognized and supported their languages. The language of most of these ethnic groups existed only in spoken form, and only a few of them had their own standard language. These were at various levels of development, relative to potential domains of use. During the early Soviet period (radical changes did not occur until the end of the 1930s), the Leninist doctrine of the Soviet state declared the right of self-determination for ethnic groups including schooling based on their languages. The promotion of the spread of Russian, including the Cyrillic alphabet, was associated with the previous oppressive regime of the Russian czars. This is why Russian was rejected as the basis for the language planning at the beginning of the Soviet period. The basic task of language planning, called 'language construction' (*jazykovoe stroitel'stvo*), thus consisted in the creation of tens of new alphabets, orthography systems, the modernization of most of the languages, above all in the area of vocabulary development, but also in the production of

textbooks, primers and the like. The work done was striking: Alpatov (2000: 222) claims that more than seventy alphabets were created for the languages of the Soviet Union during this period. Its participants included the leading Soviet linguists, experts in the respective languages or language groups (e.g., N. F. Jakovlev, E. D. Polivanov). They were advocates of a developing structuralist linguistics, but, interestingly, they combined their work on the graphization of languages with the development of phonological theory.[1] In other aspects, these linguists instilled language planning into the framework of Marxist ideology, which led them to emphasize the social aspects of language and to critique structural linguistics for underestimating the value of the possibility of deliberate intervention into linguistic matters (for details, see Alpatov 2000).

The scope, tasks and some of the earlier approaches of the Soviet language planning of the 1920s and the first half of the 1930s recall the 'classic language planning' which came into being thirty years later in an entirely different context. This newer theory, however, developed without participation by practitioners or academics from the Soviet Union – conditions of the cold war blocked it.

Czechoslovakia and the Prague Linguistic School

Linguists of the Prague Linguistic School (above all B. Havránek and V. Mathesius, partly also R. O. Jakobson) carried out language planning in Czechoslovakia in the 1920s and 1930s. Their approach embodies clear features of the modern type – macro-social problems are more or less ignored, as large changes are not desired, attention is oriented above all toward microscopic problems and the goal is to modify details (see Neustupný 2006). Czechoslovakia was formed in 1918 from the ruins of the Hapsburg Empire, and even though it was relatively diverse ethnically and the problems of inter-ethnic contact were significant, the Prague School's theory of language planning was devoted merely to the elaboration (the term they used was 'cultivation') of the majority Czech standard language. Neglect of variation is in fact a hallmark of the modern type. The Prague School's theory of language cultivation achieved world renown and was acknowledged and accepted also in the later 'classic language planning'. Garvin's reader (1964) was important in spreading Prague School theory, and Garvin was himself active on the US scene. Neustupný brought Prague School 'cultivation' into play by distinguishing between 'policy' and 'cultivation' cases of language treatment (1970), thus complementing the developmental focus of the developing sub-discipline. Also, Jernudd brought study of the history and contemporary practice of cultivation of language in Sweden into collegial discussion (1972), specifically so as to contribute towards delimiting and classifying what should constitute data for the emerging theory. Among the basic terms that marked the Prague School approach were

norm, *function*, *intellectualization* (which became a key concept in language planning in the Philippines, Gonzalez 1988), and *flexible stability of the standard language* (Havránek 1932a, 1932b; Mathesius 1932; Scharnhorst and Ising 1976/1982; Daneš 1987a, 1987b; Kondrašov 1988; Garvin 1973, 1993; Neustupný and Nekvapil 2003; Nekvapil 2008). The central concept in Swedish language cultivation of '*ändamålsenlighet*' [functionality] was also brought into play. (For a history of Swedish language policy and cultivation, see Teleman 2002, 2003.)

The cultivation approach is, in addition to the policy approach, one of the two basic approaches to language planning (Neustupný 1970, Kloss 1977, Hornberger 2006). It continues to be quite active in Europe and has also been applied to a number of minority languages (Janich and Greule 2002).

'Classic language planning'

Language planning, that is, the academic discipline with this name, was established as an international academic concern at the end of the 1960s, gained in appreciation and was elaborated in this form during the 1970s. In retrospect it is possible to call this era of the study of language planning 'classic language planning' (Ricento 2000: 206). The fact that language planning was already a specific discipline during this period is evidenced not only by the fact that its subject of research was delimited, and that widely used research frameworks were developed and research methods identified, but also that this research was institutionalized in the form of conferences, projects, representative publications, and world-wide distribution of *The Language Planning Newsletter* (then *The New Language Planning Newsletter*).

The main protagonists of classic language planning came to be associated with American academia, especially Joshua Fishman but also Einar Haugen, both with intellectual ties to Uriel Weinreich, and Charles Ferguson. Ferguson exercised significant influence also as Director of the Center for Applied Linguistics (Washington DC). Joshua Fishman, and until his untimely death, Charles Ferguson, were in the forefront as well of organizing sociolinguistic study (for early work, see Ferguson 1971, Fishman 1968a, 1970, 1971), and both engaged in work on behaviour towards language, organizing, for example attention to and research on language problems of developing nations (Fishman, Ferguson, Das Gupta 1968). Fishman worked on issues of language loyalty and maintenance, generally in the United States and especially in regard to Yiddish (Fishman 1965, 1966). Fishman also went on to contribute fundamentally to the formation of a new approach to language maintenance (Fishman 1991).

Subsequently, on the basis of these earlier initiatives, Ferguson and Fishman spearheaded sociolinguistic survey work in the new nations

and language planning study, both with strong funding support from the Ford Foundation according to foundation program policy (Fox *et al.* 1975, Fox and Skolnick 1975). A collection of papers edited by Rice (1962), issued by the Center for Applied Linguistics, and sponsored by the US Agency for International Development, foretells what was to come, and influenced directions of enquiry by scholars now forming sociolinguistics. Its first paper sets the theme of the document, on how 'linguistic diversity, i.e. the number of different languages spoken and the incidence of multilingualism among the inhabitants' (Ferguson 1962a: 1) relates to 'the selection of a national language and the means of standardizing the language' (Ferguson 1962a: 4). The document includes a paper by Punya Sloka Ray on language standardization (Ray 1962: 91–104). The second paper opens with a program declaration (Ferguson 1962b: 8):

> Social scientists of various disciplines are concerned with the concept of 'national development', in particular, of course, economists and political scientists, but to a lesser extent scholars in other fields. Structural linguistics, however, in spite of its concern with diachronic matters, has been resolutely opposed to any developmental or evolutionary approach in linguistic analysis. The purpose of this paper is on the one hand to suggest the relevance of 'national development' for linguistic analysis and on the other hand to point to linguistic aspects of national development as it is studied by social scientists in other fields.

For accounts of how academic-disciplinary concern with language planning was already emerging elsewhere, and subsequently also in a context of international academic cooperation and funding support, for example, in India, see Kalelkar (1969) and Ray (1963), in Indonesia, see Alisjahbana (1976), Moeliono (1986), the Philippines, see Noss and Gonzalez (1984), Sibayan and Gonzalez (1977), and Malaysia, see Ahmad (1999), Asmah (1979), actually, in Southeast Asia in general, see Noss (1967), Noss and Gonzalez (1984) and in Africa, see Mhina (1975). This work was obviously motivated by developmental imperatives and also to an extent by American funding that enabled the encouragement of local expertise and centres and participation in extensive international research networking and conferring (Fox *et al.* 1975). However, academic-disciplinary concern was also already present elsewhere, such as, for example, in Estonia (Raag 1999, Tauli 1968). Nor had Soviet engagement with language planning ceased (*supra*, and also see Desheriev 1968).

The mainly Ford Foundation-sponsored research (there was also early support by the Rockefeller Foundation in India, see Kalelkar 1969) was oriented above all toward the language situation in the multilingual developing nations which had gained independence following the collapse of the colonial system after the Second World War. These countries were facing the necessity of quickly solving significant political,

economic, social and also language problems. The supportive objective of funding agencies was mobilization for 'modernization' and 'development'. A conference on language problems of the developing nations was convened at Airlie House outside Washington, DC in 1966.

Attention in the emerging study was concentrated above all on the languages aspects of the socio-cultural unit ('nationalism') and its related political (administrative) integrity ('nationism') (Fishman 1968b) and on meeting goals of communicative efficiency for national mobilization (Deutsch 1953). Interest in language planning, however, was also conditioned by the situation in linguistics, in which matters of language and society moved into the forefront: a specific, more general discipline, sociolinguistics, began to take form. Language planning came to be typed and taught as a branch of sociolinguistics.

Haugen's term 'language planning' in his work on Norwegian in a series of papers (first in 1959) and the book *Language Conflict and Language Planning: The Case of Modern Norwegian* (1966b) caught scholars' attention. Haugen was a Scandinavian languages specialist who was also well-known for his work on Norwegian immigrants' bilingualism in the United States and bilingualism in general. Haugen's first definition of language planning was:

> By language planning I understand the activity of preparing a normative orthography, grammar, and dictionary for the guidance of writers and speakers in a non-homogeneous speech community. In this practical application of linguistic knowledge we are proceeding beyond descriptive linguistics into an area where judgement must be exercised in the form of choices among available linguistic forms. Planning implies an attempt to guide the development of a language in a direction desired by the planners. It means not only predicting the future on the basis of available knowledge concerning the past, but a deliberate effort to influence it. (Haugen 1959: 8)

It should be noted that this definition is rather narrow, essentially covering what later came to be generally referred to as 'corpus planning'. (This term was made available in Kloss (1969). His work, as Haugen's, on Germanic languages (esp. 1952) underpinned early theory as well, elaborating the *Abstand* and *Ausbau* concepts.) Haugen placed linguists in the key role of planners. Only a few years later, at one of the foundational conferences to organize sociolinguistics in its contemporary mode, Haugen essentially finds a great many of the elements that should be considered in the analysis and evaluation of various language programmes: background situation, programme of action comprising a goal, policies leading to the goal, and procedures of implementing the policies, namely selection (of reference norms) and codification (in grammars and dictionaries) and/or elaboration (of functions) and propagation (of the proposed norms to new users). Haugen also fit language planning

to decision-making behaviour as 'decision-making procedure', under the subheadings of problems to be solved, alternative solutions, principles of evaluating the alternatives, decision-makers and methods of implementation (1966c).

In the early development of the language planning discipline, a body of literature was identified and a network of discussants of international scope was formed, communicating thought and enquiry. This literature is represented in *Some Introductory References Pertaining to Language Planning* (first published as the final chapter in Rubin and Jernudd 1971a, then as Rubin *et al*. 1979).

One of two primary outcomes of an intensive year's work of review and thought at the East–West Center's Institute of Advanced Projects in 1968–1969, with Ford Foundation funding, by an inter-disciplinary team consisting of Joshua Fishman (sociology, social psychology; project leader), Jyotirindra Das Gupta (political science), Björn Jernudd (linguistics, economics of public administration) and Joan Rubin (anthropology), and with Charles Ferguson at Stanford University (linguistics, sociolinguistics; co-leader), was the book *Can Language be Planned? Sociolinguistic Theory and Practice for Developing Nations*. Its editors, Rubin and Jernudd (1971b: xiii), in the introduction to the book which became a milestone in the theory of language planning, state simply that 'the study of language planning describes decision-making about language'. In the same book, Jernudd and Das Gupta built a theory of language planning and summarized their contribution thus: 'This paper outlines an approach to language planning as decision-making. We do not define planning as an idealistic and exclusively linguistic activity but as a political and administrative activity for solving language problems in society' (Jernudd and Das Gupta 1971: 211).

The other outcome was the carrying out of the International Research Project on Language Planning Processes, with Fishman as principal investigator and for which Stanford University hosted the analytical work, the main published result of which is the book *Language Planning Processes* (Rubin *et al*. 1977).

Fundamental for the formation of classic language planning was the concept of 'plan' and the discussion in the political and economic disciplines of economic and political theories of planning, and which were being applied in a number of countries. *Asian Drama* by Gunnar Myrdal (1968) can be mentioned as a prime example of empirically based grand theory of this persuasion. After all, solutions to language problems were to contribute ultimately to the economic prosperity and social cohesiveness of the developing nation. The planning was conceived as a set (although by no means necessarily as a sequence) of rational, yet politically authorized activities (fact-finding; planning goals, strategies, and outcomes; implementation; and feedback), which take place in concrete social contexts, often in situations of limited material and human

resources. For this reason, the criteria, values and type of information, on the basis of which a selection between alternative aims, strategies, and predicted outcomes can be made, or the issue of 'evaluation', attracted significant attention. Rubin (1971) in continuation of the literature in the area of business administration, economics and political planning of that time, identified formal evaluation techniques, which could improve the quality of language planning; Jernudd (1971) and Thorburn (1971) brought into play cost-benefit analysis and the macro-economic context. A parallel thrust of the effort to solve language problems of the developing nations was represented by sociolinguistic surveys which were promoted to provide essential data also for the planning process (notably the Survey of Language Use and Language Teaching in Eastern Africa (Prator 1968) and the several country reports; the English-language policy survey of Jordan (Harrison *et al.* 1975) and survey methodology was much discussed (Ferguson 1966, Ohannessian *et al.* 1975).

This classic language planning model is based on the premise that language planning takes place at the level of the nation-state and the plans project onto the development of the *entire* society. Political processes of the state (or government) determine the goals to be achieved. The optimistic belief which dominated the international group of theoreticians of language planning in the 1960s is commented on in retrospect by one of the participants thus: 'we recognized and accepted the realities of political process and central state power; and we believed in the good of state action, that governments could act efficiently and satisfactorily' (Jernudd 1997a:132).

Language planning theory in the 1960s and 1970s was formed in a specific political and social context. A number of its features were criticized in the further development of the discipline of language planning. During this period, however, a number of variables relevant for language planning in general and the relationships between them were identified, and some basic terms such as *corpus planning* and *status planning* gained popularity despite criticism of promising too facile a distinction, an issue that came under continuing discussion. Some continually relevant aspects of language planning, e.g., that planning must consider the interests of various social groups, that politics is a fight over interests and that people have different values, or that the research on language planning cannot be an issue only for (socio-)linguists, but rather, also for representatives from other specializations, thus re-emphasizing the originally inter-disciplinary approach, were discussed. A dominant orientation from this period which critics of language planning later criticized remains relevant for the contemporary era: the introduction and elaboration of formal procedures and concrete techniques of language planning. Not even the language planning of today can exist without them. Discussion and publications also appeared that contributed towards typing language planning as but one of many behaviours toward

language, pointing in a direction to clarify its relationship to linguistics and other disciplines.

Critique of classic language planning

During the 1980s and in the years that followed, many specialists in the social sciences turned against state action, especially because of concern that institutions associated with governance and the state uphold inequality and support a hegemonic world order. The visible diversion from structuralism and away from social science survey methodology, towards introspection and logical argument in linguistics, was accompanied by the growing influence of critical theory and its associated, sometimes rather free-wheeling, discursive methodology.[2] Perception of failure of governance and failure of social and economic progress in many emerging states fed disillusionment with development and combined with a groundswell of interest in rights and especially minority and indigenous rights. A rhetorical shift in commenting on the affairs of the state to emphasize a 'market economy' tainted 'planning' as a concept, and the demise of the Soviet planned economies swept it away. The facts that theories of planning have little or nothing to do with a Soviet party-led economic dictatorship and that planning remains a dominating characteristic of contemporary economic management in most well-functioning countries (and corporations and agencies) were overlooked (or deliberately ignored?) by these critical voices.

A sign of the times was that a number of authors criticized the 'covert' ideational basis of classic language planning, thus problematizing its alleged ideological neutrality (in particular Williams 1992, Tollefson 1991, 2002, Blommaert 1996). These authors argued (and quite right they are, in agreement with the approach in *Can Language be Planned?*) that all language planning assumes a specific practice of social change (see also Cooper 1989) and that the practice is political behaviour and it is subject to political analysis. Furthermore, they argued that early language planning models were closely connected to the evolutionary theory of modernization based on Parsons' structural functionalism, which would be one of the reasons why, in spite of the intentions of the theoreticians of language planning, it could not contribute to desirable change, but rather, to the solidification of the social and economic inequality in developing nations (see Williams 1992). Symptomatic in this sense is the title of Tollefson's book *Planning Language, Planning Inequality* (Tollefson 1991).

Rubin (1986) could be said to join the critique of the 'rational model' when in continuing her earlier work she draws attention to the existence of numerous 'wicked problems' in addition to simple 'technical' problems. The former have no 'stopping rules', evidently because there

are other previously unconsidered or unknown factors at play. Further, she argues that not just one actor, but rather the greatest possible number of concerned parties should be involved in the planning process. Moreover, in a specific language planning social system, it is necessary to deal with all types of languages used and the relationships between them (Rubin 1986: 119). This thought was fundamental in propelling sociolinguistics into existence as a discipline and also attracted the attention of funding agencies so as to enable real-world attention to language systems in the newly independent nations. Additionally, the thought that language problems, *qua* problems to be valid and therefore soluble, had to be understood from the point of view of the language user him/herself in actual discourse had already been introduced into mainstream scholarly discussion by Neustupný and Jernudd at the Linguistic Institute in Honolulu in 1977 (of which Joan Rubin was a main organizer) which had language planning as its focus, and as a matter of intellectual fact, earlier (see Neustupný 1978: Chapter 12 on a theory of language problems). They also broadened the scope of attention to language problems beyond newly developing nation's determination and development problematics by looking into motivations for *any and all* language problems, neither a new thought at that date (see Jernudd 1973b, Neustupný 1978: Chapter 14 on language correction in Japan).

Cooper (1989) is a well-considered systematization of language planning. His top-down model of stages in a language planning process has been much quoted. Though he does not abandon the initial term 'plan', he finds it misleading to conceptualize language planning as problem-solving (by which he abandons the tradition of classic language planning). Cooper writes that 'Inasmuch as language planning is directed ultimately towards the attainment of non-linguistic ends, it is preferable, in my opinion, to define language planning … as efforts to influence language behavior' (35). Reflecting an emerging deepening of understanding of behaviour toward language in the discipline, he significantly expands the definition of language planning: 'Language planning refers to deliberate efforts to influence the behaviour of others with respect to the acquisition, structure, or functional allocation of their language codes' (Cooper 1989: 45). Cooper felt language planning behaviour should not be approached prescriptively as a 'rational' behaviour, as he claimed Neustupný's scheme did, but as the empirically messy and emotional kind of behaviour that it is (40). However, he agrees that a 'merit of Neustupný's scheme is that it integrates language planning with ordinary communication processes, with grammatical linguistics, and with micro- and macro-linguistic approaches to behaviour. Neustupný views all communication problems as located in actual discourse' (40). In making these comments, Cooper thus kept his sight firmly on language planning.

Cooper's book became very influential in one aspect in particular. Cooper launched the term 'acquisition planning' as a third basic area of language planning (in addition to corpus and status planning), by which he explicitly incorporated applied linguistics dealing with the teaching of languages (first/second/foreign language teaching and learning) into the realm of language planning. (Not that teaching and learning of languages had ever been excluded! The explicit recognition of applied linguistics must in retrospect be seen as a successful case of building bridges across social divides in the language professions. Terminology, nomenclature, naming and so on also belong.)

More than twenty years after the publication of the volume *Can Language Be Planned?* (Rubin and Jernudd 1971a), one of its editors wrote about the book:

> Should the book be written today, it could not carry the subtitle 'Sociolinguistic Theory and Practice for Developing Nations,' but would have to take account of a broad range of different sociolinguistic situations at different levels of enlargement (from nation to firm), of a broad range of different interests and population groups (from women to refugees), under widely different communicative circumstances (of media, channels, information processing), and foremost, of the different ideological and real, global and local sociopolitical conditions. (Jernudd 1997a: 135, 136)

This formulation can also be read as an explicit characterization of the motivation for and thus aim of early theory of language planning, further informed by the inevitable theoretical development of the whole discipline – and explication and containment of language planning as a particular type of behaviour towards language, among all other such behaviours. Language planning is not specific to 'developing nations', but rather, it also occurs in supposedly 'developed' nations. The *zeitgeist* pointed specifically in the direction of developing nations in the 1960s, then the view of what language planning theory ought to account for broadened considerably. The quotation does not address how to interpret the concept of 'plan' in these varying contexts, but it does say that when planning occurs it is subject to the interests of multiple actors (cf. Das Gupta 1970: 29) in complex society. Also, plans are not formulated only at state level, but also in other contexts (Liddicoat and Baldauf 2008), and planning is but one of many, often interrelated, behaviours toward language.

Initiatives from outside of linguists' networks deepened understanding of language planning processes. From the perspective of political science, one example is how Brian Weinstein analysed the 'political consequences of language choices' (1983) and brought language specialists and political scientists together to explore the relationship between language policy and political development (1990). Language policy formulation and

planning in actual practice continued unabated, in Asian states in particular, and fine work on language planning was produced (among which Dua 1985). Academic fashion however has its own dynamics.

Valuing variation and diversity, and the 'Reversing Language Shift' model

It is language 'modernization' as an '(early) modernization' process that created standard languages and promoted their general use in public communication and education, concurrent with the political processes in early industrializing nations. The process was accompanied by the idea of the coincidence of one nation with one language and one people, already present at an earlier period of time. Diversity was not valued. (Paradoxically, dialectal diversity was simultaneously cherished in particular contexts, as validation of peoplehood.)

The practice that classic language planning addressed faced centrally mobilizing socio-economic and political forces at work in the developing nations, with an agenda to affirm and to develop and promote in use one or a few national/official languages. The proposition that the policy and planning processes selected varieties is too strong in face of socio-political realities of mostly clearly delineated ethnic hierarchies of power, existing socio-economic and educational institutional structure, or in the face of already existing (inter-, trans-)communicative realities. 'Selection' was pretty much a given; 'affirmation' is a better descriptor. The modern period's particulars comprise but one set of behaviours toward language. The maturation in thought on language policy and planning processes in a search for valid theory obliged attention to behaviour towards language in developed as in developing nations, at any historical period. Postmodern practices and ideology necessarily got taken into account in the concurrently developing thought about language planning, and obviously also in practices. A postmodern language planning type reflects this most recent period in Western society behaviour towards language and it rests on recognition and support of variation in society and protects and maintains plurality (Neustupný 1993, 2006 in theory and, e.g., Lo Bianco 1987 in practice). Accordingly, the concept of 'ecology' has been attached also to language planning. Ricento (2000: 208) refers to 'the ecology of languages paradigm'. The idea that plurality of languages is a good and should be maintained in the face of globalization and the industrial and post-industrial society's centralizing forces in education, administration, media and so on, has implications for language planning theory, in especially in regard to its normative development. Human rights, that is linguistic human rights, are highlighted in this period (see e.g. Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson 1995) and are strongly linked to recognition and respect for plurality.

Recent and continuing work on the economics of language use (spearheaded by François Grin 1996a, 1996b, 2003b) and on rights (De Varennes 1996, 2001) promise disciplinary advance, respectively, and interdisciplinary consequence for the study of decision-making in language use.

Hornberger (2006: 35) considers the Reversing Language Shift model (Fishman 1991, 2001) an example of a model which embodies three fundamental features of a newly emerging paradigm, these being ideology, ecology and agency. Even though this model has a narrower scope than the theory of classic language planning, it is indexical of the times. Williams (2007: 162) considers it to be the height of language planning, and, pointing to its exceptional influence, argues that this model essentially replaced language planning (or became its synonym).

Fishman sums up a lifetime of theoretical investigation into language loyalty, language maintenance and language planning with his model of Reversing Language Shift. This model is directed at practical efforts to support continuity of use of minority languages and reacts to the fact that immigration (a continuous and expanding process since the late 1800s) and in its wake assimilation processes and globalizing forces in the contemporary world have led to a record number of languages facing a total loss of speakers. It reacts to the fact that ethnic groups' language practices anywhere cease to be acquired by the young and are therefore not continually used. Pressure arises from a lack of choice of language in navigating education and employment, from a sense of lack of power to arrange life differently, and from the perceived necessity to use not one's own but others' dominant languages in society. The model serves as a theoretical reflection as well as a practical guide to prevent discontinuity of use, and as a guide to the revitalization of use of languages. The level of language endangerment is captured in the model through an eight-degree scale. The 'graded intergenerational disruption scale', the core of the entire model, then, is as follows (simplified):

> Degree 1: endangered language (still) used in the educational sphere, in the work sphere, in the mass media, and on higher levels, even on state level
>
> Degree 2: endangered language used on lower levels (local media and government offices)
>
> Degree 3: endangered language used in the local work sphere, in which interaction between speakers of the minority and majority languages occurs
>
> Degree 4: endangered language used as the language of instruction in schools, in looser or tighter dependency on instruction in the majority language

Degree 5: endangered language is used for instruction, but not in formal education

Degree 6: endangered language used in family settings as a means of inter-generational handing down of traditions and is thus handed down in this way

Degree 7: endangered language used by the older generation, which is already beyond the age of biological reproduction

Degree 8: the endangered language used (known, remembered) by several of its older speakers (based on Fishman 1991: 395ff)

The scale has a (quasi-)implicational character. The aim of this scale is to identify the level of disruption of a specific language, and in accordance with this to plan adequate measures, with the help of which the current state of disruption (e.g., 8) can be shifted to a lower one (e.g., 6), and in optimal cases to the full functioning of the language. A part of this model is also the component of 'ideological clarification', the aim of which is to clarify the ideological conditions for potential revitalization.

It is noteworthy that the mobilization of the grandparent generation to speak the ancestral language to the very young in New Zealand in day care centres (the *kohanga reo*) (a practice that spread to Hawaii and elsewhere) nurtured the revitalization of Maori language use (Spolsky 2004: 200).

The model's structural functionalist point of departure has been criticized (Williams 2007, Darquennes 2007), as the fact that when the role of the family in many societies has changed, the model places excessive weight on the role of handing over the language in the family and ignores the effects of socioeconomic processes in the revitalization of language. Williams (2007: 168) emphasizes that if the family were to be the only agent of passing down the language, revitalization today would essentially be impossible, as 'dynamics of economic restructuring involve a degree of the circulation of capital which leads to migration, or the circulation of people', and thus to the disruption of linguistically homogeneous neighbourhoods and families. (Fishman has fought a life-long battle in defence of Yiddish in the new world's accommodation of migrants from holocaust, war and oppression.) Other authors argue, arising out of another strengthening theoretical development in language planning, namely, the economics one, that for successful revitalization, it is necessary for potential users of the endangered language to begin to positively evaluate the economic benefits of the endangered language for their everyday life (Grin and Vaillancourt 1999). An alternative model which deals with some problems of Fishman's model is the circular model of language status change, the 'Catherine Wheel' (Strubell 1999, 2001: 279–80).

Language management framework

While the models presented above are particular in scope and are models of some *specific* social reality, Language Management Theory has been constructed as a general theory. It delimits its relationship to grammatical theory, and considerably extends its scope to include all behaviours toward language. While formulated as a discipline of linguistics, it opens towards an interdisciplinary account of the societal context. It subsumes language planning as one type of behaviour toward language (Jernudd 2001) and describes it as language management organized at a macrosocial level.

The central concept of 'language management' was programmatically introduced by Jernudd and Neustupný at a language planning conference in Canada 1986, published 1987, although most basic features of Language Management Theory had already been presented (see Neustupný 1978: Ch. 12).[3] The concept of language management postulates that it is helpful to differentiate between two processes: (a) the generation of utterances, and (b) the management of utterances.[4] Theories of grammar aim to predict the totality of possible utterances, management theory ultimately aims to help explain how a speaker makes use of grammatical competence to generate utterances. Management takes place in individuals' production of utterances, i.e., in discourse, and in discourse about utterances, the latter notably in organized manner in institutions of varying complexity. Thus, in Language Management Theory, a distinction is made between 'simple management' and 'organized management'. Simple management can also be referred to as discourse-based management, or on-line management (akin to the analysis of repair in Schegloff et al. 1977, see also Jernudd and Thuan 1983). Organized management is also known as directed management, or off-line management. An example of simple management is when a moderator in a television debate uses a colloquial non-standard expression, and after uttering it, immediately adds the equivalent standard expression (see below). Outstanding examples of organized management are language reforms and the introduction of languages into a school system. Simple management can be modelled as taking place in several phases:

(a) the speaker *notes* a *deviation* from the expected course of communication;
(b) the speaker can but need not *evaluate* the deviation; if it is evaluated negatively, the language management model refers to this as an *inadequacy*, and if positively, a *gratification*;[5]
(c) the speaker can but need not think of an *adjustment* to the inadequacy;
(d) the speaker can but need not *implement* this adjustment.

The following example from a Czech TV broadcast documents an instance of simple language management. Here, in his own utterance the moderator M notes a deviation from the standard norm (the use of Standard is expected in that official situation), he evaluates it negatively (otherwise why did he correct himself) and adjusts the deviation by supplying the standard form (cited from Nekvapil 2000: 174).

> **M**: hezké nedělní odpoledne nejen vám u televizních obrazovek ale i hostům v našem studiu. témata o kterých bude dnes řeč, možná poznáte už podle jmen pánů který kteří přijali dnešní pozvání. vítám tady … (a good Sunday afternoon not only to you at the television screens but also to the guests in our studio. The themes which will be talked about today you may recognize even from the names of the gentlemen who (NS) who (S) accepted today's invitation. I welcome here …)

As we can see, after the word *pánů*, M uses the non-standard form *který* (NS) whereupon he supplies the standard *kteří* (S). The phases of simple management take place automatically in many cases, and the speaker may not be fully aware of them, but in some activities (e.g., in writing), it is sometimes possible to observe phase after phase (cf. also Kaplan and Baldauf 2005).

Noting, evaluation, adjustment design and implementation can also be identified in organized management. Organized management is the meta-management of discourse. It is communication about language use, thus taking an inadequacy out of discourse and making it a topic of discourse, a problem, which can have a good or a bad solution, in the context of the particular language (language system) of which the problem item is regarded as being a part. Parties to organized management act according to their knowledge, beliefs, ideology and own particular theories, clearly in their own particular social environment of differential interest and accountability. An individual's own deliberate management of inadequacies removed from the moment of discourse in which the inadequacy was noted provides an intermediate case and is typically the bridge between simple and organized management, i.e., individuals bring a problem to others' attention, who then cooperate in finding solutions, sometimes in the form of various pre-interaction strategies (see Nekvapil and Sherman 2009c). (The model of course allows for inadequacies also to be cooperatively adjusted in discourse.) An extensive inventory of organized management behaviours at various social levels is surveyed in Spolsky (2009); with an emphasis on language (variety) selection.

Language Management Theory reveals the *connections* between organized and simple management (Nekvapil and Nekula 2006); in other words, it reveals also connections between language planning as a type of organized management and language use. One such connection is that organized management may be founded on instances of simple management, in other words, its agents solve problems that have been brought

to their notice as originating as inadequacies that were noted and evaluated by speakers in specific interactions; and after consultations and with the help of adequate measures, it recommends solutions that remove the speakers' problems or suits their needs in the cases of gratification. An organization that works essentially in this manner is the Swedish *Terminologicentrum* (www.tnc.se/www.tnc.se, Jernudd 1994). The management process takes the form of a 'language management cycle', from noting in discourse through overt organized management back to discourse (for more detail, see Giger and Sloboda 2008, Nekvapil 2009; cf. the notion of *episode* in language planning, Musa 1987). Language Management Theory acknowledges the fact that the above kind of connection is usually far from being the case in practice, as actors in language planning and many other overt language management contexts produce measures (quasi-solutions) independently of concrete interactions as they do not orient toward contributing to help speakers remove inadequacies. Language, regrettably, is instead used as a means of exclusion, oppression and domination, by denying speakers rights of participation according to communicative ability. Rather than identifying and attending to 'linguistic' interests, they advocate 'non-linguistic interests' (Jernudd and Neustupný 1987). By hegemonic imposition, application of faulty theory or in the pursuit of self-interest, they risk causing or willingly cause further problems for speakers. Essential is the fact that Language Management Theory is a conceptual model which diagnoses such situations, being as a whole 'an academic response to people in power in reaction against central imposition' (Jernudd 1993: 134). In this regard, the theory is in harmony with postmodern thought and ideology of rights of individuals and groups (language being, obviously, a group phenomenon). Accordingly, Language Management Theory offers a new perspective on 'maintenance and shift' discussed earlier, viewing it as a process and specifically as particular linguistic activities of individuals and small groups (see Sloboda 2009).

Because language behaviour is embedded in social behaviour, it is difficult to conceive of successful *language* management, without accompanying *social* (*political, economic* etc.) management. Compartmentalization of either realm leads to failure. Given the place given to non-linguistic interest in Language Management Theory, it requires connecting with social, economic and political theory. The most comprehensive work to date to apply Language Management Theory is Neustupný and Nekvapil (2003), and recent theoretical systematizations can be found in papers in Nekvapil and Sherman (2009b).

Concluding remarks

Theories of language policy and planning with continuity of citation into the present have existed minimally since the 1920s. However, the theory

of language planning that was formulated in the 1960s in connection with the collapse of the colonial system following the Second World War came to dominate international academic discussion in a paradigmatically 'classic' discourse. Beginning in the 1980s, it was strongly criticized for a number of reasons. In rhetorical resonance with academic and intellectual discourse, an 'ecological' paradigm of language policy and planning began to form, distinguishing itself from classic language planning through its emphasis on ideology, ecology and agency (Ricento 2000) and a broadening of its scope. In this paradigm, a significant position has been occupied by the broadly accepted Reversing Language Shift model (Fishman 1991).

Language Management Theory is a novel conceptualization of language planning (see Blommaert 1996 referring to Kuo and Jernudd 1993, Baldauf 2005). The theory has a very broad scope, includes both the *macro* dimension and the *micro* dimension ('agency'), examines language management as a *process*, views it in *communicative* and *socio-cultural* terms (including socio-economic ones), but at the same time is transparently compatible with *linguistics* and good for utilization on research on *second language* teaching and learning. With means of this encompassing theory, language planning can be characterized as a particular type of behaviour toward language, with its relationship to grammar and language use made explicit, thus also its relation to the discipline of linguistics, and its holistic complexity of motivation in discoursal and non-linguistic motivations captured through interdisciplinary enquiry and explanation. It is thus reasonable to assume that its significance will grow (Nekvapil 2006, Lanstyák and Szabómihályová 2009).

The theories, models and frameworks of language policy and planning will undoubtedly continue to develop based on the demand for language planning itself in contemporary society. It appears that this demand is growing rather than decreasing. The lion's share in this is held by three contemporary social processes: globalization, migration, and regionalization of governance. Language planning in its early formulation applies to still evolving cases, and, interestingly, older approaches and concepts have been revived in several countries in Europe.[6] It can safely be assumed that the newly forming planning situations will lead to the birth of new approaches and concepts, precisely because of changing realities.[7]

3

Philosophy of language policy

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Language policy provokes normative debate only in the context of interaction between two or more language communities, in particular their co-existence within a political entity. Because language is fundamental to human interaction, which language to use, and who gets to decide, are questions that pervade multilingual societies. The central policy question is whether convergence on a single language should be promoted, or linguistic diversity protected and fostered.

In modern times, the treatment of language as a political issue has received little philosophical attention – that is, until very recently. Although language was very much part of the theoretical justification for aligning states with 'nations' (Fichte 1968; Humboldt 1999; Herder 2002), once the map of Europe had been roughly, but only roughly, redrawn along these lines, attention turned to converting states into nations by standardizing language and suppressing minority languages that were either trapped in the 'wrong' state or denied a state of their own. Philosophers played a role in this process, expounding the need for use of a single language to engender solidarity, and glorifying the winning languages as civilized while denigrating minority languages as barbaric (Mill 1991: ch. 16; Michelet 1946: 286). In one fell swoop, language went from a key anchor of the right of peoples to self-determination to something to be dictated by the state for the sake of the greater good. Once the ideology of the nation-state was firmly in place, philosophers seem to have lost interest for a time. In the meantime, domestic language policy, at least in many states, has been firmly formulated around the promotion of linguistic uniformity.

More recently, philosophical interest has developed in the phenomenon of multiculturalism – managing the co-existence within a polity of citizens from many different cultural backgrounds with different ways of life – (Kymlicka 1989, 1995; Young 1990; Gutmann 1994; Benhabib 2002; Gutmann 2003) and interest in language policy has

been rekindled as an important part of that debate. The experience of states founded on successive waves of immigration, such as Canada, the United States and Australia, as well as increased mobility within transnational bodies such as the European Union, have brought once more to the fore the question of whether cultural difference should be protected and fostered or suppressed in pursuit of national homogeneity. This recapitulates the issue of whether the use of one's own language is a right to be protected in the face of competing majority interests, or a mere minority preference that can be overridden in pursuit of other objectives.

Debates over these issues in our time unfold against the backdrop of the juggernaut of globalization. Whatever else globalization is, it involves a vast increase in the amount and intensity of interaction amongst peoples all around the globe including contact between speakers of different languages. Some argue that the process of globalization is rapidly changing linguistic patterns in favour of dominant or hegemonic languages, primarily English (Phillipson 2003: 12; Levy 2003; Wright 2004: Ch. 8; Falquet and Grin 2008: 194). This is expected to produce regional lingua francas or even, eventually, a global common language. Thus, the forces of globalization are said to reproduce the phenomenon of standardization associated with the rise of the nation-state, moving the question to the global stage: should these forces be resisted or welcomed?

The philosophical debates about language policy begin with the foundational issue of whether, and the extent to which, the regulation of language use is rights-based or, alternatively, grounded in other sorts of political or moral justification. Few would argue that everything to do with the regulation of language is either one or the other, and, in fact, the policy framework in most countries is a mixture of the two. Positions can be arrayed on a spectrum from recognizing only minimal rights and leaving most aspects of policy to be governed according to other considerations, to carving out a substantial sphere of rights protection with relatively little left over to be decided on other grounds. A minimalist approach might recognize the right to use the language of one's choice in private and the right to the assistance of an interpreter in certain circumstances, but treat all other language issues as governed by a range of social objectives according to which linguistic diversity is either advantageous and to be promoted, or a problem to be overcome by fostering integration into a common language. By contrast, those who see the ability to use one's own language as a fundamental interest argue for a range of concrete rights designed to support the ability to use minority languages. We begin with a survey of the work of those who reject a rights-based framework because their debates about what is good for society as a whole set the backdrop against which rights claims are made.

Non-rights-cased approaches to language policy

There can be as many different kinds of reason for or against regulation of language as in respect of any other policy issue. The policy approach towards language simply follows from a more general theory about how societies should be governed (Grin 2003b: 6–9). One general theory about what is good for people may dictate language policy in one direction; another will lead in a different direction. An alternative view treats language policy as within the realm of the permissible in politics – whatever democratic decision-making procedures produce is the 'right' policy, subject to the usual requirement to protect basic rights (Laitin and Reich 2003). This approach endorses no particular substantive set of policies, so we will say no more about it. Instead, we shall focus on exploring the normative arguments prevalent in the literature in support of either unilingualism or plurilingualism.

The world's languages have been influenced by the phenomenon of globalization, and language policy debates are responding. Where some see threat, others see opportunity. In some circles, there is a tendency to treat this process as inevitable, so that the only policy issues that arise concern how to smooth the transition for speakers of those languages that will eventually die out. Van Parijs, for example, drawing on rational choice theory, argues that given two features of the context of interaction of speakers of different languages, the indefinite iteration of individual decisions about language use will pull inexorably towards the emergence of a lingua franca (Van Parijs 2004a). First, the probability and sensitive nature of language learning makes it rational to choose to learn the second language which one thinks will most probably be useful; second, the 'maximin communication' strategy dictates that the rational way to enable communication in a group including several different languages is to choose the language of which the most people have at least some understanding (Van Parijs 2004a: 386–7). Those who share the assumption of inevitability tend to focus on the normative reasons for embracing linguistic integration.

In the other camp are those who argue that diversity in the linguistic realm is good for humankind in the same way that biological diversity is beneficial (Crystal 2000). Language policy should aim at preserving as many of the world's languages as possible, and the policy questions raised have to do with which languages take priority and how best to go about preserving vulnerable ones. Many of the arguments for fostering linguistic convergence appeal to the communicative interest in language, while the diversity arguments appeal to a broader conception of the value of language. We will see this division echoed in the different rights-based accounts of language policies offered in the literature. In the present context the arguments are put in terms of aggregate benefit to people and

societies at large; rights-based theories focus on the specific interests of speakers of a particular language.

The competing frameworks give rise to opposite policy recommendations – promoting unilingualism versus preserving plurilingualism. The debate at the international level mirrors that at the national level. The biocultural diversity argument is holistic in shape – each language is said to be a repository of many forms of knowledge which make each a unique cultural artifact whose continued existence is capable of informing and enriching all people, albeit diffusely. The arguments in favour of unilingualism appeal to a variety of discrete benefits said to flow from maximizing the number of people capable of communicating directly with each other.

Linguistic diversity as a public good

The biocultural diversity approach holds that linguistic diversity is a public good of complex aesthetic, intellectual, cultural and even scientific value. A world with more languages, like a world with more cultures, arts or species of animals is a better world – more colourful, rich and interesting (Crystal 2000; Maffi 2000). This argument provides a basis for plurilingualism without appealing to human rights. Diversity has value to the world as a whole, independently of the value any human being attaches to it (Nickel 1995: 635–42; Blake 2002: 644). On analogy with ecological arguments about biodiversity, linguistic diversity is said to be the backbone of human evolution. Language is connected to culture, and culture is a way of life that constitutes a repository of knowledge and wisdom adapted to particular living conditions. The more such knowledge is kept alive the more possibility there is for cross-fertilization between communities (Crystal 2000). In its own changes and accretions, language records human history; it records cultural heritage in the stories it tells; it records knowledge of the natural environment in its classifications and distinctions (Fishman 1991: 21). All of these contribute to the store of human knowledge, wisdom and creative expression. The variety of human languages in respect of sounds, grammar and syntax may even be able to tell us something about how language developed and its connection to consciousness. As languages die, bits and pieces of this kaleidoscope of knowledge are lost (Marshall and Gonzalez 1991: 296–302; Hale 1998; Patten and Kymlicka 2003b: 44; Kibbee 2003: 51–5; Boran 2003).

This argument for plurilingualism is generally criticized on two grounds. The first has to do with the feasibility of protecting all languages. Such a project requires enormous economic resources that are unavailable to most countries in the world (Kibbee 2003: 54). Failing a commitment to the protection of all languages, the criteria for selection of languages to protect would be very different from those plausible

within a rights framework; if diversity is the good, the most exotic endangered languages, that is, the most 'different', should attract the most protection (Nettle and Romain 2000; Boran 2003). Second, the argument for preserving as many languages as possible faces questions about the freedom of speakers to revise and change the specific content of their language. If a language is protected only because its specific content enriches the world, then the preservationist view arguably entails linguistic stasis that does not allow individuals the freedom to change their language (Blake 2002: 645–7).

These concerns are valid if the diversity approach is read as enjoining us to preserve every language at all costs because each language has some kind of right to preservation. However, the approach need not be so interpreted. A more modest formulation is available: since linguistic diversity is good for all humanity, the more diversity there is, the better. If there are limits to the efforts that can realistically be made on behalf of the world's vulnerable languages, there will be somewhat fewer diversity benefits than there might otherwise have been, but presumably we should still do what we can to preserve as much as we can. Second, the analogy with biodiversity suggests that we should seek to preserve languages as living cultural ecosystems, not as formaldehyde-soaked museum pieces. Change in language over time is a natural part of its evolution, like change in plant and animal species.

Ironically, the value of linguistic diversity claimed by this school of thought remains somewhat ineffable. Hard proof of the benefits of preserving languages is hard to come by, at least proof of benefits that are likely to appeal to ordinary people, especially in developed countries. Rather the benefits of plurilingualism are likely to be diffuse, hard to measure, and not readily falsifiable. However, as we shall see, proof of the benefits of unilingualism is equally elusive.

The case for convergence

With the increase in attention that theorists have paid to language policy and politics in the last decade, the arguments for welcoming linguistic convergence and even fostering its emergence have vastly increased in complexity. The dominant argument used to be straightforwardly efficiency-based – it would simply be easier and cheaper to get on with the business of government, commerce and civil society generally if those involved all spoke the same language (Patten 2003a: 378–9). Recent writing puts efficiency well down the list of benefits from integration while still acknowledging its force. Instead, the adoption of a common language is said to be a necessary precondition of national solidarity (Mill 1991b: Ch. 16), robust democratic engagement (Habermas 1995; Grimm 1995; Rubio-Marin 2003b: 68–70; Patten 2009: 105–6), and a vibrant civil society (Van Parijs 2004a: 377). At the same time, modern supporters of a lingua

franca infuse the project with an egalitarian concern for social mobility and opportunity (Patten 2001: 701, 2007; Van Parijs 2004a, 2004c). The strongest version of the argument melds all of these elements: building trust and willingness to cooperate requires some degree of common identification, genuine democracy requires the ability to participate of all members of society, democracy and social life generally are enhanced by civil society groups of all sorts pursuing various interests, public and private, and the equal ability of all members of society to participate in governance and civil society, as well as the market, requires that access to a common language be comprehensive, that is, available to all.

The most common argument in favour of the adoption of a common language is its value in fostering identification with the state and enabling robust political engagement. The argument has most often been made at the national level – thus it is often called the 'national solidarity' argument; however, it can be transposed to the transnational (Van Parijs 2004c) or even international level. The argument has been around since the advent of the nation-state: the citizenry of a state is unlikely to forge the kinds of bonds that sustain a society through good times and bad unless it has a common source of identity to motivate collective action. Without such a bond, a society is likely to become fractious, with different groups pursuing private communal interests rather than the common good (Mill 1991: Ch. 16). It has been noted, however, that the national solidarity argument may be used to manipulate linguistic policies in favour of a single language so that it becomes associated with solidarity and nationhood (Shohamy 2006: 22–30). That arguing for convergence around a particular language at the national level might be at odds with larger forces dictating use of a different language regionally or internationally introduces a tension in this position that has yet to be resolved (De Varennes 1996: 86–7; May 2003: 127).

That national solidarity is a good thing can hardly be doubted. Whether a common language is crucial to this pursuit is more open to question. Sceptics point to the fact that some states, such as Switzerland and Canada, that foster multilingual policies are doing relatively well (Kymlicka and Grin 2003: 10–13). Second, it is not clear that a national language must prevail in all spheres of political, economic and social life to contribute to solidarity. Some local spheres such as education and media may foster minority languages without undermining solidarity (Kymlicka and Grin 2003: 12). Others argue that the policies that would be required to achieve a common language are likely to alienate linguistic minorities and foster separatist tendencies (Young 1990: 179; Kymlicka 1995: 184–5; Thomas 1996; Réaume 2000: 260–1, 270–1; Patten 2001: 704–5). Under these circumstances *realpolitik* may argue against unilingualism. Protecting language may serve as a gesture towards minority groups affirming equality of power and thereby mitigate national and ethnic tensions (Magnet 1995: 83, 250; Levy 2000: 40–1, 131; Kymlicka and Grin

2003: 14–15; Grin 2003b: 9–19). However, when a linguistic minority is perceived as disloyal and as a security risk, *realpolitik* may arguably pull in the opposite direction. On this view, protecting minority languages may encourage a sense of groupness within minority groups, thus enhancing separatist tendencies of minority groups rather than eliminating them (Kymlicka and Grin 2003: 15).

The national solidarity argument tends to go hand in hand with the claim that the deliberative turn in democratic theory makes essential widespread participation in decision-making through discussion and debate. How can there be joint deliberation, the argument goes, if the debate is fractured by linguistic divisions (Grimm 1995b: 295; Barry 2001: 227; Patten 2001: 701; Addis 2007: 130)? One community draws on one source of information as the basis for its participation while another relies on different newspapers and pundits. The chances are increased that there is no shared base of information and argument on which to ground a common decision. Misunderstanding and discussion at cross purposes are the likely results with a consequent increase in distrust, which takes us back to the solidarity problem. The democratic engagement argument can be extended to civil society generally (Van Parijs 2004a). Not all important decision-making takes place in the political domain. Our societies are shaped as much by the deliberations of corporations, NGOs and public intellectuals as governments and legislatures. We all have a stake in participating in these kinds of discussions and a common language maximizes this possibility.

The democracy argument is liable to the objection that it assumes a highly idealistic level of engagement by the citizenry that may not match reality. If democracy manages to lumber along under far from perfect conditions of informational and deliberative equality, one might wonder why the extra dash of imperfection wrought by linguistic diversity is so fatal to democratic participation.

The argument for a common language is further bolstered by pointing out the possible consequences of multilingualism for equal opportunity. As with characteristics such as race, class or gender, language should not affect one's options for social mobility in society (Patten 2003a: 379–81). But in circumstances in which one language is dominant, more opportunities will be available in that language. More workplaces will operate in that language; the best schools and universities are likely to use that language; success in many shapes and forms will be more easily achieved in that language. Those who speak a minority language will find themselves shut out of an increasing range of activities and opportunities. With that will come general economic and social marginalization.

However, it is obvious that assimilation is not the only way to achieve equal social mobility for linguistic minorities. Equality could be protected by equal support for majority and minority languages or by enabling minority language speakers both to maintain their language and

become proficient in the dominant language (Patten 2003a: 382–3). Thus, the equal opportunity argument presupposes either a strong version of the inevitability thesis, or the existence of some other sufficient reason for moving to a common language. If either we have no choice in the matter or there is good reason to adopt such a policy, then there is also good reason to make sure that no one is left behind. The equal opportunity argument is supplemental at best.

Even if we assume that there are powerful forces pulling toward linguistic convergence (Spolsky 2004: 79), these global changes raise important questions with regard to what Van Parjis calls 'cooperative injustice', that is, the unfair distribution of the burden of producing a lingua franca. These burdens are imposed on speakers of other languages, turning the native speakers of the global lingua franca into free-riders (Van Parjis 2009). While the various benefits resulting from proficiency in the lingua franca may be said to compensate for the differential burdens shouldered, this form of compensation assumes that material benefits can be traded off against the intangible value of recognition for and use of one's own language (ibid.). This seems to be belied by the attitudes of many and the tenacity with which many minority language speakers remain committed to their own tongue (Laitin and Reich 2003; May 2003).

Contrasted with these approaches that aggregate costs and benefits across society as a whole in order to design policy, an alternative framework treats language use and support for its use as a vital human interest capable of grounding claims of rights. To this literature we now turn.

Rights-based approaches to language regulation

Classifying language rights

The variety of contexts that might involve interaction between speakers of different languages means that, to the extent that language questions are answered by the assignment of rights, a legal system can house many different language rights. A comprehensive theory of language rights, then, must address this diversity. Are all language rights based on the same principles? If not, how do they differ from one another and what are the implications? We begin this survey, therefore, with a brief overview of the range of provisions that might be termed 'language rights' and a discussion of the main issues in the debate about how best to classify the different kinds of rights claimed.

Many traditional rights have a linguistic dimension that comes to the fore whenever invoked by the speaker of one language in a context in which another language is normalized. For example, the right to freedom of expression covers the right to express oneself in a particular language, whatever language one chooses – in handing out leaflets on a street corner, publishing a community newspaper, or advertising in a

minority language, for example (Green 1991a; Patten 2009: 108). Though not all agree on the scope of this linguistic dimension of free expression (Taylor 1994: 59), few would reject the claim that to some extent the language chosen for expression is itself part of that expression. Similarly, any interaction with state agencies can raise language rights questions insofar as the exchange must be conducted through the use of language. For example, the traditional civil right to a fair trial requires that an accused person be able to understand legal proceedings and make him or herself understood, both of which involve the use of language. Similarly, one cannot exercise the right to vote without using language to read the ballot. These civil and political rights have a linguistic dimension even if the instrument enshrining them says nothing about the language to be used in their exercise.

In some jurisdictions, however, language seems to be given independent status as the basis for rights – particular languages are recognized as 'official' and their use is supported and protected in a wide variety of contexts and circumstances. The package of supports for a minority language may include such things as the right to government services in one's own language, the right that public institutions, including courts and legislatures, operate in all protected languages, the right to publicly funded education in the protected languages, the right to the use of one's language in the workplace, and access to media such as radio and television in minority languages. The precise concrete rights created by such regimes vary according to the political, social and economic conditions in a particular jurisdiction.

This variety in the circumstances giving rise to rights with respect to language calls for a classification scheme to identify key features of the different kinds of language rights. Two dominant bases for classification have emerged, based on different features of the claims identified. Kloss' distinction between tolerance-oriented rights and promotion-oriented rights is an early effort at classification (Kloss 1977a). The schema evokes a distinction between negative liberties and rights imposing positive obligations. But there seems to be a second aspect of Kloss' distinction. The idea of 'promotion-oriented' rights suggests not only a requirement of action on the part of government, but a positive objective underlying such action – enabling a language and its speakers to flourish – contrasted with the seemingly less generous, though not exactly negative, attitude of tolerance. This second aspect of Kloss' scheme of classification is less clear, as is the relationship between the two elements.

Kloss' schema is imperfect because the negative/positive and tolerance/promotion elements are not co-extensive. Not all negative liberties are tolerance-based, and not all positive obligations are promotion-oriented. Furthermore, the tolerance/promotion distinction is not exhaustive – some rights, such as the right to an interpreter in legal proceedings,

seem to fall in between (Green 1987: 661; Réaume 2000: 255–8, 262–6; Rubio-Marin 2003b: 55; Patten and Kymlicka 2003: 27–8). The issues can be better illuminated by separating out the conceptual feature of whether rights impose only duties of non-interference or positive obligations of support from other bases for distinguishing between types of rights. Further, Kloss' unclear distinction between tolerance and promotion needs to be refined – differentiation of the possible justifications underlying different sorts of language rights has been the focus of much of the recent literature.

One important refinement to Kloss' schema is the recognition that there are two distinct kinds of positive language rights – 'norm-and-accommodation rights' (or more succinctly, 'accommodation rights') and 'official language rights' (Patten and Kymlicka 2003: 28; Patten 2009: 109). The former impose some positive duties on government to provide for the use of a minority language in certain contexts, but these are seen as exceptions to the general rule – use of the dominant language – and are heavily qualified. Although in some countries the declaration of a language as official may have only symbolic implications (Spolsky and Shohamy 1999b: 61–2), in most cases, official language rights accord (quasi-) equal status to a minority language and therefore give broader scope to its use. This gloss suggests a continuum along the negative/positive axis: tolerance rights are negative liberties, accommodation rights impose limited positive obligations, official language rights impose more extensive obligations. However, while this captures the sense that promotion rights involve more extensive government obligations than tolerance and accommodation rights, an exclusive focus on the negative or positive nature of the rights fails fully to elucidate the point of Kloss' second dimension of the contrast between tolerance and promotion.

One effort to fill this gap is based on classifying rights by reference to the underlying interest they serve. The important distinction is between the communicative function of language and its expressive role as a marker of identity and affiliation. The use of language to communicate makes it instrumentally valuable, but its connection to identity gives it intrinsic value for its speakers (Green 1987: 659; Réaume 2000: 251; Pinto 2007: 162–5). Communication and expression of identity and affiliation represent different interests that people can have in the use of their language. Rubio-Marin builds on this to suggest replacing the tolerance/promotion distinction with one between instrumental and non-instrumental rights (Rubio-Marin 2003b: 56). Instrumental language rights exist for the sake of other interests language is used to pursue (Réaume 2000: 248–9; Rubio-Marin 2003b: 63–6; Patten 2005: 141–6; Pinto 2009: 32), while non-instrumental rights are grounded in people's interest in the language itself, independently of its use as a tool of communication. This focus on underlying interests converts the vague positive

attitude suggested by the ideal of 'promotion' and its contrast with mere tolerance into a distinction based on a clearer normative foundation for different kinds of rights.

A distinction based on whether a language right is based on communicative or expressive interests – in other words, whether it has an instrumental or non-instrumental justification – is quite separate from one based on whether they are negative or positive. Negative liberties with respect to the use of language can be grounded on either communicative or expressive interests, or even both. Likewise, positive rights can be grounded in either interest separately or both combined (Rubio-Marin 2003b: 67). Instead of one distinction – tolerance/promotion – which blurs the difference between these two elements, separating them into two distinct bases for classification produces a clearer analytical framework.

Both dimensions are relevant to a comprehensive theory of language rights. Whether a right is justified by communicative or expressive interests tells us a great deal about its scope and perhaps its weight. The distinction between negative and positive rights is significant because negative rights have traditionally been more readily accepted, theoretically and politically. Positive rights immediately give rise to concerns about competing considerations, and many of the positive rights required to recognize the expressive interest in language involve the imposition of fairly onerous burdens on the state and possibly on other individuals.

Language liberties

Like freedom of expression, the right to freedom of association also includes the right of speakers of a non-dominant language to use their own language in communication with one another, whether in private or public settings. Following Kloss, these rights are often classified as 'toleration rights' (Kloss 1977; Green 1987; Patten 2009: 107). Their significant feature is that they require mainly that the state refrain from interference with the use of a minority language; in other words, they are negative liberties. As an aspect of traditional civil rights, these rights to use one's own language are universal – they apply to individuals, and equally to each individual, whatever the language he or she wishes to use. Insofar as the right to use a particular language can be incorporated into an existing negative liberty, the general debates about the ground and scope of such rights are applicable.

Negative language liberties, such as linguistic freedom of expression, are not based exclusively on the communicative value of language. One has a right to express oneself in a particular language or to use it in conversation with other speakers even if one is able to communicate the same message in the dominant language. Part of the rationale for protecting linguistic freedom of expression is that the use of a particular language matters to the speaker, not just conveying the content of the

message – the medium is at least part of the message (Green 1991a). Thus, although these rights are undemanding in the sense that they mostly require non-interference with others' choice of language, they are based on the full range of human interests in language. In both these respects they contrast with accommodation rights, to which we now turn.

Language accommodations

Many contexts of interaction between individuals and the state give rise to language rights ancillary to ordinary civil and political rights that are not negative liberties. These rights require positive action on the part of the state. Granting a mere negative liberty to an accused person to speak his or her own language before a court without interference would not ensure a fair trial if the judge cannot understand the language used. The minority language speaker would risk punishment without having understood the charge or being able to make full answer. Guaranteeing a fair trial requires positive measures to facilitate communication across language differences (Rubio-Marin 2003a: 65; Patten and Kymlicka 2003: 34).

The linguistic rights that flow from the right to a fair trial are an example of accommodation rights (Patten 2009: 109). The label identifies them as exceptions to the general rule. Exceptions are, by definition, limited responses to special conditions. The nature of the interest protected by accommodation rights is the key to understanding these rights; this feature is more significant than their positive character. The linguistic dimension of the right to a fair trial normally cashes out as a right to an interpreter. This right has more to do with the fairness of the trial than with the protection of language itself, as evidenced by the fact that the right is limited to cases in which the individual cannot understand the language of the court; by contrast, someone who is bilingual is expected to use the dominant language (Réaume 2002: 597; Rubio-Marin 2003b; Patten 2009: 109–10). The background norm is use of the dominant language – treated as 'the court's language'. An exception is made for an individual unable to use that language. Outside these circumstances there is no reason, so far as the fairness of the trial goes, to enable the accused person to use his or her own language. This limitation demonstrates that accommodation rights are grounded solely in the communicative function of language rather than its expressive or identity-related value (Patten 2009: 109–10). Language is a tool of communication, a means by which information is transferred from one person to another. The communicative function of a minority language can attract some form of protection as a matter of right, but only when the minority language is the only means of communication available to the individual.

The argument for the right to an interpreter in a trial can be extended to other interactions with government – reading a statute, receiving

government services, or participating in voting, for example. The communicative interest in understanding and being understood is in play in all these contexts. However, while there is widespread agreement that one ought not to suffer punishment because one cannot speak the dominant language, many feel that access to benefits provided by the state is different. Indeed, some suggest that making the benefits of citizenship conditional on adoption of the majority or dominant language would create an incentive to learn that language. This suggestion starkly brings to the fore the background expectation that everyone should speak a common language and accentuates the limited scope of accommodation rights. Citizens interact repeatedly with the state to access benefits – at one point to get a driver's licence, at another to apply for a social insurance number, later to seek housing assistance, or tax advice. This context invites a forward-looking perspective, and if language is seen primarily as a tool of communication, the long term solution to communication difficulties might well be integration of all into the dominant language and the eventual elimination of accommodation rights.

Those who doubt the wisdom of the incentive argument see refusal to provide public services in minority languages as a systemic barrier to integration and participation in society (Rubio-Marin 2003b: 77–8; May 2003: 151; Rodriguez 2006). Failure to accommodate linguistic minorities is seen as a form of discrimination – denying opportunities to participate that members of the dominant language group enjoy. So long as the focus remains exclusively on the communicative value of language, however, this broader anti-discrimination approach merely tempers the push toward integration into use of the majority language. One should not be excluded from the political process by being unable to understand the ballot, for example, but one can still be expected to learn the dominant language so that accommodation ceases to be necessary. Far from valuing use of the speaker's own language for its own sake, this anti-discrimination argument is more likely to give rise to a right to the supports needed to learn the majority language (Rubio-Marin 2003b: 70; Rodriguez 2006: 705–9).

This debate is mirrored in the discussion about education as a whole. Whether one sees education as itself a right, or merely treats it as a good that should not be discriminatorily denied, access to education has a linguistic dimension. Sending children who speak one language to public schools that operate in another guarantees them an inferior education (*Lau v. Nichols* 414 U.S. 563 (1974)). Some account must be taken of the linguistic abilities of school children in order to educate them effectively. Debate rages about whether immersion schooling in the dominant language or early schooling in the child's own language with a view to gradual transition to the dominant language is better (May 2003; Rodriguez 2006; Pogge 2003), but both policies assume that the ultimate objective is to enable children to leave school able to function fully in the dominant

language (For further discussion, see Chapter 14 in this handbook). In other words, access to education is taken to mean, linguistically, the right ultimately to be enabled to learn in the dominant language; this is where children's best interests lie (Pogge 2003).

All these accommodation rights view language instrumentally, as a means of achieving ends such as communication, education and social mobility (Réaume 1991:45; Rubio-Marin 2003b: 63–6). Any particular language is assessed according to whether it is effective as a means or ineffective, and language policy is formulated around fostering use of effective means of communication and working around the barriers created by the use of languages that are ineffective. Any positive supports provided for speakers of non-dominant languages under such a regime are transitional at best – a temporary solution to an immediate communication problem while we work toward the point at which everyone uses the same means of communication.

As with tolerance-oriented rights, rights to various forms of accommodation fit comfortably into the traditional individualistic focus of theories of rights. It is the individual's fundamental interests in expression or communication and participation that ground these claims. These rights are therefore understood as universal, their protections available to each speaker of every language. It is less clear that individualistic theories of rights can account for language rights that are not ancillary to other rights but based on the importance of the use of their own language to members of a linguistic minority.

To the extent that linguistic accommodations require positive action on the part of government, they are subject to all the usual debates about the legitimacy of judicial enforcement of such rights and the limits to which they are properly subjected. The more vigorously one presses the argument that failure to accommodate minority languages amounts to discrimination, the greater the extent of the accommodations produced and the more onerous the burden on the state to honour them.

So far we have focused on language rights that are either rights not to be interfered with or are based exclusively on the communicative interest in language. The more ambitious theories combine the idea of rights that impose positive obligations with an account infused with some conception of the expressive interest in language. A survey of these approaches allows more fully for an exposition of the intrinsic value of language, not as a means of communication, but as an aspect of identity and affiliation.

Making language rights 'official'

Some theorists argue for a right to a range of positive supports for the use of a minority language or languages grounded in the value of the use of one's own language for its own sake rather than as a means of

communication in pursuit of other interests. In other words, they recognize the expressive value of language rather than merely seeing its communicative value. As already noted, the types of supports included in these attempts to justify what we shall call an official language rights regime include a range of government services, at least some of which are also contexts in which accommodation rights arise. Viewed as accommodations, these services are grounded exclusively in the communicative interest in language, but the rationale behind them can be expanded. When infused with the expressive interest in language these entitlements are transformed – the right to an interpreter at trial, for example, becomes a claim about the status of one's language and its role in the judicial process.

The argument for ongoing positive recognition for minority languages treats their use as something positive, rather than as a barrier to participation in activities in a different language. Within this camp, there are differences over the extent and ambition of the rights claimed. At the modest end of the spectrum are claims for symbolic recognition of (some) minority languages (Kraus 2007; Van Parijs 2004c). Others give recognition more substance, arguing for equal availability of key public services in the official languages of a jurisdiction (Kymlicka 1995: 36–7, 46; De Varennes 1996: 117; Patten 2003b). An approach along these lines that looks to provide support across the full range of circumstances and social conditions bearing upon the continued vitality of a language community aims to create the conditions of linguistic security (Réaume and Green 1989; Réaume 1991, 2003). The most ambitious language rights theories treat the objective as ensuring the survival of minority languages, apparently adopting an end-state conception of what official language rights are rights to (Laponce 1987; Taylor 1994; May 2003).

It is commonly acknowledged that a multilingual state cannot provide comprehensive protection to all minority languages within its borders. Official language rights regimes therefore typically select only one or two minority languages for recognition and some level of protection beyond accommodation. This raises the question of what the normative basis is for limiting official language status and choosing the beneficiaries. A related but separate question is whether official language rights should be territorially based or attach to persons (McRae 1975; Laponce 1987; Réaume 2003; Patten and Kymlicka 2003: 29–30; Patten 2003b; Van Parijs 2004c). The former means that minority language groups have rights to use their language in various contexts provided they remain within a province, state, or region designated as their 'homeland'. By contrast, the personality model treats at least some language rights as tied to the person and therefore portable – one may claim protection for the use of one's own language wherever one is.

While it is easy to array theories of official language rights regimes according to the extent of the supports they provide, it is harder to

identify what accounts for the different levels of ambition endorsed. At least three factors seem relevant: the conceptualization of the expressive interest in language and its connection to identity and membership in a community; the underlying theory of equality espoused; and the individual or collective focus of the theory.

Positions on official language rights can also be influenced by the debate within liberalism about the importance of state neutrality. Going beyond the negative liberty to use one's language and the right to be accommodated when important communicative interests are at stake can be argued to involve the state in endorsing a particular conception of the good and so to violate the principle of neutrality. However, it is commonly argued that when it comes to language, the state cannot remain neutral, as it must use some language (Kymlicka 1995: 110–13; Carens 2000: 77–8; Rubio-Marin 2003b: 55). If the neutrality principle is interpreted to require a hands off posture by the state, official language rights are viewed as a necessary exception to neutrality (Kymlicka 1995: iii, Carens 2000: 77–8). If, on the other hand, neutrality is viewed in terms of evenhandedness (Carens 2000: 77–8) or equality of opportunity, there may be ways to reconcile the neutrality principle with the intentional association of the state with specific linguistic communities. Patten (2003: 370–3) argues that maintaining neutrality may be possible provided that all official languages enjoy a certain degree of state recognition.

Modern accounts of language rights rely to varying degrees on some notion of the connection between culture – including language – and identity. In this, they borrow something from early nationalists such as Herder and Fichte. However, recent work has tried to update and contest to varying degrees the rigidly communitarian views of earlier philosophers. Modern theories generally recognize that identity is tied up with culture and language (Fishman 1991: Chs. 1–2), while denying that the tie implies static, homogeneous cultures whose members are incapable of stepping outside and assessing their ongoing participation (May 2001: Chs. 1–2, 2003: 140–3).

Towards the communitarian end of the spectrum, Charles Taylor (1992, 1994) consciously takes inspiration from the nationalist philosophers. Taylor sees identity as a matter of values, allegiances and community membership that provide a 'horizon of meaning' for individuals necessary to their functioning as fully human subjects (Taylor 1993b: 45). These values and allegiances are particular ones, rather than being common to all human beings; while every human subject has the potential to form an identity (Taylor 1992), identity is not the same for all. Because identity is partly shaped by recognition or misrecognition by others, due recognition is a vital human need. Recognition must include respect for one's identity and the conditions that sustain it, namely that one's culture be rich and healthy and that one's language be accorded scope for expression over the whole gamut of social activity (Taylor 1993b: 49).

However, although Taylor sees culture and community as important to identity, he pulls back from treating the culture and language in which an individual is raised as fully constitutive of identity. Culture helps identify the person, he says, and the extent to which people treat language as a crucial pole of identification is variable (Taylor 1993b: 45, 53–4). Thus, the modern focus on identity, even a rather 'thick' account of it, goes hand in hand with an appreciation of the malleability of culture and the possibility of change. Culture should not be treated as primordial, unchanging, or objective fact, deviation from which is unthinkable or categorically wrong (Réaume 1995: 169; May 2001: Chs. 1–2, 2003: 140–3). It is socially constructed, and language is only a contingent marker of identity, but no less important to people for being so (May 2001: 25, 40–1). Likewise, though people can change their affiliation and ultimately their identity by adopting a new culture or language, under normal conditions most people value their culture and language as a creative collective human enterprise that constitutes a particular expression of the human spirit, and want to sustain its vitality (Réaume 1991: 46–7, 2002: 617–18). These approaches build the particularity of the cultural fabric that grounds identity into the analysis of the interest in culture/language itself. What is valuable to human beings as an aspect of identity is the particular culture/language of which they happen to be a part.

The challenge for these theorists lies in accounting for the importance of one's own culture/language without either foreclosing change or prejudging the weight of conflicting claims and interests. It is fair to say that the deeper a theorist sees the connection between culture and identity being, the more tempted he or she is to formulate an official language rights regime in terms that suggest a particular end state that the regime is meant to achieve. The strongest version of this is the suggestion that there is a right to linguistic or cultural survival (Taylor 1994: 40, 52–3, 58–9). Such a goal also goes beyond individual interests to embrace the practices of a group. However, an absolute commitment to the achievement of such an end state risks violating the right of members of a minority who might want to change their affiliation (Pogge 2003: 116–17; Laitin and Reich 2003; May 2003: 149–50: Weinstock 2003: 255–6) or the right of outsiders who might be conscripted into a disadvantaged culture to keep it alive (Réaume 1991). This is the central concern of critics of official language rights regimes (Pogge 2003: 116–17; Laitin and Reich 2003; Weinstock 2003).

This concern has led many to argue that it is not the mere fact of language shift that matters, but its causes. It is only to the extent that unfair or coercive pressures are or have been at work that some redress is required (Réaume 1991: 46–7; Blake 2003: 219; Patten 2003a, Patten 2009: 120–2; Weinstock 2003; Levy 2003; May 2003: 150–1). The notion of unfair or coercive conditions is open to competing constructions. The conception of unfairness adopted may focus only on current unfair pressures,

or extend to include historical coercion and its lingering effects. It may cover only intentional conduct aimed at changing language behaviour, or adopt a more open-ended, effects-oriented conception of unfairness. All these variations require further development and more precise articulation of how the different elements fit together. The package determines how broad or narrow the resulting language protections are, and the pros and cons of each specification and their combination must be more precisely argued in future work. One advantage of this approach, however, is that it builds into the account of what language rights there are an acknowledgement of competing considerations to be taken into account. These are specified by the account of what sorts of pressures are unfair. A narrow conception of unfairness is equivalent to giving competing considerations wide scope; a broad conception gives these considerations comparatively less sway.

This debate about fairness fits into a larger debate about equality. A background conception of equality that confines injustice to intentional wrongdoing in the here and now will produce a much thinner language rights regime than one that is concerned with undoing the ongoing effects of disadvantage created by past wrongdoing. A heavily individualistic approach is more likely to favour the former, while one concerned with equality between groups has less reason to tie responsibility and remedies to current individual conduct. A theory of equality focused exclusively on equality of resources will likely seek to remedy background inequalities of resources and leave individual choices to run their course thereafter (Van Parijs 2000; Blake 2003). On the other hand, seeing equality in recognition terms (Young 1990; Anderson 1999; Taylor 1994; Pinto 2007) will focus on whether a language rights regime shows equal respect to members of different language groups.

If too strong a focus on group survival risks ignoring the rights of others, a different challenge is evident for those who come at the issue from the other end of the spectrum. Adopting a liberal perspective firmly rooted in individual autonomy, Will Kymlicka treats what he calls 'societal culture' – of which language is an element – as a 'context of choice' that makes individual autonomy possible: 'freedom involves making choices amongst various options, and our societal culture not only provides these options, but also makes them meaningful to us' (Kymlicka 1995: 83). Kymlicka is leery of incorporating much substantive content into the idea of societal culture in order to remain true to a conception of liberalism that sees the individual as free to choose and revise his or her own conception of the good. This emphasis on the abstract value of autonomy makes it more challenging to explain why any particular societal culture should be supported for its members. Individuals may need some context of choice, Kymlicka's critics have agreed, but why the particular one they are used to (Réaume 1995, 2000; Waldron 1992; 2000; Tomasi 1995; Patten 1999b, 1999a)?

Two answers have been offered. The first focuses on the difficulty of switching from one comprehensive culture to another (Raz and Margalit 1994: 129–30; Kymlicka 1995: 85–6; Nickel 1995; Patten 2009: 113). The second argues that at least sometimes people have a reasonable expectation of being able to carry on their own culture even when shifting to another, which would produce overall benefits. One's culture is 'something that people can be expected to want', Kymlicka says (1995: 86); normally the ties of culture are 'too strong to give up' (87). The difficulty argument falls back on the communicative value of language, and by itself seems inadequate to the task (Réaume 1995); it needs to be bolstered by the expectation argument to explain rights to support for one's own culture. The latter acknowledges something like a significant connection between one's own language and identity, but the stronger focus on the freedom of the individual to formulate and revise a conception of the good makes any particular language or culture seem like mere raw materials in that enterprise, weakening the argument for protecting a particular culture/language.

Kymlicka's individualistic focus makes him more sensitive to autonomy interests that might be put at risk by culture/language protections, but it also creates a challenge for any effort to justify extensive positive supports for some, but not all, languages within a particular jurisdiction. If each individual has a strong tie to her language, prima facie that connection should be honoured for each individual. However, Kymlicka distinguishes between immigrants, who are entitled only to accommodation rights, and members of national minorities, who can claim entitlement to a positive official language rights regime (1995: 95). The former, despite their attachment to their own language, are expected to integrate into their new states and learn the majority language; the latter have been incorporated into the majority culture involuntarily and are therefore not expected to fully integrate into it. The argument superficially turns on consent, which can be individualized and therefore rendered consistent with an autonomy-based approach. However, the distinction between immigrants and national minorities has been much criticized precisely on these grounds. Many challenge the voluntariness of the decision to immigrate and thereby leave behind one's culture of origin (Young 1997: 50–2; Choudhry 2002: 63, Rubio-Marin 2003a: 139–44, Pogge 2003: 107–8: Patten 2006: 240–1, Pinto 2007: 158). Others point out the existence of linguistic minorities that fall into neither of the two categories (Benhabib 2002: 407).

If Taylor, by backing a very thick account of the connection between language and identity, ends up giving short shrift to competing considerations in favour of ensuring linguistic survival, Kymlicka creates more space for revisability, thereby allowing for a more open debate about conflicting interests, but at the expense of a thinner conception of the tie between language and identity that may not adequately ground the

robust claims he makes on behalf of national minorities or explain the different treatment meted out to immigrants.

We have already noted the move to grounding language rights in some conception of fair conditions of interaction between language groups rather than the achievement of some end-state in order to temper the potential excesses of a survivalist approach. Many of those advocating such a move remain committed, however, to a highly individualistic account of the expressive interest in language and fair conditions (Patten 2009: 120–2; Blake 2003). Others however have sought to temper the individualism of traditional liberalism with a greater appreciation of the collective dimension of language rights, claiming that official language rights should be seen as group or collective rights (Réaume 1991: 48, 1994; Rubio-Marin 2003b: 57).

'Collective right' is an ambiguous term. There are two ways to characterize it. The first approach conceptualizes the right holder as a collective agent, while the second identifies a shared collective good – a participatory good – in which individuals have an interest (Réaume 1988, 1994; Green 1991b). There are few advocates of the collective agent approach, but the collective good approach has been used to articulate the collective nature of language rights. On this view, language is a participatory good that can only be produced and enjoyed by a group of individuals who share it and renew its shape and content continually (Réaume 1988: 10). If such an approach is compatible with the conviction that moral value is ultimately grounded in the interests of individuals, it is compatible with liberalism. However, it recognizes the collective nature of the object of the right, namely language, and therefore requires the state to provide legal protection that is different from the protection entailed by classic individual rights (Green 1991b: 319–20).

This view has provoked vigorous criticism from those who see recognition of group rights as dangerous (Hartney 1991; Weinstock 2003). This reaction seems bound up with a tendency to see a group rights approach as integrally tied to a survivalist approach and therefore dismissive of competing considerations. Whether a group rights approach is incapable of giving competing interest their due, or, contrariwise, an individualistic approach misses an important dimension of the interest in language should be a fruitful source of future debate.

Attending to the collective and participatory nature of language as a good provides a basis for deciding which groups should be entitled to the full array of official language rights that does not rely on a sharp distinction between national minorities and immigrants. Through a definition of 'societal culture' that involves common institutions and practices across the full range of human activity (Kymlicka 1995: 76), Kymlicka sets the bar very high for qualifying for full official language rights. Only a community that had been self-governing before incorporation into a larger polity could make it. Others wonder why this degree of

comprehensiveness and self-sufficiency should be necessary, especially if we are primarily concerned about protecting language (Carens 2000: 78). For a language to flourish – because it is a participatory good – there must be extensive opportunities to use it. Many of these will arise in private contexts, but provided that there are sufficient speakers who are sufficiently concentrated geographically to be able to interact with one another routinely, the group should be able to call on the state to participate in its community by interacting with members of the group in their own language (Réaume 1994: 51–4; 2000: 266–8). The numbers and the degree of geographical concentration necessary will likely vary according to socio-economic conditions, technology and political history. Theory is likely to be of little assistance in establishing precise thresholds.

This issue brings us back to the longstanding debate about whether minority language protections should adopt the territorial model or the personality principle (on territorialism, see also Chapter 9 in this volume). Kymlicka does not explicitly invoke territorialism in sharply distinguishing between national minorities and immigrants, but the two approaches have much in common. The main difference is that territorialism has often been invoked to argue for complete independence for linguistic minorities, effectively reinstating the nation-state ideal, whereas Kymlicka clearly envisions minorities who enjoy substantial autonomy within a larger state. The difference is one of degree. Shifting the focus to the connection between vitality and the scope of opportunity to use a language may open up the possibility of both a more flexible set of eligibility criteria for official language rights and reduce reliance on providing support on a territorial basis.

Conclusion

In this survey, we have tried to canvass the main theoretical approaches to questions of language regulation. It is fair to say that the arguments in favour of unilingualism and policies aimed at achieving it have not changed much since the nineteenth century; they have been put in twenty-first-century vernacular, but are otherwise familiar. Moving the debate to the global stage adds a twist in that, inevitably, languages that were 'winners' in previous standardization processes based on these same arguments will be threatened by a new regional lingua franca. Little effort has been made to test the empirical assumptions that underlie the arguments in favour of linguistic convergence, especially at the global level, or even to examine whether they are testable. Can solidarity in any meaningful sense be created on a multinational or global scale? What exactly is the role of language in the effort and how effective is language standardization likely to be? These are difficult questions requiring more than the tools of the philosopher to answer.

The biocultural diversity argument represents a new approach to thinking about language policy, though it obviously has some affinity with old-fashioned romantic views about language. Work remains to be done to test the analogy with environmental theory and to convert a general sympathy for the preservation of languages into more concrete and realistic policy proposals.

Perhaps the greatest development in thinking has been in the realm of rights-based theories about language regulation. Divorcing the question of whether minority languages should attract protection from that of entitlement to national self-determination forced the articulation of a genuinely rights-based approach. Under the nation-state ideal, language was bundled together with other national identifiers to make the case for sovereignty; if successful, the idea that language might require protection fell away, because the national language became dominant in the new state. Considering the case for language protections without providing it through sovereignty requires closer consideration of the importance to people of their own language. It also highlights the potential for conflict between language communities.

The theoretical literature on language rights has grown in sophistication in recent decades, but we would argue that the battle lines between competing schools of thought tend to be too starkly drawn. Individualistically oriented and autonomy-minded liberals dismiss too quickly any talk of group rights, and defenders of a group-oriented perspective do not fully confront the implications of conflicting individual rights. The grey area between opposite ends of the theoretical spectrum is likely to be worth exploring. If language is bound up with identity, both for members of the minority and the majority, sharing territory is bound to create situations of conflicting rights. Such conflicts are rarely amenable to bright line solutions. In exploring these issues, theorists would do well to abandon the world of pure theory for a little closer acquaintance with the concrete circumstances that provoke conflict between language communities. They might also find they then have greater use for the work of sociolinguists and language policy makers. Currently, there is an enormous gulf between these disciplines; theorists rarely delving into the facts on the ground except to help themselves to a controversy that conveniently fits their theory. Both theory and social science would be strengthened by bridging this divide.

4

Language policy, the nation and nationalism

Sue Wright

During the course of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the democratic nation-state gradually came to be the form of political organization for all the countries of Europe.[1] Europeans ceased to be subjects of rulers whose power over them was absolute and achieved, often with jolts and setbacks, the status of citizens who had to be consulted to some degree on political and social matters. The nation-state model was subsequently exported to other parts of the world, particularly as peoples who had suffered colonization sought independence.[2] The development of the democratic nation-state had an immense effect on language practices. Whereas a king or emperor who believes he has a divine right to rule feels little need to consult his subjects, a democratic government must persuade its electorate to re-elect it. The need for a community of communication comes to the fore as soon as the 'sovereign people' provide legitimacy for governance.

The Revolution, the sovereign people and contractual nationalism: the French model

The French Revolution provides an early example of this political change. As soon as it took power, the new political class looked to create a linguistically homogeneous people with whom it could communicate. In the very early days of the Revolution, the Abbé Grégoire conducted a language census (1790–2) to establish the extent of linguistic diversity in France. He found that over half of this new category, French citizens, knew no or only a little French.[3] In the first years of the Revolution, information, proclamations and decrees were thus translated into the various languages used on French territory. However, this practice was very soon abandoned along with any tolerance of diversity. A 1793 law forbade the use of anything but French in contracts and formal agreements

and non-French speakers came under pressure to shift to French. Some of the reasons for this were defensive; it became clear that resistance to the Revolution was strong in certain language communities. Some of the reasoning was ideological. In Barère's speech to the Convention in January 1794, we can see these two strands of thinking. There is a much quoted section in which he constructs those French citizens who do not speak French as potential enemies of the Revolution. In a much less well known passage he articulates the view that citizens need a common language if they are to exercise any kind of power:

> La monarchie avait des raisons de ressembler à la tour de Babel; dans la démocratie, laisser les citoyens ignorants de la langue nationale, incapables de contrôler le pouvoir, c'est trahir la patrie … Chez un peuple libre, la langue doit être une et la même pour tous.
>
> [It suited the monarchy that (the country) should be a Tower of Babel; in a democracy, however, it would be a betrayal of the nation if its members did not understand the national language, could not exercise power … For a free people the language must be one and the same for all.][4]

The First Republic aimed to achieve this through education. In 1791 the *Assemblée législative* set up the first *Comité d'Instruction Publique*, charged with ensuring the spread of French and literacy, seen as the basic skills for participation in national democracy. Talleyrand wanted a French speaking junior school teacher in every *commune*. This was not feasible in the 1790s. Quite apart from the political context (the First Republic was under attack from across the borders, torn apart by the paranoia of the *Terreur* and then eclipsed by Napoleon's rise to power), there were simply not enough French speakers to take up such posts. It was not until the Third Republic and the 1880s, a full century after it was first suggested, that free, French medium primary education, obligatory for all, was economically and organizationally possible. It was in the wake of the education acts introduced by Jules Ferry (Minister for Education 1879–1882), that all French nationals went through unitary, monolingual, French medium education and the shift to French penetrated all classes and groups in the population.

In addition to their concern for status and acquisition planning, the French revolutionaries also had corpus planning aspirations. They commissioned a new edition of the dictionary[5] in the belief that new times needed new language:

> Il faut [donc] que les anciennes formes obséquieuses, ces précautions inutiles de faiblesse, ces souplesses d'un langage détourné qui semblait craindre que la vérité ne se montrât toute entière, tout ce luxe imposteur et servile qui accusait notre misère, se perde dans un langage simple, fier et rapide. (Talleyrand 1791 (cited in Hippeau 1881): 149–50)

> [It is essential that the old obsequious forms, those pointless expressions of servility, those labyrinthine turns of phrase that seem to reveal real fear of frank communication, all that falsely polite posturing by the rich in the face of our poverty be eclipsed by a simple, proud, efficient form of language.]

In 1798, the new edition of the dictionary was published. In the event, the work was little different from its predecessors, and the novelty of the recent political and social changes were marked simply by twelve pages of new terms that had come into use since the Revolution, e.g. *citoyen actif*, *canton*, *acte constitutionnel*, etc.

The spread of standard French and the adoption of a new plain style were not only a consequence of the government's formal language policy and top-down planning but also a side effect of other political, social and economic phenomena. War and industrialization played a major role in the geographical spread and social penetration of the language. Napoleon's *Grande armée* mobilized hundreds of thousands of men. The brigades were not organized by province or country of origin (Bonaparte 1821). The army at war provided a linguistic melting pot that spread competence in French among ordinary soldiers. The new industrial and mining areas attracted workers from the rural population. In the growing towns, they shifted from the language varieties that they had spoken in their villages to French, the lingua franca of the urban setting. French speakers could cooperate in the army and the factory and engage in social commerce in the town. The move to French permitted individual social promotion as well as fulfilling Republican aspirations to create a national community of communication. Language policy makers and planners should note this. History shows us that successful language policy is always in accordance with other social phenomena and reinforced by them.

The French Revolution introduced to the world the idea of the 'one and indivisible republic', in which the congruence of sovereign people, inalienable territory and single national language was held to be necessary. There have consequently been very strong normative pressures in France on language behaviour and a requirement that those who are culturally and linguistically different assimilate (Noiriel 1988 and 2007). Speaking the language fluently and correctly takes on more than instrumental value; it demonstrates the individual's loyalty and commitment to the nation. The principle underpinning this version of nationalism is inclusive: one can join the nation. It is, however, also coercive: territorial minorities and immigrant groups have traditionally been pressurized to shift to French. There is no room for diversity. The Republican assimilatory stance has been maintained to the present day. In the late twentieth century the Council of Europe proposed a Charter for Regional and Minority Languages which would allow languages eclipsed

in nation-building some public space. The French government is among the small minority of European states that have not ratified and implemented the provisions of the Charter. It judged that to do so would go against the French constitution.

Romanticism, das Volk and ethno-linguistic nationalism: the German model

The concept of the nation and the nation-state was attractive and inspired emulation. The German speaking world also set out to achieve the ideal of the congruence of language group and political state. The Germans, however, came at nationalism from a different angle, seeing the nation as predating the state. This was possible since, from the widespread dissemination of Luther's translation of the Bible in the early sixteenth century, a written standard had been developing.[6] By the eighteenth century, the German-speaking world had become a cultural and linguistic space, even though it was economically and politically fractured. As Fichte explained in his 1806 *Address to the German Nation*, German speakers could conceive of themselves as a group because they were defined by their language. However, the German Romantic concept of nation was far more than a simple coming together of those who spoke the same language; it was also a mystical communion of those joined 'by a multitude of invisible bonds by nature herself' (Fichte 1968 [1806]: 190). The Romantic nationalists then made an intellectual leap from the idea that people were 'united by a common language' to the belief that 'races were divided by language'. Thus German nation-building came to be based on the concept of *jus sanguinis*, where blood line defines membership of the nation.

Although language was one of the key organizing principles of unification, acquiring the German language did not provide a route to membership of the nation. Outsiders remained outsiders. Becoming a German citizen was very difficult for those without blood ties to the nation. For example, members of the immigrant groups, which had come to Germany in the period after the Second World War and whose families might have been two or three generations in the country, were not usually permitted to become German. This endured until 1 January 2000 when the amended *Staatsangehörigkeitsgesetz* (naturalization law) came into effect and made citizenship easier to acquire. And there is a corollary to this; just as one could not become a member of the nation, neither did one leave it; those whose families had emigrated could return as citizens, even if their ancestors had left the German-speaking world centuries ago, and long before the existence of the German nation-state. For example, numerous families of German origin from the former Soviet Union claimed citizenship and settled in Germany in the 1990s. Even the terms in German underline the distinctions made: on the one

hand immigrants are *Gastarbeiter* and *Ausländer*; on the other, families of German origin living abroad are *Aussiedler*.

In the nineteenth century, the German model was immensely influential in central and eastern Europe, where the Ottoman, Austro-Hungarian, Russian and Prussian empires dominated. Herder's (1774; 1784–1791) idea that a people could only prosper if it inhabited its own homeland was very attractive to those ruled from imperial centres. It was not, of course, the proto-nations who responded to the doctrine of self-determination, but their proto-elites. As Tom Nairn (1977: 340) famously observed, 'the new middle class intelligentsia of nationalism had to invite the masses into history'. The intellectuals were the ones to write the invitations. The 'masses', who had mostly seen themselves only as members of small local communities, learned that they were in fact members of nations. Archaeologists established the right of the group to territory; historians anchored the group and its story in the national space; folklorists and artists celebrated national traditions,[7] and linguists codified and standardized the variety of the language that henceforth would be the national language. In this way numerous groups acquired a 'national' profile. The idea that the ethno-linguistic group had existed since time immemorial became common currency along with the Herderian idea that rule by outsiders was unendurable. Independence was granted to a number of groups in the treaties that followed the First World War. The victorious powers were happy to apply the principles of self determination for nations, since this dovetailed agreeably with their desire to punish the vanquished powers and dismantle their empires. This wave of state creation reinforced the principles of ethno-nationalism.

Nationalism, the academy and language planning

These brief remarks underline how an understanding of the nation-state and the ways in which the concept and its realization have developed are necessary prerequisites for any study of language planning. They also illuminate how language planning is basically a nationalist project.

Because of this close link, sociolinguists specializing in language policy need to access the literature in political science dealing with nationalism. When they do this, they should note that the study of nationalism in the academy has always been highly contentious. Many nineteenth century scholars were also activists working towards self-determination for their own group, and this skews much comment and analysis from that period. In the twentieth century, Hayes and Kohn have been seen as the founding fathers of the academic study of nationalism (Kemiläinen 1964). Carlton Hayes is in the tradition of some scholarship and much journalism in that he focused on nationalism in its fanatic, extreme forms, and as 'the exception rather than the rule' (Billig 1995: 44). Perhaps

identification of nationalism as pathology was inevitable in the wake of two world wars where nationalism had contributed to conflict becoming 'total war' in Clausewitz' (1830/1997) phrase. Hans Kohn, however, did not conceive nationalism as aberrant, but rather as the default ideology and the unremarkable bedrock of the Modern period (1929; 1944; 1968). His work deals with the European genesis of the ideology and its spread world-wide. He separates the French and German routes to nationalism, categorizing them as 'voluntaristic' and 'organic'. Some scholars (e.g. Calhoun 2007) have attacked such a sharp dichotomy, arguing that both strands of nationalism are constructed, and that contractual nationalism with its strong assimilatory tendencies encourages attitudes and behaviour which are very similar in tenor and kind to those exhibited in ethnic nationalism. This may be so, but it does not negate the clear philosophical difference in the origins of the two traditions.

Since the 1980s the study of nationalism in the academic world has focused largely on its constructed nature. A number of theorists explain different aspects of the process: Benedict Anderson's (1983) idea was that populations came to imagine themselves as national communities whenever they consumed the same printed texts in the national print language (from Bibles in the vernacular to novels to the daily newspaper). Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (1983) assembled examples of the ways in which aspects of the history of national groups were often invented or exaggerated by intellectual elites in order to foster the belief that the group had a long tradition of cohesion, common purpose, cultural production and rootedness. Ernest Gellner (1983) showed how industrialization made it necessary for education to have a generic base and how only the state was able to provide this. National education systems not only trained citizens for the national economy, they also prepared them to be part of the *demos* in the democratic state. In reaction to the extreme constructivist view, an academic tradition of half-way house also developed. Anthony Smith argued (1991a and 1991b) that there are some aspects of groupdom that pre-date the Modern period. However, for the purposes of understanding language planning, the various disputes and recalibrations among scholars are largely irrelevant, since all forms of nationalism whether ethno-linguistic or civic-contractual have the same attitude towards language in the group. All nationalists believe that the nation-state is ideally a monolingual entity: ideologically, nationalism requires the citizen to use the national language to display loyalty; practically, economic, political and cultural life organized on a national scale is more easily managed in a monolingual setting.

Status, corpus and acquisition planning

This desire for congruence of people, language and territory, however accomplished, promoted the activity of language planning. The

governments of nation-states made policy to structure their population's language practices in three different ways: status, corpus and acquisition planning (Cooper 1989).

Status planning

From the details of French and German history already given we can see that there is a great diversity in status planning, the process whereby state elites identify a language variety as the national language to be used in all the formal functions of state business. It may be theoretically useful to differentiate between *state nations* where the polity precedes nation-building and attempts to achieve linguistic homogenization and *nation-states* where a sense of cultural-linguistic nation exists before the founding of its state. For example, in state nations, such as England, France and Spain, state boundaries were set in the early Modern period and the main processes of nation-building took place afterwards. In nation-states, such as Germany, Italy and the Slav-speaking countries of Central Europe, some of the discursive stage of nation-building took place before the exact boundaries of national territory had been defined. Thus general acceptance of a variety as the language of a nation may pre- or postdate the actual founding of the nation-state.

Status planning, in the legal sense, may never actually take place. Some of the most deeply entrenched national languages have never been formally designated as an official language. This is the case of English in Britain. In other cases, formal status planning may take place but not be effective. Some languages that have been enshrined in law as the official national language have never managed to penetrate all functions in all parts of national territory. This is the case in the Republic of Ireland where Irish Gaelic has not replaced English in all domains of public life. The move to Irish Gaelic demanded immense personal effort from all those Irish citizens who had been born into families that had become English-speaking and, for many, the social and economic motivations were not sufficient to prompt them to change. The Irish case demonstrates that even when ideology is working in tandem with legislation, there may not be enough impetus to secure language shift; the push of disapprobation and the pull of advantage have to be very strong to overcome the linguistic status quo. However, in the history of national language planning, the remarkable thing has been how often these two forces have been strong enough to secure change. The introduction and spread of Hebrew in the state of Israel is one very potent example.

One particularly interesting status planning situation is the problem that confronts post-colonial states. How does one reconcile new directions in a newly independent state with continued use of the old colonial language, however convenient and logical retention might seem? Shouldn't one reject old influences and proclaim new directions? This

was an issue for the American revolutionaries. Those who had rejected Britain, its social structures and its politics briefly considered abandoning its language as well. Eighteenth-century ideas made it seem essential that the new 'nation' should have its own distinct idiom. There were suggestions that Hebrew, the language of the chosen people, or Greek, the language of democracy, be adopted. These utopian ideas came to nothing in the American context. No such top-down language planning, no matter how in tune with contemporary Romantic philosophy, could have succeeded faced with the explosion of the written word and the ubiquity of debate that characterized the first decades of independence (Ramsey 1789; Miller 1803; Howe 2004). The Americans wanted to discuss how they would shape society, how they would frame the constitution. Nobody could wait around to change language. The majority of Americans at the date of Revolution were English speakers[8] and so this was the language of the conversation.

Status planning has proved problematic in most post-colonial situations. In the decolonization which took place after the Second World War, new governments in Asia and Africa were faced with many of the linguistic issues that confronted the American revolutionaries. They too wanted to mark a break with the colonial period. The territories which they inherited had frontiers that had been drawn in colonial times with complete disregard for the cohesion of linguistic and cultural groups. Boundaries cut communities of communication into two or more and brought together highly diverse populations. Governments found themselves in the same situation as the European state nations, where frontiers had been set before those living on the territory were asked to see themselves as members of a single nation. Many post-colonial states, particularly in Africa, started to follow the French model of 'one language, one territory, one people'. However, these were different times and the state makers realized that enshrining the language of one constituent group as the language of power would not be tolerated. The choices for national language were limited. Either governments could preserve the language of the former colonial power, acceptable because of its outsider status, or they could choose a regional lingua franca, because it was already employed as a means of intergroup communication within the territory. Neither of these linguistic solutions has had the homogenizing effects that were seen in Europe, nor have they led to widespread literacy. Wherever the colonial language was retained, the policy entrenched class divisions between the rural poor, who did not progress within the education system, and the urban middle class, who derived cultural capital from their linguistic repertoires. Political and academic commentators in Africa have written that the nation-state model with its single language preference has been an unmitigated disaster for this continent (Nyerere 1967 and 1997; Blommaert 1994 and 1999; Mazrui and Tidy 1984; Mazrui and Mazrui 1995 and 1998).

A final point to make about status planning concerns its effect on language diversity and on the fate of linguistic 'minorities'. The nation-building process is of course antithetical to multilingualism. It is no coincidence that Europe, the birthplace of the nation-state, is the continent where there are the fewest languages according to those such as *Ethnologue* who attempt to count them (www.ethnologue.com). Europeans have mostly acquiesced with the various pressures to acquire the language of the state, because they saw that knowledge of the national language was cultural capital and a prerequisite for social mobility. Moreover, language was closely bound with identity and thus with patriotism; those who spoke the national language were accepted as full members of the nation. Those who held onto their traditional language or dialect were seen as making a stand against full identification, which was held to be against their best interest as well as against the interest of the state (Mill 1972 [1859]). We should not forget, of course, that some found themselves in the minority position, not because they refused the melting pot, but because they were excluded.

It can be argued that the very concept 'linguistic minority' is a creation of the nation-state system. A group cannot be designated 'minority' within the state, until explicit or implicit status planning has developed a standard and designated the group that speak it the 'majority'. Prior to the nation-state and the spread of the national language, the majority of the population lived dispersed on the land and spoke only local dialects. Thus all rural groups were minorities in a sense. We tend to forget this, particularly when campaigners for minority language rights claim that imperial systems were mostly tolerant of language diversity. We need to remember that this tolerance derives from disdain not acceptance. A despotic system does not need to communicate with the ruled and can therefore accept immense linguistic diversity (with the proviso that a small group of bilinguals exist to transmit orders). In empire the discourse of power goes from an elite to an elite audience; language diversity does not hinder this. In a democratic nation-state, however, political communication originates in a number of sites and is intended for a wider audience (Warner 1990). There is thus a clash between the desire to promote the public sphere and build civil society, which is most easily done in the 'majority' language, and the right of individuals to use their 'minority' language.

Corpus planning

In the early Modern era the introduction of the printing press to Europe and Gutenberg's invention of movable type provided the technical means for cheap reproduction of texts. The debates of the Reformation created a demand for such texts. An increasingly literate public wanted access to ideas in a language that they could understand. Most particularly,

they wanted to own a Bible. The printers provided the public with the desired product, relatively cheap religious texts printed in the vernacular. However, the printers were, as Benedict Anderson (1983) reminds us, profit-driven. There was commercial advantage in producing a product for as large a customer base as possible. Printers declined to provide for diversity along the dialect continua because this would have increased production costs. Thus many who bought Bibles and other devotional literature in the vernacular had to accept texts in language varieties adjacent (and not so adjacent) to their own on the dialect continua. This they did. Compared to the previous situation where the sacred texts were in Latin and locked away in a scriptorium, such linguistic accommodation must have seemed a minor concession if it allowed them to consult the Bible for themselves. The printing press, the debates of the Reformation and growing literacy together brought about the standardization of a number of European languages in their written form in an unplanned but very powerful manner. Print languages were not conceived at first as a nation-building tool, but this organic process co-occurred with early nation-building and underpinned it (Anderson 1983).

Corpus planning became a conscious activity and part of the growing desire to achieve and maintain linguistic cohesion within the state. The language academy was the institution charged to control and promote the standard. The first, the *Accademia della Crusca* set up in Florence in the sixteenth century, oversaw the codification and standardization of the Tuscan vernacular, which would later form the basis for standard Italian. In France the *Académie française* was established in 1635 in an atmosphere of heightened awareness of language and a desire for purism and prescriptivism. Spain's *Real Academia Española* was founded in 1713 on the French model. The British never had a formal organization but they embraced the philosophy just the same. In the eighteenth century, English speaking authors (such as Swift, Addison, Defoe and Dryden) and linguists (like Lowth and Priestley) called for rules and stability. There was a swell of prescriptive and purist endeavour and at least fifteen attempts at a dictionary before Samuel Johnson published the work that was to be the most influential in 1755. Grammars of English proliferated.

Corpus planning not only plays an important role in the process of linguistic unification within the nation, it can also be used to maximize the differences among nations. If, as in the ethno-nationalist tradition, a distinct language is presented as one of the defining criteria for a discrete nation-state, then the language needs to be different from those around it. As noted above, the linguistic map of medieval Europe does not divide neatly into national linguistic groups; it is a continent of dialect continua (Celtic, Germanic, Romance, Slavic etc.). The linguistic mosaic that we recognize today is a product of political borders and nation-building. Only along the fault lines between the continua is linguistic

difference profound and of long standing. Hence, as proto-elites engaged in the 'national awakening' that would galvanize those groups under the rule of the various empires and persuade them that they were nations, language planning, and particularly corpus planning, was important. Linguists played a key role in all early national(ist) movements. Kloss (1967) explained this process, distinguishing between the situation of *Ausbau* and *Abstand* languages. *Abstand* languages have no close relations in linguistic terms. Speakers of such languages are on linguistic islands and if their elites want to draw political boundaries on linguistic grounds, it is easy to do so. However, there are relatively few language isolates in Europe. These include the Basques, who have the only pre-Indo-European language, Estonian/Finnish and Hungarian speakers, who belong to two separate branches of the Finno-Ugric language family, and Albanian, which is an Indo-European language but in a branch of its own. The other languages all started out as related dialects on a continuum. If they have come to be recognized as languages distinct from the dialects adjacent to them, it is because they have undergone a process of *Ausbau*, i.e. elaboration and extension in a number of domains and registers. In some cases this started as an organic process as a variety became the language of power; in other cases it was a planned process in order to make the variety a language of power. In addition to the elaboration aimed to fit the language for all functions, linguists set out to differentiate the language from its neighbours on the continuum. The nationalist language project was to foster comprehension among speakers of different dialects within the national group and to make the political border a language border. Groups in the national periphery were gathered into the national community of communication. This began to happen as national education became universal, obligatory and free.

However, top-down corpus planning is sometimes rejected, either as a principled stand or simply through refusal and reluctance to adopt new lexis and structures. The American revolutionaries provide an example of the first. A number of the founding fathers expressed the idea that if there was to be no language that differentiated the New World from the Old, then the old language would have to be remodelled. They argued that the language of a monarchy was not suitable for a republic. Jefferson, who was in France in 1789, wrote home to praise the neologisms of revolution and to call for a new vocabulary for the new society in the Americas (cited in Looby 1996). In 1780, John Adams called for a formal language planning institution to 'fix and improve' the language (cited in Howe 2004: 29). These moves were, however, blocked by Congress as an assault on individual liberties. Nonetheless, a small number of private individuals undertook the task of cataloguing and promoting American particularities. Prominent among these, Noah Webster set out to promote an American variety of English (Webster 1828). In the event his dictionary did not diverge from British English norms in any

major way (Howe 2004); there was some new lexis, some developments in style, pragmatic changes, but these were always to remain relatively minor (Gustafson 1992).

The French provide an example of the second situation: wide-scale indifference to legislation and reluctance to comply with it. As globalization in the late twentieth century seemed to imply increasing American influence, the French elites took steps to stem what they saw as an unacceptable influx of English terms (Etiemble 1964; Noguez 1991; Hagège 1987 and 2008). Corpus planners devised terms for processes, products and ideas originating in the English-speaking world and the 1975 (Bas–Lauriol) and the 1994 (Toubon) laws provided status planning to limit English spread.[9] However, the French have exhibited massive indifference to top-down status and corpus planning, choosing to employ many original terms when they adopted technology, fashion or practice originating in the English-speaking world. Thus (*e*)*mail* is commonly used and the official term *courriel* is rare, *vidéoconférence* is regularly preferred to *visioconférence*, *digital* has not given way to *numérique*; *marketing* is much more frequent than *mercatique*; *fin de semaine* or *reposailles* have not displaced *week-end*. Why the majority of the French has not shared the elite's concern about language 'purity' is not totally clear. In some discourses the French construct themselves as an established national group with a strong sense of their own groupdom, able to open up to globalization;[10] in other discourses they warn fellow countrymen that they are becoming dupes, seduced by the US model and that language borrowings are a barometer of how far US hegemony is accepted.[11] It is likely that the French population's general lack of concern and rejection of purism comes from the fact that the French nation-state is well established.

On the other hand, wherever the state is a recent creation and nation-building on-going, corpus language planning is thriving and largely accepted by target groups. We shall see this below when we come to consider the newer polities in Europe.

Acquisition planning

It is a truism to state that the young of a group are always socialized into the ideology prevailing in the group. It is therefore not surprising that national education systems in nationalist times inculcate nationalist attitudes along with and through the national language. The strong version of nationalism teaches 'that "we" must give loyalty to "our" own society and that other duties are subservient to the creation of communal solidarity' (Billig 1995: 163). Schools played a major role in developing feelings of loyalty and creating the imagined community of the nation.

National history suppressed diversity, reduced the plurality of stories to a single narrative and transmitted the 'unique' history of the nation.

The national education system worked towards obliterating those events from the past that divided the nation (Renan 1882/1996) and concentrated on celebrating its unique cultural inheritance (Balibar 1991).

The boundary of the national group was constantly framed in deictic discourse that identifies 'here' and 'there', 'us' and 'them' (Billig 1995). This penetrated far beyond the history class. National(ist) education systems taught the science of 'our' great scientists, the literature of 'our' great writers, 'our' political system. The maps of the geography class added a visual dimension to the discourse, showing how national territory, the place where 'we' live and rule, goes thus far and no further.

The school system promoted the national language. This was the institution where the ideology of one people, one territory and one language could be translated into reality. The classes and the text books were in the national language and children became literate in the national standard.[12] Oral practices tended to converge too as local languages and dialects were banned in school. Those who broke this rule were criticized and even punished. Thus the school system contributed massively to the fading of the old dialect continua and their replacement by a jigsaw of national languages. The education system also helped define language frontiers. The languages of other national groups were termed uniformly 'foreign' languages no matter how close their linguistic relationship. And since the education system was concerned first and foremost to ensure that all children acquired oracy and literacy in the national language, foreign language learning was a minority activity anyway, reserved for those who might have some need for contact across borders. This generally meant the pupils who progressed to the secondary system, i.e. the elites.

In the nineteenth century the established nation-states had introduced education for all. After each flurry of new state creation in the twentieth century, one of the first concerns of new governments was to create national education services.[13] These state-run obligatory systems became the norm throughout the world. They give children a sense of their imagined community and their place in the world and equip them to be part of the national community of communication. In all phases of nation-building, the education system has been a major force.

However, state-run education services were not conceived simply to construct national communities, nor yet to provide the educated electorate needed for successful democracy. The motivation for universal formal education also stemmed from industrialization. As Gellner (1983) explained, learning is different for children born into an era of rapid transformation compared with those born into traditional and stable communities. The former require a basic generic grounding to give them the flexibility needed in a world of developing technologies and changing structures; the latter can learn age-old techniques by emulation and know that this knowledge will suffice. Gellner argued that a better

educated population is necessary for an industrializing state. Both peasants and workers need to understand processes, but the need to adapt to change may be greater in the factory. Therefore, a broad-based generic education for all is an essential requirement for an industrializing economy. Such an education has a high cost and needs to be financed by the state through taxation, (Gellner 1983).

Thus once again we can see different social phenomena coinciding and reinforcing each other. In industrializing states children no longer learnt simply by emulation but were given broad-based training which included literacy in the national language. The state schools provided a space for the inculcation of a national(ist) world view. Furthermore, those who progressed to state-financed secondary and higher education could achieve social mobility within national society. This too contributed to the nationalist project since it showed that the vertical integration promised by the ideology was sometimes possible.

To conclude this section, we might also note how nationalism and the nation-state not only promoted linguistic convergence but also personal monolingualism.[14] There was little need of a complex linguistic repertoire when most aspects of life were circumscribed by state borders. When defence, the market, the media, politics, education and culture were all national, and only national, fewer people regularly crossed language boundaries. Now this is in stark contrast to the situation today where the flows, exchanges and networks of globalization are beginning to break down national isolation. This is the subject of the final section.

Language in a post-national era?

In twenty-first-century Europe the nation-state system is undergoing massive change. And while we are far from seeing the nation-state vanish entirely as a form of polity, many of its defining attributes have disappeared. We can claim that some aspects of life are more accurately defined as post-national rather than national. We have to be wary here because, to paraphrase Mark Twain, to report the death of the nation-state would be an exaggeration. The nation-state survives; some new nation-states have come into being in the recent past and some old nation-states have consolidated their power. But, on the whole, the strong version of the independent, sovereign state is clearly disappearing in parts of the world, and the defining characteristics of the nation-state are everywhere under attack.

What we are witnessing could be categorized as a relocation of power to sub-state and supra-state levels. In the first case, a number of groups that were incorporated into nation-states have (re)gained some political and economic power; in the second case, some political and economic

power is now controlled by global/supranational/international organizations rather than national governments. These developments appear to be linked and both have linguistic consequences.

The small state, revitalization and renaissance of lesser used languages

In the last decades of the twentieth century the territorial integrity of the nation-state was routinely challenged in a way that had not happened in the previous two centuries. In Europe, devolution, secession and independence became commonplace. In the east of the continent, the end of communism presented a political vacuum that allowed reorganization. There was a widespread demand for the break-up of polities, and many groups that had been incorporated into bigger states clamoured to exit from them. The Latvians, the Estonians and the Lithuanians began to break away from the Soviet Union in 1990. The Czechs and the Slovaks split peacefully from each other in 1993. There was, however, conflict as the Yugoslav Federal Republic broke into its constituent parts. The Slovenians were the first to leave in 1991 and Montenegrins the last in 2007. There was a further layer of dismantling as Kosovans broke away from Serbia. In western Europe there were similar demands, although the outcomes have been devolution of power rather than full independence. The Spanish constitution of 1978 permitted the creation of autonomous regions. Autonomies such as Andalusia, Catalonia, the Basque Country and Galicia used this legal frame to distance themselves from Madrid and to identify themselves as 'nationalities'. In the United Kingdom, Scotland and Wales voted for devolution in referenda in 1997. They now have their own parliament and assembly. In both Spain and the UK, central government has devolved much power to the regions.

What is interesting for sociolinguists about this wave of independence/autonomy is the flurry of status, corpus and acquisition planning that took place in these new polities. The Catalans provide a model for modern status planning and its implementation. Article 3.3 of the 1978 Statute of Autonomy of Catalonia stipulated that the *Generalitat de Catalunya* would guarantee the normal and official use of both Castilian and Catalan. To reintroduce Catalan it passed the *Llei de Normalització Lingüística* (1983) and embarked on a programme that it termed *normativización* (normalization). It set up the *Secretaría General de Política Lingüística*, which was charged with the demographic and geographical spread of Catalan through education and its (re)introduction into all public domains and spaces through example and peer pressure as well as legislation. Campaigns throughout the 1980s and 1990s raised consciousness and created positive images of Catalan. Catalan nationalism was contractual and inclusive; all could become Catalan if they learnt the language.

Normativización was extremely successful; Catalan is now the language that one hears most often in the Generalitat's headquarters, in the corridors and classrooms of the university, in local administrative offices, in shops and the street (Mar-Molinero 2000) and has attained 'a status it had never enjoyed before, not even under the pre-war Republican Government' (Conversi 2002: 11).

The normalization process was aided by the existence of a standard for Catalan. A prestige written form predated the Franquist state and planning started from general acceptance of this form. In the Basque Country and Galicia, normalization has not been as successful, and in part this may be because of disagreement about the form of the standard. Compared to Nairn's 'masses', present day minority language speakers have been more demanding; if there is going to be revitalization then they want to be able to use their own variety not that of a close neighbour on the continuum. Thus elite decisions on standardization have not gained support from all speakers (Hoffmann 1996 and 2000).

Elite-led corpus planning appears to have been successful where states are created in conflict, as happened in the Balkans in the 1990s. In Yugoslavia, language planners had sought the convergence of Serbo-Croat and its spread as the language of all the Yugoslavs. In the successor states this was reversed and there was deliberate *Ausbau* as different varieties on the southern Slav dialect continuum were elaborated for use in formal spheres and differentiated from neighbouring dialects (Clyne 1997). For example, Bosnian linguists compiled new dictionaries distancing Bosnian from both Serbian and Croatian. Even while Sarajevo was being bombarded, this seemed an important job to be doing. The siege situation may have contributed to the lack of dissent; Bosnians largely accepted the new linguistic markers for their group in an 'us' and 'them' situation. A decade later and without conflict Montenegro became an independent state (2007). Planners amended the alphabet used to write Montenegrin. From 2009 the alphabet included additional letters which reproduce distinctive Montenegrin sounds and, of course, differentiate the language clearly from the surrounding Slavic languages. However, the situation is neither nineteenth-century 'national awakening' nor twentieth-century contested secession. In Montenegro adults are mostly literate and they are literate in Štokavian, the prestige dialect of the Serbo-Croatian continuum. So it may not be as simple as before to introduce a differentiated standard and gain general agreement on it. Without the pressures that come from conflict, will Montenegrins find it useful and necessary to distance their language from that of their neighbours or will they largely ignore top-down language planning?

In this small state creation and the accompanying revitalization of local languages there are many of the elements of old style nation-building and national language planning. However, there is also a fundamental difference because this is all happening in a context of

globalization. Devolution, secession and independence become more feasible because of changes in a globalizing political landscape. When the nation-state was the sole law giver and law enforcer and there was no law above the state; when the domestic market was protected by quotas and tariffs from foreign competition and there was little free trade; when the national defence force had to guarantee the defence of the population on its own, then the nation-state had to be of a certain size. This was the theory underpinning the 1919 round of self determination. A polity had to be large enough to survive in a world of independent nation-states. In a globalizing world this is no longer true and the small polity can survive. There is no need to be part of a large state in order to have access to a large market. There is no need to be part of a large state to be defended by a military force that can withstand aggression alone. Such functions are now regularly organized and guaranteed at supranational level: there are common markets like the EU or NAFTA or defence associations like the NATO or the UN. We can thus argue that globalization allows for the devolution of power to the sub-state level as well as relocating it to supra- and international spheres, and there are discernible effects on language repertoires from both processes.

Globalization, transnationalism and new language practices

Globalization 'as relocation of power to the supranational level' provokes immense disagreement (cf. Scholte 2000; Smith 2006; Ougard and Higgott 2002; Stiglitz 2002). Those who welcome it have been accused of over-simplification, exaggeration and wishful thinking. Those who attack it as an American dominated McDonaldization of the world are criticized for their superficial and one-dimensional analysis. Sceptics query the novelty of global networks, maintaining that world trade and contacts were as developed in the colonial era as in the late twentieth century. There is dissent about the long term effects and whether these will ultimately be pernicious or beneficial. But, there is general agreement about one aspect of globalization, the steady transfer of decision-making from national to supranational and international level (Held *et al.* 1999). As nation-state sovereignty has been whittled away in legal, commercial and defence domains, relocation of power has caused new communities. Many individuals are now involved in networks that negate political and linguistic boundaries. Those who work in courts that oversee supranational legislation or international agreements, those who coordinate cross-border policing, those who manage trans-national social, health and welfare matters, those who cooperate in international educational schemes, those who combine forces to undertake military tasks are all

constantly crossing national frontiers both physically and virtually. In the early phase of this transformation, Held (1996: 16) described it as 'a process (or set of processes) which embodies a transformation in the spatial organization of social relations and transactions – assessed in terms of their extensity, intensity, velocity, and impact – generating transcontinental or interregional flows and networks of activity, interaction and the exercise of power'.

Over a decade later this phenomenon has penetrated deep into populations; it is no longer an elite preserve. Now powerful technologies permit real time communication and almost limitless access to information from all parts of the world. Knowledge and cultural product are produced, exchanged and consumed in patterns never witnessed before. The World Wide Web democratizes publication. Multidirectional cross-border flows of capital, goods, services and people continue, continue to travel in real space (aided by improvements in transport technology and infrastructure), but they also happen increasingly in the virtual space of the Internet. This means that, for very many people, the 'imagined community' to which they belong is no longer exclusively the nation. The national media have become just one strand of many sources of influence and information. The Internet generation forms its opinions under a much wider range of influences than its parents or grandparents.

For all the categories of people involved in the processes evoked here, knowledge of the national language is no longer sufficient. More and more people need a linguistic repertoire which will allow them to cross linguistic boundaries. They are confronted with a choice: they can learn the national language of those with whom they will interact or they can learn a lingua franca accepted by many as an auxiliary language. The first solution presupposes that individuals know what interactions they will have in the future. This is sometimes predictable but often it is not. Since language acquisition is a lengthy process which needs to be undertaken well in advance of the time when communication will take place, this is often problematic. The second solution means learning English, which is, at the present moment, the language most frequently found in the role of lingua franca and auxiliary language.[15] This too is currently problematic since nation-state ideology resists the idea that one national language will take precedence over the others. However, there is a growing body of opinion that suggests that English should now be seen as 'English as a lingua franca' (ELF), a language spoken by so many as an additional language that it is losing its exclusive association with those for whom it is a national language (Saraceni 2010).

Language planning in these new post-national settings has thus taken a new turn. On one level it retains its traditional role and seeks to preserve and promote the national language. There have been muscular attempts to conserve the national language in the face of the incursion of ELF in domains such as higher education, scientific publication etc.

(See, for example, the efforts of various national language academies and councils.) On another level planning seeks to control transnational and international modes of communication. There have been fervent efforts to break the monopoly of English in its role of lingua franca (see, for example, the efforts of the Francophone movement). There have been attempts to establish multilingual interactions as the norm in supranational settings (See, for example, formal language policy in the treaties of the EU). However, these efforts are being widely undermined by individual citizens whose need or desire to be part of transnational flows cause them to ignore or flout policy that aims to limit their ability to enter ELF-using global networks or access ELF-medium knowledge flows. It is ironic that even those who wish to check these developments are constrained to debate and publish in ELF to connect with those from other language groups whom they want to convince. Language planning to limit ELF has so far been ineffectual.

In all of this what is the position of the English native speakers? Certainly their governments are concerned to profit as much as possible from the financial advantage and possibilities of influence attached to the ELF phenomenon.[16] Fewer national resources are spent on second language acquisition. However, indicators that English native speakers are not always accomplished users of ELF are growing. They may not be the group (or the sole group) profiting from the spread of ELF (Jenkins 2003; Seidlhofer 2004).

New and interesting scholarship is beginning to challenge nationalist responses to ELF and starting to look at how language practices and repertoires might develop in a post-national world. Jacquemet (2005: abstract) puts it rather nicely:

> The majority of linguistic studies which concerned themselves with global phenomena tended to depict the worst possible scenarios: linguistic imperialism, endangered languages, language death … I argue that the experience of cultural globalization, and the sociolinguistic disorder it entails, cannot be understood solely through a dystopic vision of linguistic catastrophe, but demand that we also take into account the recombinant qualities of language mixing, hybridization, and creolization.

This suggests creation and renovation. This is the approach that Blommaert (2010) has recently taken. He asks us to move away from the national language paradigm with its rigid purism and its exclusivity. He celebrates the linguistic hybridity provoked by the flows and exchanges of globalization. He asks us to look at communicative practices in the context of Bakhtinian negotiation rather than de Saussurian *langue*. If we approach language in this way we have to dispense with language planning in the nation-state mould. Communication becomes a new beast entirely. Now whether Blommaert's vision is really the future or not will

depend on whether the vast majority learn to value complex language repertoires over old style mastery of a single national standard. This will be a seismic change.

Conclusions

Changes in the political landscape always have linguistic effects. As feudal and imperial systems came to an end, the small local linguistic communities of the Medieval world slowly translated into the mosaic of national language groups of the Modern era. The rise of the nation-state created national communities of communication in a symbiotic relationship with national patterns of identity. Now in late Modernity the nation-state system is weakening and we are beginning to witness change again. This should not surprise us. Since the nation-state system has had such an immense effect on language, any change in it will also have linguistic consequences. So far these seem to have been of two kinds. On the one hand, many languages that were eclipsed in nation-building and state centralization have experienced a renaissance; on the other hand, people are more regularly and more frequently in contact across state borders which means that they need more than their national language in their linguistic repertoire. The predominance of the national language is undermined both by the growth and spread of English as a lingua franca and by the revitalization of 'minority' languages. And if we want to engage in futurology (always a dangerous activity) we might guess that the relaxation of national ideology may lead to the creation of new varieties and that hybridization and creolization, practices rejected during the standardization and spread of national languages, may make some reappearance. If so, language planners will not be able to control or counter this process.

5

Ethnic identity and language policy

Ofelia García

> One can argue that the desire to ally communicative competence and group identity lies at the heart of language planning whether it is conceived as overt policy making or develops informally in the general governance of social groups. (Wright 2004: 7)

As far back as Biblical times, ethnic identity and language have been linked. The Book of Judges relates how the defeated Ephraimites were distinguished from the triumphant Gileadites by asking them to say 'Shibboleth', since the Ephraimite dialect lacked a /ʃ/ sound. This is perhaps one of the earliest attestations of language policy, for the account reflects the different *language practices* of diverse ethnicities, as well as the *language beliefs* of the Gileadites regarding the language of the Ephraimites. The Biblical account also manifests an instance of *language management*, as language practices were used to identify and categorize ethnic difference. Wright (2004) reminds us that although the scholarly field of language policy emerged in the mid-twentieth century, language policy activities are as old as language itself and have played a 'crucial role in the distribution of power and resources in all societies' (1).

Ethnic identity has been linked to the three components that Spolsky (2004) identifies as language policy – language practices, language beliefs and language management – throughout pre-modern and modern history (Fishman 1971). This chapter will focus on studying the relationship and interaction between ethnic identity on the one hand, and the components of language policy on the other – the beliefs or ideologies about language in a speech community, their habitual language patterns, and their own or others' efforts to modify or influence their language practices – since the development, in the mid twentieth century, of the field that we know today as *language policy* (Ricento 2006, Shohamy 2006, Spolsky 2004), and sometimes as *language policy and planning* (Hornberger 2006, Wright 2004).

That ethnic identity has something to do with language policy is perhaps best manifested by the historical relationship between the ethnic revival of the mid-twentieth century (Fishman 1985), and the emergence of the field of study that was first named *language planning* (Fishman 1971, Fishman, Ferguson and Das Gupta 1968, Haugen 1959, 1966, Kaplan and Baldauf 1997). In this early period, ethnic identity and language policies were many times conflated, as people's ethnic sense of self became energized through independence of newly emerging states, and as these new nation-states grappled with decisions about language use for their future.

This chapter reviews the role that ethnic identity might have had in the ways in which language policies were initially shaped and studied as a sub-field of sociolinguistics. It traces how ethnic identity and language policy have been understood throughout history. The chapter also describes how ethnic identity is being shaped by today's globalization and new technologies, and how these newly emerging conceptualizations of identity are impacting on language policy decisions and on the field itself. Finally, the chapter proposes a theoretical framework to study the constructive interaction between ethnic identity and language policy. Principles governing the interaction between ethnic identity and language policy are presented. These principles are then discussed and exemplified through four cases with different patterns of ethnic identity-language policy interaction – Luxembourgish, Māori, Tseltal/Tsotsil and Gallo.

What is ethnic identity and how is it linked to language and language policy?

Ethnicity, for anthropologists, refers to a cluster of features or practices that are attributed in some way to a collectivity or aggregation of people, and that is often the basis for socio-cultural organization (Makihara 2010). Fishman (1989) tells us that *ethnicity* is phenomenological; that is, it is self-perceived, or it is attributed by others. Although pre-modern ethnicity was minimally self-conscious, since the sixteenth century in the Western world, ethnicity has been a highly conscious, instrumental outward-oriented ideology (Fishman 1977).

As ethnicity, *identity* is situational and contextual; that is, there is no 'true' identity, but just more effective or less effective identities, and more salient or less salient identities (Fishman 2010). Ethnic identity refers then to one kind of identity associated with a cluster of features or practices that are claimed by individuals or groups or assigned to them by other actors in a specific socio-historical, sociopolitical, and socioeconomic context. Ethnic identity can thus be a product of self-perceptions, or a

result of outsiders' perspectives and actions, whether other laypersons or more authoritative persons (Fishman 2010). Thus, ethnic identity is both a socio-psychological emotive state, as well as produced in interaction with others as it is negotiated. Furthermore, ethnic identity is impacted by local political economies. There are thus both assumed identities and imposed identities, but there are also negotiable identities (Pavlenko and Blackledge 2004).

Language is then likely to be the symbol of ethnic identity 'par excellence' because language is more than symbolic of ethnic identity; language becomes the prime ethnic identity feature or practice in and of itself (Fishman 1977). In the words of Bakhtin (1986: 67–8): 'Language arises from man's need to express himself, to objectify himself … And if language also serves as a means of communication, this is a secondary function that has nothing to do with its essence.'

It is then precisely the important role that language has played in shaping and defining ethnic identity – what Fishman (1977, 1996) has called *ethnolinguistic identity* – as well as the important role that ethnic identity has had in speech communities' language beliefs, language practices, and language management, that enables the enterprise of language policy and planning. Fishman (2010: xxxiii) summarizes this relationship, as well as the reason why language planning came into being by saying:

> Languages and ethnicities are more continuous and gradual than has been initially anticipated by local politicized historiographies and ethnographies. Because the subdivision of continua is inherently perspectival, it is also inherently reversible by social planning and language planning.

For Fishman, language planning activities emerge and are made possible precisely because of the situational and contextual nature of ethnic identity and the ways in which language features and practices both symbolize and enact ethnic identity. Languages can be made to spread throughout speech communities (Fishman 1972b, 1972c) or be extinguished or 'killed' (Skutnabb-Kangas 2000) as a result of language policy. And speech communities can maintain languages, shift to others, and even reverse language shift (Fishman 1991) on account of language policy.

The variability of features inherent in language, the different ways in which language can be used at different times and with various interlocutors, as well as the various attitudes and beliefs held about language features and practices, are what makes language policy possible. Because choices must be made about all of this, either by individuals and groups themselves, or by outsiders, language policy has to be understood as a most important component of sociolinguistics.

But language choice and language beliefs are not neutral. As Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004: 1–2) propose:

> [L]anguage choice and attitudes are inseparable from political arrangements, relations of power, language ideologies, and interlocutors' views of their own and others' identities. Ongoing social, economic, and political changes affect these constellations, modifying identity options offered to individuals at a given moment in history and ideologies that legitimize and value particular identities more than others.

The understanding that language practices, beliefs, and management have much to do with power and politics has led to developments of critical aspects of sociolinguistics and language policy, as we will see in the next section.

The link between ethnic identity and language policy in historical perspective

The rise of European nation-states and language policy

In pre-modern pan-Mediterranean and European thought, language and ethnic identity were viewed as naturally linked. This primordialist view became salient in the thinking of the German Romantics. For Johann Gottfried Herder (1744–1803), 'without its own language, a *Volk* is an absurdity, a contradiction in terms' (Herder, as cited in Fishman 1972b: 48). This was also the position of Johann Gottlieb Fichte (1762–1814) who in *Reden an die Deutsche Nation* (1808) said: 'Those who speak the same language are joined to each other by a multitude of invisible bonds by nature herself … They belong together and are by nature one and an inseparable whole' (quoted in Kedourie 1993: 64).

Edward Sapir (1884–1939) and his student, Benjamin Lee Whorf (1897–1941), proposed hypotheses that strengthened the link between language and ethnic identity, suggesting, in the strong version of the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis, that individuals are at the mercy of the language they speak, and in the weaker version that an individual's way of thinking and behaving is influenced by the languages he or she speaks. But the primordialist position that language and ethnic identity were naturally linked started to be questioned in the late nineteenth century. Franz Boas (1858–1942) pointed out that historical, social and geographical experiences have created differences. And Max Weber (1864–1920) indicated that a belief in a common origin depends on 'consciousness of kind' (Weber 1978: 378).

In Europe the link between ethnic identity and language was made stronger by nationalist movements throughout the nineteenth century that sought to differentiate a chosen national language from other varieties and to achieve linguistic homogeneity within the group (Wright 2004). The new states that were formed after the dismantling of the

Ottoman and Austro-Hungarian Empires at the end of the First World War established borders that created separate national identities that attempted to correspond to a 'national language.' During this time, language policy was both planned and unplanned, 'the side effect of other nation-building strategies' (Wright 2004: 41).

Dissolution of colonial empires and the rise of language policy as a field

The dissolution of the European colonial empires in Africa and Asia coincided with the birth of sociolinguistics and the language policy field. Africa was carved up according to the power interests of European states. And in these new African states relationships, between ethnic identity and language practices were ignored. The result was a highly linguistically heterogeneous population. The multilingualism of newly independent African and Asian countries was thought to work against economic development and education. The emerging field of sociolinguistics was put in the service of solving the language 'problems' of the newly independent states by assessing the situation and prescribing certain changes in how language was used (Das Gupta and Ferguson 1977).

Einar Haugen (1959) is credited with having used the term *language planning* for the first time to refer to 'the activity of preparing a normative orthography, grammar, and dictionary for the guidance of writers and speakers in a non-homogeneous speech community' (8). In 1965 Joshua Fishman published his now classic article entitled 'Who Speaks What Language to Whom and When', the basis for the development of macro-sociolinguistics or Fishmanian sociolinguistics (García, Peltz and Schiffman 2006). Fishmanian sociolinguistics focused on the social organization of language behaviour, 'including not only language usage per se, but also language attitudes and overt behaviors *toward* language and *toward* language users' (my italics, Fishman 1972a: 1), and thus promoting social action on behalf of languages and its speakers. In 1968, Fishman, Ferguson and Das Gupta published *Language Problems of Developing Nations*, perhaps what could be considered the first text in the field of language policy. It was the 'problems' of developing nations, and specifically the fact that national identity and national language did not coincide with either ethnic identity nor language use, that in many ways fuelled the development of the field of language policy (Jernudd and Das Gupta 1971).

Fishman insists that social intervention is needed on behalf of languages and their users because 'The language symbolizes the people, it represents them, it speaks volumes for them, and if they are to be heard and heard-out, then it must speak from a position of honor and security as well' (Fishman 1996: 92). Thus, both *status planning*, as well as *corpus planning*, the 'two Siamese-twins' of language policy (Fishman 2006), are

directly related to efforts to bolster the honour and security of a people whose language and ethnic identity are one and the same.

Fishman was not the only sociolinguist to study the relationship between ethnic identity and language beliefs and practices, both unplanned and planned. Giles and Byrne (1982) developed a model of *ethnolinguistic vitality* that looked at the relationship between ethnic identity, language maintenance and shift, and second-language acquisition. Giles' ethnolinguistic vitality model considered language an important marker of ethnic identity, and took into account the status of the language, its demographic strength and its institutional support. Around the same time, Gumperz' work (1982) focused on how code-switching indexes different ethnic identities. But by conducting an ethnographic study of language use in the Caribbean, Le Page and Tabouret-Keller (1985) proposed that social identities were fluid and constructed in linguistic and social interaction. Acts of identity are ways in which individuals project their concepts of language and ethnic identity on others, and thus determine the nature of groups (Le Page and Tabouret-Keller 1985). Le Page and Tabouret-Keller brought to light the fact that the relationship between ethnic identity and language policy is not straightforward or easily predicted.

Postmodern positions on ethnic identity and critical language policy

Postmodern scholarship, a result of globalization and new technologies, has pointed to the situational and subjective construction of ethnicity, shifting attention from ethnicity to more hybridized identities (Bhabha 1994) affected by new local and global identities (Canagarajah 2005). Postmodern ethnic identity involves sameness, but also, otherness, as well as the development of hybrid identities and language practices. Identity can no longer be used to solely explain linguistic practices or linguistic managing of those practices, and individuals may even construct identities by adopting linguistic practices of groups to which they do not rightly belong. For example, *code-crossing* has been identified as a way to construct different identities using language in ways that are not those of the group to which speakers belong (Rampton 1995).

Pennycook (2000, 2003) relies on the concept of *performativity* to explain that people do not use language based on their identity but, instead, perform their identity using language. Language and identity are mutually constitutive only in that language provides 'the linguistic means through which identities are constructed and negotiated' (Pavlenko and Blackledge 2004: 14). Choices may be limited or not, negotiable or not, depending on particular socio-historical contexts, but individuals are agentive beings, 'constantly in search of new social and linguistic resources which allow them to resist identities that

position them in undesirable ways, produce new identities, and assign alternative meanings to the links between identities and linguistic varieties' (Pavlenko and Blackledge 2004: 27). A postmodernist position rejects any intrinsic direct link between language and identity (May 2004).

The work of Makoni and Pennycook (2007) has argued that our present conception of 'language' was originally constructed by states that wanted to consolidate political power. To do so, they established language academies, encouraged the preparation of grammars, dictionaries and treatises to strengthen and standardize languages, encouraged the enumeration of languages in ways that marked their differences and similarities, and promoted our thinking of language as an autonomous skill. The same can be said of ethnic identity that has been many times created by groups, and particularly states, that are interested in political power. Speaking of the continent of Africa, Vail (1991: 12) says: 'firm, non-porous and relatively inelastic ethnic boundaries, many of which were highly arbitrary, came to be constructed and were then strengthened by the growth of stereotypes of "the other."' Rather than languages and ethnicities, what we have is 'languaging' and 'ethnifying' (García 2010), that is, plural practices in which specific features become associated as characteristic of a speech or ethnic community either by the group itself or by others (Makoni, Makoni and Pennycook 2010).

Influenced by the work of Pierre Bourdieu, some scholars have maintained that language beliefs, language practices, and language management, are always ideological and enmeshed in social systems of domination and subordination of groups, having to do not only with ethnicity or language, but also with class and gender (see Irvine and Gal 2000, Woolard and Schieffelin 1994). Thus, language policy signals ideological positions and boundary markers of group identity for inclusion and exclusion (Kroskrity 2000a). That is, the social context can prevent individuals from accessing certain linguistic resources or practices or adopting new identities (Woolard 1998). For Heller (1987) language is an instrument of identity negotiation that facilitates or restricts access to powerful social networks.

These understandings of how power operates in language choices have led to the development of *critical language policy* studies. In criticizing the early work of language planners and policy makers, Tollefson, for example, claims that language policy is 'one mechanism by which dominant groups establish hegemony in language use' (Tollefson 1991: 16). And Pennycook (2006) says that '[l]anguage policy has to do with the use of languages as part of language *governmentality*' (64). Governmentality, as defined by Foucault (1991), refers to the operation of power at the level of diverse practices, rather than solely through regulations imposed by the state.

Power operates in practices and ideologies and beliefs, and not only in laws and regulations. Our languaging and ethnifying is more than just a way of being, it is an active way of negotiating, resisting, empowering or discriminating. It is precisely these new understandings that have expanded the field of language policy from its original conceptualization as simply 'planning' at the state level, to one that today incorporates language beliefs, practices and management actions (Spolsky 2004) not only by state government and language managers, but also by families, faith communities, employers and educators (Spolsky 2009).

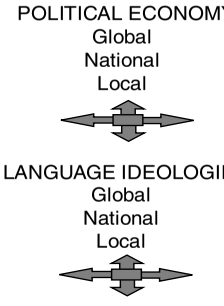
Principles, framework and cases

It is clear that ethnic identities and language policies have something to do with each other. Before we examine more closely the relationship between the two, it is important to summarize here the six principles about the nature of *ethnic identity* that have been derived from the foregoing discussion and that are important to keep in mind as we explore further the relationship between ethnic identity and language policy:

1 Ethnic identity develops out of consciousness and often in competition with other ethnic identities.
2 Ethnic identity develops alongside other identities. Language identity is just one of those identities. Thus, ethnolinguistic identity is one component of ethnic identity.
3 Ethnic identity and an ethnolinguistic identity can be self-ascribed (assumed) or it can be imposed externally (imposed) by either other citizens or authoritative agents.
4 Ethnic identity and an ethnolinguistic identity can be negotiated and performed.
5 The negotiation and performance of ethnic/ethnolinguistic identity is always impacted by socio-political and socio-economic arrangements.
6 Ethnic identity/ethnolinguistic identity is not always about sameness; it can also be about otherness, and include hybrid ethnic identities.

How then does ethnic identity relate to language policy? Figure 5.1 lays out such a relationship.

First of all, both the way we ethnify, as well as the way we language, are influenced by the political economy of the contexts – global, national and local – in which we perform our acts of identity. The political economy also relates to the language ideologies that circulate in the sociopolitical and socioeconomic contexts. All components of the model are then interrelated. That is, the ways in which we ethnify, our beliefs about languaging, our languaging (both in private and public domains) and the ways in which our languaging is managed, are dynamically engaged with each other. And within each component, ethnifying and



ETHNIC IDENTITY	LANGUAGE POLICY			
	Beliefs about language practices	Habitual pattern of selecting among varieties	Habitual pattern of selecting among varieties	Efforts to modify or influence language practice by language intervention, planning or management
Ethnic Identity Strong.....Weak	Language ideologies Strong.....Weak	Language practices (Languaging in private) Strong.....Weak	Language practices (Languaging in public) Strong.....Weak	Management of language practices Strong.....Weak
Self	Self	Self	Self	Self (In-group)
Others Lay people Authorities	Others Lay people Authorities			Others (Out-group) Lay people Authorities
DYNAMIC INTERACTION				

Figure 5.1 Ethnic identity and language policy theoretical framework

languaging has as much to do with self-definitions and self-evaluations, as it has to do with the considerations of others, both other laypersons with whom we interact, as well as authoritative managers, for example, linguists and governmental officials. The model is then dynamic, as each component interacts and engages with the other.

De Bot, Lowie and Verspoor (2007) have pointed out how internal ecosystems interact dynamically with external social ecosystems. Ethnifying and languaging are both internal sociopsychological states, as well as sociopolitical and socioeconomic actions that are dynamically related. As ethnifying and languaging change internally and externally to adapt to the political economy and the language ideologies of the social context, the language policy is also altered. Each act of ethnifying and languaging changes the system and the relationships of the components, just as the language policy itself alters the possibilities and enactments of ethnifying and languaging of what is either self-ascribed or considered by others to be a 'speech community'.

The remainder of this chapter considers a central principle of the relationship of ethnic identity and language policy, as well as three corollaries, in light of different cases. The central principle is simply this:

- A strong link between ethnic identity and language identity; that is, a strong ethnolinguistic identity, is a necessary pre-requisite for language policies to support the efforts of an ethnic community that performs its identity languaging in certain ways.

But this link is insufficient if the group does not have, nor is it supported by external authoritative powers whose language ideologies facilitate, rather than disrupt, the language practices of the speech community, and that develop favourable language managing arrangements.

The three corollaries are these:

1 In today's globalized world, ethnic identity is mostly performed through a *multiplicity* of ways of languaging, rather than just through one 'authoritative language'. Thus, bi/plurilingualism and the languaging that results from greater language contact are most important components of an ethnolinguistic identity.
2 In today's globalized world, a strong ethnolinguistic identity can only be supported through language management efforts that are aligned with language practices and attitudes that give access to the political economy of the sociopolitical and socioeconomic context. In cases where this is not so, then only language policies that support bi/plurilingual/hybrid ethnolinguistic identities can be successful.
3 The link between ethnic identity and language identity can exist *a priori*, but it can also be the result of policy, and specifically of authoritative language management which targets simultaneously both the corpus and the status of the language, and is often promoted through education.

To illustrate how these principles work, Table 5.1 provides a categorization of cases where the ethnolinguistic identity of the group is strong to moderate, but the success of the language policy to support the negotiation and performance of these ethnolinguistic identities varies because of different language managing efforts. Thus, the sociolinguistic results are different. Four patterns of interaction between ethnic identity and language policy are identified. The cases in the two left-hand columns of the table can be considered successful in that the existing language policy is strengthening a plurilingual ethnolinguistic identity and thus resulting in language development, either of the maintenance kind or the revitalization kind. However, the cases in the two columns to the right are less successful. That is, despite strong to moderate ethnolinguistic identities, weak language management by the group itself, as well as that of others – a result of domination, exploitation and subordination by more powerful groups – continuously threatens their ethnolinguistic identity. The prospects for these languages are then poor, resulting in threatened languages, and the progressive advancement toward language shift (for a treatment of the successes and failures of ethnic identity and language, see Fishman and García 2011).

Table 5.1 *Graded components of ethnolinguistic identity and language policy*

	SUCCESSFUL LP EFFORTS		LESS SUCCESSFUL LP EFFORTS	
Ethnolinguistic identity	Strong	Strong	Strong	Moderate
Beliefs about languaging	Strong	Strong	Moderate	Weak
Languaging in private	Strong	Moderate	Strong	Weak
Languaging in public	Strong	Moderate	Weak	Weak
Language management by in-group	Strong	Strong	Weak	Weak
Language management by out-group	Strong	Strong	Weak	Weak
Example of groups	Lxmbrgns Basques Catalans	Māoris Welsh	Tseltals/ Tsotsils Quechuas Amazigh-speakers (Berbers) Alsatian	Gallo-speakers Breton-speakers Dinés
RESULTS	Language maintenance & development	Language revitalization & development	Language threatened	Language shift

As Table 5.1 indicates, the defining component of language policy to support a group's ethnolinguistic identity is language management itself. That is, a group can have very strong languaging that they associate with their identity in private, and yet fail in their efforts to achieve some measure of socio-political and socio-economic success as an ethnolinguistic group. As a result, their language identity is threatened and they experience much linguistic insecurity. This is the case of the groups that have been conquered or subjugated – the third column in the Table 5.1 – where the pattern of interaction between ethnic identity and language policy results in less success. For example, the Tseltals and Tsotsils who speak the two most numerous Mayan languages in Chiapas, Mexico (García and Velasco 2012), and the Quechuas of Peru and Bolivia (Coronel-Molina 2011, Luykx 2011) have a strong ethnolinguistic identity and also strong languaging in private in their indigenous languages, and yet their languages are threatened. We will discuss below the case of the Tseltals and Tsotsils to exemplify this less successful pattern. Beyond Latin America, the Amazighs of the Maghreb offer another example of this less successful pattern of interaction between ethnic identity and language policy. Berber ethnolinguistic identity is tied to Amazigh and is extremely strong, but an Amazigh ethnolinguistic identity is continuously threatened by the diglossic relationship of Arabic, with Classical Arabic, Modern Standard Arabic, and Moroccan Arabic occupying positions of strength, while keeping Amazigh language practices and identity in an inferior position through language management measures. The result is a feeling of threat and much language insecurity, and a continuous shift away from Amazigh (Ennaji 2011, Sadiqi 2011). The same pattern of ethnolinguistic identity-language policy is observed in Alsace, France. Alsatian ethnolinguistic identity remains strong, despite a history of having been occupied by Germany twice, and being part of a country with a strong monolingual policy and little support for languages other than French (Hélot and Young 2006). Although there has been a massive shift to French, a quarter of Alsatian families are still passing on Alsatian, a Germanic language, to their children who are also speakers of French (Ager 1999).

Mainly as a result of extreme negative language management decisions by out-groups – what Skutnabb-Kangas (2000) would call *linguistic genocide* – some groups are farther along the language shift continuum than others. This negative pattern of interaction between ethnic identity and language policy is represented in the final column of Table 5.1 and results in even less success than in the cases in the third column. For example, the Diné (Navajos) have undergone more language shift than the Tseltals or Tsotsils, or the Quechuas, or the Amazigh people, or the Alsatians. But this has little to do with the strength or not of their ethnolinguistic identities, but rather with the political economy of the context in which they live. As we will see, in the case

of the Tseltal and Tsotsil, their language practices have been protected because of the nature of the Spanish conquest and their isolated geographic location in Chiapas. On the other hand, the Diné (Navajos) not only were decimated by US policies of eradication of the indigenous population, but they encountered a major national power, the United States. As McCarty has often indicated (see, for example, McCarty and Zepeda 2010), these policies have been responsible for the language shift to English of most Native Americans, and the linguistic insecurity of those who still speak the indigenous languages. This has resulted in a weaker ethnolinguistic identity that can only be categorized as moderate, and in extensive language shift. Even speakers of European languages cannot endure the onslaught of language management decisions that threaten their existence. This is the case, for example, of the two languages of Brittany, France – Breton and Gallo (Hornsby and Nolan 2011). Over a decade ago, Ager (1999) had declared that Breton, the Celtic language of Brittany, had 'practically disappeared among those under thirty' (1999: 36). And Gallo, a Romance language, is threatened even further (Hornsby and Nolan 2011), as our discussion below will make clear.

In the case of groups that have undergone language shift, only strong language management decisions can result in reversing language shift (Fishman 1991). Columns 2 and 3 in Table 5.1 lay out the positive pattern of interaction between ethnic identity and language policy that results in some measure of success. It is precisely, as we will see below, the very strong language management policies of the Māoris that have resulted in their language revitalization, alongside their increased participation in the political economy of New Zealand. Although as a result of incomplete language revitalization the Māoris may only have moderate language practices in private and public, their ethnolinguistic identities are being affirmed as a result of language management decisions that have had an impact on their more extended language practices, as well as on their increasing pride in being Māori (May 2010). The case of the Welsh is similar to that of the Māoris in the sense that a strong ethnolinguistic identity, coupled with strong language management, the result of more authority and empowerment, has led to a successful reversal in language practices, with people's languaging both in private and public coming back from a weak position to a more moderate one (Jones and Martin-Jones 2004).

Only in situations where the ethnolinguistic groups have acquired authoritative power is there a match between the three components of language policy – the beliefs, the languaging, and the management about languaging. Greater success then is reserved for those ethnolinguistic groups whose strong ethnolinguistic identities match their ability to enact language policies that support their strong beliefs on behalf of their languaging, as well as their strong languaging both in private

and public. The Luxembourgians, the Basques and the Catalans are good examples of this type of case. I will use the example of Luxembourg to illustrate a successful language policy that results in language maintenance and development of Luxembourgish.

Four cases will exemplify each of the four different patterns of interaction between ethnic identity and language policy and the resulting prospect for the language:

1 *The case of Luxembourgish: Language maintenance and development*
   - Strong ethnolinguistic identity, language beliefs, language practices and language management
2 *The case of Māori: Language revitalization and development*
   - Strong ethnolinguistic identity, language beliefs and language management. Moderate language practices
3 *The case of Tseltal and Tsotsil: Language under threat*
   - Strong ethnolinguistic identity and language practices in private. Moderate language beliefs. Weak language practices in public and weak language management
4 *The case of Gallo: Language shift*
   - Moderate ethnolinguistic identity. Weak language beliefs, language practices and language management

The case of Luxembourgish: language maintenance and development

The Grand-Duchy of Luxembourg was established in 1839. The peasant population at the time spoke a Germanic language, named West-Moselle-Franconian by dialectologists. But the German occupation of 1914 and the incorporation of Luxembourg into the Third Reich during the Nazi period, motivated people to start separating Luxembourgish, at least in their consciousness, as a language separate from German, in what Kloss (1967a) would have termed an instance of *ausbau*. This affirmation of a very strong Luxembourgish ethnolinguistic identity as resistance to Nazi rule is recounted by Homer and Weber (2008: 74):

> In October 1941, a census was administered, including questions on *Jetzige Staatsangehörigkeit* 'current citizenship', *Muttersprache* 'mother tongue', and *Volkszugehörigkeit* 'ethnicity'. Many people answered these three questions with *Lëtzebuergesch*, thus symbolically resisting incorporation into the Third Reich. This rebellion against Nazi authority is referred to today as *dräimol Lëtzebuergesch* 'three times Luxembourgish.'

Thus the link between national identity, national language and resistance to Nazi German became sealed, providing Luxembourg and Luxembourgish not only with a separate ethnolinguistic identity, but

also with international recognition and support as a country that stood up to Nazi Germany.

During the 1960s and 1970s, the international banking economy expanded and Luxembourg became the second largest investment fund centre in the world. Furthermore, Luxembourg became a most important European Union capital, home to the Court of Justice, the Court of Auditors, the European Investment Bank, the Publications Office, the General Secretariat of the European Parliament and the General Directorate of the European Commission (Homer and Weber 2008). The foreign population grew, as well as the population of *frontaliers*, those who cross the borders of Belgium, France and Germany every day to work in Luxembourg. Although Luxembourgish had a safe position, French started to be used at home by a larger sector than before. Furthermore, it is French or German that is mostly used in writing. It started to appear that additional language management efforts were needed.

In 1971 the association *Actioun Lëtzebuergesch* was founded, dedicated to promoting further the use of Luxembourgish. Finally, in 1984 a law was passed declaring Luxembourgish the national language. But this law also declared that French, German and Luxembourgish were to be accepted as languages of administration and justice, and French would be the language of legislation (Ehrhart and Fehlen 2011, Homer and Weber 2008).

The link between Luxembourgish and national identity has become salient in the last two decades, with symbols being created and protected. For example, in 1993, the national anthem (*Ons Heemecht* 'Our Homeland') received legal protection. In 1999, the *Conseil permanent de la langue luxembourgeoise* (CPLL) was created to protect the Luxembourgish language. Its first task was to create and implement the 1999 spelling reform, since Luxembourgish is increasingly being used in writing as a way to create greater distance from German (Homer and Weber 2008). In 2001, the amendments to the 'law on Luxembourgish nationality' introduced a language clause that stipulated that a 'basic knowledge' of Luxembourgish was needed for naturalization (Homer and Weber 2008).

Today the Luxembourgish school system uses Luxembourgish, German and French. In early childhood classrooms, children and teachers interact in Luxembourgish. But in the early grades of primary school, reading and writing are taught in German only. Although the teaching language is supposed to be German, much Luxembourgish is used (personal observation, January 2009). During the second half of the second grade of primary school, when children are approximately eight years old, French is taught, and used increasingly in instruction. High school is divided into *lycée classique* or *lycée technique*. In the more academic *lycée classique*, the subjects are taught through German and French, with the exception of the Luxembourgish lesson, as well as its use in subjects such as Physical Education. Although in the early years of *lycée classique* German is used predominantly as the language of instruction, in the last two

years, French is primarily used. The official policy excludes the use of Luxembourgish in the *lycée classique*, although as Fehlen (2007, cited in Ehrhart and Fehlen 2011) has pointed out, Luxembourgish has entered the classrooms 'through the back door', and *translanguaging*, the multiple discursive practices that teachers and students use in order to make sense of instruction in bilingual and multilingual classrooms (García 2009) is used extensively (personal observation, January 2009). In the *lycée technique*, most subjects are taught through German and the use of Luxembourgish is frequent (Homer and Weber 2008).

Today, Luxembourgish is a first language to 57 per cent of the population (Fehlen 2009). Only 3 per cent of residents of Luxembourg are monolingual, and 30 per cent of the residents are foreigners. Furthermore, 40 per cent of the population are *frontaliers* (Fehlen 2009). Fehlen and Giles (2009) have observed that Luxembourgish is safe since it is being intergenerationally transmitted, and plurilingualism is part of the country's tradition. It is important to note that it is plurilingualism itself, as well as the non-diglossic relationship of Luxembourgish to French and German, which has preserved Luxembourgish as a developing and dominant language and has affirmed a Luxembourgish ethnolinguistic identity.

The case of Māori: Language revitalization and development

When the British settled Aotearoa/New Zealand in the late eighteenth century, they encountered the Māoris, indigenous inhabitants who had settled in the islands 500 to a 1,000 years before. In 1840 the British Crown and the Māori chiefs signed the Treaty of Waitangi. In return for giving up sovereignty, Māoris received guarantee of 'their lands, their homes and all their treasured possessions (*taonga*)' (cited in May 2010: 502). However, Māori lands were taken over illegally, and the Māori people endured abysmal poverty and educational failure (May 2004).

In the 1970s Māori activists started to argue for the recognition of their separate culture and language. Fueled by the movement on the rights of indigenous peoples (Kymlicka 1995, May 2001, 2004), the Waitangi Tribunal was set up in 1975 to settle Māori claims against the Crown. One of the claims was that the English-speaking school system was decimating the Māori language. In 1986 the Tribunal ruled that *te reo Māori*, the Māori language, was a *taonga* (treasured possession) that was *guaranteed* under the Treaty of Waitangi. In 1987 the Māori Language Act recognized Māori as an official language of Aotearoa/New Zealand. The Act also provided for the establishment of a Māori Language Commission to promote the use of the language (May 2010).

In the early 1980s, Māori parents started preschool immersion programmes in Māori. These *kōhanga reo* were followed by the *kura kaupapa Māori* (literally, Māori philosophy schools) in 1985 which rapidly spread in the 1990s (May 2010).

In speaking about Māori language policy and its relationship to Māori ethnolinguistic identity, May (2010: 506) summarizes:

> The gains made by Māori in language education and wider public policy over the last 30 years have been based on the central notion of self determination (*tino rangatiratanga*) and a distinctive Māori indigenous identity. In this respect, current Māori identity has inevitably been constructed out of colonialism and a symbiotic interaction with Pākehā. Māori may thus be said to have drawn on shared historical memories, myths of common ancestry, and a growing sense of solidarity (Smith 1991), in order to develop a common ethnic and cultural parlance in the face of a colonizing power … The politicization of Māori ethnicity then can perhaps be best described by the aphorism 'old symbols, new meanings.' … This process has also inevitably involved the (re) mobilization and (re)articulation of Māori identities – in a dynamic and changing combination of traditional, new and hybrid forms – as a basis for their claims to greater self-determination.

May (2010) argues further that policies on behalf of Māori are strongly linked to a sense of biculturalism and bilingualism and to a negation of a multicultural and multilingual New Zealand that would then recognize the identities of the Pasifika – migrants from the principal Pacific islands of Samoa, Tonga, Cook Islands, Niue, Tokelau, Tuvalu and Fiji – and would weaken their claim for entitlement of protective language policies.

In the 2006 Census, 24 per cent of Māoris identified themselves as being speakers of the language, an indication of the success of the language policies on their behalf (Ministry of Education 2007, cited in May 2010). Yet in 2001, the *National Māori Language Survey* had found that 58 per cent of Māori adults could not speak Māori beyond a 'few words or phrases' (cited in May 2010: 505). Thus, although the case of the Māoris points to a successful reversal of their pattern of language shift and further developments on behalf of their ethnolinguistic identity and practices, full success in language revitalization would require sustained effort. Māori revitalization has been more successful than that of others because they have achieved some measure of self-determination, while increasing their access to the political economy of New Zealand, as well as to quality education. But it is important to point out that the success of Māori efforts is based on a Māori plurilingualism that includes English, as well as hybrid forms of Māori ethnolinguistic identities and language practices.

The case of Tseltal and Tsotsil: language under threat

Of all speakers of Mayan languages, 60 per cent reside in Chiapas, the southernmost state of Mexico, near the border with Guatemala. Almost 40 per cent of the population in Chiapas speaks one of twelve indigenous

languages (INEGI 2005), the most common Mayan languages being *Tseltal* (*k'op o winik atel*) and *Tsotsil* (*batsil k'op*) both mutually intelligible (García and Velasco 2012). Only 63 per cent of the Chiapas indigenous population is bilingual, with over one-third speaking only an indigenous language (Schmal 2004).

Chiapas is the poorest state in Mexico. About 90 per cent of the homes in which the 1.2 million indigenous people reside do not have drinkable water (García and Velasco 2012). Until the end of the twentieth century, indigenous children in rural areas did not have schools. When there were schools, education was solely in Spanish and monolingual indigenous children were often ignored by teachers with little understanding of their cultural and linguistic needs. Children often dropped out of school by the end of the first grade (García and Velasco 2012).

On 1 January 1994, the Ejército Zapatista de Liberación Nacional (EZLN) led a revolt against the Mexican government in Chiapas. The revolt coincided with the day that the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) was to take effect. The Zapatistas rose up against neo-liberal policies that ignored the social needs of the indigenous population. The demands included the right for all to 'jobs, land, housing, food, health, education, independence, liberty, democracy, and justice and peace' (Russell 1995: 36). On 16 February 1996, the San Andrés Accords were signed between the Zapatista movement and the government of Mexico. Representatives of all indigenous communities broadly discussed the Accords, and they were translated into ten indigenous languages. The agreements approved indigenous autonomy over local governments, as well as over natural resources. Besides an inclusive agrarian policy, the linguistic, cultural and ethnic pluralism of Mexico and Chiapas were recognized. The Accords led to changes in the Mexican constitution, granting more rights and privileges to indigenous peoples. Although the government subsequently ignored the Accords, the dialogue that it promoted raised the level of social consciousness in both indigenous and non-indigenous communities (García and Velasco 2012).

The Mexican state has been moving slowly towards recognition of its indigenous population, a reversal of former Mexican language policies that insisted on the linguistic assimilation of the indigenous population (Hamel 2008b, Heath 1972, Stavenhagen 1979). Article 2 of the present Mexican constitution (*Constitución Política de los Estados Unidos Mexicanos*, 1995–2009) affirmed the pluricultural nature of the Mexican state and recognized the original indigenous population. In March 2003, the *Ley General de Derechos Lingüísticos de los Pueblos Indígenas* declared Spanish and sixty-three Indigenous languages as 'national languages' because of their 'historical origin,' and declared them to have the same value in 'the territory, location and context in which they're spoken'. Article 11 of the cited legislation declared that all indigenous children must have access to compulsory intercultural bilingual education during

the initial years of schooling. In addition, the law states that attention must be paid to issues of multilingualism, cultural diversity and interculturalism, and language rights throughout schooling (García and Velasco 2012).

The Zapatista movement thus paved the way for the development of Tseltal and Tsotsil as languages to be used in intercultural bilingual education in schools for indigenous communities in Chiapas. An alphabet was established and a written standard developed. In 2001, the general coordination of Bilingual and Intercultural Education (CGEIB) and the General Directive of Indigenous Education were finally established. A transitional bilingual education policy was developed by the CGEIB to be used in all indigenous schools. During the first cycle of primary education (first and second grade) the *lengua originaria* (original language) would be used 80 per cent of the time. The second cycle of primary education (third and fourth grade) would use the *lengua originaria* 50 per cent of the time, and Spanish the other 50 per cent. Finally, in the third advanced cycle (fifth and sixth grade), 80 per cent of the time would be devoted to Spanish with the indigenous language used only 20 per cent of the time (personal communication, S. Schmelkes, 25 April 2010). Thus, the governmental management policy remains lukewarm at best toward the maintenance and development of indigenous ethnolinguistic identities.

The claim of the indigenous communities, as the Zapatista revolution made clear, was for the ability to construct sociopolitical and socioeconomic success while affirming their indigenous identities as Mexican citizens, and for using their indigenous languages, *alongside* Spanish, to do so. It is important to then note that their demand was not simply for support of Tseltal/Tsotsil, but for support of the development of a *bilingual* ethnolinguistic identity in Tseltal or Tsotsil *and* Spanish so that they could be structurally incorporated in the political and economic life of Mexico, and participate in local indigenous life. Stronger language management policies on behalf of Tseltal and Tsotsil by the Mexican government and the Chiapas central government are needed. But much more is needed than just corpus and status planning on behalf of the indigenous languages of Chiapas.

Taking intercultural bilingual education as an example, we can see how language management by the central state is insufficient to make up for years of neglect of the Tseltal and Tsotsil communities. Most schools in Tseltal and Tsotsil communities are primary schools with dirt floors, constructed of wood planks that let in the elements. Usually there are multi-grade classrooms with one to two teachers in a school. The Mexican Ministry of Education (*Secretaría de Educación Pública*, SEP) has published a Basic and an Intermediate reader in Tseltal and Tsotsil, but the indigenous teachers have received little training on how to teach literacy in these languages. Furthermore, the indigenous teachers themselves

are insecure in their use of written Tseltal and Tsotsil since they were schooled in Spanish. Although they are fluent speakers of Tseltal and Tsotsil, sometimes they are not fluent speakers of Spanish, having learned Spanish as adults when they left their communities. Many of the indigenous teachers only have had a primary education in Spanish. Although the indigenous children speak only Tseltal and Tsotsil in the first and second grades. Their books are for Spanish speakers. The present education system fails to give these indigenous children the education in Spanish they need to become bilingual, and the education in Tseltal-Tsotsil that would ensure their strong ethnolinguistic identity and further participation in their local communities.

The other fiasco of the intercultural bilingual education policy has to do with the failure to change perceptions of other Mexicans towards their indigenous peoples. Although the policy was meant to include *all* Mexican children ('intercultural'), it remains localized in the indigenous communities. In Chiapas, a Tseltal/Tsotsil identity continues to be associated with poverty and backwardness. As long as this is so, speakers of Tseltal and Tsotsil will continue to shift toward Spanish.

The case of Gallo: language shift

Brittany has two regional languages – Gallo and Breton. Although Breton is a Celtic language, Gallo is a Romance language and is closely related to standard French. Two issues make Gallo's prospects difficult. On the one hand, the French central government authorities have refused to accept Gallo as a regional language of French, and consider it merely a dialect of standard French. On the other hand, many Breton activists see Gallo as competing with what they consider to be the 'true' language of Breton identity – Breton (Hornsby and Nolan 2011).

Activism on behalf of Gallo is very recent and has focused on promoting Gallo as a *bona fide* language. Some success has been achieved. Gallo has been recently elevated in political discourse from being a local language form ('*parler*') to that of language ('*langue*') (Hornsby and Nolan 2011). Although Gallo is presently included as an optional school subject, in the 2008–2009 school year, there were only 1,400 students of Gallo in primary schools, 226 in lower secondary school, and 233 in high school (Hornsby and Nolan 2011).

Although much effort has been expended in developing a standard orthography for Gallo, there is no commonly agreed written standard. Those who favour distancing Gallo from French have developed one type of orthography. The competing one is closer to French and is favoured by teachers.

Despite all the local efforts on behalf of Gallo, only approximately 200,000 people, or 5 to 10 per cent of the Breton population, speak Gallo, and twice as many understand it. UNESCO has recently declared it to be

'severely endangered' (Moseley 2009). Clearly the weak language management efforts on behalf of Gallo both by the Breton community itself, as well as French official policy, puts Gallo in a powerless position. On the other hand, the fact that a Breton ethnolinguistic identity has a controversial and delicate link to Gallo has weakened Gallo language beliefs and practices, rendering useless all language management decisions. Gallo today is extremely threatened as speakers continue to shift to standard French.

Conclusion

The relationship between ethnolinguistic identity and language policy is neither linear nor neutral. As we have seen, there is a dynamic interaction between the two. But the interaction is constructed through participation in different political economies that in turn produce diverse language ideologies. Thus the model that we propose acknowledges the relationship between ethnolinguistic identity and language policy, while emphasizing the constructive aspects of the relationship and its performativity within a specific social context. At the same time, the model makes clear that the constructions and performances are not merely neutral acts, but are conditioned by power dynamics involved in the act of languaging and ethnifying.

Not all constructions and performances of languaging and ethnifying are successful. Some are more successful than others in aligning the wishes of a group in ethnifying through certain languaging, with their own language beliefs and language management, and those of others. In the twenty-first century, as global practices and local practices interact, ways of ethnifying and languaging are becoming complex, with plurilingual/pluricultural and hybrid practices at the centre of acts of identity. But unless those plurilingual and hybrid language practices are accompanied with some measure of political and economic power, practices that are not considered 'standard' by the powerful group will continue to be stigmatized, leading to language insecurity. And unless some features and behaviours of the group's languaging coincide with those in power, language shift in favour of the more prestigious language practices is bound to occur. Language policies must work to improve the meaningful and equitable participation of groups in the life of society, thus guaranteeing the agency of people to act on their own ethnifying and languaging.

6

Diversity and language policy for endangered languages

Julia Sallabank

Introduction

About 7,000 languages are spoken across the world today; but at least half may no longer be spoken by the end of this century. This chapter examines the reasons behind this dramatic loss of linguistic diversity, and how language policy might address it. It begins with a discussion of definitions of 'language death', and then looks at the causes and processes of language shift and endangerment, how it is measured, and why the loss of linguistic diversity is of concern. Finally, I look at implications for language policy, and consider some case studies in order to make recommendations for effective policies to support linguistic diversity.

As noted by Spolsky (2004: 43), language policies are formulated and implemented at all levels of society and in all domains of use. In this chapter, 'policy-makers' therefore refers not only to government officials and language planners, but also to community members, activists and actors at all levels (especially members of language revitalization movements), as well as the linguists or researchers who may find themselves in the position of advising them.

What is language death?

'Language death' can be seen as the end-point in the process of language *endangerment*, when a language ceases to be spoken. Mufwene (2004) defines it as follows:

> Used to describe community level loss of competence in a language, it denotes a process that does not affect all speakers at the same time nor to the same extent. Under one conception of the process, it has to do with the statistical assessment of the maintenance versus loss of

> competence in a language variety among its speakers. Total death is declared when there are no speakers left of a particular language variety in a population that had used it. (Mufwene 2004: 204)

However, several aspects of such a definition are problematic. As noted by Evans (2001) and Grinevald and Bert (2011), the 'last speaker' of a language can be difficult to identify, as can assessing the exact state of health of a language (see pp. 106–7 below). These authors note that who counts as the 'last speaker' of a language relates as much to issues of local identity and community politics as to linguistic ability. This is true of many aspects of language policy and planning: they are rarely only about language itself, but about beliefs and ideologies about languages. Furthermore, whether a language is truly 'dead' when the last 'native speaker' dies is being increasingly challenged (see pp. 101–2). 'Statistical assessment' will be discussed in on pp. 105–6; Fishman (1991) and Krauss (1992) identify whether a language is used and transmitted to children in the family as a key factor.

The process of language endangerment and death can be slow, with the use of the language dwindling over several generations, or it can be sudden (Dorian 1981). There are many reasons why the process begins and continues, which will be discussed below (pp. 103–4). Dorian (1980) lists three symptoms of language death: fewer speakers, fewer domains of use, and structural simplification. Each of these can be addressed through language policy and management, as discussed on pp. 111–23.

Terminology and stance

There is considerable discussion of the term 'language death'. David Crystal, in his book *Language Death* (2000: 1 and 2) takes a somewhat final view:

> To say that a language is dead is like saying that a person is dead. It could be no other way – for languages have no existence without people. … If you are the last speaker of a language, your language – viewed as a tool of communication – is already dead.

Many supporters of endangered languages dislike this finality, given the relative success of efforts to 'revive' 'dead' languages in recent years: e.g., in the British Isles (Cornish, Manx), the USA (Miami, Mohegan, Mutsun), Australia (Kaurna). Some fear that using the term may in itself have a causative effect, hastening a language's demise. Campaigners for the Manx language, for example, trace continuity via linguists and enthusiasts who learned the language from traditional native speakers in the 1950s, to a new language community of fluent adult speakers who are bringing up new young native (neo-) speakers; they oppose using the term 'language death' for Manx, although the last traditional speaker died in 1974.[1]

Campaigners in Australia prefer to speak of the 'awakening' or 'regenesis' of 'sleeping' or 'silent' languages, having demonstrated that even languages with relatively few records remaining can be reconstituted. The New South Wales Government Department of Aboriginal Affairs website states:

> The term 'extinction' or 'dead' language is no longer used among linguists because there are now techniques to revive languages. They are offensive to Aboriginal people. We refer to languages less regularly used as 'sleeping' languages, as they are capable of being revived.[2]

For example, Kaurna, a language of the Adelaide Plains, has been pieced together from lists of words transcribed by missionaries in the nineteenth century and place-names, with gaps in grammar and the phonetic system filled in from related languages (Amery 2000). In other cases there may be audio recordings, transcribed stories, or traditional oral texts such as prayers, songs, proverbs and poems to work from. Of course, languages which have been more fully documented and analysed are in a better position to be revived, although even a fully documented lexicon will be 'frozen in time' and reflect the usage of previous generations.

The terminology used reflects the viewpoint of authors, policy-makers, researchers and activists. Such terms as 'decline', 'obsolescence' and 'moribund' imply negative attitudes; however, they also have specific technical meanings relating to the vitality of a language. *Language obsolescence* refers to loss of functions in a language: 'Gradual reduction in use, due to domain-restriction, may result in the emergence of historically inappropriate morphological and/or phonological forms together with extensive lexical borrowing' (Jones 1998: 5–6). But because of its connotations of 'uselessness' or 'outdatedness' many activists dislike the term 'obsolescence'. Similarly, apart from its general meaning of 'about to die', in language endangerment terminology *moribund* refers to a language which has only a few elderly speakers who no longer use the language for day-to-day communication. Like 'obsolescent', 'moribund' has negative connotations.

Minority languages are not only defined numerically (spoken by a minority of the population of a country), but in terms of social status, marginalization and access to resources. In some cases, a 'minority language' is actually spoken by a numerical majority (Dorian 1981: 39; Pandharipande 2002). Attitudes towards languages of immigrant minorities are similar to those towards indigenous languages: both tend to be stigmatized and language shift is often evident (Edwards 2000). Endangered languages are almost inevitably minority languages. The process of reduction in status/domains of a language and its speakers is known as *minorization*, which can be seen as a continuum or process of decline and endangerment linked to language attitudes and ideologies (Hagège, 2000).

Conversely, terms such as *reversing language shift*, *revitalization* and *revival* imply more positive stances. *Reversing language shift* is a term associated with Fishman (1991, 2001) and his framework for supporting endangered languages (see chapter 2 and 2.3). It is, however, seen by some (e.g. Romaine 2006) as backward-looking, aiming to return to a situation that is no longer sustainable, although Fishman's (1991) framework envisaged 'transcending diglossia'.

Many of these terms (e.g. *death*, *moribund*, *revival*, *awakening*) utilize the metaphor of anthropomorphism, which is fairly common in the field of linguistics (e.g. language 'families', 'genetically related' languages, etc.). But as Denison (1977) points out, it is not languages which live and die, but those who speak them. The attribution of agency to languages is one of the fallacies which may obscure the causes of language endangerment, and hinder effective policies in support of diversity.

Language shift: its causes and implications

All over the world, people are stopping speaking minority languages and shifting to languages of wider communication; within this latter term lies one of the reasons for the shift. Linguists are increasingly alarmed at the rate at which languages are going out of use, as it has increased dramatically in the last 50–100 years. A special issue of the journal *Language* (Hale 1992) called for a concerted effort to record the remaining speakers and to create archives for future reference (*language documentation*). In this issue, Krauss (1992) estimated that 90 per cent of the world's languages would be severely endangered by 2100. In more optimistic estimates such as those in Nettle and Romaine (2000) and Crystal (2000), 'only' 50 per cent will be lost.

Processes of language shift and endangerment

The causes of language endangerment fall into four main categories:[3]

1 Natural catastrophes, famine, disease: for example, Malol, Papua New Guinea (earthquake);
2 War and genocide: for example, Tasmania (genocide by colonists); Brazilian indigenous peoples (disputes over land and resources); El Salvador (civil war);
3 Overt repression: for example, for 'national unity' (including forcible resettlement): for example, Kurdish, Welsh, Native American languages;
4 Cultural/political/economic dominance: for example, Ainu, Manx, Sorbian, Quechua and many others.

These factors often overlap. The dividing lines can be difficult to distinguish: for example in the Americas disease and suppression of Native cultures spread after colonization, and in Ireland many Irish speakers died or emigrated due to the effects of the potato blight famine in the nineteenth century, compounded by British government inaction.

The sudden demise of a whole speaker community is a relatively rare factor. The fourth category, cultural/political/economic dominance, is the most common, and is often associated with colonization and overt repression. It can be further subdivided into five common factors:

1 Economic: e.g. rural poverty leads to migration to cities and abroad. Minority languages come to be associated with poverty. If the local economy improves, tourism may bring speakers of majority languages.
2 Cultural dominance by the majority community, e.g. education and literature through the majority or state language only; indigenous language and culture may become 'folklorized'.
3 Political: e.g. education policies which ignore or exclude local languages, lack of recognition or political representation, ban on the use of minority languages in public life.
4 Historical: e.g. colonization, boundary disputes, the rise of one group and their language variety to political and cultural dominance.
5 Attitudinal: e.g. minority languages become associated with poverty, illiteracy and hardship, while the dominant language is associated with progress/escape.

Attitudes and ideologies are key to whether languages are maintained or abandoned. Negative attitudes are often internalized by speakers, and a minority language comes to be stigmatized. However, attitudes and practices can be altered through language management and human agency: e.g. the move in late twentieth-century English from using generic 'he' to 'he or she'. Kroskrity (2000b) suggests that that the more aware group members are of ideologies, the more these can be challenged and contested. More and more endangered language groups are gaining the confidence to do this, to the extent that in the last thirty or so years there have been many community initiatives to revive or revitalize endangered languages (see pp. 000–00; for further examples see Grenoble and Whaley (2006) and Hinton and Hale (2001).

The processes of language shift and loss are not well documented. As noted by Mufwene (2006: 378), 'Communal language shift occurs gradually and most often insidiously, being noticed only after the process is quite advanced or complete.' My own research into processes of language loss has also found that speakers do not necessarily realize that if they do not speak a language with their children, the children will not learn it. Why some people transmit their ancestral language, while others

Table 6.1 *Distribution of languages by area of origin (from Lewis 2009)*

	Living languages		Number of speakers			
Area	Count	Per cent	Count	Per cent	Mean	Median
Africa	2,110	30.5	726,453,403	12.2	344,291	25,200
Americas	993	14.4	50,496,321	0.8	50,852	2,300
Asia	2,322	33.6	3,622,771,264	60.8	1,560,194	11,100
Europe	234	3.4	1,553,360,941	26.1	6,638,295	201,500
Pacific	1,250	18.1	6,429,788	0.1	5,144	980
Totals	6,909	100.0	5,959,511,717	100.0	862,572	7,560

give it up, is a major issue in how to support and revitalize endangered languages, but little research has been devoted to it.

How do we measure linguistic diversity?

Overviews of language endangerment generally start with statistics about the number of languages in the world and the proportion considered endangered. The source most frequently referenced is *Ethnologue*, subtitled 'An encyclopedic reference work cataloguing all of the world's 6,909 known living languages' (Lewis 2009), published by the Summer Institute of Linguistics.[4] Table 6.1 shows how the sixteenth edition of the *Ethnologue* (Lewis 2009) estimates the distribution of living languages by area of origin.

Statistics commonly quoted (the sources are unclear) include:

- Only about eighty languages have more than 10 million speakers
- Only 208 languages have over one million speakers
- Eighty per cent have fewer than 20,000 speakers
- Average number of speakers per language: 5,000–6,000.

A feature of minorized languages is that accurate data is frequently not available, but it is clear that the vast majority of languages are used by relatively small numbers of people.

The statistics also mask inherent problems in the counting of languages, as the Introduction to *Ethnologue* recognizes. Many linguists use the criterion of mutual comprehensibility: if users of two varieties cannot understand each other, the varieties are considered to be different languages. If they can understand each other, the varieties are considered mutually comprehensible dialects of the same language. However, mutual intelligibility is notoriously difficult to measure, as it has both psycholinguistic and sociolinguistic variables. Attitudes play a role – whether or not people *want* to understand each other. Such attitudes are, in part, linked to whether a community considers itself to have a distinct

ethno-linguistic identity, but members of a community may not agree about this. Because of this, some linguists (especially sociolinguists and anthropological linguists influenced by postmodern theories) now question whether language boundaries can be identified at all.

Politics also plays an important part in language differentiation. Following nineteenth-century philosophers such as Herder, language has been considered a crucial element of national identity, with 'one state, one language' being seen as the ideal (see Chapter 4 in this volume). But languages do not necessarily follow political boundaries: e.g. Paolillo and Das (2006) point out that in the former Soviet republics of Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan, it is unclear how many Turkic languages would be recognized on the basis of mutual intelligibility, as these and other varieties spoken in central Asia are mutually intelligible to some extent, but differences in the writing systems used (including Cyrillic, Roman and Arabic scripts) and political divisions dating back more than a century have led to separate identities. Some minority groups may claim full 'language' status for a variety which has been disregarded as a dialect in the past (e.g. Aragonese in Spain). Separatist groups may highlight linguistic differences to support their causes, while national governments may play these down.

How do we measure the health of languages?

The health of a language, in keeping with the anthropomorphic metaphor, is commonly termed its *vitality*. Assessing language vitality helps plan language policy, and repeated assessments can help assess the effectiveness of programmes (Grenoble and Whaley 2006: 3).

Fishman (1991) attempted to trace the process of language endangerment with his 'Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale' (GIDS), which outlines eight stages of community language loss and simultaneously suggests revitalization measures to counter each stage. Fishman sees transmission in the family as the 'gold standard' of language vitality and the most important factor in language survival (1991: 113). Intergenerational transmission is also the focus of another taxonomy favoured by linguists, that of Krauss (1997). The GIDS framework can perhaps be criticized for not including discussion of reasons for language shift, which might also hold some keys to reversing the process. Yet it is useful to activists as a framework to plot the status of languages and to plan priorities.[5]

The most comprehensive language vitality scale at the time of writing is UNESCO's Language Vitality and Endangerment framework,[6] produced by a group of eminent linguists, which encompasses nine factors in language vitality:[7]

(1) Intergenerational language transmission
(2) Absolute number of speakers

(3) Proportion of speakers within the local population
(4) Trends in existing language domains
(5) Response to new domains and media
(6) Materials for language education and literacy
(7) Governmental and institutional language policies, including official status and use
(8) Community members' attitudes toward their own language
(9) Amount and quality of documentation.

Each of these is graded on a 0–5 scale, as shown in Table 6.2.

This framework recognizes that factors cannot easily be separated: for example, the domains in which a language is used relate to attitudes and status. It also includes factors ignored by other schemes, such as attitudes and documentation. However, although the preamble to the framework stresses the importance of language revitalization, this is not included in the framework itself. The 2009 edition of the UNESCO *Atlas of Languages in Danger* (Moseley 2009), which used this framework, was criticized by many communities for focusing on endangerment rather than on measures being undertaken to revive languages.[8]

Some scholars claim that a minimum number of speakers is needed to allow languages to survive. For example, Krauss (1992) claimed that a language needs 100,000 speakers to be 'safe', and that a language with fewer than 10,000 should be regarded as endangered. By this measure, only 10 per cent of the world's 6000 languages are 'safe' and 60 per cent of the world's languages are 'endangered'.

Table 6.2 *UNESCO's Language Vitality and Endangerment framework*

Degree of endangerment	Intergenerational language transmission
safe	language is spoken by all generations; intergenerational transmission is uninterrupted
vulnerable	most children speak the language, but it may be restricted to certain domains (e.g., home)
definitely endangered	children no longer learn the language as mother tongue in the home
severely endangered	language is spoken by grandparents and older generations; while the parent generation may understand it, they do not speak it to children or among themselves
critically endangered	the youngest speakers are grandparents and older, and they speak the language partially and infrequently
extinct	there are no speakers left

[Adapted from] www.unesco.org/culture/ich/index.php?pg=00139

But what is 'critical mass', and how do we determine its size? And how do we get reliable statistics? As noted, there is frequently little data available on the kinds of questions asked in these frameworks. Crowley (1995) suggests that we should not be concerned by small language populations: linguistic behaviour is what is important. Rather than comparative frameworks, context-specific sociolinguistic information on language attitudes and patterns of use can be more useful for policy-making: 'who speaks what language when, and where' (Fishman 1965), not to mention *why*. It is also valuable to take into account the relationship of the language under study (and its speakers) to others (Calvet 2006); speakers of endangered languages are usually multilingual, so language contact (or ecology) is highly relevant. The attitudes of those who do *not* speak the language are also relevant, as they may influence policy and control funding.

Despite the common trends identified on pp. 103–4, Kulick (1992) stresses that there are no universal patterns of causality in language shift. The crucial step between macro-sociological changes and language shift is their interpretation by the people that the factors are supposed to be influencing (1992: 9). Williams (1992: 110) observes that language surveys tend to seek correlations between social factors and linguistic use which in themselves reveal little. For this reason too it is important to study the attitudes as well as the contextualized practices of members of speech communities. For policy-makers, this includes speakers of all languages in contact (both dominant and minorized), and requires awareness that attitudes (and language domains) are not necessarily static.

Why worry about loss of linguistic diversity?

Value to linguistic science

Throughout history languages have died out and been replaced by others. Until recently this was seen as a natural cycle of change. But the growing number of varieties no longer being learnt by children, coupled with a tendency for speakers to shift to languages of wider communication (especially varieties or creoles of English), means that there is a noticeable reduction in typological diversity. Unless the myriad inventive ways in which humans express themselves are documented now, future generations may not be aware of them: for example, Ubykh, a Caucasian language whose last fully competent speaker died in 1992, has eighty-four distinct consonants and according to some analyses, only two phonologically distinct vowels. Krauss (1992: 10) called for 'some rethinking of our priorities, lest linguistics go down in history as the only science that has presided obliviously over the disappearance of ninety per cent of the very field to which it is dedicated'.

Several endangered languages are sign languages, some of which are still in the process of development and can thus shed valuable light on linguistic evolution. As well as facing similar problems to other minority languages, sign language users have to counter prejudice from those who do not recognize them as full languages (see Chapter 19 in this volume).

Cultural heritage

UNESCO's website[9] cites linguistic diversity as a 'pillar of Cultural Diversity':

> Languages, with their complex implications for identity, communication, social integration, education and development, are of strategic importance for people and the planet. … When languages fade, so does the world's rich tapestry of cultural diversity. Opportunities, traditions, memory, unique modes of thinking and expression – valuable resources for ensuring a better future are also lost.[10]

All societies have oral literature, that is, cultural traditions expressed through language in the form of stories, legends, historical narratives, poetry and songs. Harrison (2007) and others argue that the loss of endangered languages means the loss of such knowledge and cultural richness, both to the communities who speak them and to human beings in general (what UNESCO describes as 'intangible cultural heritage').

Language and ecology

A number of authors identify parallels between linguistic and biological diversity (e.g. Krauss, 1992; Nettle and Romaine, 2000). Statistical correlations have been found, e.g. by Sutherland (2003): places such as Indonesia and Papua New Guinea which have a high number of different biological species also have high linguistic diversity, compared to Europe, which has the fewest of both. This theme has been taken up enthusiastically by some researchers (e.g. Skutnabb-Kangas 2002) and campaigners.[11] It has also received public attention in popular science programmes and books aimed at non-specialists, e.g. Nettle and Romaine 2000; Abley 2003.

Does this mean, however, that there is a causative link? Or that the causes of language death and species decline are the same? Sutherland (2003) concludes that although there is a clear correlation between cultural and biological diversity, the reasons for decline are likely to be different. However, a number of 'ecolinguists' claim that the endangerment of the natural environment is in part caused by language, pointing out linguistic practices which reveal an exploitative attitude towards the natural environment (Fill and Mühlhäusler 2001). A political interpretation might argue that the decline in both linguistic and biological diversity are by-products of globalization and/or international capitalism.

Language and identity

Languages are often seen as symbols of ethnic identity (see Chapter 5 in this volume). However, as Le Page and Tabouret-Keller (1985: 239–40) and Dorian (1999: 31) note, feelings of ethnic identity can survive total language loss. Many recent writers, influenced by postmodernism, see identities not as fixed, formal realities, but rather as fluid: constructed while people position themselves within and between the various social settings of their everyday lives (e.g. Castells 2000; Omoniyi and White 2006). This may help to account for the paradox whereby many endangered language speakers claim a strong identification with their language, yet do not transmit it to their children (see also Benor 2010).

Nevertheless, for many minority-language speakers, language is still an important element of their self-identification, especially in their search for linguistic human rights. In addition, maintaining regional identity is seen as increasingly important in the era of globalization. Lanza and Svendsen (2007: 293) suggest that 'language might become important for identity when a group feels it is losing its identity due to political or social reasons'. Language policy-makers and activists may also consciously promote symbolic ethnicity and 'localness' as means to encourage language revitalization.

Linguistic human rights

A large number of studies testify to the wrongs done to linguistic minorities, usually in the name of national unity (e.g. Hornberger 1987; Benham and Cooper 1998; Argenter and McKenna Brown 2004; Skutnabb-Kangas 2000). The right to use one's own language, in public or even in private, is not universally recognized. A common view, shared even by the Chair of the UK Equality Commission, Trevor Phillips,[12] is that minority language speakers are welcome to use their languages in the home, but that public support for these languages is impractical and might even be divisive. Yet people who are not fluent in national or official languages need access to services such as education, the media and the justice system. In many countries (e.g. Uganda, the Seychelles) the vast majority of the population do not speak, read or write the official (often ex-colonial) languages, and are thus denied the opportunity to participate in public life.

Although it is easy to deplore abuses, establishing a clear definition of linguistic human rights is not simple, let alone implementing them (e.g. Chen 1998; Kymlicka and Patten 2003; Grin 2005). Arguments abound regarding whether discrimination on grounds of language should be treated separately from other types of discrimination; whether rights should be based on tolerance or promotion; granted to individuals, to particular groups, or on a territorial basis; and about whether the discourse of language rights adopts the same hegemonic discourses as nation-states which deny linguistic human rights (Freeland and Patrick 2004).

Wouldn't it be better if we all spoke one language?

It is often assumed that using a single language would bring peace or social integration, either in a particular country or internationally. Linguistic diversity is assumed to contribute to inter-ethnic conflict (Brewer 2001). But some of the worst violence occurs where language is not a factor at the start of the conflict, e.g. Rwanda or former Yugoslavia (Greenberg 2004). And as noted above, suppressing linguistic human rights for the sake of national unity rarely brings about that unity; on the contrary, language may become a symbol of self-determination. Meanwhile, an increasing number of studies see the recognition of linguistic rights and ethnic identity factors as necessary for conflict resolution (e.g. Ashmore *et al*. 2001; Daftary 2000).

Language 'usefulness'

Several people I have interviewed during the course of my research suggest that it would be 'more useful' to teach a major international language than a 'useless' endangered language:

> 'I think it would be more useful to teach a modern European language such as French or German.'(Dentist, 40s)
> 'If children are going to learn another language at school they should learn proper French or German or Spanish, or even an Eastern language – a language that's widely used.'(Retired teacher, 70s)

It is, however, a fallacy to assume that speakers have to give up one language in order to learn another. Moreover, it is not only major foreign languages (even if less commonly taught) which may prove 'useful'. Even indigenous languages with no apparent relevance to the outside or modern world can prove useful, for example the use of Navajo 'code-talkers' in the Second World War. Taking a utilitarian approach to languages also ignores the affective, identity- and relationship-building value of phatic communication.

Policies to support endangered languages

This section considers policies which address the three factors in language endangerment identified by Dorian (1980):

- Number of speakers
- Domains of use
- Structural simplification.

Increasing the number of speakers

Arguably the simplest way to maintain a language is to speak it; however, persuading communities to do this seems to be the most difficult

measure to implement (e.g. Dauenhauer and Dauenhauer 1998). It involves two policy strands:

1 Improving language proficiency and creating new speakers, usually through teaching (known as *acquisition planning*). This can overlap with domains of use, in that efforts often focus on the sphere of education.
2 Ensuring that people *want* to speak the language (known as *prestige planning*: Haarmann, 1984; 1990).

Acquisition planning

Language *maintenance*, i.e. supporting and promoting the use of a language while it is still vital, is usually preferable to trying to revitalize moribund languages. Intergenerational transmission in the home is usually carried out by mothers. Gender factors, women's practices and attitudes are therefore of key importance for language maintenance; yet they are rarely included in language policy discussions.

Women's attitudes to minority languages are directly related to the status of women in society. Mothers may want their children to learn a 'more useful' language in order to escape hardship or discrimination, which may even affect choices of partner: women may look for a husband from a language group that is likely to give them better economic standing (Gal 1978). In such families the minority language is rarely maintained. Languages of wider communication may also be associated with more liberal attitudes towards women's status. Societies where women have higher status tend to maintain their languages more than societies where women have low status (Aikio 1992); gender issues therefore need to be taken into account by language policy-makers.

However, as noted above, language shift may go unnoticed until most speakers are past child-bearing age. Given that the only fluent speakers of many endangered languages are increasingly elderly and frail, language revitalization is frequently driven by second- or heritage-language learners. Crystal (2000:106) notes that 'this kind of reaction [desire to 'save' a language] is common among the members of a community two generations after the one which failed to pass its language on'. The question of how to build and sustain a speaker base is therefore critical for policy decisions.

Romaine (2006) points out that few, if any, language movements have actually followed Fishman's advice to focus on language use in the family first and foremost. In many cases language revitalization concentrates on school-based language teaching. Provision can range from small amounts of extra-curricular teaching, through teaching the language as a subject, to bilingual and full immersion education through the medium of the endangered language. Education policy is discussed

in detail in Chapters 14 and 15 in this volume, so only aspects specific to endangered languages will be discussed here.

Language nests An increasing number of movements around the world aim to create a natural space for young children to be exposed to a language through community-run play-schemes, often with native-speaker helpers. These 'language nests' (called after the prototypical scheme, *Kōhanga reo* in Māori) combat the loss of intergenerational transmission by replacing and/or supplementing the family domain. 'Language nests' are seen as a particularly successful method of language revitalization: according to census figures, *kōhanga reo* has led to a dramatic increase in the number of children in New Zealand able to speak Māori (Benton and Benton 2001: 425). It has inspired similar programmes around the world, chiefly in North America, Europe and Austronesia. They try to involve the whole community: both in terms of being managed by community members, and also by encouraging adults to learn the language and use it with the children. But progression and follow-up are essential, so as children grow older, parents often lobby for schools in the language too; if they can engage political support and funding, provision may thus grow with the children. Experiences such as that of the Isle of Man show that starting on a small scale can be necessary to gain the acceptance of the majority population: in this case optional classes and 'language nests' led eventually to a fully Manx-medium school.

Immersion education Language acquisition research has demonstrated that an hour or two a week is not adequate to activate children's natural language learning abilities (Singleton 2001; Blondin *et al.* 1998); this is also supported by reviews of bilingual teaching (May and Hill 2008). Māori-medium education is frequently held up as a model of language revitalization. Unsurprisingly, programmes with the highest proportion of Māori are the most successful at teaching the language; but May and Hill point out that there is little information on the *educational* effectiveness of the programmes (2008: 68; emphasis in original). Other examples of long-standing immersion programmes or classes include numerous languages in North America (including Canada), Latin America, Finland (Sámi and Swedish), Spain (Basque), Wales and Scotland, to name just a few.

Endangered languages are no longer the primary language of socialization and are not being passed on in the home; it could therefore be argued that immersion teaching in an endangered language goes against the principle of education in a child's mother tongue. The advantages of bilingualism and biliteracy, however, are still valid (Cantoni 1997). An extra level of argument is however required to support education through a minority, endangered language, as cognitive advantages could also be gained through bilingualism in international languages: this

usually focuses on the need to pass on traditional cultural heritage and establish confidence in regional and ethnic identity. It is argued that once children are bilingual in the heritage language, they will find it easier to learn other languages, as well as experiencing improved attainment in other subjects. In general, minority-language education does not impair mastery of the majority language, given its dominant position in the wider environment.

The effectiveness of school-based revitalization May and Hill (2008: 70) note that in the case of the Navajo programme in Arizona, which was once 'one of the strongest and longest established in the USA – only fifty per cent of Navajo now speak their own language and their numbers are declining each year'. In contrast, there is statistical and observational evidence[13] that in the Basque Country in Spain, the *Ikastola* movement of independent immersion schools has had a positive effect on both the attitudes and behaviour of young people who have been through Basque-medium education, to the extent that many now socialize primarily through Basque and speak it to their own children.

Transfer of a language from the school to social environments, and its re-establishment in the family, are key aims of revitalization through education. Research in Wales found that although bilingual education successfully increased the number of young people who can speak Welsh, it did not lead to renewal of intergenerational transmission: young people stopped speaking Welsh once they left school (Edwards and Newcombe 2005: 137). However, it had produced a generation of young people with knowledge of Welsh (at least in academic registers). This led to the development of programmes to develop young parents' proficiency in language suitable for child-rearing (Edwards and Newcombe 2005). *Twf* ('growth' in Welsh or 'Transmission Within the Family' in English) encourages families to bring children up bilingually, and is promoted through midwives and health workers via childbirth preparation classes and child health clinics, which are seen as an ideal opportunity to persuade parents of the benefits of bilingualism. Another key aim is social inclusion, as a social divide is seen in take-up of bilingual education (ibid.: 143).[14]

According to several authors in Hornberger (2008), a major factor in success is community control of the curriculum and inclusion of cultural heritage. But as with many revitalization programmes, it is not clear what 'success' constitutes: in these instances the criteria seem to be empowerment of indigenous communities and redressing of past injustices, rather than educational achievement or re-establishment of the endangered language as the primary language of socialization.

A practical problem with revitalizing highly endangered languages through schools is a lack of language-proficient and trained teachers. Hinton (2003) provides guidance for such circumstances, stressing the need for teachers to have mentors (usually a fluent older speaker, as in

a master-apprentice programme; see below) and to use as much of the language as possible in the classroom, for example, in ritual exchanges and class management. Resourcing and materials are a related problem; the head teacher of the Gaelic-medium school in the Isle of Man reported that due to delays and uncertainties, Manx-language materials initially had to be developed by teachers after the school opened (Julie Matthews, personal communication).

Unless school-based programmes include parents and grandparents in their activities, schools may be seen as a replacement for family commitment to language maintenance. Maffi (2003) quotes a comment from Nancy Dorian: 'the introduction of a heritage language into the school curriculum has been known to seduce communities whose language is at risk into believing that interrupted family transmission is no longer a problem since the schools are dealing with transmission.' In places where endangered languages are promoted through education, traditional domains may be reversed: as official endorsement increases, use in informal contexts decreases. For endangered languages to grow outside the school environment, people of all ages need reasons and opportunities to speak them in their daily lives (Hornberger 2008; Cantoni 1997).

To sum up, four factors are essential for effective school language maintenance and revitalization policies:

1 Additive bilingualism and biliteracy (Hornberger 2003; see Chapter 14 in this volume)
2 The inclusion of cultural programmes (Hornberger 2008)
3 Community involvement
4 Supplementing the school-based programme with real reasons to speak the language outside the educational context (Cantoni 1997). The rest of this section will address this last point.

Adult and community-based language learning Community-based language learning programmes are complementary or alternative options to formal education. A prime example is the 'Master (or Mentor)–Apprentice' schemes pioneered by Native American communities in California, where fluent speakers (usually older) are paired one-to-one with learners or latent speakers (Hinton 1994, 1997; Hinton and Hale 2001; Hinton, Vera and Steele (2002); Reyhner *et al.*, 2003). Such a scheme has a number of advantages:

- It provides practice for learners who may have had passive exposure but have little productive competence
- It helps elders to remain fluent and active
- The real-life task-based approach aims to preserve traditional knowledge as well as language
- It is easy to implement, requiring little funding (although a framework of ideas and activities is essential so that there is a progression and interest is maintained).

The Mentor–Apprentice schemes are frequently hailed as a success and as a model for other communities, and several other North American tribes have started programmes (e.g. Sauk, Chicasaw, Tlingit, Inuinnaqtun). However, it is difficult to find examples of similar schemes running elsewhere (apart from one for Aranes in Spain[15]). There is also little published evaluation of outcomes since Hinton (1997). Admittedly the processes of language revitalization remain poorly documented, but such a gap raises questions about outcomes.

Language support activities provide valuable exposure when a language is no longer used in traditional or domestic domains. They can address both a lack of opportunities to use the language(s), and develop a pool of fluent speakers from which future teachers can be trained. Lee and McLaughlin (2001: 38–9) suggest a number of community-based language revitalization measures under the headings 'What pairs of persons can do', 'What families can do', and 'What communities can do'. Examples include:

- social gatherings where those attending are encouraged to speak the language (sometimes involving language games)
- clubs and cafés (e.g. on a particular lunchtime or afternoon)
- sports and pastimes such as football, walking or card games
- cultural activities such as music, drama and language festivals.

Where facilities and skills allow, face-to-face activities can be supplemented by internet-based courses or practice opportunities (e.g. an online network).

More formal adult language-learning provision includes evening classes, workplace-based classes, and intensive language camps such as the *ulpan* pioneered in Israel and developed with considerable success in Wales and Lithuania (Csató and Nathan 2007).

Raising language prestige

A key element of prestige planning consists of countering ideologies of deficit, which Gramsci (1971) termed *hegemony*: where a group acquiesces in its subordination, language shift becomes seen as 'natural'. Some authors claim that speakers share responsibility for the loss of their language through 'choosing' to speak a language they perceive as more advantageous for themselves or their children (Denison 1977; Ladefoged 1992; Mufwene 2004; de Swaan 2001). Traditional languages become associated with poverty and backwardness (e.g. Harbert *et al.* 2009). Attempting to influence beliefs thus becomes a vital aspect of language policy for endangered languages (e.g. Laversuch 2008).

Opinions are divided as to the value of official recognition for the maintenance of endangered languages (Ó Riagáin 2004), which may even discourage grass-roots enthusiasm for activities (Tadhg Ó hIfearnáin, p.c.). Cooper (1989: 161) contrasted the relative success of language planning for

the revitalization of Māori with Irish, commenting that in New Zealand 'the initiative for the revitalization program has come from the Maoris themselves', whereas in Ireland 'the government promoters of maintenance made no serious attempt to promote the enthusiasm of people of the Gaeltacht [officially designated Irish-speaking area] themselves. The initiative came from outside.' More recently attitudes towards Irish seem to have become more positive, but it is still not the primary language for most Irish people. The link between attitudes and language use is indirect and uncertain; nevertheless, positive attitudes seem to be a necessary if not sufficient pre-requisite for language maintenance/revitalization.

Domains of use

An almost universal feature of language minorization and endangerment is that languages are confined to low-status or private domains of use. Many language activists therefore aim to 'transcend diglossia' (in the terms of Fishman 1991). New domains such as education, signage, official communications, media, computers and mobile phones increase both language awareness and perceived utility. Although such activities as social networking websites, blogging and texting in an endangered language may not appeal to elders ('I don't do that in any language'), they can motivate younger learners and help (re)build communities of speakers.

Teaching endangered languages in schools is not only a practical measure: it also plays a symbolic role in many language revitalization campaigns. In many places around the world, e.g. France, Sudan or the Ryuku islands in Japan, members of endangered-language communities remember humiliating experiences such as having to wear (and pass on to another pupil) a symbol if they were caught speaking their home language.

A necessity for domain expansion is an agreed writing system for the language, and literacy training in it: part of what has traditionally been described as 'corpus planning' (see also Chapter 22 in this volume). This may involve disputes regarding choice of standard variety, writing system(s), spelling and terminology.

Once such concerns are overcome, increasing the visibility of a language is a key method of increasing domains of use. As Kallen (2009) points out, the choice of language in what is known as the 'linguistic landscape' is not neutral, but reflects language policy, history, community language use and identity. It needs to be part of a wider, integrated policy: as noted by Gunther (1989), 'It seems that bilingual road-signs and some schooling in the minority language are seen as substitutes for parental or other early-childhood language learning.'

Mass media have considerable influence on language prestige and choice, often bringing the dominant language into the home for the

first time. The provision of minority-language radio, television, websites, CD-ROMs and print media can be seen as redressing a historical wrong as well as providing motivation for increased use. They also provide exposure for learners, especially if a language is highly endangered. Radio services run by indigenous peoples contribute to political, cultural, educational and linguistic awareness: since the 1960s, a radio station which broadcasts in Shuar, a Jivaroan language in Ecuador, has played an important role in enabling speakers to undertake effective community action by facilitating communication over long distances and promoting cultural traditions (Gnerre 2008).

Language in the media is almost always seen in terms of domain expansion and prestige (Cotter 1999; Moseley *et al.*, 2001), while the value of providing a service for what is often a dwindling, ageing base of native speakers can be overlooked. This affects the type of programming provided, as elderly speakers are likely to have tastes which differ considerably from those of younger viewers, which in turn may influence elders' confidence in their language. A note of caution was sounded by Dauenhauer and Dauenhauer (1998), who criticize 'technical fixes' which may be promoted instead of changing personal behaviour and simply speaking a language more.

Addressing structural simplification and linguistic capacity

Change and growth are signs of a healthy language, but the amount and rate of language change accelerate in endangered languages (Dorian 1981); this is often perceived as decay leading to obsolescence. Languages may undergo simplification or regularization, and reduction or replacement of syntactic structures, especially under the influence of contact languages (Denison 1977; Schmidt 1985). This becomes a vicious circle: as Dorian (1977: 24) noted, 'reduced use of a language will lead also to a reduced form of that language'.

Endangered languages are especially likely to lack technological, political and scientific vocabulary (Calvet 1998). Creating neologisms may arouse controversy: how will terms be decided, and by whom? Should they be influenced by the majority language, or emphasize differences? Elders and activists may not appreciate interference in such areas by officialdom or academia.

Without young speakers, an endangered language will die within a generation. Adolescence is a crucial age for motivation and language consolidation; encouraging young people to develop their own identification with, and version(s) of, an endangered language might motivate them to use it more and to create a 'language of their own'. Holton (2009) argues that 'repurposing language', including conscious creolization, may be a way to maintain vibrant new forms of endangered languages. However, some elderly speakers who consider themselves

custodians of a language may be reluctant to accept what they see as 'bastardization'.

Goals and achievements of language policies for linguistic diversity

Ideologies and assumptions

Although re-establishing their endangered language as a primary language of socialization, especially in the family, is a stated aim of most revitalization movements, it is the most difficult to re-establish once interrupted. Romaine (2006) argues that in the future, linguistic diversity may be sustained by different patterns of reproduction to those seen in the past, and that in an increasingly globalized world it is not possible to return to traditional models of monolingual use of minority languages, or a diglossic relationship where choice of language was dictated by function or domain. In the case of Irish, Ó hIfearnáin (2009) argues that 'reversing language shift' is not a solution favoured by families who perceive a need for access to a language of wider communication such as English. Covert ideological mismatches between the national institutions and the Gaeltacht populations in relation to bilingual practices have undermined the overt intentions of both groups to develop Irish. The ideologies, practices and 'family language policies' of speakers should therefore be at the heart of language management.

It is important for policy-makers and communities to discuss the goals and achievability of language support and revitalization, e.g.:

- An official policy (compared to practice)?
- Increased awareness and public support?
- In what proportion of the community?
- Increased self-confidence of speakers and/or empowerment of communities?
- Literacy in the language?
- An increase in domains in which the language is used?
- Recovering some traditional uses, purposes or practices?
- If for use in daily life, at what level of fluency?
- Use in education?
- Use in the home?
- Over how prolonged a period?

There is a need to examine how language revitalization programmes relate to wider societal shifts and movements, especially since cultural renewal and community empowerment seem to underlie many movements for language revitalization.

The majority of case studies of revitalization such as Grenoble and Whaley (2006) and UNESCO (2008) are large-scale, top-down projects. As

noted above, getting minority languages accepted into school curricula may play an important role in countering ideologies of deficit; however, this strategy also reflects dominant 'modernist' ideologies of language development and planning. It is no wonder, therefore, that critics characterize 'movements to save minority languages [as] often structured, willy-nilly, around the same received notions of language that have led to their oppression … language activists find themselves imposing standards, elevating literate forms and uses, and negatively sanctioning variability in order to demonstrate the reality, validity, and integrity of their languages' (Schieffelin *et al.* 1998:17).

Small-scale, local, grass-roots actions in support of endangered languages, often 'unplanned language planning' in the terms of Baldauf (1994), are rarely reported in the academic literature, and their extent and frequency is unknown. They may well have different ideological bases and aims to this characterization. However, because it reflects the best-known cases, the 'modernist' model may be followed by policymakers although grass-roots initiatives may be both cheaper and more effective.

Effective policy formation therefore requires raising awareness of commonly held perceptions, expectations and assumptions which may stand in the way of achievable goals. As Fishman (1991) noted:

> Stressing the wrong priorities is a very costly example of lacking a proper social theory or model of what RLS entails… The sociolinguistic landscape is littered with the relatively lifeless remains of societally marginalized and exhausted RLS movements that have engaged in struggles on the wrong front (or on all … fronts simultaneously), without real awareness of what they were doing or of the problems that faced them. (Fishman 1991: 113)

Economic costs and benefits

It is noticeable that the vast majority of language revitalization efforts reported in academic literature takes place in prosperous countries with good communication and education infrastructure (albeit geared to the dominant community's needs). This suggests that a certain level of resourcing is advantageous. Grenoble and Whaley (1998: 52) describe economics as 'the single strongest force influencing the fate of endangered languages'. Linguistic diversity is associated with poverty (Harbert *et al.* 2009), so that speaking a minority language is viewed as a disadvantage. Poverty contributes to language shift, e.g. through urbanization (see Chapter 20 in this volume).

Although an increasing number of funding initiatives support a 'scientific' approach to 'saving' endangered languages, i.e. for documentation,

description and archiving, there are very few funds available for revitalization projects, especially at grass-roots level.[16] Unless a minority group has access to private funds, it will be necessary to attract funding from governments and dominant-language communities. This may lead to simplification of the causes of language endangerment, e.g. focusing on parallels with the loss of biodiversity rather than on oppression and hegemony, which may be less palatable to dominant groups (Dobrin *et al.* 2009; Cameron 2007).

Promoting multilingualism, e.g. providing services in several languages, is frequently seen as a logistical and financial problem rather than as an opportunity; yet Grin (2004) notes that the assumed economic savings of a monolingual policy are by no means proven. Whether linguistic diversity is seen as either an asset or a disadvantage can depend on the point of departure of the researcher. For example, Clingingsmith (2007) relates the growth of manufacturing employment in mid-twentieth-century India to reduced rates of bilingualism. Conversely, Gorter *et al.* (n.d.: 2) 'focus on language as a cultural asset and [aim] to establish the relationship between linguistic diversity and human welfare from an economic perspective', stressing that 'Diversity is inextricably linked to inequality and the creation of hierarchies. However, the vocabularies of those focusing on the inequality issue differ greatly from those considering the question of diversity.'[17]

When resources are scarce, basic needs such as clean water or health care may be prioritized over language rights. Development can contribute to language shift: roads, bridges, schools bring more contact with languages of wider communication (Spolsky 2008). Some linguists suggest that small languages can only really be preserved by a form of linguistic apartheid. In response to this, an 'ecological' or 'holistic' approach to language planning has been proposed (e.g. Mühlhäusler 2000; Romaine 2002; 2009). An ecological view of language planning looks at linguistic ecologies in relation to all the factors in the local community and wider world which have an effect on linguistic and cultural diversity. In this viewpoint, human communities need to be sustainable in order to maintain their languages, and in order to support a language it is necessary to support the group that speaks it. An increasing amount of rhetoric promotes the view that a holistic or ecological approach aims to empower minority groups and promote sustainable development (e.g. Bodomo 1996; Bastardas-Boada 2005; Romaine 2008; Harbert *et al.* 2009; Trudell 2009), but it is unclear to what extent the recommendations are based on evidence, as empirical studies are lacking.[18]

Saving languages or speakers?

Labov (2008) argues that reducing the segregation of speakers of African American Vernacular English (AAVE) will in time reduce the distinctiveness of the dialect, but that 'the loss of a dialect is a lesser evil than

the current condition of an endangered people' (2008: 235). It is often assumed that shifting language will bring economic benefits, but linguistic intolerance can mask other discrimination, especially racism. Languages become minorized because speaker communities are marginalized; language minorization is thus a symptom of social and political inequalities (Williams 1992; Blommaert 2001; Sealey and Carter 2004; Romaine 2009). Both Labov and Baugh (2000) are involved in programmes to improve literacy rates among disadvantaged young people; these programmes take an additive approach, raising awareness of distinctive features of AAVE compared to standard English, in contrast to 'deficit' approaches (e.g. McClendon 2004).[19] The latter are predicated on a monolingual ideology, rather than promoting self-confidence in speakers' own ethnic and linguistic identity as a base on which to acquire other language varieties (cf. Cummins 1979; 1991; 2000). If children are educated through a familiar or heritage language they are more likely to be self-confident individuals who can contribute to wider society than if they are told that their own language and culture are inferior.

Although by no means all revitalization policies are successful in attaining the ultimate goal of regaining widespread use for an endangered language, focusing resources and attention on disadvantaged areas can have both economic and social benefits, as noted by Dorian (1987): e.g. minority-language speakers gain respect and employment in areas such as teaching and translation. Multilingualism can benefit society as a whole through increased cognitive skills. If languages are valued, the groups that use them are also valued: minority language communities are then viewed as a source of expertise (Ruíz 1984). If a regional language is promoted, local economies and cultures are also promoted. Encouraging people to learn the languages of their neighbours can encourage inter-communal interaction and respect for other points of view, defusing inter-ethnic tensions.

Evaluation of success

Evaluation of language policies tends to be carried out at regional or national level rather than identifying transferable factors which can be used as guidance in other contexts. Elements of language policy such as spelling reform or educational initiatives tend to be evaluated in isolation, rather than as elements of a holistic policy (cf. May and Hill 2008). There is still relatively little evaluation of language revitalization projects in particular, and no overall agreement as to what constitutes 'success'. For example, if the aim is to raise the self-esteem of a marginalized community, Thieberger (2002) argues that a few phrases used in rituals and greetings may be adequate: what Henry and Bankston (1999) term 'symbolic ethnicity'.

'Top-down' language policies most frequently omit 'prestige planning', i.e. attitudes and ideologies. Grass-roots revitalization movements tend to be characterized by enthusiasm rather than by planning and evaluation. As noted by Romaine (2006) and Kroskrity (2009), there is still relatively little 'prior ideological clarification' (Fishman 1991), i.e. that language activists and/or policy-makers have agreed basic foundations such as the relationship between language and culture, what exactly they are trying to preserve, and why it is desirable. Endangered language communities may also not be aware of language endangerment or revitalization measures tried elsewhere, or of choices available.

To sum up the arguments covered in this chapter, successful policies to support linguistic diversity need:

- 'Prior ideological clarification'
- Feasible, attainable goals
- Understanding of local contexts and linguistic ecologies
- To take into account sociolinguistic, economic, cultural and political factors, including gender issues
- Support at all levels (addressing attitudes and ideologies)
- A 'bottom-up' approach which empowers local communities
- Practical measures to support speakers' use of endangered languages.

Around the world, attitudes towards endangered languages are changing, at all levels from local to international. A degree of support for indigenous languages is now accepted policy in the European Union and in Canada, the USA, South Africa and New Zealand, and by international bodies such as the Council of Europe and UNESCO. The challenge remains to implement effective policies to sustain linguistic diversity.

7

Language is just a tool! On the instrumentalist approach to language

David Robichaud and Helder De Schutter

Introduction

> Language is a system of signs, the main purpose of which is communication. It must be borne in mind that language is an *instrument*, a means, never an end (Tauli 1968: 9)

Something either has value in itself, or is valued instrumentally, as a means to attain something else. When applied to language, one view accords languages intrinsic value: languages are valued in and of themselves, not as means for attaining any other end. The instrumentalist approach, in contrast, considers language as a tool, an instrument that is valuable to the extent that it helps us achieve goals and objectives that we value. The more useful a language is, the more value it will have for its speakers. Some languages are more suited to reach certain goals, and the relative value of those goals will have an impact on the relative value of the languages. For example, if our goal is to 'convey messages to an as large as possible audience', there will be massive inequalities in value between small languages like Frisian, Piraha or Rhaeto-Romansch on the one hand, and mega-languages like English or Chinese on the other hand. But if the objective is to 'have access to writings from our ancestors' or to 'protect our cultural heritage', then these languages might be able to compete.

In this chapter we clarify what understanding languages as instruments implies. In the first section, we distinguish different meanings of the term 'instrumentalism' when applied to language, and argue for one particular use of the term. In the second section, we analyse and describe in detail the most common instrumentalist arguments given to justify certain language policies. In the final section, we elucidate linguistic instrumentalism in practice, by analysing how instrumentalism shapes two important debates pertaining to language policy: the multilingual political community case, and the standard language case.

Instrumentalism?

Instrumentalism is often contrasted with or opposed to primordialism (Phillipson 1999: 103), linguistic determinism (Wee 2003) or constitutivism (De Schutter 2007). All these views share the idea that languages are tied to 'primary feelings' that are necessary to the identity of the members of a community. We feel a strong attachment to our language because it (co)constitutes our very identity. Recognizing someone's identity implies that we recognize the language she speaks on the sole basis that it is linked to her identity in a fundamental way. The primary attachment we have towards our language is sometimes celebrated and considered the ultimate source of value for languages. It is, however, also sometimes considered too particularistic and too parochial, posing problems from a liberal point of view. It is also difficult, from a 'primordialist' point of view, to explain the numerous voluntary language shifts occurring in many linguistic contexts.

These 'primordialist' authors consider the primordial attachment to be the major argument for the preservation, protection or promotion of a language. They sometimes contrast identity as a noble and morally legitimate foundation for language rights, with instrumental considerations (for example efficiency) as a questionable and contingent foundation for those rights. Conversely, those who take the attachment to language to be instrumental tend to question this primordial attachment to languages or the possibility to see in it a necessary and sufficient foundation of language rights or language policies. (For many authors, these justifications do not operate at the same level and the instrumental value of a language should never modify our appreciation of its value as part of identity.)

An important difficulty with this way of framing the debate is that it makes it hard to see the instrumental value of language *for the promotion of* identity. By stating that languages are tied to identity and by opposing this view to instrumentalism, we fail to consider languages as tools to constitute, protect, affirm and promote one's identity.

To overcome this conceptual confusion, we work here with a distinction between instrumental value and intrinsic value of languages (rather than one between an instrumental and a primordial value of language). According to our preferred distinction, either something has intrinsic value, or value for its own sake, or it has instrumental (*extrinsic*) value, or value as a mean to reach goals or to obtain goods we value (either instrumentally or for their own sake). It is of course possible to state that one good that language serves, *in casu* identity, outweighs all other goods. But then we are having a debate within the instrumentalist camp: we are having a discussion between those who uphold the instrumental value of identity (above all other values), and those who support other instrumental values.

Instrumentalism is often used in discussion of second language acquisition. We intuitively accept the idea that people will only invest in language learning if they expect to get benefits. Instrumentalism becomes more controversial when it argues that people have instrumental interests in their native language and that costs and benefits analysis can be used to evaluate their use of their native tongue. Here additional values come into play: for native speakers languages are typically not just instruments of communication but also instruments of freedom and dignity, as we explain below. Such less typical instrumental interests will of course make the calculus of costs and benefits more difficult: for one thing it indicates the impossibility of a uniform metric of costs and benefits. Still, these values are instrumental values: they are not focused on the value languages have as such, but on the value they have for their speakers.

An overview of instrumentalist arguments

Going through the literature on language policy, one finds many arguments referring to the instrumental value of languages. Those arguments first identify an important task performed by languages in the promotion of individual well-being and then propose to grant language protections, to impose linguistic harmonization/rationalization or to adopt a *laissez-faire* attitude as a means of promoting, fostering or optimizing that task. In the present section, we give an overview of the major arguments that conceive of language as an instrument giving access to other valuable goods.

Effective communication

The most basic instrumental interest is the communicative value of language. Language is an instrument of communication: a means of communicating thoughts with others. This has direct repercussions for language policy justifications in each of the three dimensions of Cooper's classic analysis of language planning (Cooper 1989): language acquisition, corpus planning (the 'planning' of language itself, of language as an object) and status planning (the status accorded to different languages within a society).

Language acquisition

Learning a second language gives access to plenty of new work-related opportunities as well as to entertainment-related ones. Acquiring a new language gives the speaker access to new places to travel, new literature, new cultures and cultural products. According to the instrumental motivations, people will learn a language out of necessity, to promote

their interest (whatever it might be), and/or to obtain benefits made (more easily) available by the knowledge of this language. By considering the net benefits a language offers to the speakers, we can make sense of many language-related behavioural phenomena like second-language learning, native language maintenance and language shift.[1]

Language modifications and corpus planning

Considering that languages are mere instruments has implications for corpus planning. 'Since language is an instrument, it follows that a language can be evaluated, altered, corrected, regulated and improved' (Tauli 1968: 9). We can evaluate languages and modify them to make them better at fulfilling a task, or better at fulfilling more tasks. Since communication is the most important of those tasks, we can evaluate them following different principles and improve them in order to maximize the benefits we get from them following those principles (see e.g. Tauli 1968). We might think of different criteria depending on the status and roles of the language. But there is no doubt that any given language's corpus can be improved so that it is better suited to attain the goals we use it to reach. It can even happen involuntarily, following a principle of 'the least effort', as is evidenced by the fact that frequent words are shorter than less frequent ones (Zipf 1935).

Language functions and status planning

The communicative value of languages is largely determined by the number of speakers it gives access to and by the status or social positions of these speakers. The more valuable are the interactions it makes possible, the more valued is the language as a communication tool. The types of interactions a language makes possible is largely determined by the status of a language, i.e. the functions it serves for individuals and communities and the number of speakers using it to serve the same functions.

This role played by languages is so obvious and central to social life that we often forget about it when we justify language policies (Weinstock 2003). We are sometimes so eager to protect language diversity due, for example, to the tight link between identity and language that we fail to appreciate the benefits offered by the 'threatening' vehicular languages. Those benefits may not always suffice in compensating for the loss of a vernacular language, but they can explain why some individuals may choose to abandon a minority language and why some theorists are proposing forms of language homogenization.

The communication options offered by a language can obviously be *quantified*. We can, following de Swaan (2001), consider the *Q-value* or communicative value of languages. We must take into consideration the *prevalence* of a language, the number of speakers we get direct access to, and its *centrality* in the linguistic constellation, the number of multilingual individuals competent in that language providing indirect

communication opportunities. This Q-value quantifies the communication options available through a language.

But those linguistic options must also be *qualified*. Some communication options will be more significant and valuable than others. Suppose Mandarin Chinese and English give access to the same number of individuals. The positions occupied by many English speakers, and the fact that many Chinese have English as a second language, favours English as a valuable language to master. A smaller language might also be considered more valuable than any other if it offers communication opportunities to one's community, to particular individuals (a potential lover, the CEO of a coveted firm, etc.) or to specialists of a scientific field (Russian for chemists or German for Kant scholars for example). It is only under a *ceteris paribus* condition that a language's relative communicative value derives from the number of speakers. And of course, all things are not equal when it comes to choosing people to communicate with.

An interesting thing with languages is how they gain in value each and every time someone learns to speak them or uses them in any way. Languages are what economists call 'super-public goods' or 'hypercollective goods'. When someone learns or uses a language, for communication or as a medium of production, its value increases instead of decreasing (unlike private goods) or remaining the same (unlike collective goods). Anyone mastering a language gets unlimited access to everything encoded in this language and to everyone mastering it, but also becomes for them a new potential interlocutor. Also, as opposed to the provision of every other collective goods, *free riding* is not a problem since everyone must invest in the good in order to benefit from it. This brings us to another way languages can benefit their speakers.

If languages produce benefits as inclusive communication tools, they can also produce benefits as *exclusive* communication tools. Different codes, accents, expressions are often used by teams, teenage groups, gangs, armies, etc. in order to mark their difference from another group, or to exchange information that should remain among members of the group. A radical example of such benefits offered by language as exclusion instrument is the use of Navajo code by the US Marine Corps in the Pacific theatre during the Second World War. One might then use a language in order to communicate efficiently to in-group members without fear of being understood by out-group people. Since a language cannot be learned quickly and at low costs, it is an efficient way of excluding certain individuals from circles of communications.

Communication is a good that language makes possible and it is subject to coordination problems. If we want to share information, it doesn't matter what language is used; the only important thing is that everyone uses the same language. If our only interest in language was communicative efficiency, the most efficient solution to our linguistic coordination problem would be to settle for a language as inclusive as possible and for

states to subsidize its learning (Church and King 1993). This would keep the costs of language learning to a minimum and maximize the possibilities of communication. However, almost everyone will agree that communication is not (and should not be) the only good promoted by language.

Economic success

Instrumentalism is often associated only with economic rationality and market-related arguments. There's more to instrumentalism than material and market-related considerations but we will still begin by sketching some of the most interesting economic propositions where language plays a central role in the provision of desired goods (for an overview: Grin 1994; Grin and Vaillancourt 1997). Most of the arguments presented here have to do with mobility of people or goods.

Language diversity and transaction costs

The ideal of efficiency is to produce what we value using as few resources as possible. Every time we manage to produce the same amount of goods using fewer resources, we get efficiency improvements. There are costs that are intrinsically necessary for the production of certain goods, the production costs, but others can, in theory, be eliminated or reduced. Transaction costs are among those avoidable costs. Language barriers represent obstacles to trade, just like geographical distance imposes costs on exchange of material goods (Barro 1996: 31–2; Grin 2006). By making communication impossible or more costly, language diversity can prevent mutually beneficial deals to be closed. We can then invest in reducing transaction costs. Just like we would invest in means of transportation or delocalization to reduce transportation costs, we will have to invest in interpreters, translators, and other ways to enable communication when confronted by linguistic plurality. Note that those extra costs do not improve the communication and the potential transactions; they only make it possible. A language shared by all actors involved in the production and exchange of goods represents a major improvement in efficiency due to the transaction costs that are reduced or eliminated.

Language as ethnic attribute and human capital

From an individual perspective, the language one speaks has an important impact on one's expected income. We can explain this fact by considering language knowledge to be an ethnic attribute (Raynauld, Marion and Béland 1969), a human capital (Breton 1978; Pendakur and Pendakur 1998), or both (Vaillancourt 1980). Those three interpretations help explain the impact of language as a determinant of social and geographical mobility. As an ethnic attribute, language is like race and can influence an individual's income due to discrimination against those

attributes. This area of research is interesting when it comes to accents and dialects, when pronunciation is different but mutual understanding is not compromised. But it is not discriminatory to refuse to hire someone on the basis that she cannot communicate efficiently in a working environment. Communication is a competence of central importance in almost any area of economic life, and especially in a service economy. Languages can then be seen as human capital since communication is an important aspect of many jobs.

In terms of human capital, we can explain why, all else being equal, people speaking different languages in a given context, or people speaking more than one language, are differently rewarded on the market (Breton 1998; Chiswick and Miller 2002; Shapiro and Stelcner 1997; Shields and Wheatley Price 2002). It is like any other knowledge, skill or competence and depends on supply and demand: knowledge of a given language will be rewarded more or less generously. Seeing language as human capital can explain the different incomes of individuals, but also the motivation of individuals to invest in learning foreign languages instead of other types of human capital. This evaluation of costs and benefits can explain second language acquisition but Grin (1992) shows it also plays a role in the decision of maintaining a native language or to accept a language shift.

Language knowledge as human capital doesn't just influence the income one can expect from some given available working opportunities. It also influences the quantity of opportunities offered to individuals due to the relative *mobility* offered by languages. The bigger a linguistic community is, the more numerous the job opportunities available to its speakers will be, *ceteris paribus*, due to the geographical mobility it offers. Economist Ugo Pagano (2004) also made clear that a common language spoken by a large number of people makes it more rational and less risky for workers to invest in highly specialized competences since the probabilities of benefiting from their investment are higher. The process of creative destruction is less of a threat and it is more rational for workers to invest in competences that will be out of date sooner or later. Knowledge of a language is, at the individual level, a human capital that opens up job opportunities and reduces our chances of having to rely on the social security system. If we take this reality to the collective level, shared language is a way of boosting productivity and innovation and an insurance mechanism against unemployment that can help decrease demands made to the welfare state.

Free trade and linguistic protectionism

Of course, a shared language widens the options of those who speak it, but it also represents an obstacle for those who don't. Speakers from a small linguistic community can get benefits in learning a dominant

language, getting access for example to jobs, products and vacation destinations offered by the dominant community. It becomes possible to import 'desirable' products that they would not otherwise have access to, and to 'export' products but also unemployed people unable to find work in their small community. However, it also becomes easier for members of the dominant community to settle in their small community and for some 'undesirable' products to come their way, creating increased competition for jobs, lands and market shares. It also becomes easier for highly skilled workers from the small community to leave in hope of better salaries across the border.

So learning a foreign language opens up new possibilities for the learner but also for the speakers whose language was learned. As a result, some communities may benefit from heavy migration flows, but some communities may benefit more from a *de facto* thicker linguistic frontier limiting some forms of mobility. Linguistic criteria can be used to restrain importation of certain goods or access to work. For example, the *Loi Toubon* makes it mandatory to label, package and advertise goods in French on the French territory.[2] It is a way of ensuring that consumers get information on the products, but it is also an indirect way of promoting French products. The law has been criticized for violating the free movement of goods principle of the European Union.[3] Indeed, those additional costs of translating and changing packages can be seen as 'linguistic taxes' and as obstacles to free trade.

This 'linguistic tariff' can also apply to people. Hillel Steiner (2003) points out that fewer people will be competing to buy pieces of land in small linguistic communities due to the costs of either learning the language or living without understanding the community's language. Therefore minority speakers will tend to benefit from cheaper prices on goods such as pieces of land. So communities can benefit from linguistic diversity and language barriers if their economy is not strong enough to compete on a liberalized market and if they cannot face global or regional competition. But some products pose an even more serious problem: cultural goods.

Writers, actors, songwriters, scientists and many others are creators who encode their creations in a particular language. They therefore face a dilemma: either they produce cultural goods in a vernacular language, and face little competition but benefit from a small market; or they try to produce goods in a vehicular language, facing harsher competition but on a huge market. The decisions they make will in turn have an impact on the value of the chosen language due to the hypercollective nature of language as a good. The more cultural goods a language gives access to, the more people will be motivated to learn or preserve the language in order to ensure access to those goods. This will in turn send a signal to other creators that there is a demand for cultural products in the particular language.

Exportable cultural goods benefit from being 'encoded' in a dominant vehicular language. But non-exportable goods such as man-shaped landscape, carnival, and many other aspects of a particular culture, are also more in demand when they are accessible through a dominant language since more tourists will hear about them and will find it easier to visit and to enjoy the culture in its many manifestations.

We can then conclude this subsection by noticing that if linguistic diversity imposes transaction costs globally and limits the mobility of products and people, it can also produce benefits for many individuals and communities, often minorities, that would suffer from a more liberalized and open market. The inclusion/exclusion logic of languages can motivate individuals to invest in a vehicular language to have access to the world or to invest in a vernacular language and have privileged access to a smaller community. At the collective level, depending on how the different goods are valued and contribute to the people's interest, we might justify homogenization policies or language protectionism.

Autonomy and liberty

The autonomy argument says that a linguistic context, as part of a larger cultural context, is a necessary precondition for autonomy (or freedom). Autonomy, so the argument goes, requires the disposition of a set of options to choose from. Languages and cultures are option packages: they provide us with the options available to us, and with the means to evaluate options. Languages and cultures are therefore 'contexts of choice'. Versions of this argument have been put forward by, among others, Charles Taylor (1993b: 46–7), Will Kymlicka (1995: 83), Joseph Raz (1995) and Chaim Gans (2003).

This idea is based on the view that we perceive the world in the linguistic terms passed on to us by our family and people. As a result we need access to our language (and our language tradition) to be full human beings, to receive a (first) position. Language groups share similar ways of perceiving the world and of perceiving the value of objects within that world. What Avishai Margalit and Joseph Raz say of 'encompassing groups' (which often share a language) is also true of language groups on the autonomy argument: they share 'implicit knowledge of how to do what, of tacit conventions regarding what is part of this or that enterprise and what is not, what is appropriate and what is not, what is valuable and what is not' (Margalit and Raz 1995: 86).[4] As a result, without knowledge of the language spoken in the society in which one lives, or when speaking a language which is too small to sustain a full context of choice, one does not have equal access to a set of choices.

This argument has a substantial philosophical pedigree. The idea on which it relies is that language provides people with the means to fully

realize themselves. Why is this so? Because to fully realize themselves, people need a horizon of meaning, and this horizon is always (partly) linguistic. The language we speak in a sense discloses the world to us in a situated way. This idea has been cogently expressed by Gadamer, who has argued that to have a world we need to have a language (1975: 411). For Gadamer, and for people in the romantic tradition like Johann Gottlieb Herder and today Charles Taylor alike, language structures the horizon within which our experience of the world unfolds (1975: 145). Therefore, 'language is the real mark of our finitude', the limits of our language are the limits of our horizon (1976: 64). It is only through expressing a thought in our specific language that we are able to come to an understanding of something expressed in another language. Likewise, Herder has argued that if we lose the disposition to think in the language in which we are brought up, we lose ourselves, and also the world (Herder 1877: Vol. XVIII: 36).

Why should this be politically secured? The step from having an interest in my language as the context of my freedom and self-realization to state recognition of this language is predicated on the idea that states must take an interest in providing individuals with the necessary preconditions of realizing themselves as full human beings and of leading a good life.

If the liberal value of individual autonomy or individual freedom, the most crucial value of liberalism, has important linguistic presuppositions, then liberalism should be concerned about language. This point has been made convincingly by Kymlicka. Kymlicka has shown that the realization of the liberal value of autonomy requires the disposition of a cultural context of choice (Kymlicka 1989: 162–81; 2001a: 227–9). There is no need, then, to see liberals and communitarians as divided over language recognition, since liberalism itself can equally affirm the importance of language rights.

Nationalism, unity and solidarity

For many, the mere sharing of institutions isn't enough to hold a community together and to foster a sense of belonging or a feeling of solidarity. Studies show that heterogeneous communities face great challenges and experience many problems, among which we find less efficient economic institutions (Easterly and Levine 1997), less efficient governments (La Porta *et al*. 1999), less cooperation and less collective goods provision (Alesina, Baqir and Easterly 1999), less solidarity and less trust (Alesina and La Ferrara 2002). A popular diagnosis of those problematic situations is that the citizens of these communities lack a national identity, a sense of unity (D. Miller 1995). While the necessity of language for the development of a national identity and the mobilization of feelings of solidarity is not uncontested (Hobsbawm 1990), many scholars do agree either

that language is necessary to build a sense of unity (Deutsch 1966: 97–8; Gellner 1983; Anderson 1983; Huntington 2004) or that language is part of a list of elements that can make this unity possible (Greenfeld 1992). Indeed, most states tried to eradicate linguistic diversity in order to build a unified nation. In response, some sub-state communities tried to show that they spoke a different language in order to present themselves as distinct nations (the most interesting case being maybe the history of Serbo-Croatian, now Serbian, Croatian and Bosnian). We also see some national identities built around 'iconic languages' that are not widely spoken but retain their status as central to national identity. The creation of a common language can serve as a way of promoting a common national identity, which can then serve as an efficient way of solving collective action problems.

Going one step further, many scholars see in a shared identity a condition for the provision of some collective goods, including a welfare state (D. Miller 1995; Gilens 1999). A strong sense of solidarity couldn't exist in a population devoid of a rather strong national identity. If we agree that language is a tool promoting the creation of a national identity, and if this identity is a condition to solidarity, we can conclude that a shared language could be used to promote solidarity in a population and contribute to reducing negative feelings towards generous social policies and welfare states.

We will now turn to another important political good that a national identity can help provide: Democracy. We treat it separately since not every author considers a national identity to be necessary for democracy to be viable.

Democracy

In a well known and often quoted passage, John Stuart Mill originated a *democratic* instrumental argument:

> Free institutions are next to impossible in a country made up of different nationalities. Among a people without fellow-feeling, *especially if they read and speak different languages*, the united public opinion, necessary to the working of representative government, cannot exist. The influences which form opinions and decide political acts are different in the different sections of the country. (Mill 1998; our italics)

Two interpretations have been given to this idea (see Van Parijs 2000). The first, often associated with Schmitt (1988), is that a community needs a common identity and culture to live under free institutions. The presence of an '*ethnos*' or of a shared identity not grounded on ethnic belonging can be promoted by a shared language because of its link to culture and identity. The second interpretation considers that a shared

identity is sufficient but not necessary for the existence of a 'united public opinion'. Habermas (1995) and others rather propose that a *demos* is the necessary element. This time, it is the communicative dimension of language that is valuable as a way of promoting a lively debate and efficient communication in a community. In both deliberative and representative democracy, a 'community of communication' or a *demos* is necessary, although maybe not sufficient.

A shared language is, obviously, an important condition of deliberative democracy, since the deliberation will have to be held in a given language. But it is also a condition for representative democracy, because the citizens should ideally ground their positions on the same information and have access to roughly the same public debates and interventions. From an instrumental point of view, a common public language is valuable by making democracy more efficient at forming collective preferences through a lively debate available to every citizen. It is also valuable from an individual perspective since mastering the language in which the debate is held is necessary in order to understand the variables of the debate, to shape an opinion, to express and defend ideas or criticize those of others.

An important aspect on which authors disagree is the proficiency every citizen must reach in the common language. For some, the *demos* must share a common mother tongue, not in order to share an identity but to allow every citizen to communicate and exchange efficiently on difficult social and political topics (Kymlicka 2001). For others, a shared lingua franca is a condition for the existence of a *demos*, even though it is not necessarily the native language of a majority of citizens (Van Parijs 2011). There are huge consequences following from the right answer to this question, but we can still generally recognize that a shared language contributes to democracy.

Dignity

We can also consider that using someone's language or affirming its status is a way of promoting that person or that group's dignity. A language is a source of collective and personal self-respect and dignity. People's self-respect and dignity are often affected by the state of their language and by the esteem their language gets from others. Self-respect and dignity, in turn, are themselves very important goods. They provide us with a basis of self-confidence and a belief in our own worth, which are essential to live a full life.

Many political philosophers have emphasized the importance of self-respect and dignity to theories of justice. Rawls, for example, has attached great value to the importance of self-respect, which he sees as 'perhaps the most important primary good' (1999: 386). He also argues

that 'self-respect depends upon and is encouraged by certain public features of basic social institutions', and he argues that this social base of self-respect is among the most essential primary goods (1996: 319). Talking about the social bases of self-respect, he says: 'these bases are those aspects of basic institutions normally essential if citizens are to have a lively sense of their own worth as persons and to be able to develop and exercise their moral powers and to advance their aims and ends with self-confidence' (1996: 308–9).

On the linguistic dignity view, one such 'aspect of basic institutions' essential to believing in one's own worth and to having self-confidence is equal recognition of one's language.[5] *Equal* recognition is crucial here. This has to do with the fact that self-respect is affected by the esteem in which one's own language is held (see Margalit and Raz 1995: 87). If there are several language groups in a given state, all of which are recognized but unequally so, with some languages which receive less recognition than others, then this is felt as a direct assault on the dignity of the lesser-recognized languages. If a language is not equally respected, then the dignity and self-respect of its members are negatively affected. As Van Parijs, who grounds his theory of linguistic justice in the importance of 'equal dignity', puts it: '[i]n a situation in which people's collective identities are closely linked to their native language, there arises a major threat to the recognition of an equal status to all as soon as the native language of some is given what is unquestionably a superior function' (Van Parijs 2011: 3–4).

So people's self-respect and dignity are often affected by the esteem their language gets from others or from the state. We might then justify different language policies by appealing to the importance of language recognition for individuals' dignity.

Cultural diversity and human knowledge

Many authors promote linguistic diversity by referring to the human knowledge they contain (Crystal 2000; Dalby 2003; Wurm 2001). First, a community's history is reflected in the community's language. Through their vocabulary, accents and pronunciations, languages carry similarities with other languages with which they have been in contact (Crystal 2000; Hagège 2002). The nature of these contacts (commercial, religious, scientific, etc.) will determine the words that are borrowed and the pronunciation of others (Mithun 2004: 130–7). As George Steiner (1998) rightly said: 'Everything forgets. But not a language.' Second, languages contain scientific knowledge in biology, geology, zoology, climatology, etc. which may or may not be known outside the linguistic community (Crystal 2000; Lehmann 2006; Nettle and Romaine 2002). Third, languages are in themselves objects of study. They represent, for linguists and psycholinguists, access to the human mind and could contribute to revealing universal

human cognitive structures, what languages are, how they appeared and evolved, etc. (Crystal 2000: 54–66; Lehmann 2006).

But there is a premise missing to accept the argument that protecting language diversity is a way of protecting human knowledge. We say that indigenous people have different names for the ice on a lake that can or cannot support a man's weight, that African tribes use specific herbs and concoctions to treat diverse diseases and injuries, and so on. Most certainly these communities have valuable and sometimes irreplaceable knowledge, and we should protect it. But what threatens such knowledge is not language shift, where people might forget the name of these types of ice and plants (or use other names for them). If a particular piece of knowledge is useful for individuals, it will survive language shifts and language death. What is threatening this precious knowledge is cultural homogenization, which triggers a process whereby a specific piece of knowledge ceases to be useful for an individual or a community, and not language death *per se*.[6]

So linguistic diversity does not straightforwardly contribute to the preservation of human knowledge contained in minority languages. However, it contributes to maintain cultural diversity, which *is* the safeguard of this knowledge. Languages are natural barriers playing an important role in slowing down migration and reducing exchanges of goods and commodities. It is more difficult for members of the community to leave, and for the members or products of other communities to enter. Linguistic diversity reduces the cultural pressure on minorities' ways of life and indirectly protects the diversity of knowledge useful in these different communities.

Equality

Our last subsection considers language as an instrument of political and socioeconomic equality (Lagerspetz 1998; Kymlicka 2001). To be equal, citizens must have equal duties and equal rights. Formally, we can grant every citizen the same rights and impose on them the same duties in an abstract manner. But in a more 'positive' or pragmatic way, a citizen will have to master the language of the community to learn its duties and to meet the most fundamental requirement of citizenship, namely its democratic duty. Each citizen must be able to contribute to the design and configuration of the institutional setting which will help coordinate the community's collective life and this necessitates a good understanding of the debates and issues at stake, and a capacity to participate in those debates.

As for the equal rights guaranteed to citizens, we have to agree that the mere fact of being a 'right bearer' isn't enough to protect us against violation of our autonomy and liberty. In order to benefit fully from those rights, we must grasp their exact content and limits, understand when

they apply and how they are enforced, and sometimes act in order to have them respected. The capacity to express oneself clearly in the language of the court or of any other societal institution is not a necessity for the distribution of the rights, but it becomes an important condition for the capacity of any citizen to have those rights respected and enforced.

A shared language can also contribute to the socioeconomic equality in a given community or even between communities. Since, as we saw, different languages are associated with different incomes, language standardization or homogenization can be an efficient way of limiting some forms of socioeconomic inequalities. It has been achieved in many nation-states, and could be achieved with the adoption of a lingua franca in international communities. Instead of adopting a *distribution* strategy, involving redistribution from the 'linguistically advantaged' to the 'disadvantaged', we rather use a *dissemination* strategy where we spread as much and as fast as possible the human capital associated with a privileged economic position: proficiency in the same language (Van Parijs 2007; 2011). This is a good way of levelling the field in terms of opportunities offered to speakers with different accents and languages. The faster the dominant language spreads, the faster we get rid of the economic advantages benefiting speakers of certain dominant languages.

Some debates involving instrumentalism

In this final section, we attempt to elucidate the use of instrumentalist arguments in language policy discourses by discussing two specific language policy cases in more detail: the question of what a just language policy entails in the European Union, and the question of what we call 'intralinguistic justice' – the question of what a just language policy implies with respect to dialectal differences within one and the same language group.

Language and the European Union

When EU citizens were asked what the EU means for them personally, what came first (among 46 per cent of the respondents) was the freedom to travel, work and study anywhere in Europe.[7] The other positive answers included peace (27 per cent), a stronger say in the world (23 per cent), democracy (21 per cent), cultural diversity (20 per cent), and economic prosperity (17 per cent). Among the negative answers, we find the loss of cultural identity (11 per cent). These answers represent goals that can be promoted by or problems that can be caused by membership of the EU. Also, when asked about their identity, Europeans identified first with their nation (94 per cent), then with their region (91 per cent) and finally with Europe (74 per cent). Only 25 per cent of the respondents did

not feel European at all. Add to the picture the fact that 72 per cent of the population thought that all languages should be treated equally and that 63 per cent would like to see more support offered to minority languages and we get an idea of the difficulty language policy makers are facing. EU language policy must enable European mobility, democracy and economic prosperity, but without hurting cultural and linguistic diversity and people's cultural identity. We will briefly present how the EU can pursue those complex goals simultaneously by analysing what language theorists call the *linguistic territoriality principle* and a single lingua franca all across Europe: English.

Protecting national languages

Before we try to create a language of wider communication in Europe, we must make sure that people's native tongues are sufficiently protected. This is relevant as the more we approach the lingua franca ideal, the more certain instrumental interests like communication and economic success are served, but the more we seem to be distancing ourselves from fulfilling other instrumental values like dignity and autonomy that are linked to vernacular languages. Also, while we try to promote communication, democracy, solidarity, identity and economic efficiency through language policies at the European level, we must not disrupt those same valued goods already present at the national level.

Perhaps the most ambitious proposition of language policy aiming at protecting languages is the linguistic territoriality principle (for further discussion, see Chapter 9 in this volume). The linguistic territoriality principle states that languages should be territorially accommodated, such that on each particular territorial unit only one language group is officially recognized. These territorial units do not have to be states; on the contrary, in multilingual states like Canada, Spain and Belgium, language rights could be accorded such that every official language group is accorded a sub-state territorial unit on which only its language is officially supported. Official support implies that the language is used in courtrooms, parliaments, state schools, for the provision of public services, etc. On this view, language rights are tied to the soil and not to individuals who must accept to leave their language rights behind when they cross a linguistic frontier.

Territorialist enthusiasts advocate this principle primarily because accommodating only one language within a certain territory seems to be the only language policy capable of protecting vulnerable languages from disappearance on a particular territory. This defence of territoriality is appealed to by Jean Laponce (1987) and by Philippe Van Parijs (2011), who summarizes Laponce's analysis of language contacts as: 'The nicer people are with one another, the nastier languages are with each other.' This linguistic law states that, in cases of contacts between languages, the more powerful language will tend to dominate and assimilate the

other(s). This means that the 'free linguistic market', not corrected by means of a choice-restricting linguistic territoriality, will favour dominant languages and possibly rule out weak and vulnerable languages.

The interests at stake in the defence of official recognition for native tongues are identity interests. More specifically, the dignity interest and the autonomy interests are typically invoked to justify these policies. Van Parijs, for example, bases his defence of the linguistic territoriality on the importance of dignity and status: he argues that equal dignity or status implies that we allow every language to be king on a particular territory. If speakers of important world languages come and settle in that territory, they cannot expect the native speakers to bow their head and address them in public settings in their own language. And Will Kymlicka (2001) grounds the territorial imperative of his liberal nationalism in the importance of autonomy: because national cultures are the cultures that provide us with a context of choice, individuals should be allowed to live within their own cultural context, and political communities should be national-cultural communities (Kymlicka's concept of *societal cultures* refers to territorially situated historic communities with a shared language). We can add to those important interests those related to cultural diversity and knowledge preservation. Since language barriers contribute to maintain cultural diversity, the implementation of the linguistic territoriality principle should protect and promote cultural diversity in Europe.

Promoting a lingua franca for Europe

Europeans are attached to their national languages and identities but they also value the opportunities the European Union offers them. So we must now turn to a second policy proposition: the creation of a lingua franca for Europe as a means of fostering shared communication and efficiency.

The European Commission solves the need for wider communication through conducting much of its internal communication by means of three of its twenty-seven official languages: English, French and German. These 'working languages' reduce communication and translation costs and this strategy inspired theorists who proposed to adopt a similar solution to the problem of social communication, that is, making sure every European is fluent in one or all of those dominant languages. Following Van Parijs (2011), we examine the option to choose only one language as Europe's lingua franca. The particular language proposed is English, already the most widely spoken second language of Europeans.[8]

This idea of having just one EU-wide lingua franca can be understood as a way of reaching goals of effective communication and of economic efficiency. Since the goal of a lingua franca is to enable communication as widely as possible, there are gains in efficiency in settling for only one lingua franca (Van Parijs 2011). Some propositions were made to choose

the most widespread languages in Europe, usually English, French, German (sometimes Spanish) and use all of them as Europe's languages. In a *disjunctive* interpretation, everyone would choose one and learn it as a language to communicate with other Europeans and with EU institutions. In a *conjunctive* interpretation, everyone would learn all of the selected lingua francas in order to get access to Europe's citizens and officials. Both these propositions pose efficiency problems. The disjunctive interpretation does not guarantee that any two EU citizens will be able to communicate if they meet. Since the investment is the same (more or less) in learning any foreign language, it seems reasonable to consider that the option that guarantees a possibility of communication should be preferred. As for the conjunctive interpretation, considering that the learning costs would be three or four times higher than with a single lingua franca, and that the opportunities of communication wouldn't be higher, we must consider that a single tool of pan-European communication is more efficient that a lingua franca pluralism (Van Parijs 2011).

Now, why English? Simply because Europe is already moving towards English as a lingua franca. Indeed, if we look at the big picture, 51 per cent of Europeans already speak English, either as a native or foreign language, and younger generations tend to choose English over any other second language. It is one of the two most spoken foreign languages in every member state of the EU, with the exception of Luxembourg where it is the third most spoken and Ireland and the UK where it is the mother language of the majority. Also, 68 per cent of Europeans perceive English as the most useful language to know and 77 per cent consider that it is the language children should learn (Eurobarometer 243). Seeing English as to them personally useful gives people motivation to learn it, and every time somebody learns it, English becomes even more useful. The costs of learning decrease due to opportunities to practice, and the motivation to learn increases due to new opportunities.

As we argued above, the communicative value of language is the most central instrumental interest in language and selecting English as Europe's lingua franca is the most efficient way to maximize communication potential in Europe. Apart from (and based on the realization of the goal of) communication, having a lingua franca also serves the instrumental goals of economic success, equality between EU citizens, and of the opportunity for a successful European-wide democracy. Furthermore, having a shared language in Europe can also help Europeans in achieving a shared sense of trust and solidarity, and the more ambitious EU policies become, the more important the latter instrumental value will turn out to be. It seems reasonable to believe that choosing one lingua franca won't make it harder to foster a European identity, nor that it is a worst violation of the principle of the equality of all languages. We might even argue that it is closer to equality due to the *de facto* special status of English.

Dialects and intralinguistic issues

The paradigmatic cases for analyses of linguistic diversity are political communities with two or more distinct language groups, such as Canada, Belgium, South Africa or the EU. But there is also another, often neglected form of language policy: the political management of linguistic diversity occurring within one language group. Most languages are internally marked by significant regional, class-based, caste-based and/or ethnic diversity. Yet, when we talk about or learn a language, we usually refer to and learn the 'standard' version of the language. The standard version is habitually granted higher status, it forms the basis for the official grammar, dictionary and spelling, and it is the version used for the codification of law, as well as for the educational system.

Interestingly, this *intralinguistic* issue has not claimed much attention. While the recent rehabilitation of non-standard varieties of languages certainly have to be welcomed from the standpoint of empirical linguistics (Labov 1998 [1969]; Tollefson 2000; Milroy 2001), it may still be the case that normatively, a standard language ideology of some sort is desirable. The normative question is: is there any value to publicly endorsing a standard language, or should we grant (more) political recognition to non-standard varieties? From an instrumental point of view, the question is: what is at stake?

To evaluate this question, the very same instrumental interests are prevalent in this debate compared to the previous one, although some of them may have less force. Consider the following instrumental interests furthered by having a shared standard language:

(i) Communication. Language is an instrument of communication. The communicative benefit of a standard language over non-standard varieties lies in that fact that it enables its speakers to communicate with a much wider group of people. In particular, it allows for communication beyond the boundaries of ethnicity or class of the non-standard linguistic varieties.

(ii) Socio-economic equality. People who speak a linguistic variety different from the standard language required for a certain practice which brings socio-economic benefits, or speak that language only poorly, face socio-economic disadvantages. These are disadvantages in being successful on the job market, in securing and interpreting contracts, in being admitted at universities, in being effective at carrying out tasks, in formal situations, at convincing people when engaged in deliberation and so on. As a result, a standard language is an instrument of equality of opportunity.

(iii) Efficiency and economic success. More can be done more efficiently when a group of people is not divided in terms of language. Communication is more precise, translation costs are avoided and money is gained from having larger linguistic markets which provide for economies of scale. If we are interested in efficiency, then all else being equal

we are interested in having as little linguistic diversity as possible. There is virtually no difference here with the *inter*linguistic debate.
(iv) Equality in the exercise of political rights. People who do not know or speak the language of their political community and institutions well, are not able to fully exercise their political rights. They are less well informed about what is going on in the public sphere and in the political process and they are less able to defend their interests publicly. This argument says that citizens need to understand the language in which the laws are written and stated publicly, and that the ideal of (deliberative) democracy is difficult to realize when citizens do not speak the same standard language.
(v) Nation-building, and political unity. Belonging to a state which is marked by a significant amount of intralinguistic diversity whereby there is no standard lingua franca can weaken the feeling of unity of the population and therefore weaken the state: it makes the democratic process more complicated, it enhances confusion, and it often fosters sub-state nationalism among sufficiently large groups who use their linguistic variety as a marker of sub-state affiliation. Political stability and supporting dialects can be compatible if we make the circles within we strive towards political stability smaller (by devolving power to more local units, or by secession). However, in many cases the dialect will not have a geographically sufficiently large area, or will not be territorially concentrated (in the case of class-based dialects, for instance) to make this possible.

Two further instrumental interests deserve closer attention: dignity and freedom. In the *inter*linguistic debate they are typically the ones that point towards protecting minority or native languages, whereas the previous interests typically favour giving higher status to the majority language. Here as well they generate 'downwards-pointing' justifications – justifications pointing towards the non-standard varieties, although there are complications.
(vi) On the dignity view, language recognition is seen as a source of collective and personal status and dignity. And indeed, dialects very often are perceived as a source of dignity for their speakers. But, interestingly, people appear to be more concerned about the linguistic conditions of dignity when national standard languages rather than particular dialects are at stake. It appears that equality of dignity is more important *interlinguistically* than *intralinguistically*. For example, while many of the Belgian Flemish who are secession-minded are very concerned about the inequality of recognition and respect between Dutch and French in Belgium, they are a lot less concerned about dialectal inequality or about accepting standard Dutch as the official language of Flanders. It is not the case that there is no perceived dignity involved whatsoever when dialects are at stake. On the contrary, people often find their non-standard varieties important and they do derive a sense of pride and dignity from speaking

them. But it is nonetheless striking that lack of dialect rights is generally perceived as less of a threat to dignity than is a lack of language rights. So it appears that dignity can be layered, and that varying degrees of dignity can be felt vis-à-vis different language varieties.[9]

(vii) What about the autonomy view? Does it point to dialects or to standard languages as the entities worth protecting? Two points are worth emphasizing here. The first is that, in a linguistic situation marked by a standard language and different dialects, the linguistic context of choice will very often be partly provided for by the standard language. The standard language is, typically used as the language of the public sphere, in public institutions, the media and in schools. In addition, a political community has certain linguistically structured civic rituals, such as the text of the anthem, the constitution and the presidential oath (see Deumert 2003). It also often has a certain shared linguistic vocabulary consisting of nationally specific 'catch phrases', which are common knowledge. What this means is that we can partly satisfy the autonomy interest through the standard language in a way that is not typically possible interlinguistically.

Secondly, in some cases dialects may be strong and widespread enough to be able to sustain a full context of choice in the dialect alone. In such cases, it might be argued that the autonomy argument could be compatible with lending full political support to the dialect. But at the same time, a 'smart' and slow assimilation project, which does not aim to suddenly transplant a dialect speaker into a standard language context but aims to provide for a gradual transition from one context of choice to another while at every moment guaranteeing the full linguistic context of choice to the individual, *is* also compatible with the autonomy argument.

So while some political recognition can certainly be granted to dialects on the autonomy argument, realizing people's context of choice also implies supporting the standard language. And the autonomy argument is also compatible with slow assimilation through transitionally bilingual means. So it seems then that the choice for the standard or the dialect cannot be based on the context of choice argument alone. That choice is to be informed by any of the other arguments above.

The picture that emerges from this analysis is one in which, all in all, there appear to be fewer arguments for supporting dialects than there are for supporting minority languages in the interlinguistic case. In particular, the forces of the instrumental arguments for politically supporting dialects are less compelling than these may be for minority languages. This is due to the fact that people's autonomy is often also (and for some completely) embedded in a standard language in a way that is not so true in the interlinguistic case, which is marked by more differentiation in terms of context of choice between languages, but especially

to the fact that people have fewer dignity interests in their dialects than they have in their (standard) language.

Conclusion

Instrumental approaches in the language policy field take languages to be valuable as means to valued ends. The most relevant such ends are communication, economic success, unity, democracy, cultural diversity, equality, autonomy and dignity. As we indicated throughout the discussion and illustrated in the final two exemplary cases, the nature of the six first ends typically, but not always, results in upward-pointing language policy conclusions: conclusions that tell us to foster languages that are spoken by an as wide as possible group of people – English in the EU case for example, or standard languages in the intralinguistic case. The latter two arguments – autonomy and dignity – typically, but not always, result in downwards-pointing conclusions, telling us to foster those linguistic repertoires that are spoken by smaller groups (where the autonomy and dignity are derived from) – native tongues in the interlinguistic debate, and often dialects in the intralinguistic case. Throughout this chapter, we have analysed instrumentalism and its different components. In doing so, we have not attempted to justify instrumentalism or to independently establish the objective value or superiority of any of the instrumental interests discussed (every interest being more or less important relative to others for a given community at a given time). The instrumental positions we have sketched may serve as a route map for those interested in language policy, or even as a toolbox for prospective language policy practitioners.

The discussion had a *normative* focus. But the instrumental concerns referred to can also be part of a descriptive theory, which sets out to explain the linguistic behaviour of individuals and groups. Used in the latter sense, behaviours in the field of language and language policy are interpreted as the conscious or unconscious application of a cost benefit analysis: languages and language policies will then be learned and opted for if the expected benefits outweigh the costs.

Part II

Language policy at the macrolevel

8

Language policy at the supranational level

Fernand de Varennes

Introduction

In 2008, non-governmental groups were dismayed when told the World Bank had an 'English-only' policy in respect to transactions and documentation between itself and the government of Yemen, and that as a consequence the World Bank would not provide or translate documents that they requested in Arabic – it would be for these groups themselves to arrange for the expensive translation of the conditions placed on a $51 million grant to their government.

The incident is in many ways symptomatic of a divide between the languages of supranational organizations and those used and understood by the populations affected by these organizations. As this chapter will point out, contrary to popular expectations in a period where transparency and democracy are presented as universal values, it is not always the case that supranational organizations necessarily communicate in a language understood by those being affected or served by them. Though of course different supranational organizations have quite different policy approaches in relation to languages, most of them tend to be to a degree internally multilingual in their operations. The extent to which they respond outside of their institutional framework in other languages is however a much more complex, and at times convoluted, matter.

Language policies internationally in the twentieth century – myths and realities

One characteristic of the twentieth century has been the rise and exponential growth in the number of supranational organizations. As international law has expanded into every area of human activity, and as the distances between states have shrunk through faster and easier travel

and communication, more and more supranational organizations as a consequence have also been established in recent decades. While there were at the beginning of the twentieth century a relatively small number of these that could be described as global – such as the International Labour Organization (ILO), the League of Nations, and the International Telecommunication Union – the situation today is one of massive expansion when one counts international and regional organizations, from the everlasting ILO to relative newcomers such as the United Nations (UN), Council of Europe, Universal Postal Union, African Union, World Trade Organization (WTO), Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), etc.

The earliest supranational organizations existing at the start of the twentieth century made only passing reference to the internationally prominent languages of the time, first French and gradually English, as the languages officially recognized or to be used. It would be difficult to identify any clear language policies for these early supranational organizations: in the case of the Universal Postal Union or the International Telecommunication Union, for example, there was at most a reference to other languages to be used in the area of communications, but for the most part it was for the state parties themselves to determine the languages to be used for the application of the treaties on their own territories. This reflected the prevailing view at the time which considered states as the main beneficiaries and holders of rights under international law, so that broadly speaking the policies in relation to language use within these organizations tended to reflect the power-relations between states at the global level. In other words, for supranational organizations of the beginning of the twentieth century, it was usually French or English, as prominent languages among the international political and diplomatic elites, which dominated the field almost exclusively. Thus before the First World War French was usually the only designated language for organizations created in early treaties.

The end of the First World War saw the consolidation of the ascendency of English, though at the beginning in tandem with French. It can be said that the interwar period retained broadly speaking this kind of linguistic *Realpolitik*: supranational organizations were little if at all concerned with any kind of linguistic rights for individuals. As supranational organizations dealt exclusively with the rules of conduct between states, their focus of attention remained the power balance being played out between states at the global level. This tended to be reflected – with some exceptions – in the organizations acknowledging the most powerful and influential languages among themselves as the languages used by international organizations. In practice, over a few decades and clearly by the end of the Second World War, this came to see English displacing French as the *langue de la diplomatie*.

The end of the Second World War however brought into play a quite distinct – and in some ways contradictory – phenomenon within supranational organizations that would have far-reaching consequences on the development of modern language policies for these organizations: the acceptance of individuals as recipients of rights or entitlements and a rather new focus on international concern. Partially because of the acceptance of human rights by the international community and the gradual emergence of democratic principles as fundamental values within the international system, a number of more recent organizations created from the ashes of the Second World War tended to recognize as official languages the languages of all the states parties to the new organization, with the Council of Europe and European Union as prime examples, thus going beyond French or English in a nod to the at least symbolic importance of some form of recognition for these languages – and for the millions of individuals who used them in the countries involved. For some governments, particularly those with demographically significant populations, greater democracy at home also meant they now had a mandate overseas to represent the interests of their electorate in the setting up of supranational organizations. These were to be no longer the exclusive domain of privileged cigar-smoking, cognac-swilling French- or English-speaking diplomats. Supranational organizations now had a new public watching over them by whom they were to be called upon to interact increasingly: the world's populations and increasingly the organized segments of civil society that were to play important roles at the international: non-governmental organizations (NGOs).

Pressure on many national governments for better communication, more democratic behaviour and greater transparency and accountability from the general public directly concerned by the activities of supranational organizations, gradually made many supranational organizations adopt policies of multilingualism that were to complement the institutional preferences for only a small number of prominent international languages. By the 1980s and 1990s in particular, the necessity for and benefits of multilingual policies were largely taken for granted, and became more or less entrenched, at least officially if not always in practice, in the operations of many supranational organizations.

This is a deceptively simple description, and bound to be inaccurate in some cases given the large number and wide range of supranational organizations that currently exist, but it also hides one concurrent trend that has started to become ever more visible: the growing monolingualism of many organizations in favour of English, contrary to what their stated policies or even treaties would seem to require – as the incident with Yemenite groups suggest.

The next sections will attempt to detail the at times Byzantine language policies of a wide range (though hardly exhaustive) of international and regional supranational organizations, and will examine how language

policies are currently formulated, their underlying principles, and their actual manifestation on the ground.

Contemporary language policies in supranational organizations

> All […] are equal… but some are more equal than others. (Orwell 1945)

Broadly speaking, there are three quite distinct – and not always consistent – levels of language policies that can be at play with supranational organizations. Excluding the issue of the language of the treaty texts themselves which establish supranational organizations, these organizations usually identify or use a number of 'privileged' languages:

1 Languages to be used for deliberations of the supranational organization itself.
2 Languages of work within the internal structures of the supranational organization. Beyond the formal, more political deliberative activities of the representatives of state parties, each organization may internally privilege quite different, and usually a more restrictive number, of languages which the employees of the organization are to use on a daily basis.
3 Languages to be used in communications, exchanges with the organizations' clientele or public.

Though the terminology can vary greatly between organizations, the first level could, for ease of purpose rather than absolute precision, be referred to as an organization's official language(s), the other as its working language(s), and the last level as involving the language(s) of external communication or service of the organization.

The third level of language policies has been a much more recent development, as explained earlier, and is now often dressed up as part of a more inclusive or democratic supranational organization and its embracing of multilingualism. In speech, though not always in action, most organizations now acknowledge multilingualism as a consequence of their international and democratic or transparent characters, and their governing bodies regularly emphasize the need to reflect this. This has certainly been the case in more recent years with many of the international organizations affiliated with the United Nations since the adoption of a UN General Assembly resolution in 1995 recalling that 'the universality of the United Nations and its corollary, multilingualism, entail for each State Member of the Organization, irrespective of the official language in which it expresses itself, the right and the duty to make itself understood and to understand others'. It noted 'the importance of

providing access for all Governments and all sectors of civil society to the Organization's documentation, archives and data banks in all the official languages', emphasizing therefore the importance that the UN not only use multilingualism internally or in its contacts with member states. It therefore calls for the Secretary-General 'to ensure the strict implementation of the resolutions establishing language arrangements for both the official languages and the working languages of the Secretariat'.[1] Similar sentiments have been expressed most vividly in the multilingual policies of the Council of Europe and the European Union, and resonate with a number of more recent pronouncements of some – though not all – African and Inter-American supranational organizations.

The legal framework within global organizations

While during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries the legal framework for most supranational organizations operating globally tended to refer to either French or English or a very limited number of official or working languages, this was subsequently modified in practice to include reaching out to the public in still more languages for the previously stated reasons, even when the legal instruments creating these organizations did not specifically spell out such an obligation.

Yet even this description doesn't hold true for all global organizations, especially those not falling within the sway of the UN system, as in the case of the World Bank. In addition, even within the same organization there are various language policies applicable to distinct entities within, so that rather than having a 'one-size fits all' overall language policy, what many organizations end up having is more of a patchwork approach.

Perhaps due to its origins as an organization representing states rather than 'people', the fundamental legal framework of the UN, the 1945 Charter of the United Nations does not specify any official languages since it was merely enacted in the 'Big Five' (Chinese, French, Russian, English and Spanish), with Article 111 of the treaty indicating that all five texts are equally authentic.

It was left to the UN General Assembly at its first session in 1946 to broadly set out what would be the main building blocks for decades to come for its language policy, with the General Assembly adopting rules applicable to all the organs of the United Nations – except for the International Court of Justice – by which the five became official languages and English and French working languages.[2] This was rolled back somewhat the following year with so-called permanent rules making this only applicable to the General Assembly rather than all UN entities.[3] From these the number of official and working languages kept on increasing, partially due to the acknowledged political or demographic weight of particular languages or states involved. Thus by 1948, given

the substantial number of states which had Spanish as their official language, it was inevitable that the UN General Assembly would quickly recognize it as a working language in addition to English and French, which it did in 1948.[4] It would take twenty more years until 1968 before Russian made it as a working language of the General Assembly,[5] and a further five years before the first non-European languages would join in, with Chinese adopted as one of the General Assembly's working languages[6] and Arabic both an official and working language.[7] The status of Arabic was however not immediately one of equal among peers, since Arabic was not identified as an official and working language of all General Assembly committees and subcommittees, only the main ones. This limitation was eventually set aside by a 1980 General Assembly resolution, though the full use of Arabic would only be complete by 1 January 1982. It should be noted that two of the most powerful entities within the UN – the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council – did not fall directly under the authority of the General Assembly as they were both created under the UN Charter, and were therefore not considered to be fully bound by these resolutions. The General Assembly requested instead that the Security Council include Arabic among its official and working languages and that the Economic and Social Council include Arabic as an official language by 1 January 1983.[8]

In summary, as far as the main sections of the UN are concerned, the Security Council and the General Assembly have six official and working languages (Arabic, Chinese, English, French, Russian and Spanish), the Economic and Social Council has six official languages (Arabic, Chinese, English, French, Russian and Spanish) and three working languages (English, French, and Spanish), while the UN Secretariat, the International Court of Justice, and the International Criminal Court all have only two working languages (English and French). Today, UN-affiliated supranational organizations such as the World Health Organization,[9] UNESCO,[10] the International Court of Justice and others retain these six official languages, though the number of working languages can vary substantially.

Outside of the UN system, global (as opposed to regional) supranational organizations tend to be less predisposed towards a multiplicity of official or working languages, ranging from a 'high' of three official languages (English, French and Spanish) for the International Labour Organization (ILO), the International Telecommunication Union, and the World Trade Organization (WTO), to two (English and French) for the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) and UNESCO, or only one (English) at the World Bank (WB) and the International Monetary Fund (IMF). The Universal Postal Union (UPU) remains the odd one out, having French as its only official language under its nineteenth-century treaty, though it has since then largely replaced French with only one working language, English.

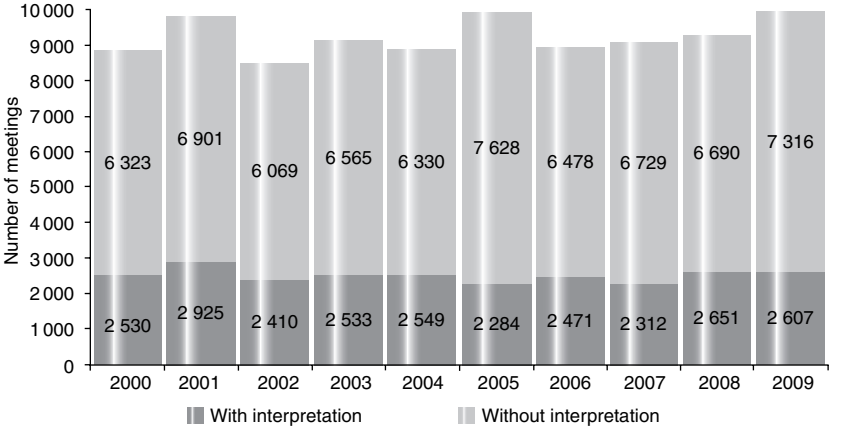


Figure 8.1 Meetings held at or serviced by UNOG 2000–2009

Much of the above description must however be treated with caution: even if languages within an organization are designated as official or working, it does not follow that this automatically leads to their degree of use or stature being 'equal' to the others of the same rank. On the contrary, many of these organizations, regardless of the stated official or working languages, often have practices which at times are at variance with the supposed position of the language(s) involved. In addition, the exact significance of a working or official language in practical terms is not universally consistent between and even within international organizations, as the next section will highlight. As the example of the UPU also indicates, there may be a *de facto* working language – usually English at the global level – in supranational organizations even if this is not formally provided for.

Practice within global organizations

In theory, statements made in one of the UN's official languages at formal meetings should be interpreted simultaneously into the other official languages, particularly when it comes to the main deliberative activities involving governmental bodies and intergovernmental meetings. This is usually provided for in the rules of procedure of the organization involved, such as in the case of the International Monetary Fund where Rule C-13 of the Rules and Regulations of 25 September 1946 and amended on 1 April 1978 provides for English as the Fund's only working language, with translation into the institution's 'standard' languages (Arabic, Chinese, French, German, Portuguese, Russian, and Spanish), as well as translation into 'non-standard' languages in special circumstances.

In practice, this does not necessarily occur, as shown in Figure 8.1 in relation to the United Nations' Office in Geneva (UNOG).

Anecdotal information suggests this may be true for all international organizations with more than one official language: while constituting an official language should in theory equate with an entitlement to have such a language used in important meetings and to have interpretation available, as well as to have at least the most significant documents of the organization available in this language, it does not absolutely guarantee perfect parity with other languages sharing the same status:

> … many meetings attended by representatives of Member States continue to be held without interpretation or without documents available in all prescribed languages. The resulting situation may contribute to marginalize some linguistic groups, particularly from developing countries, to the extent that it does not allow them to contribute on an equal basis to the outcomes of these meetings.[11]

Periodically, this comes up before all of the governing bodies of supranational organizations as a lack of parity or equality of languages, or of imbalance in the use of the working or official languages. In practice, the secretariats involved in the implementation of the official/working language(s) rules of these same organizations are caught between the requests to comply strictly to these rules and practical difficulties in doing so, such as lack of available interpreters, resources or advance warning, the costs involved, etc.

Despite calls to redress this imbalance and strong commitments to do so within the UN system in 1995,[12] Figure 8.1 shows that the trend for the first decade of the twenty-first century has not been reversed. It shows that the majority of meetings at the UN's Geneva Office continue to be held without translation, and even that this trend may be slightly increasing. What it doesn't show is that most of these meetings are held in English only, in conflict with the organization's own rules. At times however, and depending on the location or subject-matter, meetings may be held without translation in other languages, as can be seen in Table 8.1 showing statistics in the case of UNESCO:

As for the practice in relation to working language(s), the situation appears initially more straightforward, though there remain difficulties and differences between and within organizations. Even in organizations with formally only one working language, such as English at the WTO, employees at particular locations or within headquarters may often use other languages between themselves. In the case of organizations with more than one working language, practice more often than not favours one language over all others: French tends to be more prevalent within UNESCO's headquarters office in Paris than English, and Spanish more than Portuguese at MERCOSUR in Montevideo. In most head offices and higher echelons of global supranational organizations, English tends to dominate among working languages, at times even contrary to the organization's established regulations.[13] Finally, many organizations

Table 8.1 *UNESCO: Breakdown by language of meetings held in 1998–2000* (Total number of meetings and percentages per language)

Year	Arabic	Chinese	English	French	Russian	Spanish
1998 (219)	29 (13.24%)	17 (7.76%)	216 (98.63%)	207 (94.52%)	24 (10.96%)	69 (31.51%)
1999 (235)	16 (6.81%)	12 (5.11%)	231 (98.30%)	215 (91.49%)	18 (7.66%)	63 (26.81%)
2000 (203)	24 (11.82%)	6 (2.96%)	200 (98.52%)	190 (93.6%)	13 (6.4%)	52 (25.62%)

Source: Implementation of Multilingualism in the United Nations System, Joint Inspection Unit (2003) JIU/REP/2002/11, p. 11.

have different working languages for different levels of activities: field missions may for example require knowledge of Russian or Spanish as working languages in specific parts of the world.

The legal framework within regional organizations (African Union, OAS, EU, Council of Europe, OSCE, ASEAN)

> [The] EU has consciously opted for the preservation of linguistic diversity, as a matter of political necessity, in the firm belief that European integration can only be achieved if this diversity is respected. Thus, because language is a fundamental component of national identity, it is possible to also view the EU's respect for each Member State's language and the resulting principle of linguistic equality as aspects of its respect for national identity, as manifestations of its clear commitment to the general principle of (political) equality between the citizens of the EU and as unambiguous indications of its concern to avoid linguistic discrimination, capable of undermining the European integration project. (Athanassiou 2006: 8)

The legal framework for regional intergovernmental organizations is perhaps ironically generally more linguistically diverse than with global organizations. Whereas there is a tendency at the global level to adopt a limited number of 'international' languages as official or working languages, the same is less true for regional organizations. At one extreme, the European Union (EU)[14] has some twenty-three state languages recognized as official and working languages of the EU (with some slight variations for Irish and Maltese),[15] though the African Union (AU) appears to go one step further since Arabic, English, French, Portuguese and Kiswahili and 'all African languages' are designated as official. For most of these African languages however, this is mainly symbolic and does

not automatically involve any concrete entitlement.[16] The specific listing of Arabic, English, French, Portuguese and Kiswahili would suggest these languages are already 'predestined' as working languages, though in practice this is far from being the case, particularly for Kiswahili.

At the other end of the scale, other regional organizations may have only one official and/or working language, such as the Arab League (Arabic), the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (English) and the Economic and Monetary Community of Central Africa (French). The prevailing pattern for regional organizations is however to have the region's dominant languages in economic and political terms as official or working languages: this is the case with French and English as official languages at the Council of Europe, French, English and Portuguese with the Economic Community of West African States, Portuguese and Spanish at MERCOSUR, English, French, Portuguese and Spanish at the Organization of American States (OAS), or Danish, Norwegian and Swedish with the Nordic Council.

As with global supranational organizations, the significance of a language having an official or working status varies within the regional organization involved, and usually does not equate with absolute legal parity or equality of use. For regional organizations in Latin America, Africa and Asia, it is almost invariably a former colonial language – English, French, Portuguese or Spanish – which dominates the internal operations of the organization. The rare situations where an 'indigenous' language is formally recognized as official, as with Kiswahili at the African Union, is seldom accompanied by any significant usage.[17]

One notable difference between global and regional organizations is that the trend towards the increasing adoption of English-only as either a quasi-exclusive working language, noticeable with global supranational organizations, is less obvious for most regional organizations. With the possible exception of European institutions where pressure in recent years to reduce the costs and management difficulties involved with having twenty-three official languages at the European Union has led to sporadic suggestions to increasingly privilege English or to reduce the number of working languages,[18] many of the regional organizations remain more focused on the language(s) that reflect the actual populations they encompass, or at least the language(s) privileged by the elites within these regions. Thus, Arabic remains the main language within the Arab League, as do Scandinavian languages within the Nordic Council.

The European Union is a good illustration of how internally a regional organization's language policies can vary greatly. All twenty-three official languages of the EU are also working languages, but this essentially signifies that legislation, the Official Journal of the European Union and other documents of general application are to be available in all of these languages. For internal purposes however, EU institutions have their own distinct language arrangements, with the European Commission

conducting its internal affairs in three working (in this case known as 'procedural') languages: English, French and German. The exact meaning therefore of the legal status of official/working languages can only be determined by reference to the relevant treaty provisions and regulations. For the EU, the main framework is set out in Articles 21, 314 and 290 of the Treaty of the European Commission and Regulation No 1/58,[19] as amended. Other EU institutions can – and do – have quite different legal regimes in place. Article 29 of the Rules of Procedures of the European Court of Justice on the one hand, provides that the 'language of a case' is any of the official languages of the EU as decided by the applicant, with some exceptions. On the other hand the ECJ internally deliberates only in French as this is the language of its internal administration. Somewhat similarly, the European Central Bank regulations, guidelines and instructions must be in the Official Journal in all the official languages of the EU, but in the case of a number of functions only or almost exclusively English is used, such as within the Eurosystem/ESCB and in interaction with the global financial markets such as in the management of foreign reserve assets.

This again suggests that, as in the case of global organizations, the legislative framework of regional organizations dealing with their official or working languages are often either incomplete or somewhat misleading in terms of the actual practice on the ground – at least when it comes to the internal workings of many institutions within these organizations.

Practice within regional organizations

The practice for regional organizations with only one official or working language appears initially quite straightforward: whether it involves Arabic, English, French, Portuguese or Spanish, the working language is used between various departments of the organization, the organization's internal documentation, between employees and between the organization and the various national governments which makes it up.

While formally some regional organizations may have only one language, it does not necessarily follow that this is to be the exclusive language used for other purposes. Indeed, almost all organizations have practices in place where other languages will be used, such as to communicate with and inform members of the greater public or in contacts with other governments of international organizations. For practical and at times even political reasons, other languages will be used as *de facto* languages of work. For example, while English is the only official language for ASEAN, many of the staff at the ASEAN Secretariat in Jakarta interact regularly between themselves in Bahasa Indonesia and respond to various enquiries in that language and Bahasa Melayu.[20]

For the *Organization internationale de la francophonie* (or simply Francophonie) and the League of Arab States (also known as the Arab League), somewhat similar situations prevail, partially because of the

more or less prominent linguistically or culturally focused nature of both organizations. The actual practice on the ground is nevertheless not always as rigid as this may initially suggest. Given the diversity of the populations involved, some components of the Arab League such as the Arab League Educational, Cultural and Scientific Organization (ALECSO) do also in practice use French and English in some of its activities, though neither language has any legal status.[21]

There is at the same time a tendency with regional organizations with more than one official or working language – with some rare exceptions – to privilege one language over others. One exception is MERCOSUR (the *Mercado del Sur*, Southern Common Market), where the official languages are Portuguese and Spanish (with a proposal to add Guaraní currently under consideration) and both these languages would seem to be in a relationship of formal parity. In practice, Spanish tends to be used more often than Portuguese in the day-to-day operations of the organization given that most member states have Spanish as their official language, and this is particularly true of MERCOSUR's offices outside of Brazil, such as in Montevideo. However, what is noteworthy is that while English can at times be used for some official activities and even prevail over Spanish or Portuguese in dealings with non-MERCOSUR states,[22] there is no movement towards – nor any obvious support for – displacing internally either of these languages in favour of English, contrary to what seems to be occurring at the global level (Hamel 2003).

Most regional organizations nevertheless tend to use primarily one language in their internal operations – or a limited number – regardless of the stated number of official or working languages. This is particularly prominent in the case of regional organizations in Europe and Africa. While the treaty establishing the African Union describes Arabic, English, French, Portuguese, Swahili and all African languages 'if possible' as its working languages,[23] the practice on the ground shows a significantly different story. While most of the documentation may be available in English, there is a notable decrease in the availability of the same documentation in French, Portuguese or Arabic, and almost nothing in African languages and in the use of these languages within the organizations. Delays in translation are often noted as a problem, and quite often press releases and other official documentation may for all intents and purposes be available only in English or French. The main language of work and the indispensable language of employment at the AU's headquarters in Addis Ababa remains English, and there is but a very limited use of any African language in the general operations of the AU.

Across the Mediterranean, despite the official importance of multilingualism at the European Union and with some important qualifications, the practice in relation to the languages of work within its institutions – as opposed to contacts with the general population – tells a somewhat

similar story. For example, while English, French and German are the three working languages of the European Commission, figures show the dramatic rise of English as the increasingly dominant working language, displacing in the process all others to quasi-symbolic position: whereas in 1997, 45.4 per cent of Commission documents were written in English, this percentage increased to 55 per cent in 2000, 62 per cent in 2004 and to 72 per cent by 2006. The decline in the use of French as the language in which official Commission documentation is initially written is no less than staggering: from 40.4 per cent in 1997, down to 33 per cent in 2000, 26 per cent in 2004, and finally 14 per cent in 2006. German's fall, less dramatic, is still quite significant during the same period: from 5.1 per cent, to 3.1 per cent, and finally 2.8 per cent.

Anecdotal evidence also shows that to a large degree, regardless of a language's legal status as a working language of EU institutions, especially after the 1 May 2004 enlargement of the European Union which saw the arrival of ten new members (the Czech Republic, Cyprus, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Poland, Slovakia and Slovenia), the practice internally is that English has become the only common language of work for many if not most officials and has therefore supplanted all other languages in informal meetings, as well as many formal settings. As the following story highlights, enlargement seems to have had the unexpected result of contributing – and accelerating – a process of linguistic displacement that had already started a few decades ago:

> 'We are henceforth working in twenty languages. Please do not jump into a discussion too quickly; otherwise there will not be enough time for the interpreters to do their job,' stated the session's president – the Frenchman Joseph Daul. After a couple of minutes, the plan had fallen apart. The Eurodeputies' questions were not directly translated from one language to another – a task that would have required 380 combinations (Finnish–Portuguese, Italian–Czech, Polish–Slovenian, etc.). Instead, people communicated via a central language, which was generally English or French. And in the course of the translations, the deputies lost the gist of highly technical subjects: agricultural and marine policies. In any case, the communications were too fast for Ms. Kalniete, and several speakers had to be asked to repeat slowly their questions. 'I'm not sure that I understood the translation,' said the Lithuanian. She eventually gave up. After having spoken two words in French, she used English.
>
> Amidst this free-for-all, several Eurodeputies also gave up their native tongues, such as the Austrian Hannes Swoboda, in order to communicate directly in English.[24]

Perhaps ironically, despite the highly important symbolic position of multilingualism within the institutions of the EU, the practical outcome in recent years is one of increasing monolingualism and of dominance of

English as an almost exclusive working language internally (Phillipson 2003).

Language approaches of supranational organizations: A matter of rights or simple convenience?

Quite separate from an international organization's language(s) for internal purposes is the issue of the language to be used for information and contacts with members of the greater public. That the two do not involve synonymous policies has in fact been recently acknowledged by the European judiciary when addressing the language preferences of the European Union in the case of *Kik v. OHIM*, where the Advocate General of the European Court of Justice concluded on the need to distinguish legally between the use of languages within the Community's own institutions, and their use by the European Community with the greater public. In that case, only applications submitted in English for employment in a Community institution called Eurojust were being accepted:

> 46. A distinction must be drawn between the rules on the internal functioning of Union institutions and bodies and [cases involving outside parties]. Whilst linguistic diversity is the fundamental rule in the context of outside contacts, that is because it is necessary to respect the linguistic rights of persons having access to Union institutions and bodies. The Treaty and the case-law are based on the understanding that the choice of the language of communication is a matter for the Member State or the person who has a relationship with the institutions. On the other hand, in the context of the internal functioning of Union institutions, the choice of the language to be used for internal communications is the responsibility of those institutions, which are entitled to impose that choice on their employees. It thus follows from Article 6 of Regulation No 1 that '[t]he institutions of the Community may stipulate in their rules of procedure which of the languages are to be used in specific cases.'[25]

This distinction is in fact widely recognized and practised by both regional and global organizations, though to varying degrees depending partially on the organizations' functions and 'clients'. At the same time, there is also a quite different view as to the reasons for such practices: while in the European Union these language policies are intimately linked to individuals having linguistic rights and other entitlements as citizens of the Union, other organizations look at language policies not as issues involving any rights, but rather simply as matters of 'good practice' in terms of communication and outreach to the wider public.

The approaches of global organizations

> An essential factor in harmonious communication among peoples, multilingualism is of very particular importance to the United Nations. By promoting tolerance, it thus ensures effective and increased participation of all in its work, as well as greater effectiveness, better outcomes and more involvement. Multilingualism should be preserved and encouraged by various actions within the United Nations system, in a spirit of partnership and communication.[26]

While today's United Nations may emphasize its multilingual character, this was not always the case for it or other supranational organizations, and as previously shown, such multilingualism tends to be more in relation to 'outside' relations with members of the greater public and not necessarily in terms of internal usage. In addition, it should be noted that there is also an important temporal aspect which should be kept in mind which qualifies somewhat this statement.

Prior to the Second World War, most global supranational organizations in existence, including the United Nations' precursor, the League of Nations, were very much organizations whose membership was limited to member states, and whose functions were by and large limited to serving the needs of these states. Thus, in the first half of the twentieth century, the languages of citizens or the need to address them in their own languages did not appear in any prominence in the actual policies of these organizations: only the need to respond to member states, usually in one of the main languages of international diplomacy, figured at all. It is only after the last worldwide conflict that individuals began to be a matter of concern for international organizations as targets of information and focus, linked in many respects by the movement towards recognizing human rights as part of international law from the 1950s.

For the United Nations, beyond the use of the UN's official or working languages, this has led to efforts to reach out to the world's population with general press releases, basic human rights treaties, information newsletters, etc. in twenty-nine additional languages through sixty-three UN Information Centres around the world, as well as country-specific documentation which will often be available in a particular state's official language.[27] There are finally situations where only a few key documents will be produced in an even larger group of languages, depending on their nature or their targets. The UN Declaration on Human Rights for example is available in more than 350 languages, and the UN Charter is often made available in other languages.

More graphically, there are therefore four tiers of language use for the intention of the general public:

- Tier 1: Generally all public documents and information in the six official languages of the UN (though in practice mainly first in English, then translated)

- Tier 2: 'Regional' languages (29) covered by 63 UN Information Centres
- Tier 3: Country-specific public documents and information
- Tier 4: A handful of core documents (UN Charter; UN Declaration on Human Rights) translated in a multitude of other languages

In the first tier, despite English having largely become the main language of work and communication at the UN central headquarters, and despite most UN documents being initially drafted in that language and thus being the 'first among equals', general public information should still be available upon request in any of the other five UN working languages – though in practice there are sometimes delays and not every document may readily be available all of the time. Along the same lines, these six languages are the only languages used by the United Nations Radio which broadcasts live fifteen-minute daily weekday programmes from its headquarters.[28]

The second tier involves the twenty-nine other languages for which regional information centres can respond readily in the specific language attributed for the centres and which serves as a regional gateway for public information in addition of course to the six languages of the UN. Yet this also is a far from accurate description. Most of these information centres are concentrated in Europe and have little to do with 'regional' concerns, and more to do with lobbying and even financial support from various governments. Thus the choice of providing public information in additional languages may or may not have much to do with their relative demographic weight: only one African language (Kiswahili) is actually covered in Africa, whereas a number of relatively tiny European languages (such as Icelandic which has less than 400,000 speakers) belong to this sphere of greater use of a non-official language for the UN.

In the case of the third tier approach, the actual degree of use of a language will also vary greatly from country to country. As a general rule, the main UN mission in a country will have some staff able to respond orally to information requests and queries. However, since fluency in the local language is not necessarily required for most international postings in UN missions – unless the official language in a country is either one of the UN's official languages or a fairly widely used or prominent language such as Portuguese – more often than not the international staff will not be fluent in the language of the country where they are posted. This can be seen in the case of the UN's Thailand Office in Bangkok which has a website and various publications and information in Thai, much more than are available for Cambodia or Nepal in the respective national language. In this latter type of situation, the degree of actual documentation produced by the UN in another language can vary greatly, dependent as it is on the prominence of a particular language in the country, the

nature of the documents involved and in which language it was drafted, the number of speakers that could be reached and the local demand, the available resources, cost and even the insistence of the national government on the importance of using that country's language.

What should be highlighted however is that where the official language in a country is one of the UN's official languages, especially if it is English or French, the language would tend to be used extensively, regardless of the languages actually understood by the local population in that particular country. Thus in Namibia, the United Nations Information Centre provides most of its documentation in English, as this is the country's only official language, despite the quite small percentage of the population actually fluent in this language.

The UN's approach that has been described as Tier 4 involves specific targeted initiatives or a few core UN documents where additional local languages are used. Thus, in addition to using English, the UN Information Centre in Pretoria has available a handful of translations, mainly of the UN Charter and the UN Declaration of Human Rights, in Afrikaans, IsiZulu, Ndebele, Sepedi, Sesotho, Setswana and Xhosa – and less than South Africa's eleven official languages – though the Millenium Developments Goals are available in these eleven. More common are specific campaigns or initiatives where the need to be understood by local populations leads to other languages being used by United Nations even if they are not the country's official language. In AIDS information campaigns for example, information in Luanda, the most widely spoken language in Uganda, is used as a matter of practicality, though English is the country's official language. Thus the effectiveness of a critical campaign requires an effort to communicate in the language people on the ground most easily understand – not English. This is also shown in other documents such as the United Nations Food Programme's country report on some of its activities in Angola, where use of local languages by this UN institution occurs, despite these languages being in a way not specifically targeted:

> 10. In the area of reproductive health, the most important achievement was the increased availability and accessibility of high-quality reproductive health services in Benguela, Huila and Luanda, the three provinces covered by the programme.[29]

For international organizations with mandates targeting individuals – as opposed to those whose targets are states – similar patterns can be found. Thus, many of the activities of the International Organization for Migration are aimed at migrants themselves – and therefore a number of its programmes, documents and general information tend to be available in Thai (Thailand) or Tagalog (Philippines), etc., following broadly speaking the four tier approaches identified earlier.

Since not all international organizations are 'people-oriented', this impacts on how the issue of language is dealt with. Beyond the legal

status of its official languages, most of the early global supranational organizations at the start of the twentieth century were concerned with issues and disputes between countries, and not private individuals. This remains largely true with more recent organizations such as the International Court of Justice where individuals do not have the standing to present a case and the World Bank which, despite some activities aimed at various segments of society as part of its poverty-reduction goals, has a rather narrow remit to provide certain types of financial assistance and loans to developing countries for capital programmes. On the one hand therefore, the International Court of Justice, operating exclusively from its headquarters in The Hague, only has information provided to the general public in the Court's six official languages. On the other hand, despite only having English as an official language, the World Bank cannot not communicate with the wider public, and indeed the recognition of the importance of interacting with the public as well as the nature of some of its poverty-reduction activities has meant that – for information purposes – it provides different tiers of information and documentation in different languages, especially the 'Big Six' (Arabic, Chinese, English, French, Russian and Spanish).

Thus, in many respects, the World Bank's response in relation to providing information to the general public at different levels is broadly consistent with the four-tier approaches outlined previously, despite only having one official language. However, as the 2008 incident in Yemen highlights, the effects of the 'English-only' official language position can at times seem rather surprising – and unfair. Since the document which was being sought by the individuals concerned in Yemen was an 'official' document between the World Bank and the government of Yemen, and not a 'general public' or information document as such, and since the working language between national governments and the World Bank is English, the request to provide the documents in Arabic was rejected despite Arabic being one of the world's 'Big Six' languages which the World Bank routinely uses on its website and numerous documents of a more general nature.

Since the World Bank has no legal obligation to provide any of its documentation in a language other than English, its responses to the linguistic needs and preferences of various population groups has at times been inconsistent or contradictory. Partially as a result of the international criticism of the Yemenite and other incidents around access to information, including access in a language understood by those involved, the World Bank issued a policy position which has tried to clarify how it will respond to requests from the public for documents in particular languages:

> 35. The Bank recognizes the importance of making certain information available in languages other than its working language – English.

> It has in place a Translation Framework that provides guidance to staff on (a) the core documents, free publications, and web content that *must* be routinely translated into international, national, and/or local languages, as appropriate, and (b) other documents, publications, and web content that *may be* translated – as good practice – into international, national, and/or local languages as, appropriate. The Framework leaves these latter decisions in the hands of the Bank business units that 'own' the documents, and does not prohibit the translation of any public document. While such discretion in the hands of individual business units might be desirable from a resource-management perspective, it could also result in insufficient translation activity. The revised Disclosure Policy is likely to create a significantly higher demand for document translation, so there is a critical need to examine the adequacy of the existing Translation Framework to respond to this demand and ensure more equitable access by all interested parties to the disclosed documents. Management will review whether changes to the existing Translation Framework may be necessary to meet the principal objectives of the revised Disclosure Policy, and will present the outcome of this review to the Executive Directors well in advance of July 1, 2010, at a Technical Briefing. In particular, Management will determine the feasibility and the cost of ensuring, at a minimum, the appropriate translation of all documents subject to simultaneous disclosure (as set out in paragraph 13) at the time of their disclosure.

This new disclosure policy,[30] while acknowledging the need to respond to linguistic diversity in order to ensure more equitable access throughout the world, remains still a timid response. Contrary to what it indicates, there still does not exist an actual obligation to translate from English into any other international, national or local language its core documents, publications or web content, since the World Bank's Translation Framework still leaves the final determination in terms of what to translate to the various institutions that make up the World Bank Group.[31] Indeed, even the translation of the Translation Framework itself is arguably arbitrary, being available on the web in Bosnian and Romanian, but not Hindi which has more than 400 million speakers. Nevertheless, the important points to remember beyond the particular details of its translation policies are the following:

- English is the only official language of work and documentation: other language versions are not official.
- Six other international languages – Arabic, Chinese, French, Portuguese,[32] Russian, and Spanish – have been identified as key for communication with the multinational community.
- Despite offering various documentation and providing services in a variety of languages, this is considered a matter of 'good practice' to

ensure effective access and communication with the public rather than any strict obligation or rights claimable by individuals or states

- In most cases beyond 'core' documents, the actual provision of documents, information or services in languages other than English or core documents is left to the various institutions making up the World Bank and to 'document owners or sponsors [who] would continue to exercise judgment and translate documents in accordance with their business needs and particular audiences.'[33]

Similarly, the Universal Postal Union only has French as an official language as it is one of the few remaining early international organizations which was established at a time when French was the language of diplomacy *par excellence*. Since its activities are mainly state-oriented rather than targeted towards the greater public, its communications and documentation initiatives have not followed the path of increased multilingualism. Indeed, and somewhat inconsistently with the organization's formal position of French as the only official language, English as the working language figures today more prominently in the UPU's external communications, to the point where English is the default language on the organization's own website rather than French.

There is still however beyond these two languages a recognition that to use only English and French would exclude many from access to the information provided by the UPU and that as a result the organization needs to make some further communication efforts in other languages, though not to the same extent as organizations such as the UN or even the World Bank that conduct some of their activities beyond national governments. For this reason, its more important documents are available in the 'Big 7' international languages (Arabic, Chinese, English, French, Russian, Spanish and Portuguese), though the organization's own magazine is in German instead of Portuguese. Beyond these basic measures, the UPU has very little reason to maintain contact with individuals in their own language.

Regional instruments and mechanisms

Regional organizations also tend to function with a higher degree of multilingualism in their activities and communication with the general public than their official or working languages might initially suppose. Usually, the type of language policy will be considerably affected by whether a regional organization mainly directs its activities towards member-states (ASEAN) or instead targets more members of the public (European Union).

Another factor which greatly impacts on the extent various languages are used for purposes of communication is whether a regional organization has a specific cultural or linguistic mission. Thus, organizations

such as the Commonwealth of Nations, the *Organization internationale de la francophonie* (more akin to a global organization) and the Arab League, all of which have objectives emphasizing the promotion of the English, French and Arabic languages respectively, use these languages almost exclusively, even in their external contacts and communication with the general public, except for very basic general information.

As mentioned earlier in relation to the European Union, it – or at least its central institutions – has a clear legal obligation to communicate with citizens in the official language of their choosing.

> 43. It is clear that it is in the context of communications between the institutions and the citizens of the Union that the principle of respect for linguistic diversity deserves the highest level of protection. In such cases, that principle is linked with a fundamental democratic principle of which the Court takes the greatest care to ensure observance. That principle requires in particular that subjects of the law of the Union, be they Member States or European citizens, should have easy access to the legal texts of the Union and to the institutions which produce them. Only such access can offer Union citizens the opportunity to participate effectively and equally in the democratic life of the Union. It follows that, for the purpose of exercising rights of participation attaching to European citizenship, respect for linguistic diversity must not be exposed to technical difficulties which an efficient institution can and must surmount.[34]

The highest level of protection for linguistic diversity, as far as communications with individuals is concerned guarantees two things: EU institutions have an obligation to respond in the official language used by citizens, and most documents aimed at the general public must be made available in all of the EU's official languages. This, as indicated previously, is probably the world's most expansive and inclusive language policy – indeed, far more so than even the United Nations' formal approaches in this regard. It is also noteworthy by the extent it is legally enshrined.

At the same time, there are limitations in the linguistic practices of the EU: its external communication and information efforts are mostly restricted to the use of the Union's twenty-three official languages, and do not cover necessarily the language spoken by its citizens. Catalan, spoken by between nine and ten million people, is not an official language nor for that matter therefore a language under which speakers have the 'linguistic access' which provides to citizens as indicated earlier 'the opportunity to participate effectively and equally in the democratic life of the Union'.[35]

The practice also does not always operate as it should, with delays in the availability of various documents in official languages other than English a frequent complaint (Lenaerts 2001). Additionally, in more recent years, a number of institutions within the EU have occasionally

tried to move away from having to translate documents in twenty-three languages and impose *de facto* only a few languages for interaction with the public, though without legislative authority and in apparent disregard of the applicable treaty provisions. Recent cases have consistently rebuffed such attempts, in view of the strong legal and political commitments to the legal status and rights associated with the Union's twenty-three official languages.[36]

Other regional organizations such as the African Union, ASEAN and MERCOSUR generally tend to favour – more or less exclusively – using an international language for external communication purposes, though this is also at times acknowledged as ineffective since many citizens – perhaps even a majority in the case of regional organizations such as ASEAN – are not fluent in the organizations' official languages. In the case of MERCOSUR, for example and despite the presence of a large number of indigenous and other languages, the clear majority of the population in its member-states share the Spanish and Portuguese languages, generally considered to be two international languages, and thus the organization uses regularly and consistently both these official languages. There is given the population makeup of the countries involved little reason to use English: however, the prominence in the same countries of Guarani has lead to it being adopted as an official language of MERCOSUR, though this still awaits implementation.[37] It is to be noted that there is in any event no significant use of Guarani between MERCOSUR officials and speakers of this indigenous language.

ASEAN's situation is significantly different and at the same time shows the problems linked to the use of an international language. Originally, ASEAN as a regional organization had a more geo-political and economic focus, but has gradually expanded its activities into cultural and even human rights fields, leading to the adoption in 2008 of an ASEAN Charter that in theory moves towards recognizing a more socially oriented entity along the lines of the European Union. However, despite the formal recognition of human rights as an ASEAN matter of concern, none of these developments actually result in the creation of any rights for the citizens of ASEAN – as occurs with the EU – and consequently no attempt to open direct lines of communication between citizens and ASEAN. As a result, the language policy of the organization remains resolutely one of speaking with one voice – English – even if this means that the majority of the population covered by ASEAN are excluded, or at least disadvantaged. In practice however, this obstacle is remedied by individual countries translating ASEAN information and the more relevant documents in their official languages, though this is not always done consistently by all states.[38]

The African Union's practice in relation to the citizens of the member states is somewhat similar to ASEAN, favouring four international languages – Arabic, English, French or Portuguese – that are not the mother

tongue of many Africans. Once again, practice tends to favour English and French, and not all documents are consistently available in Arabic or Portuguese, despite the AU's formal language policy.[39] Indeed, in 2010 the organization's Portuguese language website was still not operational. African citizens thus do not have a right to communicate in their own languages with the institutions of the AU or to receive documents in African languages – despite these being 'official' – and this is also true for Swahili despite that language being specifically referred to in the African Union's Constitution.

Some of the institutions within the AU are even more restrictive linguistically, with information and documents of the African Commission on Human and Peoples Rights available in English and French, at times in Arabic, and even more rarely in Portuguese. Individuals wishing to submit a communication to either the Commission or the African Court of Human and Peoples' Rights must do so in one of the official languages, and despite the wording of the Constitution, this is considered to be only Arabic, English, French or Portuguese, thus excluding Swahili and other African languages. It has also not followed the approach of the European Union, where respect for the principle of linguistic diversity has contributed to the recognition of language rights for European citizens. Despite the AU acknowledging in various forms the importance of linguistic diversity,[40] this has not been reflected in more recent years in a greater use of African languages or in the recognition of an inherent right for individuals to use their own language with institutions of the organization.

Broadly speaking, the practice in the use of languages in communications with the public with the Organization of American States follows similar patterns to what can be observed with the AU in Africa: the four languages used for external communications and public documentation are the four official international languages of the OAS – English, French, Spanish and Portuguese, though English and Spanish figure more prominently[41] – which are at the same time the main official languages of the member states, as well as the languages of most of the inhabitants of the region. This however still excludes or disadvantages the many indigenous groups in the Americas for whom these languages are not the mother tongue, particularly the larger ones such as Guaraní, Quechua, etc. Only in 2005 did the OAS even translate one of its documents, the Inter-American Democratic Charter, in Quechua with the help of the Government of Bolivia. This is not to say that there are not country specific activities and projects in which the OAS is involved with that include the production of material in other, indigenous languages. It does however indicate that as a regional organization, the OAS is not 'geared' to respond to any of these languages in any meaningful way in its contacts with indigenous populations.

Concluding remarks: Multilingualism in the language policies of supranational organizations – really?

Since the nineteenth century the official status of languages used in supranational organizations has evolved in direct relation to the shifting position of the globe's main powers. Before the 1919 Peace Conference and the League of Nations where English and French were first used for interpretation and translation, international conferences at the governmental level were conducted almost exclusively in French, the language of international politics and diplomacy *par excellence*.

The growing influence of English in the last 100 years, tied with the emergence of the United Nations is striking, to the point where no one denies its status as 'the' language of the global community in economic, cultural, scientific and political spheres. As some have pointed out comprehensively (Phillipson 2003), this rise of English has not been benign and has in fact squeezed out the use of other languages in different contexts and resulted in quite real threats to the survival of many languages.

But it has not been a one-way development, particularly since the Second World War with the emergence of the notion of individuals as holders of individual rights at the international scene and being acknowledged as 'stakeholders' and ultimately beneficiaries of services and entitled to information with an increasing number of supranational organizations.

Supranational organizations have thus in recent decades increasingly been making commitments towards multilingualism – at least symbolically – and some go as far as admitting that the diversity of languages worldwide mandates the use of other languages in some situations. As a result, no supranational organization, not even one which has only one official or working language for internal purposes, only uses one language as a language of service or documentation and information activities. The closest to such a scenario would be organizations with a specific cultural or linguistic mission, such as the Francophonie or the Arab League.

But the concrete form and extent these commitments take in both legal and practical terms vary greatly, usually as a function of an organization's targets, functions and goals. As a result, the actual purpose for having in place language policies is not always straightforward or exclusive, and can involve any combination of the following:

- Transparency
- Effectiveness in communication
- Democratic engagement of citizens/stakeholders
- Language rights/non-discrimination.

Thus, even organizations which only have one or two working or official languages, such as the World Bank, ASEAN, etc. acknowledge that

English-only quite often is not sufficient, particularly when it comes to 'external' purposes, and some form of multilingualism must be practised at times:

> Public access to information during decision-making processes also provides an opportunity for experts, civil society, private sector actors and other stakeholders to offer valuable input into the development of World Bank policies and operations. For local populations to participate effectively in decision-making processes, information must be made available in appropriate forms – not everyone has access to the Internet – and languages. The Bank is committed to ensuring that relevant information reaches its intended audiences at the global, national and local levels.[42]

As a convenient oversimplification, the current approaches of supranational organizations in their language policies actually highlight, despite all their official commitments to 'multilingualism', a fault line between those organizations that view access to information and services in other languages as a matter of entitlement or right and even an expression of democratic values, and others for which it is merely a matter of 'convenience' or 'efficacy'. The European Union most closely approaches the former, with the World Bank clearly in the second category.

9

Language policy, territorialism and regional autonomy

Colin H. Williams

An imposed global inheritance

Over 6,000 languages contained within some 200 states inevitably occasion tensions because of the lack of congruence between the state, nation and linguistic community.[1] Language policy is thus always about politics and sometimes about furthering the goals of a language community. This chapter offers an account of some of the chief influences which shape the political context of language policy as it applies to territorially defined language groups.[2] It will focus on Ireland, Finland, Canada, the Basque Country and Catalonia as illustrations of the range of solutions adopted to manage these issues.

An underlying difficulty for governments is the attempt to balance the desire of some linguistic communities who inhabit territorially distinct areas to manage their own public services and educational programmes, with the requirement of the central state to serve all its population in a relatively uniform manner regardless of their ethnic or linguistic identification. When regionally distinct territorial solutions are established by legal conventions then a process of continuous adjustment and negotiation is instituted. When neither official recognition nor 'satisfactory' adjustments are made, demands for regional autonomy tend to increase and this may lead to calls for the outright separation of the differentiated territory.

Federalism is the favoured solution to overcome this lack of congruence between a state's diverse population and political geographical structure, and the most cited examples of complex ethno-territorial balancing acts are India, Nigeria, the Soviet Union/Russia, Indonesia, Republic of South Africa and Canada. Contemporary India offers a fascinating melange of linguistic diversity and regional territorial organisation.[3] Politically India is divided into twenty-eight states and seven Union Territories. The search for a post-colonial Pan-Indian language policy was

compounded by the fact that the designation of official languages soon became a debate influenced by regional considerations, as the non-Hindi states did not support the compromise three language solution which favoured the use and teaching of English, a local language and Hindi (in Hindi areas another Indian or European language would be taught). Hindi and English now serve as the official languages while there are twenty-two official 'scheduled' languages.[4] Having experimented with linguistic exclusivity it seems that more pragmatic adaptations to the role of English and other lingua francas will characterize multilingualism. Despite its many difficulties Schiffman argues that the Indian policy which 'recognises historical multilingualism, linguistic diversity, and reverence for ancient classical languages is more likely to succeed than an imported model of any sort' (Schiffman 2010: 465).

India, like most multilingual case studies, has to deal with an inheritance which is characterized by political conquest, historical injustice, a geostrategic compromise, religious pluralism, a set of powerful if opposing ideologies and a contemporary re-adjustment to a rapidly changing global economic and political world order. It is not surprising therefore that in many instances conflict and dissent are evoked. Consequently language policy is often applied in the most unpromising of circumstances and should be recalled whenever criticism is levied at sympathetic governments.

Recent conceptual developments

The terms language policy and language planning have a long pedigree both in academia and in attempts by government to structure the range of languages within which official communication, government services, statutory education, health care and judicial affairs are conducted.[5] Walsh (2011: 130–4) has drawn attention to the seminal contribution made by Spolsky (2004) who posits a three-dimensional model of language policy comprising *language practices* (the ecology of language), *language beliefs* (or ideology about language(s)) and *language management* (agency). Spolsky's analysis articulates a more realistic and interconnected perspective on language policy and language management as follows: 'The goal of a theory of language policy is to account for the choices made by individual speakers on the basis of rule-governed patterns recognized by the speech community (or communities) of which they are members. Some of these choices are the result of *management*, reflecting conscious and explicit efforts by language managers to control the choices' (Spolsky 2009). Walsh argues that rather than examining high-level organized management alone (i.e. government-led planning), a consideration of both the ecology (the actual use of languages) and the ideology (the things that people really believe about languages) can

enrich our understanding of why people decide on the linguistic choices they make (Walsh 2011: 133).

This greater emphasis on the processes leading up to policy and planning intervention characterizes the work of Elana Shohamy,[6] who argues '… while language planning refers to control, language policy attempts to be less interventionist and to refer mostly to principles with regard to language use' (2007: 49). Walsh (2009) argues that a more powerful framework can be created by wedding Shohamy's insights and Spolsky's management approach with those derived from the language and governance perspective as developed by Williams (2002; 2007) and Loughlin and Williams (2007) whereby greater emphasis is given to governance,[7] understood as steering rather than directing intervention, which it is claimed supplements or at times even replaces government.

An additional powerful concept is that of language regimes[8] whose origins can be traced to the classical notion of political regime, a suggestive framework which explicitly linked the constitutional health of the government with the condition of the individual's soul (as in Plato). Form, content and inherent diversity can be accommodated within this concept, for the analytical power of language regimes is that it obliges one not only to describe how changes within a particular polity may arise, but also to account for the reasoning by which critical decisions are made in respect of each language regime within a multi-level state.

Territorial governance as a frame for language policy

An obvious, if rarely detailed, premise is that any official language policy has to be applied within spatially bounded territories, often with quite different effects and intentions depending upon which part of a state's territory is under consideration. The transformation of a collection of disparate regional and interest-group identities into a recognizable citizenry involves both cognitive and instrumental processes of nation-state building. Thus the cultural unity of the French state owes as much to territorial conquest and regional incorporation, defence and inter-regional consolidation, military preparations, railway communication and state education, as it does to any notion of a voluntary association of individuals within a pluralist society (Loughlin 2007). But such pristine conceptions of the ideal nation-state are now under severe stress as a result of globalization and fiscal pressures. The most convincing account of this transition from the postwar Welfare State model to the current Hybrid State model has been presented by Loughlin (2010). He argues that the long-term aims of the Welfare State are to consolidate the nation state by lessening disparities of wealth across classes, territories and individuals. Lessening disparities by adopting uniform processes of service delivery, education, taxation and patterns of local and regional administration

led in many states to an aggressive process of standardization, homogeneity and territorial symmetry. Initially this proved very damaging to some indigenous language groups who were searching for greater recognition and autonomy in several policy domains such as bilingual education, broadcasting and the socio-economic development of beleaguered communities.

Following a series of crises from the late 1960s to the 1970s, the state "reinvented" itself along neo-liberal lines without completely abolishing the Welfare State premise and thus invoked consequences for political behaviour and participation, territorial reorganization, administrative reforms and new patterns of central–local fiscal relations. Our principal focus here is on the state's territorial reorganization, a process which Loughlin (2010) identifies as having eight distinct trends. These include (1) a general tendency towards *political decentralization*, as distinct from previous *administrative deconcentration*; (2) the emergence of regions as key actors: *political regions* in Italy, France, Spain, Belgium and, later, Sweden; administrative regions in England, Greece, Finland, Portugal and Ireland; (3) a tendency towards greater powers for the political regions alongside a tendency towards transforming the administrative regions into political regions, as has occurred in France since 1982; (4) a tendency towards the quasi-federalization of some regionalized systems and the decentralization of what had been more centralized federations. These include, *inter alia*, the transformation of Belgium from a regionalized unitary state into a highly decentralized federal state with both communities and regions; the emergence of the 'state of autonomous communities' (*estado de las autonomías*) process in Spain; constitutional reform and the devolution settlement of the United Kingdom; the attempts to reform the German federation; and the increasing decentralization of the US, Canadian and Australian federations; (5) the restructuring of local government by breaking up larger units (in the UK, the abolition of the metropolitan countries and the creation of unitary authorities in certain regions), but also by promoting internal decentralization within municipalities, for example, the creation of neighbourhood councils in France, Italy and the Netherlands; (6) the creation of new institutional mechanisms to allow greater involvement of individual citizens and interest groups in the decision-making process, albeit without abolishing the decision-making remit of elected local politicians – linked to participatory democracy movement; (7) for its members, the EU itself has provided a background against which such reforms have been carried out – encouraging both political and administrative regionalization, new approaches to urban policy, and the consecration of the principles of subsidiarity and partnership; (8) finally, there has been the growth of a strengthened international dimension involving subnational governments: new international organizations representing regional and local authorities (e.g. United Cities and Local Governments, which participates

alongside the appointed representatives of national governments in the UN); international organizations focused on particular types of cities or regions; lobbying and paradiplomatic activities on the part of regional and local governments.

These developments have been made possible by the loosening of nation-state boundaries[9] and the opening up of exit opportunities which did not exist before. Most Western states adopted versions of the New Public Management philosophy with its encouragement of privatization, deregulation, the marketization of internal administrative systems, the creation of agencies at arm's length from central government, and public–private partnerships.[10] Some instituted sub-state political devolution with either *de jure* or *de facto* territorial administrations being established in Wales, Scotland, France, Spain and Belgium. This subsidiarity reform has very significant consequences for pushing issues of language promotion and regulation far higher up the political agendas of regional parliaments than was formerly the case within uniform central state legislatures. In terms of fiscal relations there is a growing recognition of the importance of local and regional democracy, but there have also been contradictory trends, whereby the real purchase of sub-state authorities has been reigned in by the 'recentralization' of fiscal relations. Thus for 'devolved' issues, the spending power of the Basque Country, Catalonia, Scotland and Wales has been affected somewhat, but the real determinant of autarchy is the overall state and global economic performance, and in many cases language-related issues tend to suffer on the altar of 'national' or 'state' priority allocation of expenditure, especially during periods of a recession.

It is important to locate language policy within the broad field of policy development and to relate the specific application of policy to structural reform and state reconfiguration. Loughlin and Williams (2007) have argued that this reconfiguration to a new 'hybrid' model of territorial governance is characterized by five new elements. First 'Regional and Local Democracy' as well as 'National Democracy' is now a major consideration in the articulation of language and educational policy within the pluralist state. This transfer of responsibilities from the central state to the regional/local state allows for place-specific differentiation and more targeted programmes which may change the nature of citizenship and identity within the constituent regions of the state. Decentralist policies in relation to statutory bilingual or multilingual education, the language of work and commerce, public administration and legislative reform, all influence the conditions of possibility by which officially recognized, but non-hegemonic, languages are produced and reproduced. Spain is the best example, where Basque and Catalan are being transformed as the default languages of statutory education, and, to a lesser extent, of public administration within their respective autonomous communities. However, these legal and policy reforms

have also generated new challenges against the decisions of the regionally specific authorities made by state-centralist parties or representatives of the state's hegemonic majority who feel discriminated against by such reforms. Resistance to the dictates of regional reform have included persistent constitutional challenges to the legality and direction of the Catalan Generalitat's programme of action and severe opposition to the primacy of Catalan as the default language of the regional state.[11] Such challenges by unilingual majoritarian representatives, to the bi- or multi-lingual educational regime of specific local education authorities are a feature also of Wales, the Basque Country and Brittany.

A second consequence has been the shift from a dominant form of representative democracy to a more inclusive participatory and, at times, deliberative democracy, as discussed in Williams (2008).[12] It is far more common now to have coalition alignments governing regional level parliaments and assemblies as happens in Scotland, Wales, Catalonia and the Basque Country. Such governing coalitions may reflect the historical predominance of regionally dominant political parties; they may also be a product of a more inclusive electoral system operating at the regional as opposed to the state level, such as variants of the Single Transferable Vote, or they may reflect variants of both a first past the post system and a regional list system.[13] Changes to the electoral system can make the polity more representative, especially if it enables previously third or fourth placed political parties to engage within coalition government or have a stronger influence through a parliament's committee scrutiny on the outcome of specific legislation.

A third consequence may be characterized as the operation of 'Choice' principles alongside 'Principal-Agent' intergovernmental relations. In theory this allows for a more diverse, localized and linguistically specific exercise of power and responsibility. In practical terms this could influence the designation of certain centrally financed, but locally operated, services as requiring certain language skills, as, for example, within elements of the police or the prison service as operated in Catalonia, the Basque Country or Wales.[14]

A fourth consequence is the very strong emergence of a 'bottom-up', 'steering' and network model of governance which now co-exists with the top-down, hierarchical and command model (Loughlin and Williams 2007). At times such arrangements have been the result of regionally specific minorities wresting control from certain core functions from an often recalcitrant state, as is true of several policy fields in both Catalonia and the Basque Country. At others it is an agreed form of sharing power or of empowering communities, as is true of the Francophone community in Ontario and New Brunswick, where key services are designed and operated in tandem with long-standing NGOs or voluntary agencies.[15]

A fifth consequence is the difficult task of reconciling and managing the pressures of increased diversity, asymmetry and experimentation

with the more fundamental concern for equity and equalization within liberal democracies.

Having outlined several of the structural transitions inherent in the operation of the contemporary state and the increasingly diverse range of responsibilities which are to be discharged at the regional level, we may now turn to the pressing issue of how one may characterize the process by which language policy is framed and implemented in multilingual societies.

Personality and territoriality principles of language policy and planning

Conventionally language policies are predicated on either a personality or territoriality principle of planning, and in exceptional circumstances an admixture of both. It is often argued that such principles apply so as to guarantee an equitable treatment of officially recognized languages, whereas in fact the principles are more often conceived of as a mechanism by which linguistically influenced group conflict can be ameliorated. Two conditions are necessary for competition to arise between language groups. First, the languages must share a common contact space. Second, the relationship between these two languages must become the symbolic stakes of the competition, which takes place on the level of the shared space. Laponce (1987: 266) has advanced the following propositions about languages in contact:

- languages tend to form homogenous spatial groupings;
- when languages come into contact they tend either to specialize their functions or to stratify;
- the specialization and the stratification of languages is determined by the socially dominant group;
- the social dominance of a language is a function of the number of its speakers and the political and social stratification of the linguistic groups in contact.

Comparative research on the significance of formal language boundaries in Canada, Belgium, Finland and Switzerland (Domenichelli 1999, McRae 1997, Nelde *et al.* 1992) suggests that some conflicts can be partially neutralized if the following conditions are observed:

- the territoriality principle should be limited to a few key areas like administration and education;
- the institutional multilingualism that emerges should lead to the creation of independent unilingual networks, which grant equal opportunity of communication to minority and majority speakers. These networks should also exclude linguistic discrimination connected with speakers of the prestige language;

- measures of linguistic planning should not be based exclusively on linguistic censuses carried out by the respective governments. Rather, they must genuinely take account of the situational and contextual characteristics of the linguistic groups;
- minority linguistic groups in a multilingual country should not be judged primarily on quantitative grounds. On the contrary, they should be awarded more rights and possibilities of development than would be due to them based on their numbers and their proportion to the majority. (Nelde *et al.* 1992)

Nelde *et al.* (1992) believe that according such equality to minorities by assuring them of more rights could result in fewer people adopting an intransigent ideological position. While it follows that unless more attention is paid to the rights of lesser-used language speakers, more conflict will ensue, it is not so obvious that the territorial principles of language protection offer sufficient safeguards so as to guarantee against language loss. Neither is it sufficient to rely on language legislation per se to bolster the conditions by which a target language group may be secured within its own territorial jurisdiction. Switzerland, with its cantonal-based language regimes, is clearly an outstanding example of the application of territorial principles to serve the needs of a multilingual population.Other relatively successful cases, such as Quebec, tend to be the exception rather than the rule, for in both cases, it was political control and popular support which enabled successive governments sufficient purchase to regulate language choice and behaviour within their purview.[16] This is because Canada's commitment to coast to coast bilingualism, to be delivered through official bilingual districts, floundered on the rock of Quebec's legitimate appeal to sovereignty and recognition of its historic role as the founding Francophone nation of North America. Belgium, formed as a geo-strategic buffer zone between warring states in post-Napoleonic Europe, has sought to contend with its location, straddling a major linguistic cleavage, and with its new position as the home of an increasingly multilingual (read English) nexus of European institutional life. The initial conception and subsequent programme geared to animating the Irish Gaeltacht has not been fit for purpose from the very foundation of Saorstát Éireann in 1922. But no statesman would seriously countenance its dissolution; such is its psychological hold on the Irish imagination as the natural locale of the Irish language. The Swedish-speaking districts of Finland are a daily reminder of Finland's former membership of the Kingdom of Sweden, and subsequent incorporation as a Grand Duchy under Russia in 1809 prior to achieving independence on 6 December 1917. The current Swedish minority is thus an integral element of the bilingual nation with all its attendant implications for class-politics, national orientation and intellectual and creative distinctiveness.

The subsequent playing out of these geostrategic considerations and the resultant meso-level processes at sub-state level are themselves subject to pressure from above as a consequence of globalization and macro-regional functional integration, and from below as special interest groups, empowered by their own dynamic activities and by the effects of market segmentation, present new challenges. This leads to a three-way tension between commonality and fragmentation, between the basic needs of state socialization, including communicative competence in state-designated languages, the community-orientation of many territorially bounded groups and the reality of increasingly plural individual choices. Within the EU there is tremendous pressure on institutions to simplify and harmonize the range of services offered within a particular suite of languages. Countering such measures by formal language planning for smaller language communities becomes increasingly difficult. Added to this is the post-2004 and 2007 enlargement issue of grappling with the sheer diversity of competing claims for recognition, rights and resources on behalf of those beleaguered groups who hitherto have not benefited from the institutional arrangements constructed by sovereign states in pursuit of plurinational democracy.

Such considerations suggest that establishing new language rights and providing bi- or multilingual services involves much more than the promotion of a previously disallowed language within public administration and the legal system. Skills development, capacity building and new patterns of citizen–local state relations also require fundamental changes in the educational system and increased access to the media. These are substantial challenges both in terms of the capacity of the target minority to supply such qualified personnel and for the local state to implement a new, often intrusive set of service-related patterns.

Typically such reforms are not in themselves sufficient to avoid prolonged conflicts and further legislative enactments are needed so as to protect or differentiate citizens in respect of where they reside. Differentiated rights or local services are nearly always based upon geographical location and citizen registration rather than state-wide provision. The specific range of services, privileges and responsibilities may vary tremendously from the designation of predominantly unilingual regions, as in the Swiss Confederation, to designated bilingual provinces as in New Brunswick, Canada, to legislatively enshrined language heartland areas such as the Gaeltacht in Ireland, or the designated Swedish-speaking municipalities in Finland. Yet no matter how subtle or firm such constitutionally enframed districts may be, the modern pressures of globalization, fiscal autarchy, local government consolidation and demolingusitic mobility can conspire to render such territorial solutions rather dysfunctional.

The most acute case of resistance to territorial permeability is contemporary Belgium, which is comprised of three communities settled in

three officially designated regions and four language areas. Successive reforms of the political system have entailed the regionalization of the unitary state. Thus the predominantly Flemish speaking region (Flanders) is sub-divided into five provinces, the predominantly French speaking region (Wallonia) is similarly comprised of five provinces, and the Brussels-Capital Region occupies a pivotal and at times controversial role. Each of these regions represents a distinct language regime and the Belgian state has struggled to manage the structural tensions created by this arrangement, so much so that the very survival of statehood has been called into question on numerous occasions.

Some territorially distinct linguistic regions are established by constitutional settlements, as is the bilingual province of New Brunswick, others are subject to periodic review, as with the decennial evaluation of the Swedish-speaking districts of Finland. In many cases very simple, and apparently clear, criteria are used to confirm or revoke a designated status, such as falling below a numerical threshold or a percentile categorization. Typically such criteria were chosen early in the twentieth century without any reference whatsoever to the actual or predicted demolingusitic trends. This lack of conceptual clarity and methodological rigour has created severe problems for there remains a paucity of adequate data by which to analyse demolinguistic trends.

These lacunae would pose a serious challenge to policy makers even if there was little population mobility. However, in an increasingly dynamic, plural and fragmented society, serving the needs of the official minority becomes more difficult when local authorities and schools have to contend with a growing influx of non-native speakers, overseas migrants and periodic workers, the overwhelming majority of whom do not speak the minority language and may have little real competence in the working language of the host state. Regional minorities and immigrant minorities may also pose quite different challenges to the education system in terms of its capacity to manage diversity at a functional level.[17]

Ireland. Designated spaces: non-congruent actions

At the beginning of the twentieth century a number of newly independent European states sought to guarantee a certain measure of territorial distinctiveness, if not always regional autonomy, for designated linguistic minorities. Two attempts at preserving a territorially distinct geolinguistic space have survived the consequences of twentieth-century reconfiguration in Ireland and Finland, and because such arrangements are now under severe threat it is instructive for us to examine to what extent language policy based upon territorial considerations can be effective in an increasingly deterritorialized context.

In Ireland the national language was already in a weakened state at the time of independence in 1922. The government sought to secure and promote Irish through legislation, territorial demarcation, compulsory education and an insistence on the acquisition of Irish as a requirement for employment in many state organizations. The 1937 Constitution (Bunreacht na hÉireann) conceived of Irish as the first official language, Article 8.1; while English is recognized as a second official language, Article 8.2. Thus the right to use Irish is a constitutional one, but because it has sometime been in abeyance, there have been several court cases taken by individual citizens in order to ascertain their rights under the constitution. A centrepiece of Irish language policy has been the demarcation of a set of official Irish language territories, the Gaeltacht, which has legal standing, political effect and economic influence. The Gaeltacht was defined in 1926 following the Coimisiún na Gaeltachta report which led to the Housing (Gaeltacht) Act of 1929 and other legislation. The Gaeltacht consisted of disparate districts, mostly on the west coast where Irish was spoken by a considerable minority of the inhabitants. Remoteness was a key factor as English had not yet fully penetrated these western districts. A dedicated government department was set up by statute in 1956 with responsibility for the Gaeltacht but this does not involve functional autonomy per se. There are several Gaeltacht areas around the country and these are not administered separately but as part of the local government areas or the local health board areas. A Gaeltacht Authority, Údarás na Gaeltachta, was set up in 1979 to promote employment and attract inward investment (Williams 2008) but an emphasis on language promotion was not central to the implementation of the Authority's policy. Recently an emphasis has been placed on language-based employment in the translation and media industries. Successive attempts to develop urban Gaeltacht districts since the 1920s include the Páirc na Gaeltachta in Whitehall, Dublin, Glanmire, Cork and in Naas and the Shaw's Road Gaeltacht in West Belfast which have resulted in a modest degree of success, but nothing matching the original all-inclusive nature of the rural initiatives because the quality of spoken Irish and the range of domains within which Irish is used is greater in the Gaeltacht than in the urban areas such as Dublin or Cork. In such locales many of the uses of Irish are related to limited, specific networks, which revolve around education, the government and elements of the voluntary sector. If Irish becomes a network language then only the network people tune in, whereas if the state creates a reinvigorated heartland, Irish has more chance of maintaining itself as a self-sustaining and sufficient reality. If the traditional heartland were to be lost then one might lose a disproportionate number of L1 speakers which would have a devastating effect on the language.

The 2006 Census identifies 1,656,790 Irish speakers in the Republic, together with a further 160,000 who reside in Northern Ireland giving

a total of 1.8 million.[18] Only 64,265 of these live in officially designated Gaeltacht areas. The overwhelming majority of Irish speakers nationally are L2 speakers who acquired Irish within the educational system. Other significant pillars of Irish language promotion have been the establishment of TG4, the enactment of the Official Languages Act, 2003 and the according to Irish of status as an official and working language by the European Union in 2008. None of these developments originated as a result of government policy and planning, rather all stemmed from a ground-up popular demand to which government was forced to respond.

Yet the subsequent development of the Gaeltacht as a cornerstone of Irish language policy has revealed that both the conceptualization and implementation of successive polices has failed to deliver a robust context within which normal speakers of every day Irish could feel confident and secure. The complex relationships among government departments, sponsoring agencies and national language-planning initiatives have been influenced by the special place within the Irish psyche occupied by the idea, the symbolism and the functional reality of the Gaeltacht. Concerns surrounding trends that are weakening the capacity of Gaeltacht residents to halt the erosion of Irish have recently led to talk of a linguistic crisis. Consequently, Gaeltacht districts have witnessed a change of policy emphasis, with increased attention being paid to underdeveloped areas, community development projects, and educational opportunities for strengthening the situation of Irish. In principle, this heightened promotion of Irish (particularly by *Údarás na Gaeltachta*, the Gaeltacht Authority) – within what has largely been an organizational culture stressing economic development – augurs well (Walsh 2011). Indeed, there is a growing recognition within the Department of Community, Rural and Gaeltacht Affairs, *Údarás na Gaeltachta*, *Foras na Gaeilge*, and many other Irish promotional bodies, that a strong and sustained campaign for Irish as the default language of the Gaeltacht is required. Yet in truth it is not a national priority as only 91,862 people, 2.1 per cent of the Irish republic's population of 4,239,848 (2006 Census) reside in the Gaeltacht.

The Irish Government commissioned an analysis of the health of the Gaeltacht communities which revealed disturbing evidence of long-term decline based upon an analysis of demographic changes, qualitative research among Gaeltacht parents, focus groups and public meetings, planning applications, and analyses of the debate surrounding the establishment of the Department for Community, Rural and Gaeltacht Affairs in 1956.[19] The Ó Giollagáin *et al*. (2007) study reported the following: (1) the Gaeltacht is in crisis; (2) the state sector is an active player in the language shift to English; (3) the educational system as it operates in the Gaeltacht is encouraging the social use of English among those whose Irish fluency is adequate or better; (4) the distribution of areas

conforming to different linguistic profiles in language-planning categories is in need of an overhaul; (5) there is an acute need to tackle the issue of a linguistic sustainability threshold, and the time-line for the survival of the linguistic communities above this threshold, if current trajectories are not reversed.

The remedial action suggested is a radical reconfiguration of the Gaeltacht community-development approach adopted by the state. Thus the Gaeltacht should be divided into three linguistic zones:

A. 67 per cent daily Irish speaking – Irish dominant as a community language
B. 44 per cent–66 per cent daily Irish speaking–English dominant with a large Irish speaking minority
C. Under 43 per cent daily Irish speaking–English dominant but with an Irish speaking minority much higher than the national average.

Language policy priorities should be focused within Category A districts and tools for effective intervention in the process of language shift should be developed to support services and socio-economic life. The report envisages an integrated language-planning approach whereby official support for Gaeltacht areas is mediated through agreed plans in specific communities. A revised role for the Department of Community, Rural and Gaeltacht Affairs would make it responsible for the development of language policy and planning, while *Údarás* would be charged with their implementation – rather than operating as an industrial authority which deals with linguistic issues in a tentative fashion.

Walsh (2011) and Ó Riagáin (2008) have called for a restructuring of the Gaeltacht's role, which involves a reconfiguration, rather than a recategorization, away from a spatially bounded set of places to a sociolinguistic network basis for Gaeltacht inclusion. Institutional support, language awareness training, the extension of Irish language schemes throughout the private and the voluntary sector would all strengthen the opportunity to engage in meaningful ways through choosing Irish as a medium of communication, rather than being marginalized at present. Three substantive proposals have been made, namely that the Ceantair Forbartha Teanga (CFT) pilot language development areas should be established to operate within a new network; and that Údarás should be allowed to financially support Irish-speaking enterprises irrespective of their location. A third recommendation is that only public servants (e.g. Gardaí, district nurses, local government officials) with good active ability in Irish should be appointed to a CFT, while private sector employees should be encouraged to make an active offer of service in Irish.

It could be argued that reducing the distinctiveness of the Gaeltacht and widening the operating remit of Údarás na Gaeltachta would lead to the quickened demise of the Gaeltacht rather than its restitution. O Riagáin is convinced that the opposite would be result. He argues that

> being part of a growing, dynamic, nationwide linguistic community would surely be a more attractive proposition for a young person living in a Gaeltacht area than being defined in terms of residency in an ever-shrinking ''reservation for Irish-speaking natives'. A planned approach to converting latent ability in Irish into active use nationwide would … be highly effective and certainly cost-effective. Nothing is static: anything not growing is going to wither. Developing, rather than merely sustaining, our language communities has to be the way forward. (O Riagáin 2008)

The significance of the Gaeltacht was recognized within the Official Languages Act 2003, promulgated to ensure better availability and a higher standard of public services through Irish. The Act specifies general provisions of universal applicability, for example: replies to correspondence should be in the same language in which they were written; information should be provided to the public in the Irish language, or in the Irish and English languages; certain key documents should be bilingual publications, and Irish should be used in the courts. To ensure better availability and a higher standard of public service through Irish a statutory obligation is placed on Departments of State and public bodies to make specific provision for delivery of such services in a coherent and agreed fashion through a statutory planning framework, known as a 'scheme'. The scheme is to be to be agreed on a three-year renewable basis between the head of the body concerned and the Minister. The Act provides for the preparation of guidelines by the Minister for public bodies in relation to the preparation of draft schemes and can be divided into five categories. (1) Statutory rights that are provided for in the legislation, (2) Duties that are specified in regulations, (3) Duties in relation to schemes, (4) The establishment of the Office of the Language Commissioner, (5) Placenames.

The statutory rights apply throughout the Republic, but special provision is made in Part 5 for Gaeltacht distinctiveness as identified below:

- Official placenames in Gaeltacht areas being in the Irish language only (only for limited purposes: official maps, legal instruments and official roadsigns) and equal status being given to the Irish and English language versions of official placenames in other parts of the country. (Part 5)
- Section 13 provides that public bodies have a duty to ensure that: an adequate number of its staff are competent in the Irish language ([section 13 (2) (c)], the particular Irish language requirements associated with the provision of services in Gaeltacht areas are met [Section 13 (2) (d)], the Irish language becomes the working language in its offices situated in the Gaeltacht areas within a certain timeframe to be agreed between the public body and the Minister [Section 13 (2) (e)].

The Act is an amalgam of Welsh and Canadian practice. Rather than the conferring of language rights or the recognition of constitutional rights, the Act adapted the Welsh model's use of agreed language schemes in order to promote Irish in the public sector. However, it did secure a strong element of compliance and regulation by creating the Office of Language Commissioner, based on the Canadian federal model.

Having established the legislative frame to implement a strengthened Irish language regime, the government was convinced that it had secured a platform on which other initiatives could be based. It committed itself to the '20-year Strategy to Support the Irish language', an integrated, inter-departmental approach to Irish-language planning, formulated as a result of three parallel processes. The first was an internal assessment of its own policy objectives. The second was an assessment of the public's views based on evidence-gathering and consultation. The third was the adoption of recommendations of an international team of experts, coordinated by FIONTAR, Dublin City University.[20] The government's aim was to institute a language planning process to increase the number of daily or active users of Irish from the current level of approximately 72,000 to 250,000 in twenty years, to increase the number of speakers who speak Irish on a daily basis in the Gaeltacht as its invigoration will be critical to the overall Strategy; and to increase the number of people who can use state services through the Irish language and can access television, radio and print media through the language. The draft strategy sought to increase the territory and effectiveness of the Gaeltacht within a radical national plan.

Rather than conceive of the Gaeltacht as a series of fragmented linguistic territories, the draft strategy conceived of its resource spaces in terms of its future capacity to generate new speakers, infuse new energy and increase the areas so as to expand the Gaeltacht. It argued that the principal difficulties in the past were related to a lack of implementation of well integrated and holistic programmes which could build on the positive vitality to L1 speakers as a new focus to the next generation. The specific recommendations were related to a change of mindset so that incomers and residents would recognize the significance of their locales. Gateway towns would figure prominently in the spatial aspects of the strategy. Thus key nodal points such as Galway City would be important to the seven reconfigured Gaeltacht counties of Donegal, Mayo, Galway, Kerry, Cork, Waterford and Meath. Each county would prepare a county language plan which could serve as a baseline for sociolinguistic and economic developments. Such developments were predicated on the maintenance of Irish as a compulsory subject within the statutory school system. Clearly, if it were to be made optional, as some Opposition Party leaders and other commentators have argued, this would sound the death knell of the language, at least in relation to its requirement for employment in the public sector and government. Opportunity, rights

and empowerment all presuppose a vital capacity on behalf of citizen and service-provider alike to animate the language regime.

The most radical proposal would involve the establishment of a comprehensive political authority over the Gaeltacht areas for all domains, so that the sub-region would be responsible for health, education, economic development, planning etc. This is an unlikely scenario and is not currently a priority for the Twenty Year Strategy, for the Irish state is highly centralized – no existing Irish local authority enjoys such wide-ranging powers. More significantly current economic difficulties render most radical restructuring proposals vulnerable to being cut. The Irish economy contracted by 8 per cent during 2009–2010, while the banking system had to be rescued at a cost of c. €50 billion. House prices have halved since the peak in 2007. The budget deficit amounts to 32 per cent of GDP if the one-off costs of the banking bailout are included, even without them the deficit amounts to 12 per cent of GDP. The November 2010 €90 bn Irish bailout negotiated with the IMF, The European Central Bank and the UK clearly does not auger well for all aspects of Irish public policy and political stability within the Eurozone.

Finland: Bilingual municipal amalgamation

Finland is characterized by three models of language policy. The first, based upon the principle of personality or individuality, guarantees the right of citizens to use one of the two national languages in their education and in dealing with public authorities in designated municipalities. The second employs the principle of territoriality and applies to the unilingual regime of the Åland Islands. The third combines restricted individual and collective rights and governs the use of the Sami languages.

The foundations of the legal position of the Finnish and Swedish languages rest upon three pillars: (1) the State's Constitution, as modified in 1999, (2) the Language Act of 2003 which came into force on 1 January 2004 and (3) provisions on language rights in special legislation (for example education, culture and health care). According to section 17 of the Finnish constitution (731/1999),

> The national languages of Finland are Finnish and Swedish. The right of everyone to use his or her own language, either Finnish or Swedish, before courts of law and other authorities, and to receive official documents in that language, shall be guaranteed by an Act. The public authorities shall provide for the cultural and societal needs of the Finnish and Swedish populations of the country on an equal basis.

The current Language Act (423/2003), which replaced the 1922 Language Act, builds upon the provision in the constitution:

> The purpose of this Act is to ensure the constitutional right of every person to use his or her own language, either Finnish or Swedish, before courts and other authorities. The goal is to ensure the right of everyone to a fair trial and good administration irrespective of language and to secure linguistic rights of an individual person without him or her needing specifically to refer to these rights. An authority may provide better linguistic services than what is required in this Act.

The Language Act applies to courts and other state authorities, local governments and joint municipal authorities, independent institutions under public law, Parliamentary offices and the Office of the President of the republic.

Provisions about linguistic rights are included in many other pieces of legislation. Thus legislation on education contains provisions on the language of instruction, language as an educational subject and the language of examination. Broadcasting legislation applies to theatres, pictorial presentations, libraries, youth work and physical education, and contains provisions on linguistic rights related to cultural activity. Furthermore, legislation on health care and social welfare contains provisions on the linguistic rights of patients and social welfare clients. These other provisions are important for the overall position of Swedish as the lesser used national language of Finland, since they provide guarantees for Swedish as a vibrant language within most sectors of society, including the maintenance of autonomous Swedish-language schools, universities and cultural institutions.

The Language Act regulates the rights and duties of Finnish and Swedish speakers on an equal basis. Although Finnish is the dominant language (in about 95 per cent of the population), Finnish is often the local lesser used language in the bilingual areas stretching along the coast from Lovisa in South-Eastern Finland, to the Helsinki metropolitan area, to Turku in South-West and up to Kokkola in Western Finland. Some 1.5 million Finns live in bilingual municipalities. Around 40,000 Finnish speakers live in Swedish speaking environments. About 140,000 Swedish speakers live in municipalities with a Finnish speaking majority.

Public authorities are assigned duties to provide services in Finnish and Swedish through the constitution, the language act and the sector legislation. The linguistic division of the country defines the linguistic status of the individual authorities. Language charters and equivalent mechanisms have also been introduced in order to support the implementation of the Language Act. The mechanism is voluntary, which means that the individual public authority decides on whether or not to implement it, how to implement it and how to monitor it.

The duties of local and regional authorities to provide services in both languages are dependent on the linguistic status of the municipality or district, which is determined as follows:

Table 9.1 *Summary of legislative enactments and implementation requirements*

Legislation/ mechanism	Function
The constitution	Defines the status of the national languages and the individual's right to public services in his own language.
The language act	Provides the general framework (minimum standards) for the duties of public authorities to deliver services in both national languages.
Sector legislation (e.g. legislation on education)	Specifies the duties to deliver services in the lesser used language within each sector. Most detailed provisions concerning education and culture.
Linguistic division of the country	Identifies unilingual and bilingual municipalities. The duties to provide services in the lesser used language are generally tied to the linguistic status of the municipality/district/public authority.
Legislation on knowledge of languages	Includes general provisions about the knowledge of the national languages required by civil servants and how such knowledge is demonstrated.
Language charters and equivalent mechanisms	Voluntary mechanisms that support the implementation of the language act. The function of the charter or equivalent can be to: ensure the implementation of legislative requirements set a higher standard of performance for linguistic services than required in the legislation

Source: Sandberg, Ó Flatharta and Williams 2010.

- Every Finnish citizen is required to be registered at birth in one of the two official languages.
- Based upon this registration, municipalities are defined as either unilingual or bilingual.
- A municipality is designated bilingual if the population includes both Finnish and Swedish speakers and the minority comprises at least 8 per cent of the population or at least 3,000 persons. On the recommendation of the municipal council the Government may determine that a municipality with a smaller minority (below 6 per cent or 3,000 persons) is bilingual, even if it would turn unilingual according to the statutes.
- The municipality is the atom of all other administrative divisions. The linguistic status of state district authorities or joint municipal authorities comprising more than one municipality is dependent on the linguistic status of the individual municipalities.
- The linguistic status of public authorities is stated in a Government decree (2002) and is updated every ten years (2012).

The present linguistic status of the Finnish municipalities is presented in Table 9.2. It is worth noting that even if Swedish on the national level is the lesser used national language, half of the bilingual municipalities have a Swedish-speaking majority and a Finnish-speaking minority.

Table 9.2 *Municipalities in Finland 2008–2010 and their linguistic status*

	2008	2009	2010
Bilingual municipalities (Finnish as majority language)	21	19	18
Bilingual municipalities (Swedish as majority language)	22	15	13
Monolingual Finnish municipalities	349	291	286
Monolingual Swedish municipalities	3	3	3
Municipalities on the Åland Islands (Swedish only)	16	16	16
Municipalities with Saami language(s)	4	4	4
Total number of municipalities	***415***	***348***	***340***

Source: 2010 municipal data compiled by Kjell Herberts, Åbo Akademi University.

The statutory obligations to provide services in both languages vary depending on the linguistic status of the municipality. In 2008, of the 43 bilingual municipalities, 21 are minority language Swedish, and they range from Särkisalo/Finby which has only 79 registered Swedish speakers to Helsinki/Helsingfors which has 34,505 speakers. The proportions also vary from Vantaa/Vanda with only 3 per cent to Hankoo/Hangö with over 43 per cent of its residents registered as speaking Swedish. Similarily there are 22 minority language Finnish municipalities which range from Iniö with 78 registered Finnish speakers to Jakobstad/Pietarsaari with 7,967 speakers. The proportions range from Nykarleby/Uusikaarlepyy with 8.2 per cent to Pargas/Parainen with 45.3 per cent of its population registerd as requiring Finnish services.[21] The principles for service provision and handling of cases in unilingual and bilingual municipalities defined by the language act are summarized in Table 9.3.

Individual public authorities are assigned broad responsibility and considerable discretion in the implementation of the Language Act. Authorities are obliged to follow the Language Act and provisions in special legislation, but there is no specific contract (similar to the Irish or Welsh language scheme) between the state and individual public authorities which specifies the preconditions of implementation.

Herberts (2010) has identified a clear correlation between the relative size of the local minority and service provision in the minority language, although this must be tempered in part by the relative demolinguistic position of the municipalities in question (see Figure 9.1).

The Ministry of Justice monitors the implementation of the Language Act through a language barometer and provides information and guidance for individuals and public authorities and prepares the tri-annual report to the Parliament about the implementation of the act. However, there is no specific institution for handling complaints about language legislation. Depending on the nature of the case, citizens can appeal to the provincial government (for example complaints about treatment within the health care system), to the courts or to the Parliamentary Ombudsman.

Table 9.3 *Statutory obligations to provide language services*

	Unilingual	Bilingual
Service delivery	The language of the municipality[1]	Both languages, the person's own language[2]
Hearings	The language of the municipality[3]	The person's own language
Letters, notices, messages	The language of the municipality	The language of the receiver or both languages
Administrative processes	The language of the municipality	The processing language[4]
Municipal council	The language of the municipality	Both languages
Other authorities, Office holders	The language of the municipality	The language of the municipality according to the administrative regulations
Extract from the minutes	The language of the municipality	The processing language[5]
Information and public notices	The language of the municipality	Both languages

Notes:
[1] According to the special legislation, individuals have the right to education in their own language. Unilingual municipalities are obliged to provide its minority-language speaking residents with access to education in their own language.
[2] A person's own language is here seen as the language the person chooses or the legal person's language as recorded in the minutes.
[3] Everyone has a right to use and be heard in their own language in a matter that the authorities initiate and that directly affects fundamental rights for the individual.
[4] The authorities shall choose the language of the party. Where there are several parties the authorities shall decide upon the processing language and heed the parties' linguistic rights. If this choice cannot be made on the basis of this information, the majority language in the municipality shall be chosen.
[5] In a case concerning an individual the extract from the minutes shall be given in the same language as it has been processed. If the processing language is different from that of the individual, the individual has a right to obtain a translation of the decision.
Source: Sandberg, Ó Flaharta and Williams 2010.

The Language Act sets out the minimum standards for public service delivery in Finnish and Swedish and states that a public authority may provide better linguistic services than that which is required by law. In order to support the implementation of the language act by providing public authorities with instruments to ensure, improve and monitor the quality of linguistic services, the Language Charter Project and the Common Assessment Framework Project were launched in 2003. Thus the current legislative framework appears sufficiently strong to allow for the continued provision of bilingual services within the reformed and amalgamated municipal authorities. Consequently much of the future vitality of the Swedish speaking population will depend on the individual family choices, the vibrancy of economic relations within Norden,

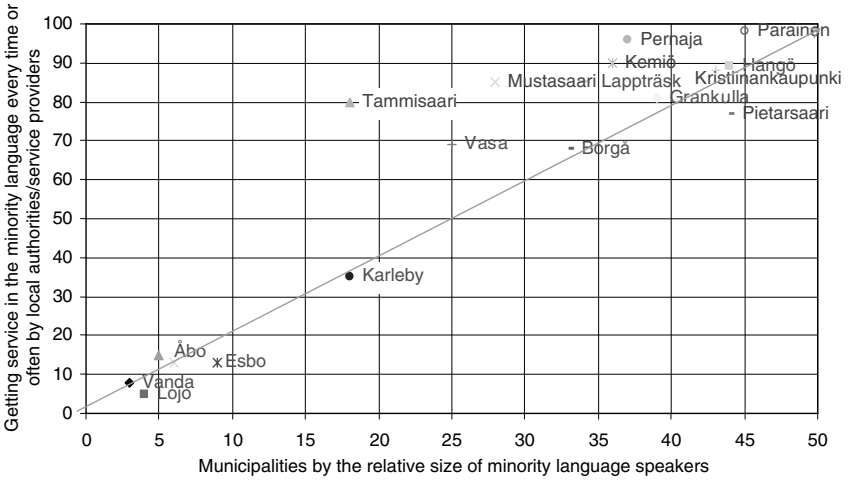


Figure 9.1 Correlation between the relative size of the local minority and service provision in the minority language

Source: Herberts 2010.

the prevalence of English as a possible substitute for Swedish in some domains, the capacity of local schools and municipalities to honour their legal requirements and the behaviour of the Finnish majority towards their fellow citizens. In this sense bilingual municipalities act as frames of reference permitting the active offer of service, schooling and health-care systems. Without them it is hard to imagine how the Swedish speaking population would maintain its distinct status, regardless of what the constitution states.

A bilingual infrastructure does not a bilingual citizenry make: Canadian perspectives

The sheer geographic scale and immigration settlement pattern of the Canadian federation pose challenges which are of a different magnitude to those facing Ireland or Finland. The Canadian model is characterized by a federal-level official bilingualism operating within plural jurisdictions characterized by an increasingly multicultural context. The state is comprised of fourteen legislative regimes which provide some form of protection for 'official' languages. Under the constitution, legislative power is distributed between the federal parliament and the assemblies of the ten provinces; further, significant legislative authority is devolved by the federal government on three territorial assemblies. Each of these assemblies has a legislative regime. The legislative regime at the federal level and for the Province of New Brunswick is one of official French–English bilingualism. In several provinces – most notably, the Province of Ontario, which has the largest Francophone population outside the Province of Quebec – there is a legislative regime which approaches

such official bilingualism, though explicit reference to such bilingualism is not made. In some provinces, there is more limited legal recognition of the French (or other) linguistic minority population. Finally, each of the three territories has a legal regime for languages, with two, Northwest Territories and Nunavut, providing significant legal recognition of the languages of aboriginal peoples (as well as of the two official languages).

What is not appreciated as much is that the national policy is not designed to produce bilingual citizens, but rather to serve the needs of the Official Language Minorities, English in Quebec and French in the Rest of Canada, particularly Ontario, New Brunswick and Manitoba. One of the strongest means by which bilingualism is promoted is the employment of French and English as languages of public administration at the federal level. Undergirding this commitment are constitutional reforms and court decisions which have established key principles by which both official languages are to be treated. The Canadian Confederation of 1867 established the rudimentary parameters by which both languages were to be treated within the single polity. However, disquiet with the role of French in the federal system and the growth of separatist pressure in Quebec combined to force a rethink of fundamental features of the Canadian state.[22] The Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism's original conception was to administer official language services through a series of bilingual districts (Cartwright and Williams 1982). But this territorial option was jettisoned in the mid-1970s in favour of creating an institutional framework and a suite of constitutionally guaranteed language rights for members of official language minorities.

The resultant Official Languages Act (1970) designated French and English as official languages but had limited impact and did not offer the level of protection necessary to guarantee the survival of French communities. Two fundamental weaknesses are that the original Official Languages Act was based on a territorial model whereby the federal services were available in the National Capital Region and in specific designated bilingual areas (Cartwright and Williams 1997). The second weakness was that apart from the designation of New Brunswick as a bilingual province, there was no provincial level recognition of the need to protect French linguistic minorities.

Following confirmation of Canada's continued support for its official language minorities as enshrined in the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms, 1982, three ideological and policy tenets came to characterize subsequent interpretations of the position of French and English. These were (1) the primacy of formal equality, (2) the principles of equality and respect for minorities and (3) the recognition of deep diversity in respect of minority rights.[23] Dunbar (2007) argues that the three most important provisions are those set out in subsection 19(1) of the 1982

Charter, relating to the federal courts, subsection 20(1) of the Charter, relating to communication with and services from institutions of the Parliament and Government of Canada, and section 23 of the Charter, relating to primary and secondary education. The subsection 20(1) right to communicate with and receive services from the federal Parliament and Government has been further articulated in the *Official Languages Act, 1988*, but that legislation also treats access to services as a matter of rights. Dunbar cautions that both the right to communicate with and receive services in French or English and the right to primary and secondary minority language education are subject to certain limitations. Thus the right to communicate and receive services in French or English, is absolute when dealing with the head or central office of any federal institution or any other office or facility of such institutions located in the National Capital Region; but may be considered conditional on the existence of 'significant demand' for such communications and services, and such demand is defined by detailed regulations prepared by the Government of Canada.

In addition the section 23 right to minority language education is subject to a range of limitations, specifically paragraph 23(3) (a) which provides that the right to minority language education only applies wherever in a province 'the number of children of citizens who have such a right is sufficient to warrant the provision to them out of public funds of minority language instruction'.

Beyond the federal level, New Brunswick, with a Francophone population of 320,000 (30 per cent) has been designated a bilingual province and is the only one in Canada to emulate the original Trudeau vision. Quebec has a population of over seven million of which 85 per cent is French speaking, the majority of whom are functionally unilingual French. By contrast, Ontario, the province with the numerically largest Francophone minority community at *c*.500,000, is not officially bilingual by virtue of the constitution or an official languages act, however, it has developed a distinct model for the protection of the Francophone minority, which is framed primarily in terms of rights. Under the *French Language Services Act*,[24] subsection 5(1) provides that everyone has the *right* to communicate in French with, and to receive available services from, any head or central office of a government agency or institution of the Legislature, and has the same right in respect of any such agency or institution located in or serving an area of the province designated in a schedule to the act. The right to French medium education set out in section 23 of the Charter is recognized and amplified upon in the *Education Act*.[25] Dunbar notes that in relation to the provincial courts, section 125(1) of the *Courts of Justice Act*[26] provides that the official languages of the courts of Ontario are English and French, but subsection 126(1) creates an arguably more extensive right than that contained in the Charter in respect of the federal courts, in that it provides that a

party to a proceeding who speaks French has the *right* to require that it be conducted as a bilingual proceeding.

To a large extent this rights-based framework has proved effective in a legal sense but it has not delivered the overall societal transformation which was originally envisaged. In truth Trudeau's vision of a coast to coast bilingualism has been fragmented by experience. Rather than represent an overarching bilingual reality, Canada's geolinguistic spaces are characterized by an increasing territorialization of language regimes; French in Quebec, English in the Rest of Canada (ROC) and an officially bilingual New Brunswick. Part of the reason for the failure of the Trudeau vision is that it was an East-coast model (Upper and Lower Canada historically) rolled out for the whole of the country and the western provinces were largely devoid of Francophone connections by the late twentieth century. Muscati and Rouleau (2008) argue that outside Quebec French has little economic value. It may have purchase as an instrument of federal public administration and in state-building, but it does not have daily resonance in the lives of increasing numbers of citizens. In addition, within the official language communities themselves successive acts and policy initiatives have largely failed to address the more substantial issues facing Francophone language communities, namely: unbalanced Francophone–Anglophone immigration, a unilingual private sector and inadequate cultural initiatives. Castonguay (2002) cautions that there is a gulf between official rhetoric regarding official language reporting and the lived reality of many Francophone communities where rates of language retention are lower than would be predicted.

For managers and fiscal controllers of the federal public service these contextual and demolingusitic issues are a real challenge.[27] They have sought to develop an organizational culture and set of core values within public administration which allow them to deliver on the three principles identified above. The core framework is the adherence to linguistic duality and equality in public service. Two expressions of this commitment are worthy of emulation elsewhere. The first is the principle of 'Active Offer' in the delivery of bilingual services. The second is the adherence to a resource-rich and clearly defined policy of language of work. Serving the client in the language of their choosing is a cardinal principle of bilingual public service, but in order to do so effectively this suggests the capacity of public servants to operate effectively in either of the official languages. Thus in addition to a strong rights-based approach, the commitment to the language of work is also significant. The federal language of the work sphere is characterized by a commitment to intensive training and language awareness courses as a permanent feature of government employment, not just at the start of a career. Periodic refresher courses and new technological and terminological training are designed to maintain a high standard of operational bilingualism. While this is generally true of the major

departments of state in the capital it is not necessarily true of all federal agencies, for there is a preponderance of Francophones in Ottawa, which is increasingly less true in other parts of the Federal system. The system is committed to undertake positive measures to carry out language guarantees and thus the evaluation and audit functions are prominent.

The Quebec case is exceptional as many commentators, such as Chévrier (2003), acknowledge the force of Stéphane Dion's (1992) conclusion that the personality solution should be adopted throughout Canada, except in Quebec, where territorialism should be acknowledged as a political fact, for in so many ways its language policy has been very effective.[28] One may question whether or not this is a solution to language policy implementation or a compromise so fractured that it damages the federal conception of building a bilingual state? Such asymmetrical paradigms mask a more substantive issue which is that the federal system has attempted to contain, rather than energize, a coast to coast to coast Francophone population and Chévrier, like Castonguay (1999), and Cardinal (2000) is particularly acerbic in his portrayal of the impact of federal policies on French language maintenance, even if supporters of the federal programmes would argue that the intent was not to subvert, but to maintain, the French fact throughout the federation. Surely the ambition is greater than the reality? Perhaps not, for if one unpacks the rhetoric of Canadian official language policy so much of it has been predicated on the need to 'manage' the needs of Quebec's distinct society status within the federation.

Reforms since the late sixties have established a French language regime in Quebec. However, Quebec's move toward a territorial specification of language choice and regulation and its preference for interculturalism has been challenged as being discriminatory from a majoritarian Canadian point of view, which espouses multiculturalism. Such demands for language rights and territorial control, as Kymlicka (2001: 79) make clear, are taken as evidence of the minority's 'collectivism'. But the minority are merely seeking the same opportunities to engage in public life and the economy that the majority take for granted. In their own way, majorities are just as collective, perhaps more so, for they have internalized such values as 'common sense' notions of democratic civility, while simultaneously denying such values to minorities.

Thus over and above the federal and provincial agreements on immigration, statutory educational policies and party political consensus of the integrity of the French fact in Canada, three pillars support Canadian official language minorities. The first is a constitutional guarantee of protection, underpinned by a political determination to maintain the broad parameters in official language policy, the second is an active and responsive judiciary with a good track record of making key decisions influencing the contours of policy, and the third is a mature and well

respected Office of Official Language Commissioner. Thus in comparative perspective the influence of government directives, a comprehensive bilingual infrastructure for federal services and an adherence to a philosophy of language equality all make Canada an exemplar for international best practice.

Regional autonomy in the Basque Country, Catalonia and Wales

Since the late 1960s much of the international promotional work related to the lesser-used languages had been undertaken by bodies such as the Council of Europe and loose affiliates comprised of the European Bureau for Lesser Used Languages (EBLUL), the Federal Union of European Nationalities (FUEN) and the Mercator network, comprised of three research centres devoted to education (Leeuwarden, Friesland), the media (Aberystwyth, Wales) and legislation (Barcelona, Catalonia). At the substate level, regional autonomy involving the transfer of substantial power to parliaments in Catalonia, The Basque Country and Wales, has changed the political context within which issues of language policy are framed and implemented. Regional autonomy represents one way in which the responsive state has transformed itself, without losing the ability to control the levers of political and fiscal power. All three countries face similar challenges which involve *inter alia* the struggle for national recognition, constitutional reform and increasing the legislative and fiscal basis of subsidiarity and devolution. They also face varying challenges in making the respective indigenous language a routine language of public administration, the legal system, the statutory educational system and a medium of instruction and research within Higher Education. Spatial variations in the degree to which a policy of normalization can be implemented pose severe difficulties, especially in the more Castillian parts of Euskadi and Catalonia and the anglicized regions of Wales. Yet having secured a certain degree of success in establishing bilingual services and a bilingual infrastructure, new tensions have arisen in recent decades as a result of court challenges and the influx of new immigrants. In Catalonia the descendants of those who arrived in the 1950 and 1960s 'tend to adhere exclusively to characteristics of Spanish culture rather than adopt an identity of integrated Catalans. … they may be actively contributing towards a dislocation and erosion of Catalan cultural traits' (Hernàndez 2007: p. 160). Since the mid-1990s more than a million immigrants to Catalonia from North Africa, Europe, China and Pakistan have compounded this pattern for they tend to form spatially segregated communities within the larger metropolitan areas, especially greater Barcelona. The evidence to date suggests that they do not necessarily support the regional government's policy of official bilingualism.

In order to manage this dynamic linguistic landscape the Catalan authorities in 2005 initiated changes to their organizational structure.

As the pre-existent Language Policy unit had grown in complexity it was necessary to have better co-ordination, internally and territorially within a revised Departmental Co-ordination Section. A strengthened Parliamentary Affairs and Juridical Sections now scrutinizes parliamentary and political activity more closely, giving a new impetus to the Social Council for the Catalan Language and providing legal advice to the government on language policy. The Language Resource Service aims to devise and diffuse resources which will facilitate the use of Catalan. These include new teaching resources so as to instruct late arrivals and immigrants, a variety of tools in the field of language engineering and the provision of official certificates which conform to the new European framework of language evaluation. The Promotion of Language Use Service aims to promote Catalan within information and communication technologies (ICTs) and to increase its use within the media, economy and networks. The Information and Dissemination Service is charged with informing civil society and government circles alike about the activities and findings of the SPL, while the Institute of Catalan Sociolinguistics is responsible for evaluating the effectiveness of language policy.

The *Oficina de garanties lingüístiques* was created as a result of collaboration between the SPL and the Department of Commerce, Consumers and Tourism. It has five offices in Catalonia and functions as a one-stop-shop for the public to enquire about language rights, to lodge official complaints about non-compliance with the language law. The *Oficina* forwards complaints to the appropriate department which will carry out an inspection and if necessary levy a fine. The improved infrastructure represents an increased determination to make language policy work and required the allocation of additional resources to support the respective monitoring, evaluation and regulatory functions (Puigdevall i Serralvo 2006).

In the Basque Country regional autonomy has allowed for a substantive improvement in the status and use of the Basque language within statutory education, higher education, public administration and the private sector. Initially the Basque Country adopted a policy of territorial zoning of its models of education, but so successful have the Basque Model D schools become that in effect such demarcation no longer has the same purchase it had twenty years ago. Central and local government together with the University system have also witnessed a dramatic turn around in the formal use of Basque as a result of a political commitment to promote the language.

In Wales the National Assembly for Wales in the second, developmental phase of devolution, has committed itself to the creation of a bilingual society with current developments including a new Welsh Language Measure, the establishment of a Language Commissioner, the specification of bilingual service standards and the maintenance of established

initiatives related to the transfer of Welsh within the family, pre-school Welsh medium education, statutory education, Adult Education, community developments (*Mentrau Iaith*) and the greater use of Welsh within the private and voluntary sectors. Interestingly it has chosen not to follow the Irish and Finnish lead by establishing a designated Welsh-speaking heartland within which additional services would be available. Rather the Welsh model promotes a comprehensive range of bilingual services by reference to local language service schemes and service delivery standards, which of course allows for a great deal of flexibility in meeting the agreed needs of local residents in the public sector. In an increasingly fluid and deterritorialized society this would appear to offer a practical approach to the promotion of bilingualism. However, in the absence of strong language rights and a full specification of how the national government intends to promote a comprehensive bilingual society, this flexibility can also be a weakness, for in Wales, as elsewhere, there is the rule of law and the rule of persons, and too much of current language policy is dependent upon the provision of bilingual services 'where circumstances and resources allow', rather than on an absolute guarantee of consistent high quality service provision.

While the decisions of regional autonomous governments play out quite differently at a local and a state level, there is a constant struggle between the state capital and regional parliaments over the allocation of powers, the resolution over disputes in constitutional issues, financial allocations, the rule of law, and the treatment of immigrants.

Increasingly regional-level authorities are becoming more significant actors at an international level also. Since 2007 there has been formed a coordinated network of responsible government language planning agencies together with representative bodies promoting the interest of linguistic minorities, such as Mercator, EBLUL, FUEN and the Youth of European Nationalities. The Network to Promote Linguistic Diversity (NPLD) is now the prime instrument for the promotion of such languages within an international frame. The NPLD is a pan-European Network which encompasses regional, minority, indigenous, cross-border and smaller national languages to promote linguistic diversity in the context of a multilingual Europe. Some 50 million EU citizens, 10 per cent of the EU population, speak a regional or minority language. Established in 2007, it received its first funding from the European Commission's Lifelong Learning Programme, and has considerable presence within the new Member States of the EU, and includes a much wider range of languages than the previous networks. The Network's aim is to facilitate the sharing of best practice and the development of innovative ideas across the field of language planning in education, the home, the workplace, legislation and the media in the contexts of regional, minority, indigenous, smaller national languages and lesser used languages. Its first joint projects are in the field of intergenerational language transmission and

pre-school learning, motivation to learn and increasing usage of target languages and the RMLs in healthcare.

Other pertinent inter-regional associations within specific states concern the Basque, Catalan, Galician in Spain, and the British–Irish Council within which Ireland, Northern Ireland, Scotland and Wales work together on issues such as language transfer within the family, IT and media development and legislative support for official languages. Above this at the global level, agencies such as UNESCO, the Council of Europe, Lingua Mon, together with dynamic universities as represented in the EUNoM projects influence language policy.[29]

Conclusion

Whether formally designated or not there is an imperative for indigenous languages to be identified with particular spaces, else the implementation of differentiated language policy is subject to continual debate and contestation. But as we have seen even within territorially demarcated spaces, there is no guarantee that the target language group can maintain itself, unless, as in the case of Belgium and Switzerland, linguistic criteria are underpinned by socio-economic and political arrangements. Thus we conclude that certain aspects of language policy can be better understood if a commitment to understanding how language plays out in geographical context is supported by refined holistic analysis, legislative stability and political determination.

10

Imperialism and colonialism

Robert Phillipson

The terms 'empire', 'imperialism', 'colonialism' and 'neo-colonialism' are tricky, because they overlap to some extent, but more importantly because the terms have 'a complicated history and many different, fiercely contested meanings. Defining something as imperial or colonial today almost always implies hostility to it, viewing it as inherently immoral or illegitimate. The subject is so highly charged with political passions and emotion' (S. Howe 2002: 9, 34). The topics have also generated a vast industry of historical and political scholarship that is of direct relevance to the study of language policy in the modern world.

On most continents there have been *empires* in the sense of one people or group taking control over the territories and livelihoods of others. *Colonization* involves groups of people settling in a different part of the world, often of their own free will, and mostly to the detriment of local people and their cultures. European settlements in the Americas and Australia were initially referred to as colonies. The term derives from the Latin *colonia*, meaning a farm or settlement. French settlers in the colonization of Algeria between 1830 and 1962 were thus known as *colons*. The term *imperialism* derives from the Latin *imperium*, covering military and political control by a dominant power over subordinated peoples and territories. From the fifteenth century, this meant European polities controlling non-European ones. Empires inevitably involve cultural values and language use as well as control of the state and economy.

In the Roman empire that covered much of Europe and North Africa, the strategy for co-opting a conquered people was insightfully analysed 2,000 years ago by Tacitus (1948: 72), whose uncle, Agricola, was charged with converting the British to Roman norms:

> The sons of chiefs … in place of distaste for the Latin language came a passion to command it. In the same way, our national dress came into

> favour and the toga was everywhere to be seen. And so the Britons were gradually led on to the amenities that make vice agreeable – arcades, baths and sumptuous banquets. They spoke of such novelties as 'civilization' when really they were only a feature of enslavement.

Genocide involves the destruction of 'the Other', which can be those who are linguistically different. Appropriate pronunciation is recorded as a test of group identity in the Old Testament, where an alien way of saying *shibboleth* resulted in the deaths of 42,000 people (Judges XII: 6). The ancient Greeks stigmatized non-Greek speakers as *barbarian*, meaning speakers of a non-language. The term *Welsh* was used by speakers of English to refer to people who call themselves *Cymry*. 'Welsh' in Old English and related Germanic languages means foreigners or strangers: it is a stigmatizing categorization from the perspective of the dominant group and in their language.

Within Europe, the expansion of dominant 'national' languages was generally at the expense of other languages, in processes of country-internal colonization. The expansion of English from its territorial base in England began with its imposition throughout the British Isles, a process that lasted several centuries and only partially succeeded in eliminating the Celtic languages. The 1536 Act of Union with Wales entailed subordination to the 'rights, laws, customs and speech of England': 'Since the English – whether government officials, religious reformers or moralists – presumed superior wisdom in matters associated with 'civility' and 'politeness', it was thought prudent to ensure that a monoglot Welsh people living in 'rude' and 'dark' corners of the land should become familiar with the language and mores of the 'civilizing' English world' (cited by Jenkins 2007: 132). Despite an elite which gradually substituted English for Welsh, the Welsh language survived because a 1563 Act decided that the Bible should be translated into Welsh. This played a decisive role in Christianizing Wales and spreading literacy. Over 2,600 books were published in Welsh in the eighteenth century, whereas in Ireland and Scotland, Protestantism was propagated in English and the imposition of English was more thorough: 'only 70 titles were published in the Scottish Gaelic language before 1800' (ibid: 160). In the nineteenth century, the importance for the British empire of coal and steel in Wales, combined with migration into Wales of labour from England, resulted in a massive shift from Welsh into English, particularly as a result of education. His Majesty's Inspector of Schools, Matthew Arnold (also an influential poet and thinker) saw the issue thus in 1853, in what amounts to an official endorsement of English as a killer language:

> Whatever encouragement individuals may think it desirable to give to the preservation of the Welsh language on grounds of philological or antiquarian interest, it must be the desire of a government to render its dominions, as far as possible, homogeneous, and to break down

> barriers to the freest intercourse between the different parts of them. Sooner or later, the difference of language between Wales and England will probably be effaced, as has happened with the difference of language between Cornwall and the rest of England. (quoted in Sutherland 1973: 23)

The marginalization of non-dominant languages was widespread. For 650 years Sweden occupied Finland and used Swedish as the language of power. Danish was the language of Denmark's occupation of much of Scandinavia, Iceland, the Faeroes and Greenland. Language policy in the Austro-Hungarian empire impacted variously on the many ethnolinguistic groups. The Russian empire, and its successor the Soviet Union, stretched across central Asia as far as Japan and as far south as Iran. Lenin promoted the use of many languages, whereas Stalin's rule was oppressive for speakers of languages other than Russian: 'Under the pressure of the imperial ideology they were forced to sacrifice linguistic rights for an ideal that was clearly an attempt at linguistic genocide' (Rannut 1994: 179).

The significance of language for the colonial adventure was appreciated from its inception. In 1492 Queen Isabella of Spain was presented with a plan for establishing Castilian 'as a tool for conquest abroad and a weapon to suppress untutored speech at home' (quoted in Illich 1981: 35). For its author, Antonio de Nebrija, the first modern grammarian and language planner, 'Language has always been the consort of empire, and forever shall remain its mate' (ibid.: 34): the language was to be fashioned as a standard in the domestic education system, as a means of social control, and harnessed to the colonial mission elsewhere.

While Europeans were experiencing a transition from feudal structures to mercantile societies, they were deeply involved in overseas expansion, the plunder of gold and silver in the Americas, slavery, and competition for control of lucrative markets for goods, particularly from Asia (spices, tea and coffee, silk, ceramics, etc.). European expansion throughout the world has led to several European languages being securely transplanted elsewhere. The languages accompanied political and economic influence, backed up by military and naval might. Languages were central to Christian missionary activity that accompanied several European languages worldwide, just as Arabic was integral to the spread of Islam in the Middle East, Asia, Africa and the Balkans.

The present-day strength of English, French, Spanish and Portuguese in the Americas, in Africa, in Asia, Australasia and the Pacific is a direct consequence of successive waves of colonization and of the outcome of military conflict between rival European powers worldwide. The dominance of English, rather than French, in North America is due to the British military defeat of France in Quebec, and the secession by France under the terms of the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713 of French possessions in

North America to the British. Military defeat of the Germans in the First World War (seen as a war for empires by historians) resulted in Germany being stripped of its colonies. Italian occupation of parts of north and east Africa was ended by defeat in the Second World War. Dutch power was contained by defeat by the British in the Boer War in South Africa. The Japanese ended political control by the Netherlands of Indonesia in the Second World War. Colonial empires were no longer tenable after 1945, in a world dominated by the United States, the Cold War, and liberation struggles by oppressed groups worldwide.

When French took over from Latin as a lingua franca for secular purposes in Europe in the seventeenth century, there was widespread belief in the intrinsic superiority of the language, a belief that was endorsed in Diderot's influential *Encyclopédie*. The Academy of Berlin held a competition in 1782 on the theme of why French was a 'universal language' (Calvet 1987: 71). One of the winning essays, by Rivarol, argues that languages which do not follow the syntax of French are illogical and inadequate. Linguistic hierarchization was therefore widely believed in before it was needed in the legitimation of the colonial venture. Calvet's *Linguistique et colonialisme: Petit traité de glottophagie* (1974) is a comprehensive analysis of the links between linguistics and the furtherance of the French colonial cause. His term *glottophagie* (linguistic cannibalism) refers to dominant languages eating up and extinguishing dominated languages. Linguistic genocide, as defined in work on the United Nations genocide convention, is in fact still practised widely in the modern world, and can also be seen as a crime against humanity (Skutnabb-Kangas 2000, Skutnabb-Kangas and Dunbar 2010).

Maintenance of a linguistic hierarchy typically involves a pattern of *stigmatization* of dominated languages (mere 'dialects,' 'vernaculars', 'patois'), *glorification* of the dominant language (its superior clarity, syntax, richer vocabulary), and *rationalization* of the relationship between the languages, always to the benefit of the dominant one (the civilizing mission, access to the superior culture and 'progress'). One's own language was therefore projected as the language of God (Sanskrit, Arabic in the Islamic world, Dutch in South Africa), the language of reason, logic and human rights (French both before and after the French Revolution), the language of the superior ethno-national group (German in Nazi ideology), the language of progress, modernity, national unity (English in much post-colonial discourse). As other languages are explicitly or implicitly deprived of such functions and qualities, it is 'logical' that speakers of a stigmatized language can only benefit from using a 'superior' language.

The expansion of English worldwide was largely triggered by the occupation by emigrants from the British Isles of land on other continents, initially in the Caribbean and North America. Between 1815 and 1914 over 21 million British and Irish people emigrated, the greatest number to the United States, and increasing numbers to Canada, Australia,

New Zealand and to a lesser extent South Africa. This demographic imperialism, which the Dutch, French, Portuguese and Spaniards also indulged in, mainly in the Americas but also in Africa and Asia, assumed a right to occupy territory as though it was unoccupied: the myth of *terra nullius* which assumed that aboriginals had no right of ownership of the land. The aim was to establish replicas of the 'home country' in New Amsterdam (later New York), New England, Newfoundland, New Zealand, Nova Scotia, Hispania, etc, and by so doing, to strengthen the home country's economy: 'Britain's domestic tranquillity required the growth of its trade' (Darwin 2009: 36). The loyalty of British emigrants to the idea of the British empire led to over a million emigrants from the dominions seeing military service in the First World War and even more in the Second (ibid.: 11).

The nineteenth century saw the consolidation of a British 'world-system' that resulted from a combination of demographic, commercial, political and strategic interests and led to British global dominance (Darwin 2009; the *Oxford History of the British Empire*, five volumes, 1988–99, and companion volumes on gender, migrations, mission, Ireland, the Black experience, environment, Australia and Canada). As the pioneers of the industrial revolution, the British economy benefited from massive investment in railways and infrastructure in many parts of the world, connected by underwater cables that facilitated rapid communication, and funded by investment banks in the City of London which provided capital and insured the merchant navy that transported goods worldwide. 'By the early 1900s, one-third of all quoted securities around the world were traded in London and around 60 per cent of the Stock Exchange's share listings were for overseas enterprises. … By 1913, Latin America was providing around a quarter of Britain's overseas property income' (ibid.: 119, 140). There was major competition from rival European imperial powers, France, Russia and later Germany, for influence and resources in the Middle East and Asia, including China. This competition led to a share-out of African territory – the scramble for Africa – and much of the Pacific at a conference in Berlin in 1884 attended by the competing European 'Great Powers': the big four, Austria–Hungary, Germany, Russia and Great Britain, along with France, Italy and Turkey, which by then was bankrupt, with its empire in retreat in south-east Europe. The map of Africa drawn up then, with no Africans present or consulted, is still essentially in place. The Berlin policy succeeded in avoiding military clashes between rival imperial powers until 1914.

India played a key role in British thinking, in reciprocal strengthening of the British and Indian economies, in the global economy that the British dominated, and through a massive army that maintained control within India and saw service in many other Asian, African and Middle Eastern contexts. There was an asymmetrical relationship between the United Kingdom and colonized India, where the vast majority of

the population remained in poverty, and literacy in any language was below 10 per cent. One of the most significant legacies of British India is the present-day role of English. However, the strength of English as the language at the top of the present-day linguistic hierarchy should not obscure the fact that 'less than 0.5% of Indians have computers, probably around 2.5% of Indians speak English, and a little more than 60 per cent are literate' (Nandy 2006: 128).

The British empire was never a grand scheme worked out by policy-makers in London, but rather was an improvized set of initiatives by commercial opportunists, missionaries (as many as 10,000 by 1900), and the pressures of rival powers in Europe and increasingly the United States. Developments in countries where the climate was congenial to British settlement, in Australia, Canada, New Zealand and South Africa, and which have become independent states (remaining members of the British Commonwealth) were unpredictable throughout much of the nineteenth century and not constitutionally settled until the twentieth. They were decisively influenced by the commercial entrepreneurship that evolved in each context, the speed and density of settlement, and the resistance of indigenous peoples to the invasion of their territories. The independence and unity of Canada was threatened by the wish of the USA to absorb it, if not politically then economically. Relations with Indigenous peoples, as in the United States and New Zealand, have been and still are turbulent.

The current status of European languages, English in particular, should not mislead one into assuming that there is any intrinsic connection between a language or culture and scientific excellence, notions of democracy, a well-informed public sphere and the like. Many of the rich intellectual roots of European culture in the world of ancient Greece and Rome were kept alive during the European 'dark ages' in the flourishing academic world of Arabia and North Africa, and from there were transmitted back to Europe. Contact between China, India and Arabia flourished for two millennia, with translations between Chinese, Sanskrit and Arabic in many scholarly fields. The pre-eminence of Western science, in our unstable, inequitable, militarized world, is recent, and falsely legitimated as though 'knowledge societies' are a late capitalist invention:

> science, mathematics, literature, linguistics, architecture, medicine and music. … In so far as public reasoning is central to democracy …, parts of the global roots of democracy can indeed be traced back to the tradition of public discussion that received much encouragement in both India and China (and also in Japan, Korea and elsewhere), from the dialogic commitment to Buddhist organization… The first printed book in the world with a date (corresponding to 868 CE), which was the Chinese translation of a Sanskrit treatise, the so-called 'Diamond Sutra' (Kumārajīva had translated it in 402 CE), carried the remarkable

> motivational explanation: 'for universal free distribution'. (Sen 2005: 164, 182–3)

There are broadly speaking three types of colonization: the dominant power exploits other groups through colonization of their *bodies*, as in slavery and in exploitation of their labour; through colonization of their *territory and natural resources;* and through colonization of the *mind*, which involves colonized peoples internalizing the values of the dominant power. 'It is the final triumph of a system of domination when the dominated start singing its virtues' (Ngũgĩ 1987: 20). One can distinguish between a settlement colony, like Canada or Brazil, and an exploitation colony, such as Ghana or Sri Lanka, basing the distinction on whether Europeans moved there permanently or not. However, legacies from each of the three types interlock, and permeate the relationship in the contemporary world between rich and poor countries, and between the rich and poor within each country. The USA was consolidated through systematic recourse to all three types of colonization: progressive territorial expansion in North America, exploitation of the bodies of slaves, and colonization of the mind through elaboration of strong national identification and the dominance of a single language. The three types of colonization continue in today's neo-colonialism, directly or indirectly. Thus Alexander (2006: 241) considers that in post-apartheid South Africa, two factors determine current practices and attitudes in the relationship between language and power: the hierarchies of the linguistic market are largely determined by the mundane fact of economic, political or military dominance; and the 'colonized mind' of conquered peoples has often led to a failure on the part of their leadership to realize the power that is latent in the languages of the oppressed and of other subaltern strata or groups.

It is important in any historical narrative to be aware that what appeared to be a great success for some (captured in the USA mantra 'the land of the free', the British mantra 'free trade', and the French 'mission civilisatrice') was experienced as tragedy by others (territorial and linguistic dispossession, slavery, indentured labour, denial of civil rights). There are therefore conflicting perceptions and interpretations of imperialism: different cultures are seen in different ways depending on whether one is seeing with the 'imperial eye' (Pratt 1992) or the reverse. This dichotomy is captured by a witticism attributed to Mahatma Gandhi, when asked what he thought of British civilization: 'that would be a very good idea'. The essential inequality of imperialism was structural. Gandhi wrote, in a letter to the British Viceroy of in 1930: 'Though I hold the British rule in India to be a curse, I do not, therefore, consider Englishmen in general to be worse than any other people on earth' (cited in Gandhi 2008: 287). In the same letter he requested the Viceroy, the British monarch's official representative in India with draconian powers, to reflect on the fact that

the British Prime Minister was then paid ninety times Britain's average income, whereas as Viceroy he was being paid over five thousand times India's average income. These figures symbolize the injustice between the beneficiaries of an imperial system and those exploited by it.

Political leaders were well aware of this injustice. Winston Churchill told his British cabinet colleagues in January 1914 (cited in Darwin 2009: 268):

> We have engrossed to ourselves an altogether disproportionate share of the wealth and traffic of the world. We have got all we want in territory, and our claim to be left in the unmolested enjoyment of vast and splendid possessions, mainly acquired by violence, largely maintained by force, often seems less reasonable to others than to us.

Colonial language policies assumed that power and language went hand in hand. Churchill's words were echoed in 1948 by a key US policy-maker, George Kennan (cited in Pilger 1998: 59):

> We have 50 per cent of the world's wealth, but only 6.3 per cent of its population. In this situation, our real job in the coming period is to devise a pattern of relationships which permit us to maintain this position of disparity. To do so, we have to dispense with all sentimentality … we should cease thinking about human rights, the raising of living standards, and democratization.

The British began systematizing the global promotion of English in the 1930s (Phillipson 1992: 137–45). The USA and the UK intensified their efforts to promote English as a 'global' language from the 1950s (ibid.: chapter 6), though collaboration between the two 'English-speaking' countries began in the 1930s (Phillipson 2009: 112–18).

Colonial language policy

Although language policy has taken many forms in the periods of both colonization and decolonization, there are remarkable similarities in the way the colonizing powers promoted their languages, and in how the policies of the colonial period remain in place in the post-colonial world.

In central and southern America, the colonizers encountered well-established local languages of empire, and there was a protracted debate between missionaries seeking to preach the gospel using these languages, as opposed to those who favoured the use of Spanish. This debate is recorded in great detail in the archives of the Catholic church, and has been analysed for its impact on Mexico (Heath 1972).

French spread as the primary international language of the modern period as a result of its adoption as the language of many royal courts throughout Europe from the late seventeenth century. France had the

largest population of any country in Europe, though less than half of the population was proficient in French as late as the mid-nineteenth century. The dissemination of French elsewhere was facilitated by several factors: emigration from France as a result of religious persecution; significant numbers of governesses training aristocrats to speak French from Madrid to St. Petersburg; and the belief among elites that French civilization and language were intrinsically superior to others. French and British competition for global dominance was effectively terminated in favour of the British through naval victory at Trafalgar in 1805 (leading to the British 'ruling the waves' for a century), by military defeat in India as well as in North America, and by containment in Africa and the compromise negotiated in Berlin. French remained the primary language of international diplomacy until the peace conferences that ended the First World War, when the USA insisted on parity for English.

French colonial education policy involved no use being made of local languages, except to a limited extent in French Indo-China. Policy in the French empire, as in the Portuguese empire, aimed at the intensive assimilation of a tiny local elite, who were supposed to 'evolve' into fully French citizens. The first director of the Alliance Française, founded in 1883, articulated this goal: 'It is necessary to attach the colonies to the metropole by a very solid psychological bond, against the day when their progressive emancipation ends in a form of federation as is probable – that they be and remain French in language, thought, and spirit' (Pierre Foncin, cited in Rodney 1972: 285). The content and methods of education were therefore those of the mother country. The exclusive concentration on French led to a neglect of literacy in local languages that lasted throughout the twentieth century.

In the colonies that later became the United States of America, some First Nations languages, for instance Cherokee (Spring 1996: 73–7) were used in general education, along with the languages of the classical world, like in Europe. English was considered 'necessary' for civilizing Native Americans. Native American languages were also used in missionary work and the media, but when competition for territory and resources intensified, conflict between the settlers and indigenous peoples increased, and less education was offered to local people. A mission to the Choctaws was established 'on the principle that there was no hope for the adults; that the only prospect of success was in placing the children in boarding schools, and making them "English in language, civilized in manners, Christian in religion" ' (ibid.: 152). There is also massive evidence of the genocide of the local population throughout the Americas, as reflected in the title of a detailed record written by a Native American scholar, Ward Churchill, *A Little Matter of Genocide. Holocaust and Denial in the Americas 1492 to the Present* (Churchill 1997). As a direct result of such policies, of the sixty-three languages originally present in

Canada, only three are thriving (Bear Nicholas 2009), and the situation in the USA is comparable (see McCarty, chapter 27 in this volume).

The USA has since the early nineteenth century had 'a belief in the manifest destiny of Anglo-Saxon culture to spread around the world' (1838, the Board of Foreign Missions of the USA, then covering only half of the territory of what is now the USA). The ambition of what George Washington referred to as a new empire was to go global. The vision in 1780, of John Adams, who became the second President of the USA, was that 'English is destined to be in the next and succeeding centuries more generally the language of the world than Latin was in the last or French in the present age' (cited in Bailey 1992: 103). The significance of language was understood early in the American struggle for independence from Britain. In 1789 Noah Webster made an American declaration of linguistic independence, arguing the case for 'an American tongue', a language with pronunciation and spelling quite distinct from British English (ibid.: 104–6):

> A national language is a band of national union. Every engine should be employed to make the people of this country national; to call their attachments home to their own country; and to inspire them with the pride of national character… Let us then seize the present moment, and establish a national language as well as a national government. (cited in Graddol, Swann and Leith 1996: 93–4)

The policy of the USA transforming a diverse immigrant and indigenous population into monolingual English users has a chequered history but was integral to the processes of colonization and national identity formation, as briskly articulated by President Theodore Roosevelt in 1919: 'We have room for but one flag, the American flag… *We have room for but one language here, and that is the English language*… and we have room for but one sole loyalty and that is a loyalty to the American people.' (Italics added)

The Monroe doctrine of 1823 articulated a policy of ensuring that the Americas would remain a sphere of interest determined by the USA rather than Europeans. The USA became a global colonial power in the 1890s. Imperial exploitation necessarily entails cultural and education policies. In the Philippines, education followed the same model as in the USA, with an insistence on an exclusive use of English in education from 1898 to 1940: '… public education, specifically language and literature education during the American colonial period, was designed to directly support American colonialism. The combined power of the canon, curriculum and pedagogy constituted the ideological strategies resulting in rationalizing naturalizing and legitimizing myths about colonial relationships and realities' (Martin 2002: 210). The pattern was comparable in the British empire:

> The main purpose of the colonial school system was to train Africans to help man the local administration at the lowest ranks and to staff the private capitalist firms owned by Europeans. In effect, that meant selecting a few Africans to participate in the domination and exploitation of the continent as a whole. […] It was not an educational system designed to give young people confidence and pride as members of African societies, but one which sought to instill a sense of deference towards all that was European and capitalist. […] Colonial schooling was education for subordination, exploitation, the creation of mental confusion and the development of underdevelopment. (Rodney 1972: 263–4)

The diverse pressures on language policy in the Portuguese colony Mozambique have been analysed in relation to economic factors (labour), politics (assimilation of a local elite), and religion (Stroud 2007). *Impérialismes linguistiques hier et aujourd'hui* (Calvet and Griolet 2005) contains studies of English, French and Japanese as imperial languages. There are several articles by Japanese scholars, in translation into French, which describe the various forms that Japanese linguistic imperialism took internally within Japan and in the twentieth-century occupation of Taiwan, Korea, Manchuria and other conquered territory. Until 1945 Japanese was being projected as a common language for eastern Asia. Ostler (2005) has written a magisterial history of the world's languages which does not see the expansion of languages as constituting linguistic imperialism.

Colonial education was fundamentally inappropriate (Phillipson 1992: chapter 5): 'By the opening decades of the twentieth century the crass objective of confining colonized people through inferior education had been dressed up with "scientific" justifications and permeated almost every corner of the Empire apart from South Asia' (Etherington 2005a: 269). Such justifications reflected the twists and turns that characterized colonial language policy (Pennycook 2005). In British Africa until the 1950s, 90 per cent of educational work was in the hands of missionaries, from a range of European countries as well as the USA, working for dozens of different Christian denominations. Their primary goal was evangelization, whether through English or the many African languages that missionaries codified, artificially because of linguistically and culturally uninformed selection practices and arbitrarily decreed colonial boundaries. Missionaries were generally looked down on by colonial administrators, and were often at odds with settlers and commercial interests, because they tended to disapprove of how the colonized were being treated (Etherington 2005b). There was in fact a tension throughout the history of the British empire between the empire-builders and critics of imperialism. Christian missionaries remain active worldwide, often in

the guise of teachers of English, which creates an ethical dilemma for the English teaching profession (Wong and Canagarajah 2009).

Linguistic imperialism was an integral dimension of the overall structure within which one collectivity exploited others, and rationalized their right to do so in ideologies of racial and linguistic superiority (Phillipson 1992, Mühlhäusler 1996, Skutnabb-Kangas 2000). I see *linguistic imperialism* as involving the following:

- it is a form of *linguicism*, a favouring of one language over others in ways that parallel societal structuring through racism, sexism and class: linguicism (Skutnabb-Kangas 2000) also serves to privilege users of the standard forms of the dominant language, those with convertible linguistic capital;
- it is *structural*: more material resources and infrastructure are accorded to the dominant language than to others;
- it is *ideological*: beliefs, attitudes and imagery glorify the dominant language, stigmatize others, and rationalize the linguistic hierarchy;
- the dominance is *hegemonic*, it is internalized and naturalized as being 'normal';
- linguistic imperialism interlocks with *a structure of imperialism* in culture, education, the media, communication, the economy, politics and military activities;
- in essence it is about *exploitation*, injustice, inequality and hierarchy that privileges those able to use the dominant language;
- this entails *unequal rights* for speakers of different languages;
- language use is often *subtractive*, proficiency in the imperial language and in learning it in education involving its consolidation at the expense of other languages;
- linguistic imperialism is invariably *contested and resisted*.

This pattern of activities holds for the role of language in all empires, even if these inevitably display great variety over time and space. Whether linguistic imperialism is a reality in a given context can be analysed empirically through documenting the variables in language policy in question, for instance if material resources go exclusively to one language, if there are beliefs that only one language should be used in education, is there is promotion and development of one language and marginalization and under-development of others, etc. Refinement of the approach, and a response to some criticism of its supposed limitations, are presented in Phillipson (2009).

Comparison of the British and French empires, drawing heavily on the analysis of scholars from the colonized world, leads to the conclusion that despite differences in the articulation of policies, what the French and British empires had in common was:

- the low status of dominated languages, whether these were ignored or used in education,

- a very small proportion of the population in formal education, especially after the lowest classes,
- local traditions and educational practice being ignored,
- unsuitable education being given to Africans,
- an explicit policy of 'civilizing the natives',
- the master language being attributed civilizing properties. (Phillipson 1992: 128)

These features remained in place in the post-colonial age:

> European languages were imposed on Africans in the colonial period. African people as communities did not choose to learn those languages … Individual Africans do not necessarily choose to learn these languages (French, English, Portuguese). Since the language of instruction in almost all African countries is the language of the former colonial power, going to school does not leave any choice. Individuals who do not go to school, and therefore do not learn European languages, do not choose not to go to school. They do not have access to schooling. (Rubagumya 2004: 134)

In India the situation was complex, due to the country's size and diversity, and since there were strong and ancient literacy traditions in the main languages. Education in these was widespread before the policy of promoting English for an elite class was officialized. Three universities were founded in 1857, fourteen by 1921, and twenty before independence in 1947. But Westernization was in effect confined to a small segment of the population. These have retained the role of the colonizers' language for post-colonial elite formation and privilege.

There are major differences in the way British language policy in India has been interpreted. At one extreme is the view that the decision to promote English and neglect Indian languages was 'largely a recognition of local Indian demands', and that the idea of colonialist imposition of English is a twentieth-century 'myth' (Frykenberg 1999: 210). A more differentiated view is that the promotion of English reflected a firm belief in progress, 'English liberty, toleration and improvement', as articulated by the imperial spin doctor, Macaulay, who 'held arrogant but representative views on England's cultural ascendancy in the world and on what he believed to be the benevolent impact of British rule in India and elsewhere. The controversial Minute on Education, written in India in 1835, managed to reconcile British *realpolitik* and idealism in a way that left a lasting mark on subsequent interpretations of British rule' (Louis 1999: 5). At the other end of the spectrum is Gandhi: 'To give millions a knowledge of English is to enslave us' (1908, cited in Naik 2004: 255). Gandhi, like Nehru, the first Prime Minister of independent India, did not believe that India could be united through English, and campaigned against an extensive use of English in education at the expense of Indian languages. In the analysis of an Indian who has lived through the entire post-independence period:

> The colonial language policy, therefore, was a part of the overall policy of governing the 'native subjects' in such a way that their minds would cease to be Indian. Language became an instrument for this purpose. It helped produce efficient and dedicated slaves who would be faithful to their masters and grateful to be slaves. The British rule consolidated itself mainly by dividing India into two classes: the loyal English educated Indians and the ignorant masses restricted to their 'vernaculars'. (Naik 2004: 254–5)

Likewise, in colonial Kenya 'English was the official vehicle and the magic formula to colonial élitedom' (Ngũgĩ 1985: 115). These broad generalizations about colonial language policy are valid, even if policies were in fact worked out *ad hoc* in a wide variety of situations. The complexity of the evolution of imperial language policy has been charted by many distinguished scholars from India, Pakistan and Sri Lanka. They have explored the fluctuations of language policy over the past 200 years, the nature of multilingualism in the sub-continent, and the implications for language policy at all levels (e.g. Annamalai 1991, Khubchandani 1983, Rahman 1998, Viswanathan 1989). They present the complexity of a civilization that differs markedly from the West – which they are also all deeply familiar with – and not seeing with the imperial eye.

Post-colonial – and post-imperial?

When colonies acquired political independence, a number of factors – supply and demand, 'aid' and dependence – resulted in the continuation of the language policies of the colonial period till the present (Bamgbose 2006). The most significant source for funding for education in post-colonial states in the closing decades of the twentieth century was the World Bank, which has channelled funds toward the learning of the former colonial languages. World Bank policies filter through into the 'aid' agendas of the US and the British Overseas Development Administration (ODA), which favour a 'transition' from local languages to English, meaning the phasing out of local languages as media of instruction:

> the World Bank, which controls and influences the majority of aid packages to the third world, supports the transitional model. World Bank officials who visited South Africa in 1992 made it quite clear that additive bilingualism was not on the World Bank agenda and that funds would not be available to support such programmes. As mentioned earlier, USAID and ODA are heavily influenced by World Bank agendas, and the language education models they are supporting are consistently transitional … a concrete example of just how powerfully persuasive Western aid agencies are in influencing policy. (Heugh 2003: 343, initially published in 1995)

In post-colonial English language education as propagated by the British and Americans, five tenets have been of decisive influence since the 1960s, each of which is false: English is best taught and examined monolingually (the monolingual fallacy); the ideal teacher of English is a native speaker (the native speaker fallacy); the earlier English is taught, the better the results (the early start fallacy); the more English is taught, the better the results (the maximum exposure fallacy); if other languages are used much, standards of English will drop (the subtractive fallacy) (Phillipson 1992: 183–218).

> The World Bank's real position … encourages the consolidation of the imperial languages in Africa. … the World Bank does not seem to regard the linguistic Africanization of the whole of primary education as an effort that is worth its consideration. Its publication on strategies for stabilizing and revitalizing universities, for example makes absolutely no mention of the place of language at this tertiary level of African education. (Mazrui 1997: 39)

Indian research indicates that 'Over the post-Independence years, English has become the single most important predictor of socio-economic mobility … With the globalized economy, English education widens the discrepancy between the social classes' (Mohanty 2006: 268–9). In the global village there are

> a few chiefs – very powerful economically and militarily – and a lot of powerless villagers. … The market has indeed replaced imperial armies, but one wonders whether the effect is any different. … It is therefore not the case that more English will lead to African global integration; the reverse is more likely.… Giving false hopes that everybody can have access to 'World English' is unethical. (Rubagumya 2004: 136–9)

Omoniyi, in an article analysing why the Nigerian military government decreed in 1998 that French should be the 'second official language' of the country, describes the neglect of local languages as a 'rape on democracy' (2003: 23). The decision exemplifies push and pull factors working together in neo-imperialism. French economic interests in the region (push) are promoted through 'aid' (sixteen language attachés, support for a hundred pilot schools, six colleges of education and six universities, thirteen French language centres, ibid.: 20–1) and combine with a Nigerian political wish (a pull) to subvert US interests and Commonwealth criticism of a military regime. Omoniyi refers to 'two Europhone cohorts that have outlived colonization: Anglophone and Francophone Africa … they resuscitate and/or perpetuate colonial presence and rivalries, and neo-imperialist discourses in supposedly post-colonial times' (ibid.: 23).

There is therefore an urgent need for a more socio-culturally and linguistically appropriate language policy. There are pressures to change

the state of affairs. African heads of state have established an African Academy of Languages with a mandate to promote mother-tongue based multilingual education, so as to ensure that a greater proportion of African children succeed in education. The Bamako International Forum on Multilingualism, 19–21 January 2009, approved a set of recommendations to African governments and to 'aid' organizations that should facilitate a reversal of current educational paradigms (see www.acalan.org). Research that documents good practice and clarifies fundamental pedagogical and linguistic principles was presented in papers at the Forum and is also summarized in Benson 2009 and Heugh 2009. There is evidence of success in mother-tongue based multilingual education in one former French colony, Burkina Faso (Ilboudo and Nikièma 2010), and of change in this direction in India, Nepal, and other parts of the world (several articles in Skutnabb-Kangas *et al.* 2009). It is important to stress that children who benefit from literacy and concept development in a local language are more likely to succeed in learning additional languages, including English and French, than is currently the case. Such policies are not 'against' particular languages; they are intended to combat linguicist misuse of the languages.

It is important to recall that the UK and USA have a major economic interest in strengthening English worldwide, quite apart from language being a medium for cultural and political influence. TESOL (the Teaching of English to Speakers of Other Languages, USA) and TEFL (the Teaching of English as a Foreign Language, UK) are significant exports for the Americans and British: teaching materials, examinations, know-how, teachers *et al.* They are a vital dimension of continued English linguistic and educational imperialism. 'The English language teaching sector directly earns nearly £1.3 billion for the UK in invisible exports and our other education related exports earn up to £10 billion more' (Lord Neil Kinnock, Chair of the British Council, in the Foreword to Graddol 2006).

The major publishing houses are now global. For instance, 'Pearson Education's international business has been growing rapidly in recent years, and we now have a presence in over 110 countries.' (www.pearson.com/index.cfm?pageid=18, accessed 15 January 2008). The *Guardian Weekly* reported on 16 October 2009 that Pearson is launching a test of academic English to rival the lucrative TOEFL (USA) and IELTS (Cambridge, UK and Australia) tests of English language proficiency that are taken each year by over one million people. The website of Educational Testing Services of Princeton, NJ, which is responsible for the TOEFL test, states: 'Our global mission goes far beyond testing. Our products and services enable opportunity world-wide by measuring knowledge and skills, promoting learning and performance, and supporting education and professional development for all people worldwide.' The ambivalent role of the TESOL/TEFL enterprise is explored in a number of the contributions to Edge 2006.

The intensive promotion of Spanish in Latin America can also be seen as constituting linguistic imperialism (articles by Del Valle and Mar-Molinero in Mar-Molinero and Stewart 2006).

University of Cambridge International Examinations (www.cie.org.uk) are taken in 153 countries worldwide, typically in 'English-medium' schools that seek qualifications that are comparable to those achieved by UK nationals domestically. CIE projects itself as 'the world's largest provider of international qualifications for 14–19 year olds' that builds on 150 years of experience in holding examinations 'internationally'. This 'not-for-profit organization' is of major ideological importance for British influence worldwide, as well as being big business. The CIE's role in consolidating English as an elite language world-wide through curriculum and examinations – in British English, set in Britain – cannot be underestimated, and needs further research (but see Raban 2008). However much CIE claims to work 'in partnership with ministries of education, qualifications authorities and examination and assessment boards around the world', such partnership is definitely not symmetrical. The fundamental assumption is that the cultural universe and language of Cambridge UK are globally valid and applicable. Colonial education produced a tiny elite that adopted a British mindset and language. Now educational content and language for a larger constituency are packaged as 'international' and 'global'; the linguicist favouring of English remains.

US and UK interests and services are thus in symbiosis with education worldwide and with the evaluation of proficiency in English, the assessment of linguistic capital. Those wishing for credentials in this linguistic market must invest in the form of 'global' English that examination boards profitably dispense. They administer what Bourdieu refers to as the sanctions of the (global) linguistic market.

Fishman, Conrad and Rubal-Lopez's *Post-imperial English: Status Change in Former British and American Colonies, 1940–1990* (1996), has a wealth of empirical description of the functions of English in many contexts. The twenty-nine contributors to the volume were specifically asked to assess whether linguistic imperialism, in the sense in which I have used the term, was in force in the country studies for which they were responsible. They all address the issue, one editor challenges the validity of the concept, but no contributors attempt to refine it or to see whether there might be more powerful or precise ways of coming to grips with theorizing the dominance of English. It is only Fishman, in his introductory and closing comments, who, as well as tabulating the degree of 'anglification' in each state, speculates on English being 'reconceptualized, from being an imperialist tool to being a multinational tool … English may need to be re-examined precisely from the point of view of being post-imperial (… in the sense of not directly serving purely Anglo-American territorial, economic, or cultural expansion) without being post-capitalist in any way' (Fishman 1996: 8). Corporate activities and regional economic blocs

have made the locus of power more diffuse than in earlier, nation-state imperialism.

Scholars who are sceptical about linguistic imperialism as an explanatory model for the way English has been consolidated worldwide tend to analyse matters as though there is a strict choice between (a) active US–UK promotion of English, supported by linguicist policies that favour it over and above other languages, and (b) colonized people and others actively wishing to learn English because of the doors, economic, social, political and cultural, that it opens. Matters are summed up as though (a) involves imposition, whereas (b) is a 'free' choice (e.g. Kirkpatrick 2007: 35–7). This is a false dichotomy, the two elements in no way excluding each other. In addition, neither imposition nor freedom is context-free. Nor should (a) be seen as necessarily entailing the adoption of 'Anglo-cultural norms' and 'British and American culture', whereas (b) would not, which incorrectly ignores the lexico-grammatical substance embedded in the language, and the uses to which the language is put. Mono-causal explanations should be avoided. Push and pull factors both contribute to linguistic hegemony and hierarchy.

Kirkpatrick also accepts Fishman's conclusion that the strength of English in former British and American colonies is more due to such countries' engagement in the modern world economy rather than 'to any efforts derived from their colonial masters' (1996: 640). This analysis seems to ignore the fact that 'engagement in the modern world' means a Western-dominated globalization agenda set by the transnational corporations and the IMF, and the US military intervening, with or without a mandate from the United Nations, whenever 'vital interests' are at risk. English serves to consolidate the interests of the powerful globally and locally and to maintain an exploitative world order that disenfranchizes speakers of other languages. A world polarized between a minority of English-using haves (whether as a first or second language) and a majority of have-nots is not likely to provide healthy conditions for people who speak languages other than English to flourish, so I have difficulty in sharing Fishman's restrained optimism about linguistic power-sharing.

Languages are often categorized as 'global' or 'international', but such terms are fuzzy. Halliday has elaborated an intriguing distinction between them:

> English has become a world language in both senses of the term, international and global: *international*, as a medium of literary and other forms of cultural life in (mainly) countries of the former British Empire; *global*, as the co-genitor of the new technological age, the age of information. So those who are able to exploit it, whether to sell goods or ideas, wield a very considerable power. […] It is important, I think, to distinguish these two aspects, the international and the global, even though they obviously overlap. English has been expanding along both

> trajectories: *globally, as English*; *internationally, as Englishes*. Both of these expansions involve what I have called semogenic strategies: ways of creating new meanings that are open-ended, like the various forms of metaphor, lexical and grammatical. But they differ. *International* English has expanded by becoming world Englishes, evolving so as to adapt to the meanings of other cultures. *Global English* has expanded – has become 'global' – by taking over, or being taken over by, the new information technology, which means everything from email and the internet to mass media advertising, news reporting, and all the other forms of political and commercial propaganda. (Halliday 2006: 362–3)

Terminology in this area is a minefield, often obscuring power relations and hegemonic practices, nationally and internationally. Halliday's *international* is an unfortunate label, since he is in effect referring to *local* forms and uses of English, comprehensible within a country, for instance. His terms also elide the anchoring of *global* English in the English-dominant countries, where it is the primary *national* language, one that also opens international doors, and is a crucial ingredient of the globalization of the second half of the twentieth century, of the attempt to establish US empire.

Halliday's focus on how adapting linguistic systems to new cultural demands can function locally and globally is grounded (not here explicitly) in a material and ideological understanding that is characteristic of Marxist approaches to language, which were refined in the twentieth century primarily by Gramsci and Bourdieu.

Brutt-Griffler, in a book entitled *World English: A Study of its Development* (reviewed in Phillipson 2009) has argued that colonial education was more concerned to prevent colonial subjects from having access to English than with imposing the language. She sees World English as doing away with hierarchy among speech communities, non-Western nations taking equal part in the creation of the world econocultural system and its linguistic expression. At the same time she acknowledges that the US and UK dominate the world market and that World English is the dominant socio-political language form. Her attempt to explain the growth of English worldwide is therefore internally inconsistent, theoretically flawed, and based on argumentation that ignores the reality of the market forces, political, economic and military, that strengthen some languages at the expense of others locally and globally.

Some see a focus on the declared goals of US and UK policy and 'aid' investments as a conspiracy theory. This is a false reading of work on linguistic imperialism (Phillipson 2009: 72–81), since empirical study necessarily involves analysis of implementation, of the consequences of policy decisions, and of push and pull factors. A conspiracy smear (it has nothing to do with theory) is often, as a study of neoliberal agendas and ideologies shows, 'the standard invalidating predicate to block tracking

of strategic decisions' (McMurtry 2002: 17). What critical scholarship should be concerned with is 'the deeper question of the life-and-death principles of regulating value systems which connect across and explain social orders' (ibid.). This is the overall context within which uses of 'global' and 'local' English need exploration.

Neoimperial language policies

The combined effect of the role of English in the British empire, the strength of the American economy in the twentieth century, and the global power structures put in place from 1945 (Bretton Woods, World Bank, IMF, WTO, NATO, United Nations etc.), along with the imploding of a communist alternative, have all contributed significantly to the current pre-eminence of English. The accumulation of wealth in the neoliberal period that led up to the financial and economic crisis of 2008 is not territorially based (it depends on 'price-space' rather than 'physical space') and is intrinsically linked to the impoverishment and dispossession of the rest of the world's population, while privileging a small elite worldwide. Commodity capitalism evolved with pre-eminence for a number of 'large' languages, whereas finance capital is symbiotically linked to the consolidation of English, and its acceptance by those who might earlier have insisted on parity for other languages. Linguistic capital accumulation in and through English may entail linguistic capital dispossession for other languages. This is why the French have attempted to resist the advance of English, why the governments of the Nordic countries have elaborated a commitment to ensure that increasing competence in and use of English by their citizens does not impair the vitality of the Nordic languages, and why the European Union is in principle committed to maintaining linguistic diversity.

The archetypical aggressive British imperialist is Cecil Rhodes, who made a fortune in the diamond mines of South Africa, became the country's Prime Minister, and pushed northwards, founding countries which were named after him until they morphed into Zambia and Zimbabwe. He left his fortune in the form of Rhodes Scholarships and an Oxford institution, his primary goal being to influence key people from the dominions (Australia, Canada, New Zealand), India and the United States. Rhodes' purpose, as expressed in his first will (1877 – he died in 1902) was

> The extension of British rule throughout the world, the perfecting of a system of emigration from the United Kingdom and of colonization by British subjects of all lands wherein the means of livelihood are attainable by energy, labour and enterprise, the ultimate recovery of the United States of America as an integral part of the British Empire,

> the consolidation of the whole Empire, the inauguration of a system of Colonial Representation in the Imperial Parliament which may tend to weld together the disjointed members of the Empire, and finally the foundation of so great a power as to hereafter render wars impossible and promote the best interests of humanity. (Quigley 1981: 33)

Only part of this scheme has been realized, but perhaps more than meets the eye. The American dog has waved the British tail since 1945, and a network of Anglophonic 'global leaders' has been assisted through the extensive Rhodes scholarship system (www.rhodeshouse.ox.ac.uk). The myth of a 'special relationship' can be traced through Churchill–Roosevelt, Macmillan–Kennedy, Thatcher–Reagan and Blair–Bush II. The strong links between the US and the UK were articulated by Churchill and Roosevelt in 1941 in the 'Atlantic Charter', which set out a policy for the postwar world, Churchill stressing in the House of Commons on 24 August 1941: '… the British Empire and the United States who, fortunately for the progress of mankind, happen to speak the same language and very largely think the same thoughts …' (Morton 1943: 152).

British ambivalence about its membership of the European Union is partly due to the legacy of empire but more significantly to the competing tug of the political, military, cultural and linguistic links with the US. Some US think tanks envisage seeing the UK detached from 'Europe' and the creation of a trans-Atlantic Anglosphere (see Phillipson 2009: 120). On the other hand, the European Union itself is the brainchild of key US policy-makers of the 1940s, in liaison with the European founding fathers who wished to create a federal United States of Europe on the model of the USA (Winand 1993). The French President, Charles de Gaulle, refused to agree to British membership of what at the time was the European Economic Community (just as he withdrew France from NATO because of US dominance), since he saw the British as a Trojan horse for US interests. The UK, Ireland and Denmark joined the EU in 1973, since which the use of English in EU institutions has progressively increased, to the point where it has become the de facto in-house language (Phillipson 2003, 2011). The political reality is that English is now at the pinnacle of an EU system in which twenty-three languages in principle have the same rights and status. It has become the default language of the EU Commission, its administrative headquarters. English dominance here co-articulates with the privileged (but not exclusive) status of English in commerce, military affairs, the media, research and education.

The transition of English into a language of empire – primarily driven by the corporate and military forces of the USA and its allies – can be analysed through study of the structures and processes that constitute and legitimate linguistic neoimperialism (Phillipson 2008, reproduced as chapter 6 of Phillipson 2009). Linguistic capital accumulation follows

similar principles to economic and cultural capital accumulation and dispossession. Gradual processes of Americanization have gathered speed throughout the twentieth century, and been marketed as globalization:

> 'Globalization' serves as a password, a watchword, while in effect it is the legitimatory mask of a policy aiming to universalize particular interests and the particular tradition of the economically and politically dominant powers, above all the United States, and to extend to the entire world the economic and cultural model that favours these powers most, while simultaneously presenting it as a norm, a requirement, and a fatality, a universal destiny, in such a manner as to obtain adherence or at the least, universal resignation. (Bourdieu 2001b: 84)

Those in power impose or induce acceptance of this societal model. In *Empire*, Hardt and Negri draw together many threads from political, economic and cultural theory and philosophy, and astutely unravel the role of communication in global social trends, and how language constitutes our universe (2000: 32–3):

> The great industrial and financial powers thus produce not only commodities but also subjectivities… the immaterial nexuses of the production of language, communication, and the symbolic that are developed by the communications industries. The development of communications networks has an organic relationship to the emergence of the new world order – it is, in other words, effect and cause, product and producer. Communication not only expresses but also organizes the movement of globalization. It organizes the movement by multiplying and structuring interconnections through networks. It expresses the movement and controls the sense and direction of the imaginary that runs throughout these communicative connections… Language, as it communicates, produces commodities but moreover produces subjectivities, puts them in relation, and orders them.

This explains why it has been so important for the corporate world not only to dominate the media but also education, which is increasingly run to service the economy, and produce consumers rather than critical citizens. In the teaching and marketing of communication skills, linguistic imperialism transforms into communicative imperialism: 'Language becomes a global product available in different local flavours… The dissemination of 'global' communicative norms and genres, like the dissemination of international languages, involves a one-way flow of expert knowledge from dominant to subaltern cultures' (Cameron 2002: 70). The modern focus on communication skills, defined by 'experts', entails the dissemination of American ways of speaking. Plans to introduce English as a 'second official language' in Chile, Japan and Korea, and the policy of making the learning of English compulsory throughout education in China are symptomatic of this trend. The British government's effort to

make the learning of English a worldwide 'basic skill', through a pretence that it serves all equally well, is manifest linguistic neoimperialism.

Whether changes in the global economy, and the mushrooming of Chinese-funded Confucius Institutes worldwide, will radically alter the status of English within a decade or two remains to be seen, but is quite possible. If a privileged status is accorded to Chinese, requiring its use at the expense of other languages, as part of a new exploitative world order, a new variant of linguistic imperialism may come into being.

11

Language policy at the municipal level

Peter Backhaus

Introduction

This chapter provides a basic overview of language policy at the lower administrative levels of metropolitan governments, cities, wards and towns. Municipalities are situated relatively low in the hierarchy of policy making bodies, ranging from supra-national organizations like the European Union or the United Nations, through national language policy makers, and larger sub-national polities such as states, prefectures, and provinces. Municipal governments are subordinate to these higher levels, and to a large extent follow the policies that are decided elsewhere.

However, there are several reasons why language policies at the local level of municipal administration are of interest to language policy research. First and foremost, they provide a most important interface between state and citizens. Unlike the higher administrative levels, municipal governments are in daily contact with the general public. Activities such as registration, taxes, the reception of benefits and services, public transport, garbage disposal and disaster prevention, to name but a few, are usually dealt with on the local level. As a result, municipal governments have to take much greater care than national governments to communicate with their residents. In some cases, as we will see, this may bring about friction between the different administrative levels.

Given the scarcity of previous research on the topic, the main aim of this chapter is to explore what major areas of language policy there are on the municipal level and what basic orientations they have. Care has been taken to provide a most heterogeneous picture of the situation. The analysis includes municipalities from four continents, with a population ranging from several million to a few thousand. With regard to ethnolinguistic make-up, Lambert's (1999) model will serve as a frame of reference. The model distinguishes between three basic types of societies: (1) those relatively homogeneous, (2) those containing two or three

main linguistic groups, referred to by Lambert as dyadic and triadic, respectively, and (3) those that are made up of a larger number of different linguistic groups. Lambert calls this latter type mosaic.

The present overview includes municipalities from all three types of societies. We start with Tokyo as the capital of a country with a strong reputation for ethnic and linguistic homogeneity. We then cross the Pacific to look at municipalities in the United States, another country characterized by Lambert as type (1). The analysis of municipal language policies in dyadic societies starts with the city of Toronto in Canada. We move on to Eastern Europe and the Middle East to look at municipalities in two other type (2) countries, Kosovo and Israel. We finally leave the northern hemisphere for South Africa, where we look at how municipal language policies are designed in a prototypical mosaic society.

The analysis relies on two types of data. The main sources are language policy documents prepared by the municipalities in question. We will explore what areas of language policy are defined in these documents and what languages they refer to. In addition, we will look at secondary sources such as empirical research and newspaper articles on the implementation of these policies. This will help us keep together theory and practice of language planning on the municipal level. Whenever available, both types of sources will be used.

Before entering the main part, two disclaimers need to be made. The first one is that governments, as Spolsky (2009: 147) has emphasized, tend to 'leave language alone'. Local governments are no exception in this respect. Language policies, if they exist in some explicit form at all, tend to be chaotic, incongruent and extremely piecemeal. There appear to be very few municipal administrations working with a coherently designed language policy scheme. Though these latter provide the main input for the analysis – necessarily so, since one cannot possible analyse something that doesn't exist – it must be kept in mind that they are exceptions to a general rule.

The second point is in part related to this problem. The overview in this chapter relies on a convenience sample that, as a matter of fact, cannot claim to be representative, let alone all-inclusive. If it succeeds in providing a graspable account of the great variety of municipal language policies that exist, the aim of this chapter has largely been fulfilled. If, in addition, some common themes underlying these policies can be tracked down, that is even better.

Tokyo

Being the capital of one of the most frequently quoted examples of a monolingual nation, Tokyo is a good point of departure. The city has a population of over eight million people, only a little more than 3 per cent

of which according to official data are non-Japanese nationals. The large majority of foreigners in Tokyo come from Asian countries, particularly China and Korea.

Language policies started to become an issue in Tokyo in the late 1980s, when the term 'internationalization' gained wider currency and the number of foreigners living in the city first reached sizeable numbers. A 1988 document by the metropolitan government called 'Towards the formation of a city open to the world' contains one of the earliest statements on the administration's language policies. It says that administrative services have to be available to all taxpayers irrespective of their language. If, the document continues, residents would be unable to receive administrative services on account of language problems, the administration would be neglecting their duties (Tokyo Metropolitan Government 1988: 20).

A review of official documents on language policy measures since the early 1990s shows that there are three major language policy areas that have been dealt with. The first one is oral advice in foreign languages. An 'Outline of promotion policies for Tokyo's internationalization' by the metropolitan government (1995) contains first specifications on what languages should be available for what types of advice. The latest government report lists advice on general matters, work and health, available in English, Chinese and Korean. In addition, interpreting in Spanish, Portuguese, Thai and Persian is offered (Tokyo Metropolitan Government 2009).

A second language policy field is written communication with foreign residents. A 1997 scheme by the metropolitan government outlines two basic principles for the preparation of municipal information material: availability of 'foreign languages' (without specification), and easily comprehensible Japanese. This latter provision includes such measures as the insertion of space to separate words (which is not usually done in Japanese) and the use of annotations for difficult Kanji characters (Tokyo Metropolitan Government 1997: 116). A review of administrative information material issued by the metropolitan government and its subordinate twenty-three wards shows that the availability of multilingual printed matter has considerably increased within the past two decades (Backhaus 2004: 42–6).

The third area of municipal language policy is language on signs. This field of study in sociolinguistics and related disciplines in recent years has come to be known as linguistic landscape (Gorter 2006, Shohamy and Gorter 2009). The first official directions regarding the inclusion of languages other than Japanese on official signs were contained in a manual issued by the metropolitan government in 1991, which recommended the use of English and romanized Japanese. It also suggested various strategies of how to make Japanese text on signs more easily intelligible to people with non-Japanese backgrounds (Tokyo Metropolitan Government

1991). In a later document, it was recommended that apart from English, Chinese and Korean should be available (Tokyo Metropolitan Government 2003). This was a most notable step in municipal linguistic landscaping in that the visibility of Chinese and Korean on municipal signs demonstrates an official awareness and acknowledgement of the city's foreign population.

As a closer look at developments since the 1980s shows, the inclusion of foreign languages on official signs in Tokyo has been the result of a complex interplay between different administrative levels. The first multilingual signs were issued on the ward levels in the mid-1980s, most likely on an ad hoc basis. The first coherent policy was developed by the metropolitan government only in the early 1990s. The principle to increase the number of foreign languages beyond English was first formulated by the Ministry of Land, Infrastructure and Transport. This paved the way for the metropolitan government to officially recommend the additional use of Chinese and Korean on municipal and, ideally, also on private signs. The result has been an increasingly quadrilingual linguistic landscape in the streets of Tokyo (see Backhaus 2007).

All three types of language policies outlined here have commonly been referred to by Japanese sociolinguists by the summarizing term 'language services'. As recent research has shown, language services have become an issue not only in Tokyo, but in many other self-governing bodies throughout Japan as well (Kawahara 2004, Kawahara and Noyama 2007).

United States cities and towns

United States municipalities provide an extraordinarily rich source for studying language policies on the local level. This is for the most part due to the English-only movement that swept the country in the early 1980s and that continues to the present day (e.g. Wiley 2004, Johnson 2009). Many of the early legislative battles of the movement were carried out at the local level of municipal language policies.

An early example is the so-called 'Antibilingual Ordinance' of Dade County, Florida, which was issued in 1980 against the backdrop of a growing Latino population in the region. The two major sections of the ordinance are as follows:

> Section 1. The expenditure of county funds for the purpose of utilizing any language other than English, or promoting any culture other than that of the United States, is prohibited.
>
> Section 2. All county governmental meetings, hearings, and publications shall be in the English language only. (quoted in Crawford 1992: 131)

The practical outcomes of the ordinance, which repealed a 1973 resolution that once had declared the county to be 'bilingual and bicultural', were profound. Henceforth, administrative services ranging from bus schedules to health care material to signs at the local zoo were made available in English only (Crawford 2000: 25–6). The ordinance was amended in 1984 to permit county expenditures for other languages in domains such as public health, emergency protection and tourism. It was repealed in 1993.

Other well-known cases of early English-only policies on the municipal level have been reported from Californian cities. For instance, Huntington Park hit the headlines after being sued by a Spanish speaking administrative clerk, challenging an internal rule that prohibited bilingual court clerks speaking to each other in Spanish during working hours. The irony was that the Spanish speaking clerks had been employed particularly for their language proficiency. Yet according to the rule they were allowed to use Spanish only when speaking with a Latino member of the public, not when speaking with each other (Chen 1992).

In other Californian cities, it was the linguistic landscape that became the target of municipal regulations. Thus a frequently quoted 1988 ordinance from Pomona City determined that:

> On-premises signs of commercial or manufacturing establishments which have advertising copy in foreign alphabetical characters shall devote at least one half of the sign area to advertising copy in English alphabetical letters. (quoted in Chen 1992: 273)

As the expression 'foreign alphabetical characters' suggests, the ordinance was mainly directed against business signs by Asian immigrants, who in the past years had been settling in the area in greater numbers. Noteworthy about the ordinance is its focus on private rather than public signs, which clearly goes beyond the usual scope of municipal linguistic landscape policies. Not least for that reason, the ordinance was ruled unconstitutional in 1989 (see Crawford 1992: 284–7). Similar controversies regarding municipal linguistic landscape regulations took place in Monterey Park (Fong 1994, Horton and Calderón 1992) in the 1980s, and in several towns in Bergen County, New Jersey, in the 1990s (Hanley 1996, Andrew 1997). A more recent initiative from the Californian city of Hawthorne is reported in Watanabe (2006).

Notwithstanding internal strife and various legal defeats of the English-only movement, the quest for monolingualism at the local level is far from over. On the contrary, as McCandlish (2006) has pointed out, in view of increasingly dim prospects of a federal policy making English the official national language of the US, such initiatives are

increasingly being transferred to the local level of municipal language policy.

One such example is Pahrump, a town of around 25,000 inhabitants in Nevada. In November 2006, Pahrump Town Ordinance 54 called 'Enacting the English Language' was passed. The key passages are as follows:

> Section 2. In order to encourage every citizen of this town to become more proficient in the English language, thereby facilitating participation in the economic, political, and cultural activities of this town, this state, and of the United States, the English language is hereby declared to be the official language of the Town of Pahrump.
>
> Section 3. Except as otherwise provided for in section 4, and 5, the English language shall be the language of government in Pahrump. All official documents, regulations, orders, transactions, proceedings, programs, meetings, publications, or action taken or issued, which are conducted or regulated by, or on behalf of, or representing the Town of Pahrump and all of its political subdivisions shall be in the English language. (Town of Pahrump 2006)

In view of the many exceptions mentioned in subsequent sections, as well as the fact that all administrative business used to be conducted in English anyway, the ordinance mainly had a symbolic function. So did the painstaking regulations on the flying of flags, which for some reason were included in the wording of the law. The 'Enacting the English Language' ordinance was repealed the following year (Eichelkraut 2007).

While several other US cities and towns in the last couple of years have passed similar English-only ordinances (see McCandlish 2006, Bender 2007), there are also communities whose language policies are oriented in entirely different directions. One example is the City of El Cenizo, a small municipality situated in south-west Texas in close proximity to the Mexican border. The city gained nation-wide attention in 1999 after issuing an ordinance that proclaimed Spanish to be its predominant language. Here are the core parts of the 'Predominant Language Ordinance':

> Section 1. The necessity of stating that the City has no official language is officially declared.
>
> Section 2. To declare the need to determine the predominant language used in the City and allowing for that determination to be found by an official survey.
>
> Section 3. To declare that the results of the aforementioned survey found the predominant language used in the City to be Spanish.
>
> Section 4. All City functions and meetings and notices thereof shall be conducted and posted in the predominant language of the community.

> If any City official conducting the meeting or function is unable to communicate in the predominant language of the community, then translation into the predominant language shall be provided as a matter of course.
>
> Section 5. Translation into English, as practicable, shall be provided at all City functions and meetings for those people who do not speak the predominant language of the community.
>
> Section 6. In order to better conform with County, State and Federal regulations, all ordinances and resolutions written by and for the City shall be created in English. However, translations for these ordinances into the predominant language of the community shall be provided by the City on request. (quoted in Pabón López 2001: 1043–4)

According to city officials, the ordinance had been intended as a pragmatic response to the demographic profile of the city, which is mainly made up of people with Spanish-speaking backgrounds. The 'Predominant Language Ordinance' caused a nationwide surge of protest and became the target of public attacks from right-wing media and English-only organizations, the latter calling El Cenizo 'America's First Quebec' (Pabón López 2001, Stuesse 2002).

Another noteworthy counter-example to English-only policies on the municipal level is the city of Oakland, California. It has a population of around 400,000 and is known as one of the most ethnically diverse cities in the country. In 2001, the city issued an 'Equal Access to Services Ordinance' (City of Oakland 2001) with the purpose of removing language barriers for people with limited proficiency in English. The opening section of the ordinance states as follows:

> Section 1. The Oakland City Council hereby finds and declares that substantial numbers of persons who live, work, and pay taxes in Oakland are unable to communicate effectively in English because their primary language is not English. It is of paramount importance that all residents regardless of their proficiency in English have access to City programs and services.

The subsequent parts of the eight-page document lay out in detail what types of municipal services are to be provided. These include hiring of bilingual staff, translation of written materials, interpretation of public meetings, and use of pre-recorded telephone messages in languages other than English. Languages to be provided are those spoken by at least 10,000 Oakland residents.

Taken together, the examples discussed in this section show that US language policies at the local level are much more heterogeneous than English-only proponents would have it. As a recent report by the International City/County Management Association summarizes: 'Some

local governments have adopted English-only policies, whereas others have provided incentives to new and existing employees to become bilingual or multilingual and have guaranteed the right to services in one's native language' (Rubaii-Barrett 2008: 16). An overall tendency observed by Bender (2007: 889) is that it is particularly the larger cities that in recent years have embraced multilingual policies towards their residents, whereas restrictions on the use of languages other than English are mainly issued by smaller cities and towns. Even more than that, it is the slow power of demographic shift that over time may make municipalities adopt more friendly policies towards their growing minority populations.

Ottawa

The following three sections look at municipal language policies in what Lambert (1999) calls 'dyadic' environments. We start with the Canadian capital, Ottawa.

Canada is one of the prototypes of a bilingual country, with an English speaking majority and a French speaking minority. Both languages have official status.

Ottawa is situated in the province of Ontario and has a population of 800,000 people, 63 per cent of whom, according to official data, speak English as their first language. French is first language for another 15 per cent, while over 20 per cent of the population have a first language other than English or French.

The City of Ottawa published its 'Bilingualism Policy' in 2001. The document opens with the declaration that 'the City of Ottawa recognizes both official languages as having the same rights, status and privileges' (City of Ottawa 2001). This lays down the high relevance of the city's bilingualism, which remains a common point of reference throughout the text. The subsequent part of the document falls into seven major chapters: (1) general policy, (2) language training, (3) professional training, (4) work units, (5) written communication, (6) staffing, and (7) translation. The chapters contain very detailed regulations, most of which concern either communication within the administrative body or communication between the administration and the public.

Provisions on administration-internal communication include issues such as language training and language requirements for municipal staff. Care is taken to promote bilingualism within the administration, but to do so without discriminating against employees who speak only one of the two languages. Thus, on one hand, 'the City [will] make every effort to appoint bilingual people to all management positions' (6.3), while on the other making sure that 'in no instance will employees be terminated or suffer reduction in salary or wages for not meeting

job language requirements' (6). In order to overcome language barriers within the administration, a Translation and Revision Section is established, entrusted with developing policies regarding the revision of previously translated documents and the standardization of terminology (7.6).

The second major language policy field, communication with the public, is in many respects related to staffing policies, since successful communication between city and citizens crucially hinges on the administrative staff's language proficiency. Thus the chapter on work units provides 'that those units whose primary function is to deal directly with the public on a full-time basis, have a full complement of bilingual staff or at least that the majority be bilingual' (4). Bilingualism is also a requirement for written communication, as the following sections demonstrate:

> Section 5.2 That all documents published by the City or its agencies and addressed to the public appear in both official languages.
>
> Section 5.3 That publications be made available in both official languages simultaneously or in the language of the target group.

The same chapter also contains the only regulation on linguistic landscape issues. It says that 'all signs on City property or that of its agencies be bilingual or make use of international symbols' (5.9) and that 'signs be replaced as required' (5.9.1).

In sum, the language policies of the city of Ottawa have an unmistakably bilingual orientation, while not paying much attention to other languages spoken in the city. Indeed there is but one single paragraph in the whole document that refers to languages other than English or French. It says that 'the City also recognizes the need of adapting its services to the needs of other language and cultural groups as the need arises and as the multi-cultural face of this community changes' (1.20). This shows the primacy of language equality issues between the two dominant groups that is typical of bilingual situations overall.

Another noteworthy, and somewhat surprising, point is the scarcity of regulations with regard to language on signs. This is in stark contrast to the painstaking linguistic landscape regulations in neighbouring Quebec (see Backhaus 2008). Given the high symbolic relevance of the linguistic landscape (Landry and Bourhis 1997), it is particularly in bilingual contexts that the language of the signs is prone to become a bone of contention. The next case is such an example.

Israeli cities

The history of modern Israel has been a history of conflict between the Jewish and the Arab inhabitants of the territory. Repercussions of this

unresolved conflict can also be found on the level of municipal administration and the way the languages of the two groups, both of which formally have official status in Israel, are treated.

One of the earliest linguistic landscape studies was conducted by Spolsky and Cooper (1991) in Jerusalem. Rather than scrutinizing official documents about the city's language policy, Spolsky and Cooper looked at the effects of these policies in the streets of East Jerusalem. One of the things they came across in their survey were three types of trilingual street signs (Hebrew, Arabic and English), each slightly differing in the order of the languages contained and the way they were romanized. Spolsky and Cooper concluded that the three versions stemmed from three different stages in the recent history of the city, with three different administrations – British, Jordanian and Israeli.

A more recent study of Israel's linguistic landscape was conducted by Ben-Rafael and his colleagues (2006). Data were collected from eight localities throughout the country, classified on the basis of their ethnic makeup as predominantly Jewish, Israeli-Palestinian, or non-Israeli Palestinian (the latter containing only East Jerusalem). The major findings with regard to official signs, called 'top-down' in the study, were as follows: In the Israeli-Palestinian localities as well as in East Jerusalem, most official signs were either Hebrew–Arabic or Hebrew–Arabic–English. By contrast, the Hebrew localities were dominated by Hebrew-only or Hebrew–English signs, with a conspicuous absence of Arabic. These data show that municipal administrations in Israel do not treat Hebrew and Arabic on a par. Whereas care is taken that Hebrew is available on signs throughout the country, the inclusion of Arabic seems to be practised only in cities where the Arabic-speaking share of the population is deemed sufficiently high to justify such 'concessions'.

The absence of Arabic on signs in Jewish-dominated communities has been dealt with in detail in a case study from Upper Nazareth by Trumper-Hecht (2009). Despite a 2002 Supreme Court ruling that ordered Upper Nazareth and five other mixed cities to add Arabic to their public signs, the city refused to implement the required changes. In interviews with city officials, Trumper-Hecht directly inquired about the city's refusal to include Arabic on their signs. The replies she got testify to the high symbolic relevance of the linguistic landscape as a marker of ethnic territory.

In the opinion of the mayor of Upper Nazareth, the Supreme Court's ruling was an illegitimate imposition of Arab national symbols upon a Jewish city and would therefore not be obeyed. The city's chief engineer made the following statement: 'I know about the Supreme Court [decision], but first of all, one needs to say that we have a problem in defining ourselves as a mixed city' (Trumper-Hecht 2009: 242, 243). As becomes most explicit here, the municipal design of the linguistic landscape is seen as affecting the very self-definition of the city as such.

Taken together, the situation in Nazareth and other Israeli cities provides an interesting example of conflict between higher level linguistic legislation and municipal language policies.

Municipalities in Kosovo

The third case study from a dyadic environment is of local communities in Kosovo. Kosovo is a disputed territory situated between the Balkan states of Serbia, Macedonia, Albania and Montenegro. The territory is shared by an Albanian majority and a Serb minority. After ongoing disputes with neighbouring Serbia following the dissolving of Yugoslavia, Kosovo in 1999 came under the interim administration of the United Nations Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK). It declared itself independent in February 2008.

Briefly after its inception, the UN administration in August 2000 issued a regulation titled 'On the self-government of municipalities in Kosovo' (Regulation 2000/45, see UNMIK 2000). Recognizing the special sensitivity of language issues in this region of ethnic conflict, the regulation included various provisions directly relating to administrative language. Section 9 of Chapter 1 contains the following paragraphs:

> Section 9.1. Members of communities shall have the right to communicate in their own language with all municipal civil servants.
>
> Section 9.2. Meetings of the Municipal Assembly and its committees and public meetings shall be conducted in both the Albanian and Serbian languages. In municipalities where a community lives whose language is neither Albanian nor Serbian, the proceedings shall also be translated, when necessary, into the language of that community.
>
> Section 9.3. All official documents of a municipality shall be printed in both the Albanian and Serbian languages. In municipalities where a community lives whose language is neither Albanian nor Serbian, all official documents of the municipality shall also be made available in the language of that community.
>
> Section 9.4. Official signs indicating or including the names of cities, towns, villages, roads, streets and other public places shall give those names in both the Albanian and Serbian languages. In municipalities where a community lives whose language is neither Albanian nor Serbian, those names shall also be given in the language of that community.

The three basic language policy fields mentioned here can be summarized as follows: internal administrative language (9.2), communication with the citizens, spoken (9.1) and written (9.2, 9.3), and linguistic landscaping (9.4).

In order to monitor the implementation of the regulation, the UN administration conducted several surveys at thirty municipalities across Kosovo. The results yield an interesting look into the practical problems facing communities in geopolitically unstable regions of ethnic strife as regards the everyday application of language policies. As Stoyanova (2005: 6) summarizes in her report, there were 'problems and delays with the simultaneous issuance of official documents in all the relevant languages, and the politically sensitive issue of spelling official signs in all the required languages'. The reasons for these problems, according to the report, were not merely economic (understaffed translation cells, lack of qualified interpreters, etc.) but also political in nature. Particularly monoethnic municipalities frequently considered the language regulations to be artificially imposed on them by the UN administration and denied that there was any public demand for minority language services in their communities.

Further problems arose from the vagueness of some passages in the UNMIK regulation. For instance, the specification that translations into languages other than Albanian or Serbian should be provided 'when necessary' (9.2) in practice meant that such translations were made only upon request, if they were made at all. Related to this, the regulation also lacked a clear definition of the key phrase 'municipalities where a community lives whose language is neither Albanian nor Serbian' that is mentioned in sections 9.2, 9.3 and 9.4 of the document. How large is such a community supposed to be? While the Albanian version of the document specified a relatively high minority population of 10 per cent for these municipalities, neither the Serbian nor the English version contained such specifications (Stoyanova 2005: 7).

Particularly problematic was the state of the linguistic landscape. The report here laments symptomatic lack of bilingual signage. Throughout Kosovo most of the road, town, village and street signs were monolingual, if there were any signs at all. On the few bilingual signs in use, the 'second version' frequently contained misspellings or became the target of vandalism, resulting in scratched or crossed out signs. On the whole, the report summarizes, 'compliance with the [UNMIK] Regulation requirements on official signs is the lowest at the micro level, especially with regard to street signs' (Stoyanova 2005: 7). Again we see that municipal language policies, most notably in regions of ethnic conflict, are not necessarily in line with language policy decisions on higher political levels.

Cape Town and Tshwane

South Africa is one of the prototypes of what Lambert (1999) has characterized as a mosaic country. In census data, the majority of the population

define themselves as Black African, an umbrella term that comprises various different ethnicities such as Zulu, Xhosa, Tsonga and Tswana. Other common self-classifications are 'White', 'Colored' and 'Indian/Asian'. With the end of apartheid, the Republic of South Africa in its constitution of 1996 declared itself a multilingual nation with eleven official languages: Zulu, Xhosa, Afrikaans, Northern Sotho, Tswana, English, Southern Sotho, Tsonga, Swati, Venda and Southern Ndebele.

Cape Town is the legislative capital of the republic and the provincial capital of Western Cape. It has a population of 2.9 million. The most frequent home language spoken in the area is Afrikaans, followed by Xhosa and English. Responding to a clause in the 1996 constitution, which stipulates that 'municipalities must take into account the language usage and preference of their residents' (South Africa Government 1996: Chapter 1, 6, 3b), the municipal government in 2001 issued the 'City of Cape Town language policy'. Its main aims are to provide equal access to municipal services, spread multilingualism amongst the municipality's staff and citizens, and promote the use of the province of Western Cape's three official languages: Afrikaans, Xhosa and English (City of Cape Town 2001: 4.2, 4.3, 4.4).

One major area dealt with in Cape Town's language policy guidelines is communication within the administration. The document demands that 'All internal staff communiqués must be in all three official languages' and that the City must 'conduct regular language proficiency audits … to determine the linguistic needs as well as the linguistic capabilities' of its officials (8.2, 11.6.2).

Another issue dealt with in some detail is communication between city officials and the public. The following provisions are made here (City of Cape Town 2001):

> Section 7. All official notices and advertisements issued/published by the City, for general public information, must be issued in all three official languages.
>
> […]
>
> Section 9.1. Any member of the public may use any of the three official languages or Sign Language in his/her communication with the City.
>
> Section 9.2. All external communication of response must be in the official language in which the original communication was received.
>
> Section 9.3. The City must in its communication with and rendering of services to the public ensure that these are carried out in the most appropriate way with the assistance of interpreters and translators and/or technical means.
>
> […]

> Section 11.5. The main/general telephone reception at all administrative buildings and within all Services/Directorates/Branches/Sections must 'welcome' its customers in all three official languages.

Section 10 of the document deals with public signs. It states that 'Identification signage and directions of municipal offices or facilities must be in the three official languages' and that 'Where the law permits, the three official languages must be used equitably on local road signs and directions signs.' In the case of street names, the document continues, 'due consideration must be given to the community's language usage and preferences' (Section 10.1, 10.2). In order to keep track of possible changes regarding these preferences and language usage patterns, it is further stipulated that regular language audits of the population of Cape Town should be conducted (Section 11.6.1).

The 'City of Cape Town language policy' has served as a model to many other South African municipalities. One example is the 'Language policy of the City of Tshwane', which was published in 2007. The City of Tshwane is a metropolitan municipality with a population of around 2.2 million. It is situated in the highly urbanized province of Gauteng.

Based on census data, the city's language policy determines that the following six languages, home languages to around 85 per cent of the population of Tshwane, should be adopted as the municipality's official languages: Afrikaans, English, Northern Sotho, Tsonga, Tswana and Zulu. One explicit goal of the language policy is 'the redress of the linguistic inequalities of the past which resulted in the underdevelopment of the African languages' (City of Tshwane 2007: Section 4.4).

Subsequent sections of the document deal with the following policy fields: internal spoken communication (8.2), external spoken communication (8.3), internal written communication (8.4), external written communication (8.5), municipal signage (8.6), people with language disabilities (8.7), and linguistic training of municipal staff (8.8).

Working with such a high number of official languages raises many practical and financial problems. The city takes a pragmatic stance on this issue. While in principle, availability and use of all of the six official languages in the above mentioned fields is desired, various passages recommend that English should function as a working language (e.g. 8.2.2, 8.4.1, 8.8.1). English is also the language of record for written documents (8.4.6) and a default language in signs:

> Section 8.6. The Municipality must give due consideration to the language preferences of local communities when erecting local road signs and direction signs. All identification signage, direction signs and road signs relating to municipal buildings, services, facilities, infrastructure and vehicles must be in all the official languages of the Municipality where practicable. Where this is not practicable owing to financial constraints, a bilingual policy (English and another official

> language of the Municipality) may be adopted, provided that English is the one language and the other is the dominant language of the area concerned.

In order to monitor the implementation of the city's language policy measures, it is further determined that a Language Services Section be established. Their tasks include conducting 'regular language surveys and audits to assess the appropriateness of the existing policy and practices' (11.1) and devising terminology 'that will help develop the official languages of the Municipality, especially the four official African languages' (9.3).

In summary, the two language policy models discussed in this section show that one of the chief language policy issues for municipalities in post-apartheid South Africa is the equal treatment of the many different languages that their residents speak which, as has been seen, is no easy task.

Discussion

The overview of municipal language policies worldwide, cursory and selective as it has been, shows that there are a couple of relatively clearly definable language policy fields that can be found across the different regions and linguistic constellations. Three areas in particular appear to be most relevant for local language policy makers around the globe: (1) language within the administrative body, (2) communication between administration and the public, and (3) public signs. This is largely in line with the three major spheres of language policy at the local level as outlined by Spolsky (2009: 170).

The three areas are interrelated and not always neatly separable from each other. For instance, most policies with regard to the linguistic training of administrative staff relate to both (1) and (2). Moreover, the difference between (2) and (3) is not entirely clear-cut, since many sign regulations could as well be considered a special type of communication between administration and citizens. Despite these shortcomings, the suggested categorization may provide a helpful frame for future studies on municipal language policy.

From the point of view of status planning, all of the discussed policies include some clear directions with regard to the languages that may or may not be used within these three areas. One most obvious way to make such decisions is looking at the linguistic profile of the population within the administrative boundaries of a city. To this end, both Cape Town and Tshwane in their policies determine to hold regular language audits, while the city of Oakland's principle is to provide services in languages other than English spoken by at least ten thousand residents. Though no such threshold numbers exist in the case of Tokyo, the inclusion of

Chinese and Korean on public signs has clearly been motivated by the linguistic profile of the city's foreign residents, too.

Particularly in regions of ethnolinguistic conflict, the absence of clearly defined principles to determine the languages eligible for municipal services may turn out to be a problem. This has become obvious in the case of Upper Nazareth and some of the Kosovo municipalities, both of which have been criticized for ignoring the needs of their linguistic minorities by denying their very existence.

Status planning on the municipal level may even go so far as to declare a certain language or number of languages official. This is the case in Tshwane, where census data were used to determine the city's six official languages. Two somewhat different examples discussed are the US communities Pahrump and El Cenizo. In the former case, English was 'declared to be the official language of the Town of Pahrump', while city officials in El Cenizo found it necessary to spell out 'that the City has no official language'. Instead, a language survey was conducted based on which Spanish was determined to be the city's 'predominant language'.

Despite the overall pervasiveness of status planning issues, some of the policies discussed also include elements of corpus planning. To be mentioned in the case of Tokyo is the frequent strategy of using a simplified register of Japanese as a way to disseminate information to the foreign population. Another corpus planning ingredient that could be identified is the development of terminology for translation purposes. Such initiatives have been included in the language policies of Ottawa and Tshwane.

With regard to the overall orientation municipal language policies may take, two counter-directional trends can be identified. The first one is language policies as a way of catering to the needs of linguistically diverse populations. Characteristic examples are the language policies of the cities of Tokyo, Oakland, Toronto, Cape Town and Tshwane. The second, antithetical, trend is to control the language or languages used in a city through restrictions on administrative language or, in some cases, even the language of the citizens. Examples include the US municipalities Huntington Park, Pomona City, and the town of Pahrump, as well as the city of Upper Nazareth in Israel. The two trends are motivated by entirely different ideologies on the nature of municipal language policies. Whereas policies of the former type try to cope with existing or newly developing linguistic heterogeneity in an inclusive way, the latter are designed to exclude linguistic minorities and keep an increasingly threatened status quo.

Judging only from the examples discussed in this chapter, there is no easily discernible correlation of these two ideologies with Lambert's (1999) three ethnolinguistic types of societies. This becomes most obvious from the very diverse situation of US municipalities, where both inclusive and exclusive language policies can be found. Similar contradictions

are observable when comparing the language policies of Israeli cities with those of Toronto, both of which, according to Lambert's categorization, are situated in dyadic environments. On the other hand, there are some conspicuous similarities in multilingual service provision between 'homogeneous' cities such as Tokyo and Oakland and the 'mosaic' South African cities. The one difference is that in the former case, the target group is immigrants, while in the latter it is indigenous minority groups. In this respect, Lambert's prediction that 'the language policies of largely ethnically homogeneous societies can begin to resemble those of mosaic societies' seems to hold true (ibid.: 9).

One interesting point that has frequently come up in the analysis is that municipal language policies deviate from policy schemes made on the higher levels. The most striking examples are US municipalities, whose English-only regulations were frequently found to be violating federal law. The short survival time of most of the regulations testifies to this problem. For language policy makers in El Cenizo this was the main reason to continue producing their documents in English rather than Spanish despite the latter being declared the city's predominant language. Similar instances of legal conflict between municipalities and higher administrative levels could be observed in the cases of Israel and Kosovo, where some of the municipal language policies were found to have a more exclusive orientation than higher-level laws were providing for. A contrary tendency, though without amounting to legal conflict, can be observed in the case of Tokyo and other Japanese cities, whose policies have had a much more inclusive scope than national legislation would have it. Oakland may be a similar case.

Being the first point of contact between the government and the general public, the municipal level is the place where linguistic problems have to be dealt with on a day by day basis. Cities and other smaller administrative bodies therefore may design language policies that both in practice and in ideology clearly deviate from what national language planners have in mind. This is what makes them interesting for language policy studies. With regard to the provision of multilingual administrative services, we have seen that local governments may take the lead in meeting the everyday language needs of their populations. On the other hand, as Bender (2007: 889) has stressed in allusion to the restrictive language laws of some US communities, 'the tool of direct democracy' can also be 'used to target subordinated groups'. Municipal language policy thus can do both, open the doors to the linguistic realities outside or do their best to keep them shut out.

12

Language policy and management in service domains: Brokering communication for linguistic minorities in the community

Claudia V. Angelelli

Introduction

Any phenomenon that results in geographic displacement of an individual or a group of individuals – such as migration, the processes of nationalism and federalism, the need for education, trade, commerce, or intermarriage has, among other things, linguistic consequences. Geographically displaced individuals generally do not speak the societal language of the new country in which they arrive, and as a result they become a linguistic minority. The need for communication between speakers of the more dominant and less dominant languages is constant. When members of linguistic minorities need to access educational, health, government, legal or religious services, for example, a language interpreter or a translator (as the case at hand may require) is called to bridge the communication gap. Interpreting refers to communication via oral or sign language, and translation refers to communication via written language.

An interpreter facilitates spoken or sign communication in real time. A community interpreter works simultaneously or consecutively, and is sometimes required to render sight translation. With the use of portable or fixed equipment, the interpreter can render his/her interpreting at the same time as the speech of each of the two monolingual interlocutors.

Without equipment, the interpreter takes notes and depending on the nature of the conversation, the interpreter agrees to intervene every two minutes (or shorter segments of the communication) and delivers the interpreted message from notes, or may interpret after each turn of talk. This is why it is called consecutive interpreting. In addition, interpreters – like translators – engage in sight translation. This occurs when interpreters have a written text in front of them in one language, usually the societal one (for example, a surgery consent form or a court notice), and render it orally into the other language – the minority language – without any preparation time. Conversely, a translator works with written text and not in real time. The job of interpreters and translators may vary significantly with the different settings in which their work takes place or with the rules that the various professional associations prescribe. In this chapter I present an overview of interpreting (and translation) as it applies to community settings (such as hospitals, schools, government agencies, court houses or police stations). It is important to bear in mind that community interpreting generally occurs across gulfs of culture, education and socio-economic levels, in addition to language gaps, and that power differentials between interlocutors are usually quite salient.

Pragmatic considerations

Nature of the interpreted communicative event

Since, as stated above, the two monolingual parties that take part in an interpreted communicative event (ICE) not only do not share a linguistic code and generally do not share social status, but also belong to two distinct discourse communities (e.g. the communities of workers and officers at immigration offices and the communities of immigrants seeking political asylum and making their case), an ICE is much more complex than a monolingual interaction between members of any given linguistic group in which power differentials are salient (Angelelli 2000). Therefore, the job of community interpreters and translators who facilitate those interactions is specialized, dynamic and highly complex. In the course of doing their jobs, interpreters comprehend and produce language of various degrees of complexity, alternating between target and source languages, rural and urban speakers whose level of education ranges from second grade to graduate school, and in speech communities to which they do not necessarily belong. All of this occurs under extreme pressure and critical conditions. In addition interpreters need to be familiar with the issues at hand as well as with the institutions and societies that surround them. They also should be aware of their own responsibilities and limitations in terms of the role that they play (Angelelli 2004a and b).

What makes community interpreting even more challenging is that, as I have argued elsewhere (Angelelli 2000), interpreters are not necessarily full 'residents' of either of the two speech communities (Hymes 1974) in which they work. They are, instead, temporary guests. They do not necessarily belong to the community of either of the monolingual interlocutors (for example, the police officer conducting the interrogation and the detainee being interrogated, or the discussion between the school principal talking about the underachievement of a child who cannot communicate well in the societal language, and who may therefore be placed in remedial classes, with the child's mother who is explaining how her child excelled in sciences and math in the previous school back home), yet they must be able to navigate both. Additionally, many times community interpreters navigate speech communities in which there are asymmetrical relations between speakers of more and less privileged societal groups. As they do so, interpreters bring with them their deeply held views about power and solidarity (Angelelli 2004b, Davidson 2000 and 2001). Like any other human beings, interpreters also possess deeply held views regarding social factors (Brewer 1988), all of which are present as they interpret and interact during interpreted communicative events (ICEs), adding to the intricacy of their roles.

Added to the interplay of all interlocutors' social factors during the ICE, we must remind ourselves that the ICE is only a piece of a larger whole. In other words, the ICE is framed by a society that has cultural norms and blueprints, which are enacted by its members, and which also permeate all levels of interactions within society. As the ICE does not happen in a social vacuum (Wadensjö 1998) and instead occurs within one institution that is permeable to the mandates of society (Angelelli 2004b), various layers of institutional and societal influences surround the ICE, adding to its complexity. These norms and societal blueprints get reconstructed and funnelled to permeate the interactions that occur within the boundaries of institutions, adding to the complexity of the interaction (Angelelli 2004a and b). Therefore during the encounters that occur within the institutions, as interlocutors bring their own set of beliefs, attitudes and deeply held views on interpersonal factors, such as gender, race ethnicity, and socio-economic status, all of these beliefs, attitudes and personal views are enacted. As the ICE unfolds the interpreter brings not only the knowledge of languages and the ability to switch codes or assign turns (Roy 2000), but also the self (Angelelli 2001; 2004a). Through the self, the interpreter exercises agency and power, which materialize through different behaviours that alter the outcome of the ICE (Angelelli 2004a). All of these elements that impact the role of interpreters, as well as the evolution of the interpreter's role, have been thoroughly studied and documented (see for example Angelelli 2001, 2004a and b; Bolden 2000, Cambridge 1999; Davidson 1998, 2000 and 2001; Kaufert and Putsch 1997; Metzger 1999; Prince 1986; Wadensjö

1995 and 1998). In addition to the interplay of social factors, the interpreter's own agency and interlocutor's differences, recent technological developments coupled with high demands for service and the low supply of educated professionals willing to work under the current state of affairs (low salary, limited conditions of workplace) have complicated the job of interpreters even more. Nowadays, rather than brokering communication during traditional face-to-face encounters, and observing healthy conditions in their work (for example taking breaks every thirty minutes of uninterrupted work), many community interpreters perform their roles via speakerphone, teleconference or videoconference, working for extended periods of time without breaks (Angelelli 2004a). These sources of stress increase the difficulty of the task at hand.

Linguistic consequences of geographic displacement

The population of various regions in the world has been fuelled by waves of immigrants who bring with them their own languages and traditions to the new country as they contribute to its economy. These waves have changed over time. Therefore, linguistic consequences resulting from immigrant needs have also changed over time. To illustrate this, let's look at the example of the United States where there are 37,960,935 foreign born immigrants (US census Bureau's 2008 American Community Survey). This accounts for 12.5 per cent of the total US population. Historically, the number of foreign-born immigrants has been increasing steadily. Foreign-born immigrants were first tabulated in the 1850 decennial census. That year the number was over 2 million, i.e. 9.7 per cent of the total population. Between 1860 and 1930 the number fluctuated between 13 and 15 per cent, due primarily to European immigration. Since 1970 large-scale immigration mainly from Latin America and Asia continues to increase the number of foreign-born immigrants while at the same time adding more diversity. Statistics from 2009 show that the countries represented by the largest populations of foreign-born to the United States are (in alphabetical order): Canada, China, Cuba, the Dominican Republic, El Salvador, India, Korea, Mexico, the Philippines and Vietnam. Mexican-born immigrants accounted for 30.1 per cent of all foreign-born residents, and are by far the largest immigrant group in the United States. Nowadays, the predominance of Mexican immigrants as well as of those immigrants from Asian countries contrasts sharply with the predominance of European immigrants until the 1960s. Before 2008 no single country accounted for more than 15 per cent of the total of foreign-born population. Since 2005, 46.9 per cent of foreign-born immigrants were reported to be of Hispanic or Latino origin. In 2005, 80.3 per cent of the total US population age 5 and older were reported to speak only the societal language, English, at home. The remaining 19.7 per cent reported speaking other languages

with the following breakdown (in decreasing order): Spanish 61.9 per cent, Chinese 4.4 per cent, Tagalog 2.7 per cent, French (including Creole) 2.4 per cent, Vietnamese 2.1 per cent, and German 2.0 per cent. When asked to assess their level of English proficiency on a scale of speaking 'very well', 'well', 'not well', and 'not at all', out of the total of 52,007,297 speakers of all languages other than English, 8,571,708 reported they were not speaking it well and another 4,232,430 said they spoke no English at all (MLA 2005). That means that 12,804,138 or 4.77 per cent of the population is unable to fully and responsibly participate in interactions conducted in English, and therefore needs interpreting into/from a language other than English to access services.

In some specific cases, like the state of California, the diversity in population is such that it challenges existing conceptualizations of linguistic minorities, linguistic participation or accommodation (Berk-Seligson 2011, Edaes 2003). There are over 100 languages known to be spoken in the state of California (MLA 2005) resulting in various linguistic minorities. Among these linguistic groups, Hispanics are the fastest growing, with an increase of 58 per cent between 1990 and 2000 (Ramirez and de la Cruz 2003). According to projections (Tienda and Mitchell 2005: 3), 25 per cent of US residents will be of Hispanic origin/heritage. These changes in demographics have impacted all aspects of US society, especially the delivery of services (Angelelli 2004a) to members of linguistic minorities.

Nations' challenges to cope with linguistic diversity: the shortage of interpreters

The need to provide reliable services to linguistically and culturally diverse linguistic minorities has proven to be a challenge all over the world. This is especially salient in areas that used to be highly homogenous and have experienced diversity suddenly instead of gradually. Monolingual interlocutors have to resort to interpreting for their communicative needs. Since the number of bilingual encounters requiring the assistance of community interpreters constantly exceeds the supply of professional interpreters, many times linguistic minorities are either forced to make decisions based on the limited proficiency they have in the societal language (see for example the case of police investigations) or to resort to whatever means become available to them to get their communicative needs met.[1] Some examples include janitors being called upon to interpret in medical settings (Cambridge 1999), nurses playing the dual-role of healthcare provider and interpreter (CHIA 2002), police officers also acting as interpreters – with rudimentary linguistic proficiency in the language of the detainee – during police investigations (Berk-Seligson 2007, 2009) or schoolchildren interpreting at teacher–parent conferences (Valdés, Chávez, Angelelli *et al.* 2000). Other times,

having experienced the frustration of the situation described above, if allowed, members of linguistic minorities bring their own relatives or friends to interpret for them. These bilinguals (whether adults or youngsters) step up to the plate with varying degrees of success. They seem to be drawn into situations in which choices are limited and for which no one is responsible. Bilinguals can either refuse to act as interpreters and witness how the minority-language speaker is deprived of the right to communicate, or they can do their best to assist the member of the minority group, with whom they identify. In either case, the success of the communicative outcome is uncertain.

Diversity of settings

Healthcare settings

Healthcare interpreting occurs in clinics, hospitals, health centres and providers' offices. It has been the focus of various studies that have shed light on the complexity of such interaction (e.g., Angelelli 2001, 2004a, 2007; Davidson 2000 and 2001; Metzger 1999) that often occurs under conditions of critical and extreme pressure. Given the nature of the medical encounter (Angelelli 2004b: 88), interpreters tend to participate more as they construct, co-construct, repair and facilitate the talk. In addition, since a doctor–patient interview is private, interpreters do not adhere to rules in the same way that they would if they were in front of an audience when they would have to act out their neutrality. In a healthcare setting, interpreters appear to be less invisible than they do in the courts, and this visibility and participatory role is acknowledged by medical interpreters in quantitative research (Angelelli 2004b: 72). Studies investigating the healthcare complex context of communication with interpreters indicate that the difficulties in interpreted conversations lie in the construction of reciprocal understanding, the accurate transformation of semantic and pragmatic content, and the role of the interpreter as linguistic facilitator (Davidson 1998). For healthcare providers, the interpreter is the instrument that keeps the patient on track; for the patient the interpreter is a co-conversationalist. In addition, the role of the interpreter as a co-participant to the ICE has been studied extensively in qualitative studies using discourse analysis (Davidson 2000, 2001; Metzger 1999; Wadensjö 1995, 1998) and ethnography (Angelelli 2004a). Ethnographies are particularly useful to get a glimpse of the intricacies of a setting (Van Maanen 1988). As evidenced by the first ethnographic study of medical interpreting (Angelelli 2004a) healthcare interpreters work face-to-face and remotely according to the requirement of the interaction and the needs of the patient. Remote interpreting is preferred because it is less time consuming (interpreters do not have to walk from clinic to clinic, patients experience less waiting time), it offers providers and patients more privacy, and it leads to increased productivity (García

2000). Offering interpreting remotely via speakerphones on site means that the whole hospital is wired to an advanced technology that allows for speakerphones within the rooms. When a non-English speaking patient walks into a room, the health care provider calls Interpreting Services (a unit of the hospital that manages language services) and an interpreter comes on the line. This triggers a three-party conversation in which two parties (patient and healthcare provider) are face-to-face and the third party (the interpreter) is removed, interacting through a speakerphone. Calls made from the different clinics and areas of the hospital come into Interpreting Services through a central computerized system. Calls for face-to-face interpreting go to a dispatcher that assigns interpreters according to availability or other special requirements (for example, special requests are made on the basis of gender). Calls for 'speakerphone' interpreting go into an automatic system and calls are assigned to available interpreters. Healthcare providers and patients are instructed on how to talk via speakerphone. Guidelines written by the service manager explain how to communicate effectively using the speakerphone. As the interpreter, physically removed from the communicative event, is deprived of eye contact, the parties compensate for this fact by making over-explicit statements. California Hope staff are also trained in the use of 'remote interpreters'.

Evidently, technology-mediated communication, be it via telephone, speakerphone, video conference or teleconference, differs from face-to-face communication in several ways. Since the interpreter is not sharing the same communicative context as the other two interlocutors, she/he has no access to body language. In the case of interlocutors who have been 'trained' to speak through remote interpreters by rephrasing comments (the utterance 'it hurts here' becomes 'the patient is pointing at her right elbow'), the interpreter only accesses one of the interlocutors' explanation/interpretation of the kinesics, not the original message. There is, however, no consensus in the literature as to whether having a remote interpreter poses an advantage or a disadvantage to the interpreted communicative event. Hornberger (1996) found that having the interpreter physically removed from the doctor–patient encounter allowed the patient more privacy and improved communication. García (2000) found productivity raises in the Interpreting Services when using speakerphones, which resulted in less waiting time for patients and providers. Benmamam (2000), while studying court interpreters, found that interpreters deprived of the context posited a threat to the integrity of the legal process, thus negatively impacting communication. Angelelli (2004a) found no significant differences in the role played by interpreters whether they were working face-to-face or over the speakerphone.

Police settings

The need for interpreting at police stations and investigation bureaus is also the result of geographic displacement of groups of people. Interpreting

in the police station has been the topic of various studies (Berk-Seligson 2000, 2007, 2009; Tryuk 2004; Wadensjö 1998). When members of linguistic minorities who have limited proficiency in the societal language are subject to custodial interrogations in police stations, in the USA they are not necessarily guaranteed the services of professional interpreters. The growing trend is to use police officers as interpreters at such interrogations. In addition, it has become increasingly common among police districts in regions with large linguistic diversity to provide officers with crash courses in 'survival skills' in target languages and graduates of such courses interrogate and serve as interpreters for detainees with limited proficiency in English. This practice is problematic for various reasons as has been reported in the literature. First, police officers acting as interpreters are not necessarily familiar with judicial norms of impartiality and neutrality towards the parties for whom they are acting as interpreters (since the police officers are playing both roles, judicial norms are immediately violated). Second, because they are playing two roles at the same time (officer and interpreter), it is not uncommon to see how officers in any given turn of talk step out of the role of interpreter to shift into the role of detective interrogator. And last but not least, police officers may be unqualified to provide interpreting simply on the basis of their limited proficiency in the target language or because of their lack of interpreting skills. (Berk-Seligson 2011).

Conversely, in the United Kingdom, the National Agreement on the Use of Interpreters (2008) clearly states that the Police have the obligation to arrange for and pay for an interpreter to facilitate communication between a solicitor and a detainee. In addition to defining who a suitable interpreter is, stating practical arrangements for using an interpreter either face-to-face or with the help of technology, this agreement spans how to collect and monitor linguistic data to best practices for outsourcing translation and interpreting services both for spoken and sign languages. Moreover, the Codes of Practice issued under the Police and Criminal Evidence Act (1984 and currently under revision) gives guidance to the police on how to handle communication that may require either interpreting or translation services. For example, it establishes that where an interpreter is required to assist at the interview between the police and a witness to record the witness' statement, a Superintendent may authorize an extension to the period of detention to enable the transcript to be prepared before charging. Furthermore, when a suspect has made a statement under caution in a foreign language, the interpreter should make a statement exhibiting both the statement and its translation.

Legal settings

Legal interpreting occurs in lawyer's offices, police departments, customs offices, immigration authorities and the courts. The term court interpreting is used interchangeably with legal interpreting, although courtrooms are in fact only one of the various contexts where legal

interpreting can occur. Legal interpreting is highly regulated and the nature of the interaction is public. Since the product of court/legal interpreting is treated in the same way as if it had been an original utterance, interpreters are asked to make their renditions verbatim, so that they render not just the content but also the format of the message (including hesitations, back-tracking, etc.) intact. In addition to this, they have to adhere to principles of impartiality, fidelity and confidentiality. Legal interpreters work in both simultaneous and consecutive mode and they also perform sight translation of written documents. Research on court/legal interpreting has been conducted both inside the courtroom (Berk-Seligson 1990, De Jongh 1992, González *et al*. 1991, Jacobsen 2003, Hale 2004, Videla-Bassi 2003) and in police stations or immigration offices (Wadensjö 1995, Fowler 2003). In studies that shed light on the manipulation of language such as the use of questions (Rigney 1999) or polite forms (Berk-Seligson 1990) – among other sociolinguistic devices – interpreters in the bilingual courtroom become more or less visible. Studies also refer to the tension that surrounds the status (or lack thereof) that court interpreters enjoy in the courtroom. Since they abide by such principles as impartiality and confidentiality, in some countries (Argentina, Belgium), court/legal interpreters and translators are considered officers of the courts and they can request access to information in order to prepare for a case. In others countries (e.g. the United States), interpreters do not enjoy any status or privileges, and are excluded from pre-trial conferences and the reviewing of relevant documentation prior to the beginning of the trial (Gammal 1998, González *et al*. 1991), making it difficult for them to be prepared.

Ideological factors

As the one-nation-one-language ideology breaks down, a multilingual language planning and language policy approach starts to replace it in an ecological multi-language environment (Hornberger 2002). This desired environment does not come without challenges, which many times are responses to ideological factors. This is evident in the domain of service provision. Organizations and/or providers seek to do business with members of linguistic minorities whose languages the providers cannot speak. At the same time it is not unusual for these organizations or providers not to supply qualified interpreters. This situation is generally justified on the basis of cost increase. By nature, an interpreted communicative event takes more time and costs more than a monolingual one. This does not mean that hiring an interpreter is not cost-effective. An interpreter, like any other professional, makes a living by working for a fee. In order to facilitate communication, this professional engages in turn taking as each speaker's utterance needs to be interpreted for the other, therefore

requiring more time. Providing and paying for a qualified interpreter allows the provider to benefit from extending his/her service coverage to speakers of languages other than the provider's own. In addition it protects the provider from any eventual damages (e.g. mala praxis) that may arise from miscommunication. Therefore, the argument of higher cost can be easily deconstructed.

To expand the list of challenges that get in the way of the smooth transition to an ecological multilingual environment, one in which linguistic minorities can enjoy the same treatment as speakers of societal languages, I will explore another ideological factor: double standards in quality of communication and treatment of individuals.

When linguistic minorities need to communicate and no interpreter is made available to them, the quality of communication is jeopardized. Among those who need an interpreter, be it because they are deaf or hard of hearing, or because they have been geographically displaced, or because their language is no longer spoken by the community at large (e.g. indigenous languages), it is not uncommon to see monolingual adults and bilingual youngsters teaming up to cope with communicative needs. Bilingual youngsters step up to interpret for their families and members of their immediate communities in view of the pressing communicative needs of monolingual speakers, the shortage of qualified interpreters, and the youngsters' own bilingual abilities. In so doing, these young bilinguals serve as linguistic advocates for their immediate families or communities. Parents and family members who do not speak the societal language receive assistance from their children in everything from placing an order at a restaurant to helping them renew a driving licence or understand their doctor (Valdés *et al.* 2003: 86). It has been documented that bilingual children and youngsters attempt to help their parents by serving as their interpreters and/or translators with various degrees of success (Valdés *et al.* 2000; Valdés, Chávez and Angelelli 2003, De Ment, Buriel and Villanueva 2005, Zentella 1997). Their performance, at times, may be marked by disfluencies. These bilingual youngsters are, nevertheless, performing a task similar to that of professional translators and interpreters. This was also observed in the study of Puerto Rican children living in New York (Zentella 1997) and of Asian university students in California (De Ment, Buriel and Villanueva 2005), who had successfully carried out complex communicative activities as language brokers in bilingual interactions.

What set bilingual youngsters or children apart from professional interpreters, however, was that: (1) they were mediating the interaction between members of communities with which they had strong bonds and cultural ties; (2) they did not have the privilege of choosing among the interactions, settings, topics and situations in which they interpreted; and (3) they were put in a situation in which no monolingual youngster or child is put. In addition, bilingual youngsters functioned

effectively in interpreting for newly arrived immigrants of different ages and educational backgrounds, and were often called upon to assist teachers by interpreting for a new student or translating letters and messages intended for parents (Valdés, Chavéz and Angelelli 2003). Evidently, because these youngsters are not professionals, their performance at times is not sufficient to achieve the communicative goal of the interaction. At those times, the chances of linguistic minorities to access communication are jeopardized.

The existing research, policies and practices in translation and interpreting have not paid significant attention to this issue. When the intervention of ad hoc interpreters gets discussed, it is not to highlight the provider's obligation to assist linguistic minorities in their communicative needs. Neither is it to point out the provider's consistent neglect to fulfill this obligation and its consequences for the bilingual youngster or child. Most frequently this issue is discussed in terms of the responsibility (or lack thereof) of the monolingual parent or family member who is said to have put a youngster in the position of an adult, or of the adult bilingual who is taking up a job for which he/she is not qualified. The facts that linguistic minorities deserve access to communication that is equal to that of speakers of the societal language, and that society should not be requesting members of linguistic minorities (especially youngsters and children) to take care of this inequality are overshadowed by the hegemonic ideology that believes linguistic minorities are responsible for acquiring the societal language. Or, what is indeed more disturbing about the ideology underlying this situation – which ignores the consequences to bilingual children and youngsters – is that a minority is simply a minority and therefore does not deserve as much attention as a majority. Consequently, its rights do not matter as much as those of the majority.

Another underlying ideology is regarding the roles that interpreters play. Many times providers (speakers of the societal language) want to be in control of their words and of their discourse (which in an interpreted event is not as plausible). They have to trust the interpreter. Interpreters' performances, however, may not necessarily be controlled by monolingual speakers. This may not be acceptable to certain speakers (Morris 1995, O'Tool 1994). Studies in interpreting with a specific focus on the interpreter's role, either across settings where interpreters work (Angelelli 2001, 2004b) or in a specific setting like healthcare (Angelelli 2004a, Mason 2001, Metzger 1999, Roy 2000, Wadensjö 1998), the courtroom (Berg-Seligson 1990; De Jongh 1992; Gamal 1998; González *et al.* 1991; Moeketsi 1999, Morris 1995, O'Toole 1994), or the police station (Wadensjö 1995, Fowler 1997) have unequivocally revealed an engaged interpreter, a visible player, and a participant interlocutor. This literature includes theoretical papers on translation and cross-cultural communication (Simon 1992), power and ideology (Sengupta 1995),

and reports of well-designed research focusing on the role of the interpreter (Wadensjö 1995, Kaufert and Putsch 1997, Angelelli 2001; 2004b). Research in these situated practices has included sign language interpreting (Metzger 1999, Roy 2000) specifically looking at interpreters as interlocutors. This work has been particularly important in that it has problematized time-honoured beliefs about the social role of the interpreter. A number of empirical studies have raised important questions about the notion of the neutrality (Metzger 1999), invisibility (Angelelli 2001), and influence that interpreters have on interactive discourse in interpreted interactions (Roy 2000, Metzger 1999, Wadensjö 1995; 1998). Findings clearly challenge the concept of a 'ghost' (Collado Aís 1998, Gamal 1998) or conduit (Reddy 1979) interpreter. With a more participatory visible role comes agency. Agency, which is inherent to every human being, cannot be ignored in the case of interpreters. This means that, unlike a conduit or a language machine, an interpreter may participate in an interpreted communicative event fully, beyond its linguistic aspect. Interpreters as powerful parties may be capable of altering the outcome of the interaction, for example, by channelling opportunities or facilitating access to information. The acknowledgement of agency has implications at various levels. It means recognizing the fact that interpreting may be a social and political act. Therefore the interpreters' renditions may never be the same as the original utterances of monolingual speakers. Regardless of how inconvenient this truth may be, monolingual interlocutors' utterances are no longer their own. They become shared with the interpreter. This is why it is so important to provide quality interpreting which, as in any other service domain, is always better when provided by professionals.

Provision of interpreters as a civil right

Currently most nations around the world are not equipped to provide interpreting services for all their language minority inhabitants, be they deaf or hard of hearing, immigrants or indigenous groups. The inability to access services because of a language barrier contributes to social inequality. It has been stated that human beings have the right to speak their own languages. This is evidenced in Article 2.1 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights adopted and proclaimed by the United Nations General Assembly on 10 December 1948 that states: 'Everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration, without distinction of any kind, such as race, color, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status' (www.unesco.org/most/lnlaw1.htm). The importance of language rights 'is grounded in the essential role that language plays in human existence, development and dignity' (Manitoba Language

Rights, 1985, 1 Supreme Court Reports 721, 744 Canada, in de Varennes 2000: 69). Moreover, it has been argued that language rights should be considered basic human rights (Branson and Miller 2000, de Varennes 2000, Hamelink 2000, Lindgren 2000). Language rights are observed when people are allowed to produce talk and text in their own language (Skutnabb-Kangas and Philipson 1994:1). The absence or non-respect for these rights (for example, discriminatory or marginalizing practice based on language) lead to linguicism (discrimination based on language) (van Dijk 2000).

Given the world's current geographic displacement, the truth is that 'many of the world's voices are not heard unless they can be brokered by interpreters' (Angelelli 2010). In that sense, the provision of interpreters becomes a legal obligation on the part of all societies, by extension, the right to communication via interpreters becomes a basic human right, as the right to language (see Universal Declaration of Human Rights above).

As discussed above, when a family of immigrants settles in a new country, and parents do not speak the societal language, it is often the case that young bilinguals act as language interpreters, brokering communication and advocating for their families' needs. While interpreting for their families, young interpreters develop a sense of how to be linguistic advocates between speakers of minority languages and a society that struggles to accommodate the communicative needs of its members. In other words, youngsters take it upon themselves to stand up for their families' linguistic rights (Angelelli 2010), because these rights are not observed. They faced challenging situations which many times involved the welfare of their own family members. Bilingual youngsters acting as interpreters for their communities learn how to grapple with these factors as they broker communication. Having grown up in situations in which they witnessed linguicism, or having seen their loved ones being denied access to vital services, etc., they have come to view their own intervention as interpreters as a matter of (non-) choice (ibid.).

Language and identity are intertwined (Fishman 1988, 1999; Katan 1999), and depriving speakers of linguistic minorities to use their language may be perceived as asking them to give up their identity. In addition, the ability to communicate is what makes us human. Depriving linguistic minorities of their ability to communicate is depriving them of their humanity. For a patient whose very life depends on understanding the provider and complying with treatment, for a mother who needs to make the right educational decision as her child's opportunities to succeed depend on it, or for a suspect whose freedom may depend on what he is understood as having said at a custodial interrogation, the ability to communicate clearly through an interpreter is crucial and should be protected.

In spite of the fact that many nations are still unable to cope with the communicative needs of their linguistic minorities, they continue

to make efforts to recognize this need and act upon it. There are reports of public hospitals forging a long tradition of service and dedication to the health of the whole community, including an open door policy that guarantees access to needed medical care, regardless of ability to pay and regardless of the language spoken (Angelelli 2004a). In some countries there is legislation mandating organizations that receive federal funding to provide interpreters. There are also initiatives in healthcare systems to match provider/patient on the basis of language, although, of course the "killer languages" (Pakhir 1991 in Mühlshaüsler 1996) are the ones that get the attention. In some countries, like the United States, the United Kingdom, Belgium or Spain (to name just a few), there exists legislation mandating the use of court interpreters. In the United States this legislation owes its origin to the Negrón case, in which a conviction was reversed based on the violation of the defendant's basic constitutional rights as enshrined in the Fifth Amendment ('No person shall … be deprived of life, liberty or property, without due process of law'); the Sixth Amendment ('… the accused shall enjoy the right to… be informed of the nature and causes of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him'); and the Fourteenth Amendment ('… nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws'). The ruling of the Negrón case did not provide specifically for the constitutional right to have an interpreter, but rather ruled on the constitutionality of the issue at a basic level, i.e. the right to be 'present' at one's own trial. This basic right is one that cannot be exercised by someone who is unable to participate due to a lack of proficiency in the official language of the courts. Therefore for a trial to be fair and for justice to be served, the defendant has to be provided with a qualified interpreter.

The education and professionalization of interpreters and translators

Educational models and qualifications

Most of the institutions that educate interpreters continue not to focus as much on the education of individuals whose role is to broker communication between linguistic minorities and speakers of societal languages as they do on the training of how to interpret or translate. In fact, most institutions that offer interpreter courses and programmes, regardless of level, are generally of a pragmatic nature (Angelelli 2004b, 2006 and 2008). This means that the focus is not so much on educating well-rounded professionals (who, for example, would be able to problematize the power differentials among monolingual interlocutors or acknowledge their own agency) as much as it is on developing practical skills

such as information-processing and problem-solving, ethics and specific terminology (Bell 1991, Dollerup and Lodegaard 1992, Gile 1994, Kalina 2000, Lorscher 1992; Shreve *et al.* 1993, Shreve and Angelone 2010). While some of these earlier works have been criticized for their limitations, this particular focus has attempted to construct a psychological model of the interpreting or translation process that can account for the ways in which the interpreter in real time using particular strategies solves interpreting, translation and sight translation problems.

The education of interpreters ranges from short courses to fully fledged degrees at graduate level. In many cases, however, education is confused with training. The focus on cognitive and linguistic skills is due to the fact that community interpreting courses have followed the model of conference interpreting without the necessary adjustments that result from the differences in settings. In the United States, as in many other countries in the world, there are limited educational opportunities for community interpreters to pursue. Community interpreting (focused on legal, healthcare, immigration or school matters) requires students to gain awareness of the role they may or may not choose to play and of the power they have as interpreters. Community interpreters need to use their interpersonal skills effectively and know the responsibilities and duties that arise from their tasks. They are co-participants who share responsibility for effective communication (Angelelli 2004a and b, Roy 2000, Wadensjö 1998). This responsibility is not made explicit to students.

In addition, an integral education in community interpreting affects how student interpreters are assessed and certified. In the same way that the teaching of interpreters focuses mostly on cognitive skills, ethics and terminology, the assessment of interpreters currently focuses on similar areas. The measurement of skills needs to be more comprehensive than it has been to date. Testing is generally limited to tasks of information processing (memory, analytical skills, simultaneous and consecutive interpreting), language proficiency, specific terminology and knowledge of ethics. Sometimes there are language-specific tests, the passing of which is a pre-requisite before students can continue to other interpreting tests. Although the measurement of cognitive and linguistic skills is essential when it comes to testing interpreters, it provides only a partial view. The role that interpreters play during an interaction between speakers of more and less dominant languages (in terms of how visible or invisible they need to be) is not assessed, yet this role is a key to the successful and responsible performance of student interpreters. As we know from the literature (Angelelli 2004a and b, Metzger 1999, Roy 2000, Wadensjö 1998), other skills (such as interpersonal or social ones) are as crucial as cognitive and linguistic skills, but are seldom taught and almost never measured. This means that constructs such as neutrality, objectivity and invisibility are assumed, but are not tested. Knowledge

of role or agency is not measured either. The use of instruments similar to the Interpreter Interpersonal Role Inventory (IPRI, Angelelli 2004b) which reveal important information on interpreters' perceptions about their role is not widespread. Using IPRI as an example of a pre-test/post-test, interpreting programmes could measure changes in incoming candidates' ideas or perceptions on the role that interpreters play. After teaching about agency and responsibilities of interpreters, programmes could measure the effectiveness of content learning and its impact on the interpreters' perceptions of their roles. This means that programmes would explicitly address the multi-faceted role of interpreters, as well as its consequences across settings. If a programme teaches neutrality or recognition of agency, then instruments like IPRI can help measure that construct. Instead of neglecting or taking for granted social and interpersonal skills, programmes would be testing them side-by-side with cognitive and linguistic ones. In so doing, testing would become more integrative of all the dimensions present in any interpreting event.

Professionalization of a practice

Professional associations of translation and interpreting define educational requirements and qualifications for translators or interpreters. In addition they establish professional standards of practice and code of ethics, and promote the establishment of professional services by institutions and related agencies. Some are also a clearing-house for the collection and dissemination of information about interpreting, translation and related issues, and a few promote research into issues of cross-cultural communication.

Although the practice of community interpreting and translation has occurred since the beginning of times (see for example historical accounts of translators during the Egyptian Old Kingdom or of the Romans when they overtook elements of Greek culture), it did not become professionalized until the end of the twentieth century. It followed the professionalization of the practice of conference interpreting with the creation of AIIC (Association internationale des interprètes de conférence) in 1953. AIIC is the only world-wide association of conference interpreters. It currently has 2,940 members in 258 cities across 97 countries (AIIC 2010, www.aiic.net/database/).

The formation of the US Chapter of AIIC was followed by The American Association of Language Specialists (TAALS) established in Washington DC in 1957. Currently TAALS membership includes interpreters and translators based in nine countries of the Americas (Argentina, Brazil, Canada, Guatemala, Mexico, Peru, USA, Uruguay and Venezuela; www.taals.net/about.php).

Shortly after TAALS, the American Translators Association (ATA) was founded in 1959. With over 11,000 members in over 90 countries, the

primary goals of the organization are to support the professional development of translators and interpreters and to promote the translation and interpreting professions. Through its professional journal, *The ATA Chronicle*, the annual conferences, regional conferences and chapters meetings, ATA provides educational opportunities for its members as well as the ability to link with other professionals in the fields of translation and interpreting (www.atanet.org/bin/ view.pl/13437.html).

In 1964 the Registry of Interpreters for the Deaf, Inc. (RID) was established in the US. RID is a national organization of professionals who provide sign language interpreting/transliterating services and focus specifically on the needs of deaf and hard of hearing persons. In addition, RID advocates for an increase in the quality, qualifications and number of interpreters through a variety of services such as professional certification by its National Testing System, professional development through its Certification Maintenance Program and Associate Continuing Education Tracking, and promotion of its code of ethics through its Ethical Practices System. It provides international, national, regional, state and local forums and an organizational structure for the continued growth and development of the professions of interpreting and transliteration of American Sign Language and English (www.rid.org/ about.html).

Over twenty years after the creation of AIIC in the USA, the professionalization of interpreting reached beyond conference interpreting. This expansion started with interpreting in the legal setting. In 1978 the National Association of Judicial Interpreters (NAJIT) was established as a non-profit organization dedicated to furthering the professions of court interpreting and legal translation. NAJIT has nearly 1,200 members. Its mission is to promote quality interpreting and translation services in the judicial arena. The association encourages its members to continually upgrade their skills, and to share their knowledge and expertise among members of the profession and allied professions involved in education and the administration of justice (www.najit.org/ about_najit.html). The professionalization of medical/healthcare interpreters followed in this domino effect with the creation of the National Council on Interpreting in Health Care (NCIHC) in 1994. NCIHC is a multidisciplinary organization. It promotes cultural competence in professional healthcare interpreting as a means to support equal access to healthcare for individuals with limited English proficiency. NCIHC members are not only medical interpreters or interpreter service coordinators and trainers but also clinicians, policymakers, advocates and researchers. Based on its values of social justice, respect for and acceptance of all peoples, NCIHC works for the empowerment of linguistic minorities. By the time NCIHC was established, significant efforts had already been made on the east and west coasts of the US as evidenced by the Massachusetts Medical Interpreters Association (MMIA founded in 1986 and currently re-named as IMIA) and the California Healthcare

Interpreting Association (CHIA, founded in 1996). Both CHIA and IMIA promote safe, ethical, accurate and complete communication between patients and providers who speak different languages. Their mission is to bring healthcare interpreters and providers together to overcome linguistic and cultural barriers to high-quality care. In 2002 CHIA published its Standards of Practice entitled *The California Standards for Healthcare Interpreters: Ethical Principles, Protocols & Guidance on Roles & Intervention* (www.chia.ws/your_chia.php). CHIA advocates for cross-cultural awareness through education of healthcare professionals, encourages the development of advanced level training in health care interpretation at institutions of higher education, promotes networking among institutions that provide interpretation services, and makes recommendations on existing or new policies affecting patients with limited or no English proficiency. In sum, the professional organizations discussed above are committed to the advancement of professional interpreting. They promote quality interpreting, which in turn results in an effort to provide equal access to services to linguistic minorities.

Currently, there is no national certification for community interpreters. There is national certification for court interpreters but only in certain language combinations. It is not unusual to see hospitals or government offices hiring interpreters to require only a limited number of years of experience in the field (as medical interpreter, translator, bilingual medical assistant, etc.), bilingual ability, and the ability to pass the organization test (Angelelli 2004a).

Attention has focused to a lesser degree on the assessment of the quality of translation/interpretation as well as the perception of this relationship by individuals who make use of the services of interpreters. House's (1998) overview of approaches to the evaluation of interpreting quality (e.g., anecdotal and subjective approaches, response-oriented approaches and text-based approaches) reveals that these are based on a number of very different theoretical perspectives. Moreover, there appear to be many conflicting views even about notions (such as *equivalence*) that some scholars (e.g., Newman 1994) consider to be common-sense terms. For individuals concerned about quality and performance in professional interpreting, the lack of agreed-upon views within the profession about such issues is problematic. Some recent work, however, has begun to contribute to the more extensive examination of the quality of interpreted interactions across settings (Angelelli 2007, Angelelli and Jacobson 2009, Clifford 2001, Wadensjö 1998 and Valdés, Chávez, Angelelli, *et al.* 2000) using discourse features to judge the value of the interpreted rendition.

A number of studies have also focused on clients' expectations (Baker, Hayes *et al.* 1998; Kopczynski 1994; Kurz 1989, 1993, 2001; Marrone 1993), perceptions (Kurz 2001), and reactions (Ng 1992) regarding interpreting. Work conducted from this perspective argues that measurements of quality that do not include a user variable are simply incomplete. To date,

the work on clients' (users') expectations of interpreting quality has been carried out only in conference settings, thus excluding the expectations and perceptions of linguistic minorities. Other than medical studies focusing on errors of interpreting, we know very little about linguistic minorities' perceptions, challenges and expectations of those who broker communication for them.

Conclusion

Communication is essential to being human, yet it does not happen without access. It is through communication that we develop communities. For all of us who share a linguistic code, a community is the site where culture is made and re-made through emotional connection, a sense of belonging, and a common set of customs, rules, rituals and language. For members of linguistic minorities, the community of their providers or interlocutors, neighbours or officers opens up for them whenever a qualified interpreter is available to facilitate their access. Clearly, we all need to deepen our understanding of the beliefs and practices of individuals in cultural communities in order to meet their diverse, and often unmet, needs and expectations. Nearly all examinations of health and culture reveal that 'miscommunication, noncompliance, different concepts of the nature of illness and what to do about it, and above all different values and preferences of patients and their physicians limit the potential benefits of both technology and caring' (Payer 1988: 10). As is evident from the research discussed above, complex layers of meaning accompany all of our conversations about rights, duties, responsibilities, education, health, wellness or illness. This complexity multiplies when interpreters are needed to bridge the cultural communities of the provider and the person whose language is not spoken by the provider, not only by interpreting the languages spoken, but also through seeking answers to questions that providers and users raise as they communicate with one another. Negotiating understanding within and among these multicultural and multilingual communities, amidst the cultural, economic and political systems of nations, is complicated and challenging. It is, however, the socially responsible thing to do.

In sum, in this chapter I have discussed the pragmatic and economic factors considered in cross-linguistic communication. I have offered an overview of the different settings in which interpreting takes place, as well as the education and professionalization of interpreters. In addition I have explored some of the ideological factors underlying situations faced by linguistic minorities and reviewed access to services and access to language as a civil right.

13

US language policy in defence and attack

Richard D. Brecht and William P. Rivers

Introduction

The following chapter represents a departure from the usual handbook format of basic description in that it presents a framework for developing a language policy in defence and attack based on the situation in the United States. This approach may, with some reason, seem to many presumptuous on two accounts: describing not what is but what can be, and using the United States as an examplar. However, we justify this on the following bases. First, among the nations of the world, the US military arguably has the greatest need for language skills, given its global deployment in well over 100 countries. Second, the major federal investment in language in the United States is in the area of national security, and in addition one could argue that the most developed language policy and the leading edge of innovation in language acquisition and deployment in the United States is in military and intelligence entities. Third, a case can be made that the Department of Defense, if not other federal departments like the Department of Homeland Security, is well on its way to establishing and implementing a formal policy, with doctrine and procedures that are remarkable, in the context of US foreign language planning, for their vision and explicitness.

In treating a topic that brings controversy in applied linguistics – namely, the role that language policy and planning plays in national security, or 'defence and attack' – we point out that national security policy is a fundamental element of constructing the modern nation-state, and that language policy as often as not has its origin in this concern. The choice of one or another language or dialect as the lingua franca of a multiethnic, multinational army – whether Latin in the Roman army, English in the American Colonies, Russian in the armies of the Czar and the Soviet Union, or Chinese in the modern era,[1] reflects nation states'

determining very practical, even pecuniary, questions of communication and efficiency (Breton 1978; Breton and Mieszkowski 1977) or reflecting national and perhaps hegemonic aims at assimilating or promulgating a particular identity (Williams 1997) or culture. In order to problematize language in the conceptual field of national security, we propose to frame the question in two ways: first, what theoretical framework might motivate language policies – in particular, language acquisition policies – in terms of the projection of power, be that power military, economic or cultural? Secondly, and in very practical terms, how does a polity construct a language policy for national security? As noted, we will exemplify our work with a case study – the United States – which, as the de facto Anglophone superpower, confronts linguistic challenges in all facets of national well being, including military actions to be sure, but perhaps more substantively and persistently, in the economic and social domains as well.

Background

Foreign languages in the United States have never enjoyed a place of prominence in the formal education system. Since its beginning, autochthonous languages in the United States have been suppressed and immigrant languages have struggled to find any place in the educational system. Only the colonial languages, mostly French and Spanish, and to a lesser extent German, have been regularly offered in the education system and, at that, primarily in higher education. The major motivation for language education promulgation at the federal level has been national security, starting with the prohibition of foreign language teaching as a result of the First World War, and its rehabilitation arising out of the military and intelligence needs of the Second World War. The major modern impetus for federal support of language was the Cold War, more specifically the launching of Sputnik by the Soviet Union, which resulted in the 1958 establishment of major funding of language and areas studies in the Department of Education under the aegis of Title VI of the National Defense Education Act of 1958. In 1965, these programmes were brought under the mantle of the Higher Education Act.[2] In the early 1990s, out of a fear that the lack of instruction of 'critical languages' in our nation's universities was endangering national security, Congress established the National Security Education Program, which today primarily supports 'The Language Flagship' programme of high level university instruction in critical languages. After 9/11, the military and intelligence components of the federal government began to invest very heavily in their own language and culture training programmes, with significant funding continuing to this day (Brecht *et al.*, 2007).

While federal support for languages in the US military continues to grow, the Department of Education for its part has not significantly increased investments in school, college and university language programmes, continuing the tradition of having foreign language education in the US essentially a national security concern. This history and the resulting current situation, we believe, justify our approach here in using the United States as a quintessential case study of language policy in defence and attack. In so doing, we offer three perspectives, one practical, one immanent and one theoretical, on this choice.

First, the practical: as noted, while the US stands as the world's largest economy and one of its most linguistically diverse polities (US Census, 2003), the primary justifications for federal investments in language continue to derive from national security. Whatever other authors in this volume rightly note as proper functions of language in terms of cultural assimilation, promotion of a specific national identity, economic advantage, advancement of arts and culture, and so forth, the decentralized nature of the United States' educational system leaves the Federal government by law with very little in the way of determining educational policy, controlled as it is at the state and local level. Nevertheless, national security as a primary function of the federal government becomes the key and, for all practical purposes, primary lever for influencing foreign language acquisition policy (Brecht and Rivers 2005; Brecht and Walton 1994, Lambert 1992).

Second, the immanent: since the attacks on New York and Washington of September 11th, 2001 – during which the authors were at a conference on language and national security, in Monterey, California, as were several other authors in this volume (Baker 2001) – the US Federal government has redefined and given far greater importance to knowledge of foreign language and cultures among federal employees and US citizens. To no small degree, this unprecedented emphasis on language and culture has been driven by radically different contexts for military and diplomatic engagement. The bi-lateral military confrontation that marked the period after the Second World War is gone, as the United States has become involved in multiple 'asymmetric' conflicts with non-state actors from dozens of countries in virtually all regions of the world. Another change has occurred in the definition of 'victory', as 'stabilization' and 'reconstruction' have become as integral to military success as 'war fighting' (United States Department of the Army 2006, 2008). Finally, many military engagements are conducted by coalitions of forces, often under the sponsorship of international organizations like NATO or the UN. All of these changes entail competencies in many more languages and more and higher level language skills than had been required previously in the US context. The signal result of these changes has been a dramatic expansion in legislative efforts from the US Executive Branch and Congress to support language and international education. Brecht *et al.* (2007) cite

some twenty initiatives to improve national capacity in language and culture, all undertaken or strengthened after 11 September 2001.

Lastly, we consider a macroeconomic perspective on language policy and planning at the level of the polity. We have discussed this at length elsewhere (see especially Brecht and Rivers 2005), but to recapitulate it here, we hold that fundamental national interests, as expressed by the polity, determine the social marginal value accorded to language, and therefore drive national investments in language policy. In the next section, we detail this in the context of the United States; briefly, the investments in language as a tool of national security both in terms of the super-power role of the US and as a response to an external attack are predicted by our macroeconomic framework.

Market-driven behaviours as a basis for Language and National Security Policy

Brecht and Rivers note, 'A cost-benefit analysis at the societal level involves the distinction between "private marginal value" and "social marginal value."' (Brecht and Rivers 2005: 80). The societal benefit can be expressed as the sum of private marginal values – in other words, the sum total of what each individual would gain from the implementation of a given policy – or as the value derived by the society or polity as a whole. The latter approach allows for consideration of national security, economic competitiveness, and social justice as legitimate benefits of a particular policy. In this regard, as Kaplan and Baldauf note, the social marginal value of a language policy proves particularly difficult to quantify: 'Even if one could prove unequivocally – and one never can – that language treatment had a salutary effect it would be hard to calculate in any satisfactory sense the relative cost accrued for the benefits received' (Kaplan and Baldauf 1997: 163). What we propose is to accept the determination of policy objectives – that is, the putative benefits of a particular language policy – as a political process. For example, in the context of the foreign language policies of the United States, Brecht and Rivers (2005) address the social marginal value of a linguistically competent workforce responsible for national security and the social marginal value of multilingual access to state social services. Having accepted this process, we turn to an economic framework to guide the development of policies and capacity.

The market forces framework for language

In previous studies we have developed an overall economic framework for viewing the language 'market':[3] We represent this schematically in Figure 13.1.

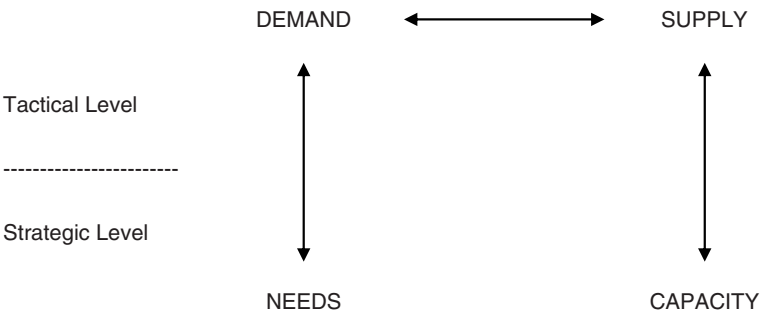


Figure 13.1 The market forces framework for language

These terms of reference are defined as follows: *demand* refers to the specific tasks or interactions for which language competence is necessary or desirable (Grin 2001). *Supply* refers to the available language competencies (human and technical), their sources, and modes of their storage. While supply and demand are immediate or tactical, the analysis of language and national security requires more strategic considerations. Accordingly, *need* represents the perceived or latent harmful conditions or beneficial social marginal value that can be mitigated or improved by language competence. *Capacity* is equally strategic, given the years it takes to acquire a language or develop technology, and represents the ability of the nation to produce the supply of linguistic human competence and technology designed to meet demand.

Among the specific sub-categories they identify with respect to national needs for language capital are:

- shortfalls in supply, where specific agencies or sectors have documented gaps in language coverage;
- shortfalls in capacity, where the underlying field resources (Brecht and Walton 1994) are insufficient to enable the production of language capital – that is, the training of linguistically skilled individuals;
- asserted needs and demands, where policy makers and public officials indicate a requirement for language capital; and
- declared national policy, which states explicitly or implicitly the requirement for linguistic capital.

Brecht and Rivers then exemplify this structure with respect to the social marginal value of language to the US national security as well as social justice at the state level (Brecht and Rivers 2005). Given specific benefits – that is, specific examples of social marginal value used as justifications and motivation for specific objectives of language policies – one can then assign costs to the attainment of these objectives. We turn next to the case of developing the foreign language *capacity* of the US military workforce.

An end state model of foreign language capacity for national security: The 'globalized military workforce'

The lessons learned over the past two decades by the US Department of Defense, and indeed, by the US Federal government as a whole, have made clear that language expertise and cultural competence must be a workforce-wide capability, not limited to a small and highly specialized cadre of interpreters and translators, or to occasional missions. Accordingly, the end state now sought by the US military is a 'globalized workforce' in which units and individuals across the Department of Defense first understand the linguistic and cultural challenges in dealing with military issues and, more importantly, are prepared to deal with such challenges. In particular, this globalized workforce is beginning to be conceived of as comprising:

1. A broad personnel base with 'cross-cultural competence' ((3C) in Department of Defense (hereafter, DoD) parlance) and, ideally, an understanding of the role of language in every mission;
2. A sub-set of this total workforce with linguistic, cultural and regional skills at appropriate proficiency levels and in all relevant occupations;
3. A cadre of language and regional specialists capable of performing at the highest levels; and,
4. A set of 'force multipliers' available and accessible on demand.

Military planning that targets 'capabilities and agility' to meet 'uncertainty' and 'unpredictability' assumes that all levels of the workforce have the globalized mindset, the prerequisite knowledge of what this means, and a language, culture and region resource arsenal organically available and on demand. The remainder of this chapter will be devoted to describing these components of a globalized military work force.

Communications management skills

The 2005 US DoD Defense Language Transformation Roadmap has as one of its goals that '… the total force understands and values the tactical, operational, and strategic asset inherent in regional expertise and language'. It is not only the fact that 'the total force understands and values' but it must be able to *use* the 'tactical, operational, and strategic asset' (United States Department of Defense 2005: 4). Whether or not the personnel on the ground themselves have the necessary language skills or adequate cultural knowledge, effective training should ensure that all personnel have basic 'communications management', which means that they have some basic knowledge of when human and/or technology-based language capabilities are needed and what value they bring, what

resources are available and where they can be obtained, and whether the language and culture resources put against the problem are sufficient. Essentially, members of a globalized workforce must be armed with the ability to pose and answer the questions: do we need language, culture and regional capabilities? What specifically do we need? Where and how soon can we get the necessary resources, human or technological? How does one evaluate whether these are working?

Organic linguistic, cultural, and regional skills

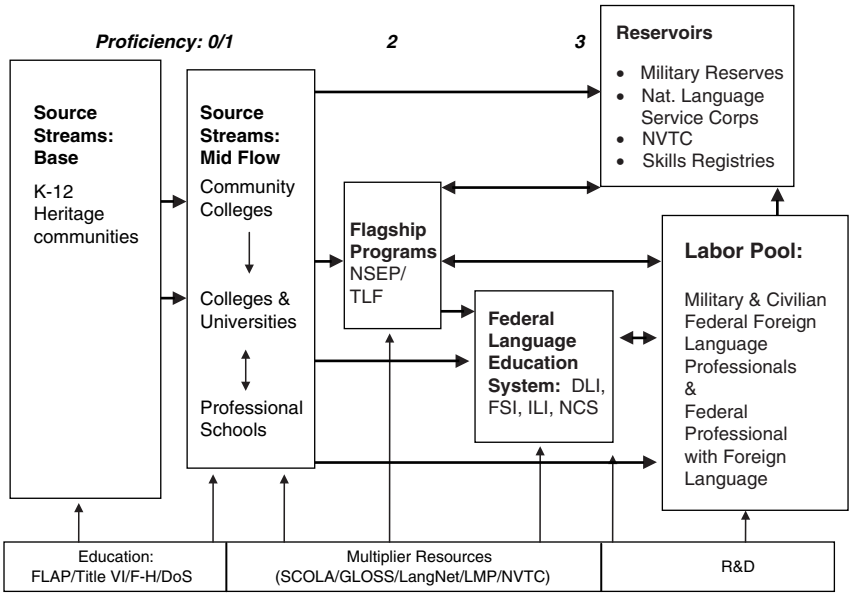
Strategic planning of any military, intelligence, diplomatic or economic development organization must include the clear definition of linguistic and cultural requirements and the documentation of all available capabilities. The 'delta' between the demand and supply sets the target for building capacity for meeting current demand, while checking demand against strategic need sets the goal for future required capacity. This means: which languages, levels of proficiency and performance (from basic to sophisticated), skills and tasks that organizational missions require, the percentage of missions adequately resourced, and the number of language and culturally competent personnel and technological assets that have to be developed and deployed.

Given the global involvement of US and multinational forces, as well as the number of languages and dialects in the world today, the inevitable first question that arises is: which languages and dialects are to be included in the core capabilities of the targeted unit? The challenge is: how can or should more languages, even dialects, be included in the end state? Clearly, building a workforce competent in hundreds, not to say, thousands of languages is not feasible.

The end state

The ultimate solution lies in a coordinated system of strategically planned, ready and warehoused, core language capabilities augmented with procedures and mechanisms for shared, outsourced, localized and reach-back capabilities. The core language capabilities have to be carefully constructed against what might be called 'language futures', that is, an investment in language and culture future capabilities based on an analysis of issues projected to be critical to the well-being of the nation in the next decade, the geographical areas in the country as well as around the globe that these issues imply, and which languages and dialects will be in use by which populations in ten and twenty years in these areas, including lingua francas and pidgins as well as the multilingual capabilities widespread among the relevant sub-populations and sub-regions.

The next question is: How is this carefully projected organic capability to be built? Clearly, government language training programmes



Abbreviations: CLPs: Command Language Programs; CASL: University of Maryland Center for Advanced Study of Language; DLIFLC: Defense Language Institute Foreign Language Center; DoS: Department of State; FLAP: Foreign Language Assistance Program; GLOSS: Global Language Online at the DLI; K-12: Kindergarten through twelfth grade; LangNet: The Language Network; UCLA's LMP: Language Materials Project; NLRCs: National Language Resource Centers; NSEP: National Security Education Program; TLF: The Language Flagship; NLSC: National Language Service Corps; NVTC: National Virtual Translation Center; SCOLA; Title VI/F-H: Title VI of the Higher Education Act, Fulbright-Hays.

Figure 13.2 Government language talent source stream architecture: pipelines and reservoirs

will remain the primary provider. However, it is possible that, in the long term, government language programmes will be able to hone their on-campus mission to higher levels skills in critical languages by drawing from a recruitment pool enriched by better language programs in K-12 schools, community colleges and universities as well as in heritage community language schools. Figure 13.2 represents a map of the national pipelines in language education and training as of 2010.

As a constant required investment in this capacity, language sustainment and enhancement is and inevitably will be more and more in demand across the military and government for more sophisticated job performance. On-the-job training has to be targeted to job performance with life-cycle language and culture education available across the workforce, through more effective and efficient programmes informed by research in cognitive neural research and supported by advances in technology. Life-cycle training means that language learning is an ever-present, career-long endeavour. Finally, in this system management must focus on employing these skills appropriately to keep them from atrophying.

Once these critical (language, culture, regional) skills and professional experience are acquired, they should be 'warehoused' in databases that are accessible on demand, in military reserve elements, and in something like in the US the newly created National Language Service Corps (NLSC), all to be available in time of need.[4] Any element like the NLSC can and should draw upon the best academic language programmes in the country in order to maintain and enhance its members' language and culture skills, thereby supporting these programmes that fight for existence in spite of low student demand. In sum, this constitutes the present organic capability of departments like the DoD.

A word about technology: Human Language Technology (HLT), specifically machine translation (MT) came into its own when its limitations were acknowledged and its strengths targeted. The ability of Human Language Technology (HLT) to match human expertise in processing complex texts is a long way off, even with innovations such as crowdsourced internet translation (Ambati *et al.* 2010). Nevertheless, HLT has a definite role to play in the end state; in fact it is critical to it. Processing large volumes of information at relatively low levels of sophistication is its strength. In the field, hand-held language technology has a role in low level tasks, like traffic control and the like.[5] However, the future globalized workforce will need to be armed with the knowledge of what the language task is, what the capabilities of available technology are, and how the delta, if it exists, has to be filled by human expertise. This has to be part of strategic planning and capacity building.

Force multipliers

Given the number of languages, the multiple levels of linguistic, cultural and regional proficiencies, and the range of missions and professional tasks involved, such an organic capacity must be – presently and for the foreseeable future – supplemented by 'force multipliers', examples of which are the following:

Sharing

The ability to share language resources among military and government components depends upon strategic planning and policy, common standards for human resources and technology, and coordinating bodies. If, in a surge situation where the US military, for example, would need speakers of African languages, it must know where available resources are and who has the authority to make temporary assignments when needed on its behalf. This would require that each department and agency plan for such a contingency. In addition, pending legislation in the US proposes to establish a National Foreign Language Coordination Council (Senate Bill 1010, sponsored by Senator Akaka of Hawaii) that would serve as a focal point to ensure that all relevant components participate and that

uniform standards apply that would make collaboration and sharing possible and effective.

Outsourcing

Clearly, some reliance on contractors for language services across the board will continue, even as each department or agency builds core staff. However, the varying nature of these outsourced capabilities requires standards and evaluation procedures and processes to be developed that ensure the quality of their performance. Again, such standards, at some level, could be the responsibility of a government-wide coordinating body that would take advantage of the various standards development, accreditation and certification organizations working to professionalize the language field along the lines of the medical sciences, engineering and the like, to include new standards activities undertaken by ASTM and the International Organization for Standardization (ISO).[6]

Localization

The advantages and challenges of hiring local populace translators and interpreters are not universally well known or appreciated. The language abilities of coalition partners or local populations and heritage communities are an important source of rare linguistic and cultural expertise in surge or operational situations. Here again, standards must be brought to bear, as part of the communications management of all personnel deployed abroad or serving domestic heritage communities. As in outsourcing, the importance of standards in localization efforts cannot be overestimated and again could be the responsibility of a government-wide coordinating body, which we discuss below.[7]

Reach-back

There are many language and culture capabilities that cannot be deployed in the field but can be accessed on demand in time of need, but only if their availability and usefulness are known across the USG and procedures for coordinating usage are developed. Such *reach-back* may be seen to comprise a number of services, including translation, interpretation, cultural behavior advising and training, as well as research on immediate and long-term problems in language training, performance and assessment. Many of these assets are supported by the US federal government and, as such, are directly relevant to security, social and economic concerns. For example, the National Language Service Corps and the National Virtual Translation Center – staffed by professionals including many academics and graduate students – currently provide just-in-time active field services as well as translation and interpretation. Similarly, the reach-back capabilities of academic research and training centers must be part of the mix.

A critical reach-back capability in research and development is critical. Research can, does and must play a role in building, deploying and evaluating

the linguistic, cultural and regional capabilities put against the challenges facing any nation. For example, cognitive and neuroscience research has the potential to dramatically improve the ability to acquire language as well as to assist language use in the field. Research in human language technology can greatly expand our ability to teach and learn languages as well as process the exponentially expanding information requirements across government. In the US, federally sponsored research laboratories and centres as well as the National Language Resource Centers and the National Resource Centers of Title VI of the Higher Education Act have much to contribute to linguistic, cultural and particularly to regional expertise.

Coordination

Such a comprehensive, collaborative and cohesive system described here depends critically on coordination and planning. Each department and agency must have a strategic plan for current and future needs assessment and capacity building, to include organic capacity (trained language specialists as well as Human Language Technology) and force multipliers. The Department of Defense and each of its components have established a Senior Language Authority (SLA), who has the responsibility and authority to ensure that the plan is developed and implemented through core workforce recruitment, training, warehousing, and management, as well as through resource sharing, outsourcing, localization and reach-back. The department has explicit requirements and targeted capabilities, as well as incentives (such as foreign language incentive pay and promotions in part based on regional proficiency). Leadership is liable to the same incentives and requirements, leading by example rather than by *fiat*. And management has the responsibility to ensure that the language and culture skills developed be deployed and used rather than be left to atrophy.

At the national level

While the DoD has these responsibilities within its domain, it is clear that effectiveness, efficiency, and cost management can be greatly facilitated if it could share resources with other federal departments and agencies in order to effect the same synergies among themselves as they demand of their components. To support this kind of collaboration, a vehicle for government-wide coordination is required, like that proposed for the US by Senator Akaka in Senate Bill 1010 of 2010, which if passed would establish a National Foreign Language Coordinating Council in the Executive Office of the President, chaired by the National Language Advisor. This council, if approved and funded, could be a major force in building a national capacity for the US government.

However, it is imperative that any federal coordination effort involve not only federal programmes. Essentially, the national capacity in language comprises four principal sectors: academic, federal, heritage and industry, all of which are critical players in outsourcing, localization and reach-back and should be included in every capacity roadmap. In particular, it should be clear that much of any military language capacity depends on the academic sector maintaining the infrastructure that produces the expertise, programmes and teachers in languages of all regions of the world (see Figure 13.2 above.) In fact, academe, as opposed to government and industry, is best positioned to address unforeseen requirements by extending and maintaining expertise in all areas of the world without having to justify its practical application. Indeed, the strength of academe lies in its 'knowledge for knowledge sake' approach. That approach is subject to rescissions in straitened economic times, and local conditions for language instruction at one or another institution often reflect this. Our contention is that focused, strategic investment in foreign language capacity ameliorates the immediate pressures of fluctuating enrolments and unstable institutional budgets in the educational system.

Because of its importance, it is necessary to appreciate the nature of the academic infrastructure underlying the nation's language capacity. Essentially, the core of our ability to develop and maintain expertise is the *language field*, which can be analysed as comprising, for any given language or language area, foundational elements (expertise base, research, national organization, strategic planning, national resource centres), infrastructure (teacher training programmes, in-country immersion programs, publications outlets, assessment instruments, etc.), as well as exemplary national programmes (Brecht and Walton 1994; Brecht and Rivers 2000); see Figure 13.3.

Such a field architecture is critical to all aspects of any federal language enterprise. In the United States it is supported principally on the federal side by Title VI/Fulbright-Hays of the Higher Education Act, The Language Flagship program of the NSEP, and the many federally sponsored research laboratories and centres. This is particularly true given the fact that academic language fields as a rule pay attention to a broad range of languages in their area, devoting graduate and undergraduate education to critical linguistic and cultural aspects of the discipline unavailable anywhere else.

An end state scenario

If such a system were to be built, the following might be a realistic national security scenario for the United States:

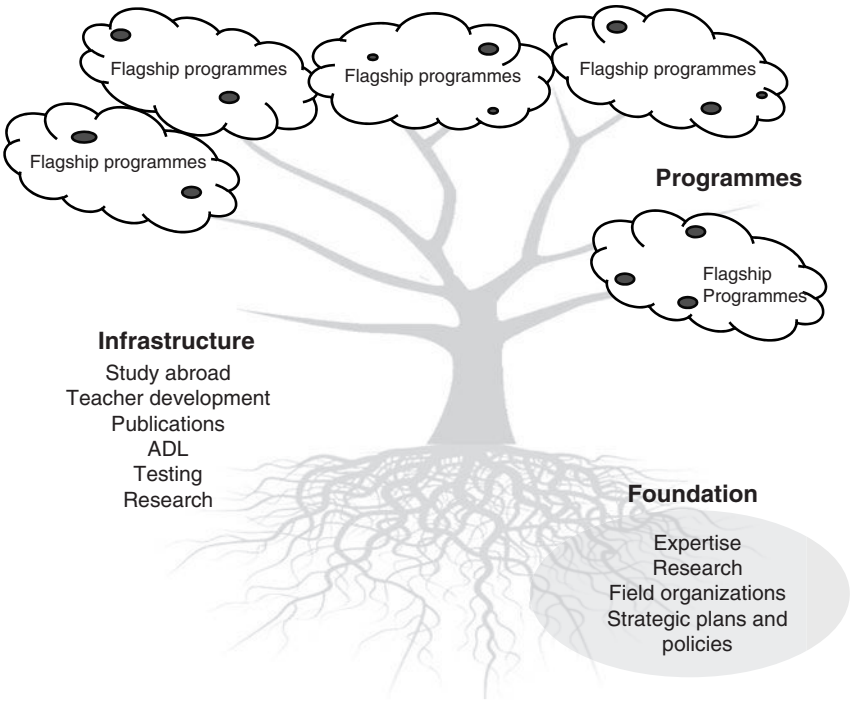


Figure 13.3 The language field architecture model

In 2021, a severe drought in northern Niger is taking the lives of thousands of men, women and children. The United Nations and the African Union have agreed to provide humanitarian assistance. The US, through the US African Command (AFRICOM), has contributed, among other resources, an infantry battalion, which is responsible for crowd control at food distribution centres in an area where a radical insurrectionist element operates. Tempers flare, and troops and local populations are endangered. Language tasks, such as interpreting between and among local and foreign armed forces, interpreting between and among food and medical aid organizations, security forces, and aid recipients, and translating personal identification documents, arise on a large scale, and are met with the following capabilities:

- Organic language capabilities: As part of their training, all troops assigned to the Northern Region of the AFRICOM mission area are aware of the language and culture issues they will face in the field. Many know basic phrases in the principal languages of Niger, while others can perform at the Federal Interagency Language Roundtable (ILR) 2-level (minimal professional proficiency) in the two African 'core' languages (out of the fifteen major regional languages of Africa) spoken in the Northern Region: Fulfulde and Hausa, as well as in French (the official language of Niger) and in Arabic.[8] Thus, there is

successful communication between American and community leaders, while people on the street are addressed using Voice Response Translators (VRTs) programmed on-site via satellite in the above languages for crowd control.

- Outsourced capabilities: Operating in conjunction with the African Union's African Standby Force (ASF), Northern Region, US commanders can assume that villages whose populations speak the other principal languages of Niger – Djerma, Kanuri and Tamajaq – will be handled by the ASF. The US battalion's communications management specialist has been assigned to provide on-going training to units at the battalion, company, platoon and squad levels.
- Reach-back: Given the history of past ethnic conflict in the area, the commander reaches back in the pre-deployment stage into the African Title VI Center at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign for the latest information on tribal and cultural issues pertaining to Niger and surrounding countries. Meanwhile, on site a prisoner is speaking an unrecognizable dialect of Arabic, and the interrogator goes online to access the Arabic Variation Identification Aid (AVIA) developed by the University of Maryland Center for Advanced Study of Language in 2005. Having identified the Arabic variant as Shuwa Arabic and aware that this capability is not organic and localization is unreliable, the interrogator accesses the Army Language Line Services, which provides telephonic interpretation during questioning. Also, many local populace interviews must be conducted in Hausa, and so assistance is sought from National Language Service Corps, which has dispatched a set of fluent speakers for the mission. The text for the battery of information and rescues leaflets in all twelve of Niger's languages has been provided by the African Languages National Resource Center at the University of Wisconsin, Madison.
- Localization: Intelligence units of the Niger military provide valuable information to company and platoon leaders. French and Arabic are vital to this channel of information. Officers in these units are skilled in communications management and feel comfortable that they are getting the information they need.

This combination of appropriate organic language capabilities, together with the force multipliers, provide the capabilities needed in future scenarios like this.

This scenario, while fictional, represents a plausible crisis, met in its linguistic dimension by a set of initiatives currently underway or in the planning stages. More importantly, it suggests that no military can deal with such situations on its own and presupposes a set of capabilities that require a comprehensive, cohesive, collaborative and coordinated language policy and language resourcing system. We finally examine a macroeconomic framework to underpin the national development of such capacities.

Conclusion

The issue of national security (defence and attack) has, as a perhaps unanticipated (in the Anglophone setting) and unintended consequence, namely, a strong and continuing focus on language and culture. It must be said that this is a positive development in the United States, as it establishes language as a critical capability of federal departments, which is having feedback into the educational system. For example, The National Flagship programme funded by the DoD is establishing standards and accountability, along with new curricula and programme design, in higher education programmes across the country.

There is little doubt concerning the strategic needs of the United States for a globally educated citizenry, aware of the role of language and culture in meeting the challenges of the twenty-first century. The pressing needs of the nation are for more professionals with higher levels of proficiency in more foreign languages in a myriad of fields, from social services to health professions to translation and interpreting, The 2006 National Security Language Initiative combined the efforts of the Departments of State, Education and Defense in an attempt to improve national foreign language capacity in the United States. In the realm of national security, the Department of Defense and the components of Intelligence Community have indicated immediate needs in a range of languages, such as Arabic, Chinese and Farsi, among other languages. President Barack Obama has made expansion of foreign language capacity a central element in policy for the Departments of State and Defense, explicitly tying foreign language skills to the national interest in terms of increased cooperation and understanding of the globalized, interconnected world (Obama 2008). For perhaps the first time in its history, the United States recognizes its continuing need for skill in both commonly and rarely taught languages to better enable the country to engage in trade, diplomacy, collective security and social welfare, at home and abroad.

We are not suggesting here, however, that the national security efforts have solved the language problems of the United States. While much credit must go to the Department of Defense, the programmes and policies we describe and propose above proceed from the fact that the nation's language capacity is insufficient to meet short- and long-term national security needs. This is in essence taken as a given, and to the extent that it is empirically derived, it is based on the wide range of requirements for foreign language expertise that traditionally have gone unmet (Brecht *et al.* 2007; Brecht and Rivers 2000, 2005). Moreover, each initiative to increase the human capital in foreign languages in the United States is based, to a greater or lesser extent, on untested assumptions about the underlying capacity – for example that sufficient numbers of heritage speakers may be found in many or most languages to

meet the enrolment targets of the National Language Service Corps, or that sufficient capacity exists in the academic sector to support enrolments in the Language Flagship.

In spite of the strategic thinking of the DoD and the spin-offs of its programming and investments, we continue to see a paucity of school-based foreign language speakers in the United States, in particular in the less commonly taught languages (see for example, Davidson and Garas 2009, on the level of Russian uptake in US primary and secondary schools – a mere 16,500 students in the US schools study Russian). Furthermore, we note that the overall level of foreign language speakers has remained relatively constant for more than thirty years, in spite of successive waves of ever more diverse immigration (Robinson *et al.* 2006). Those foreign language speakers who are more proficient in their own languages are less likely to be proficient in English, which in all probability reflects recency of arrival for more fluent foreign language speakers (ibid.). Notwithstanding the remarkable successes of programmes such as The Language Flagship, which has demonstrated the feasibility of training Anglophones in a relatively short time to professional levels of proficiency in an array of languages, or the English for Heritage Speakers successes in 'topping off' the English skills of immigrants, to the same level of professionally useful proficiency, these DoD supported programmes remain vanishingly small in the context of the full US population. While the security motivated National Language Service Corps and the National Virtual Translation Center may well serve to better identify and mobilize what limited capacity exists, that capacity still carries inherent limits. Absent far-reaching educational reforms, there is little likelihood of significant change in the broad foreign language picture in the US, thereby leaving to the military and other government functions the task of training and warehousing their own linguistically sophisticated human capital.

Both the broadly defined economic and social as well as the focused 'attack and defend' functions will remain linguistically underserved, we contend, as long as language is considered a national security as opposed to an educational issue in any country. In the US for example, the US Department of Education has yet to take up strong educational initiatives in support of state, local and other federal efforts, and this remains a significant deficiency in US language policy.

14

Language policy and medium of instruction in formal education

Stephen L. Walter and Carol Benson

Introduction

This chapter explores educational language policy and practice and its relationship to historic, political, pedagogical, social and cultural issues throughout the world. The focus is on formal education, particularly at the primary level due to the critical role played by the language (or languages) of instruction in beginning literacy and learning. We begin with the observation that the world is a multilingual place, and most if not all contemporary societies must consider the roles of different languages in a range of domains including education. Further, we wish to clarify at the outset that we find the evidence convincing that the ideal languages of teaching and learning, particularly at the level of basic education, are the languages that learners know best.

Linguistic diversity takes many forms. In the so-called North, referring to economically developed countries, most have one or more national languages – typically known as *dominant languages* – spoken by numerical majorities, along with numerous *non-dominant languages* spoken by regional, immigrant or other minority communities. In the low-income South, most countries are characterized by societal bi- or multilingualism, where large majorities speak non-dominant languages at home and must learn official languages at school or in other formal domains.

The medium of instruction issue has been discussed in the context of educational development since at least 1953 when UNESCO issued a now-famous statement claiming it 'axiomatic' that the mother tongue was the best language for literacy and learning (UNESCO 1953). Most Northern countries unquestioningly educate their majority populations – and sometimes their minority ones – in their own mother tongues, achieving the well established pedagogical benefits. In the South, despite the research evidence, their own policy statements, and

numerous United Nations resolutions, there has been less consistency in offering learners a quality education through languages they speak and understand well.

We recognize that 'ideal practice' is frequently challenged by current linguistic and cultural contexts of urbanization, migration and immigration, cross-linguistic marriage, and other types of mobility. The challenges are not only for education but for the full range of social, economic, political and religious practices which constitute the fabric of a community. Unfortunately, policy-makers tend to use complex cases as a pretext for abandoning sound educational practice in the much simpler contexts where large populations could truly benefit from mother tongue-based schooling.

The school language issue takes on urgency in proportion to the extent and scale of linguistic diversity around the globe. The second section explores the nature of this diversity as well as its scope. The third describes the range of positions taken by nations with respect to educational language policy, including an indication of their rationales. The final section presents a potpourri of the growing body of evidence of the observable consequences of choices made with respect to educational language policy.

Language diversity across the planet

The statement that there are 6,833 living languages spoken in the world today[1] strikes many as unbelievable. The ten most widely spoken languages – Mandarin Chinese, Spanish, English, Hindi, Bengali, Portuguese, Russian, Japanese, German and Wu Chinese – are spoken by 43 per cent of the world's population. At the same time, thousands of languages are in active use whose existence is known mainly by their speakers, their neighbours, and experienced linguists. There are also a number of widely known and influential languages such as Kiswahili and Modern Standard Arabic which have relatively few mother tongue speakers but millions of second language speakers.

Language typology scale

In an effort to clarify this linguistic complexity and give the reader a frame of reference, we will make use of a six-level scale of the world's languages developed by Walter as an analytical framework for discussing the evolution and consequences of language policy, especially with respect to education. The typology is based on two parameters:

Political/national salience. The extent to which a language has a national or international identity and function; and

Level of development. The extent to which a language has been systematically developed (standard writing system, grammar, general lexicon, technical lexicon) for educational, legal, technical, business, mass communication and scholarly purposes. Linguists consider all normal human languages to be fully developed to meet the total range of linguistic needs for the indicated speech community. What varies from one situation to another is the 'total range of linguistic needs' – for example, the linguistic demands placed on a language by science, technology and scholarly publication are different from those placed on a language by subsistence farming and village-level interactions.

We recognize that not all will agree with the typology as proposed and may take issue with specific examples cited. We also recognize that language usage and status is dynamic, with movement between levels possible as economic and geopolitical conditions change. With these caveats, we attempt to organize the world's languages according to the following six levels:

Level 1 – International languages

Examples: English, French, Standard Arabic, Spanish, German, Portuguese

Level 1 (*International*) languages are distinguished by (a) their long history of use as a written language, (b) their status as national or official language of multiple countries, and (c) their use as international vehicles of business, education, scholarship and diplomacy.

Level 2 – Major languages

Examples: Dutch, Russian, Mandarin Chinese, Turkish, Japanese, Korean, Italian

Level 2 (*Major*) languages differ from international languages in two primary regards: (a) though highly developed, they are the national languages only of individual countries (in most cases) and (b) they are not widely used as international vehicles of communication or scholarship.

Level 3 – Developed national languages

Examples: Hindi, Swedish, Polish, Czech, Malay, Urdu, Bengali, Thai

Level 3 (*Developed national*) languages differ from major languages in that they are somewhat less likely to be used at the highest levels of education or business. Speakers of such languages typically learn an international language to function at the highest levels of education, research, and scholarly publication.[2]

Level 4 – Underdeveloped national languages

Examples: Malagasy, Sotho, Jamaican Creole, Filipino, Quechua, Aymara, Bambara

Level 4 (*Underdeveloped national*) languages are often described as colloquials, trade languages or lingua francas. Though widely spoken on national or regional levels, and frequently used in oral form (e.g. the mass media of TV and radio), they are less likely to be used in print media or in education.

Level 5 – Underdeveloped sub-national languages

Examples: Illocano (Philippines), K'iche' (Guatemala), Karen (Myanmar), Oromiya (Ethiopia)

Level 5 (*Underdeveloped sub-national*) languages are used mainly in oral form and associated with a particular ethnic community in a relatively small region which may or may not correspond to national boundaries. If any literature exists, it is limited in nature and availability. Speakers of such languages consider it necessary to learn another language to have access to education, information and jobs outside the local community.

Level 6 – Localized oral languages

Examples: Tuyuca (Colombia), Ejagham (Cameroon), Borana (Kenya), Asháninca (Peru), Otomí (Mexico), Pocomchí (Guatemala), Yi (People's Republic of China), Bunong (Cambodia)

Level 6 (*Localized oral*) languages differ from Level 5 languages primarily with respect to being more localized, having fewer speakers and having little or no written use.

From a linguistic and educational perspective, we contend that the status and function of a language is intimately intertwined with issues of social and political position, educational opportunity, and national economic development. To ignore the underlying linguistic realities that shape the world of the billions speaking the 'lower level' languages is to vitiate initiatives designed to broaden the educational and life opportunities of those speaking these languages (Hornberger 2008).

Distribution of languages by level

Table 14.1 demonstrates how the language typology scale can be used to provide background for discussing the impact of languages on national educational policy and practice. To estimate the distribution of languages and population by category, Walter used data from the Ethnologue (Gordon 1996).

The number of speakers in each category is approximately the same with the exception of Level 6. While Levels 1 and 2 together comprise just twelve languages spoken by 2.39 billion people, almost as many people – 2.364 billion – speak one of the languages in Levels 4, 5 and 6 which are all lesser-developed languages. Level 6 is notable for the large

Table 14.1 *Distribution of the world's language communities according to language category*

Level	Description	Number of languages	Total population	Percent of total
Level 1	International languages	6	1,028,543,935	17.02
Level 2	Major languages	6	1,363,422,496	22.56
Level 3	Developed national languages	38	1,287,386,616	21.30
Level 4	Underdeveloped national languages	136	1,110,374,805	18.37
Level 5	Underdeveloped sub-national languages	1,208	1,199,979,248	19.86
Level 6	Localized oral languages	5,439	53,629,491	.89
TOTALS		6,833	6,043,336,591	100.00

number of languages – 5,439 – and relatively small number of people in the category – just 53.6 million speakers.

From an educational planning perspective, Levels 4 and 5 are especially salient. These two levels represent a substantial group – 38.23 per cent of the world's total – who generally do not have access to education in a first language.[3] If educational language policy significantly affects educational outcomes (negatively), then more than one-third of the world's population is potentially compromised by such policy choices.

Languages and education

It would be tempting to assume that ALL of the widely spoken languages in the world are used as languages of education. This turns out not to be the case. Table 14.2 groups the languages of the world according to the number of speakers of each language. Again, the reader is reminded that these data are a fairly reasonable estimate based on available data and policy information.

In the category of 'Greater than 10,000,000' speakers, we note that 45 of the 97 languages in the category are not used as languages of instruction in education to our knowledge. These 45 languages are spoken by 1.12 billion people.

In the second category (250,000–10 million), only 109 of 771 languages are used in education. This represents another 970 million people without access to education in their first language. The other four categories together comprise another 200 million people. Collectively, more than 2.3 billion people lack access to education in their first language. To the extent that language of instruction matters in education, the data suggests that nearly 40 per cent of the world's population is potentially negatively affected by official policy on language use in education.

Table 14.2 *Use of first languages as languages of instruction**

Population category	Number of languages		Total population		
	Used in ed.	Not used in ed.	Used in ed.	Not used in ed.	Percent of pop. having access to ed. in L1
No population given	23	857	0	0	0
1–4,999	205	2,966	394,257	4,784,019	7.6
5,000–49,999	157	2,099	2,489,201	49,864,605	4.8
50,000–249,999	53	1,041	6,407,984	148,038,621	4.1
250,000–9,999,999	109	662	351,264,066	968,356,346	26.6
Greater than 10,000,000	52	45	3,380,555,080	1,120,220,125	75.0
TOTALS	599†	7,670†	3,741,110,588	2,300,263,716	61.9

* The data in this table are based on a variety of sources; our own personal knowledge and travel, the professional literature, conversations with professionals in the field of education, and information from a large number of language specialists scattered around the world. The data are quite conservative in that we used a standard of education being available for at least 3 years AND 25 per cent of the population having direct access to such education. Given these limitations, the margin of error is approximately ±10 per cent.

† These two totals are based on 'language-in-country' accounting with the result that the totals exceed a 'unique-language' count. For example, there are English-speaking populations of various sizes in a large number of countries. In only some of these cases is English used as a language of instruction in education.

Linguistic dislocation

If linguistic boundaries precisely coincided with policy-making units, linguistic and educational policy might be less complex. Beyond the fact that most countries are home to multiple linguistic communities, it is common for linguistic communities to span national boundaries. In many cases, the linguistic communities existed long before national boundaries were determined. Other reasons include migration and immigration, forced relocation and imperialism. A search through *Ethnologue* turns up just under 3,000 cases in which identifiable ethnic communities are found living in a country which (a) is not their identifiable home country and (b) is not a country in which their language is a national language. These cases represent 416 million people or approximately 7 per cent of the world's population. In only 60 of these 3,000 cases do the people involved have at least some access to education in their first language, as shown in Table 14.3.

The proportion of this linguistically dislocated population having access to education in their first language looks rather positive – 25 per cent. However, close to 90 per cent of this access is based on just four cases – Urdu in India, Malay in Indonesia, Spanish in the US and Russian in the various states of the former Soviet Union – and all of these are

Table 14.3 *Dislocated language populations and their access to education in a first language*

Educational access in first language	Number of groups	Number of speakers
Yes	60	104,709,494
No	2,932	311,300,251
Total	2,992	416,009,745

ambiguous in terms of full access to education in the first language. Our point is that linguistic dislocation is yet another factor to be considered when examining national educational policy and educational practice in the classroom.

Language policy in education: the choices and how they are made

Most linguistically diverse countries have explicit educational policies on the use of languages for instructional purposes. There is, however, great variation in the justifications proffered for these policies. Furthermore, it is common to find significant disparity between policy and practice at the level of educational delivery. In this section, we identify and explore examples of both the origins and implementation of language policy in the educational arena.

(Colonial) history

At independence, most nation-states with colonial histories chose to maintain the status quo in terms of official languages in public administration and schooling. According to Alidou (2004) there were more than a few forces favouring the retention of European languages as dominant ones: the view of multilingualism as destabilizing for fragile new states; the view of European languages as 'neutral' in these contexts; the lack of corpus planning in indigenous languages; and the need for 'international' languages to communicate with the outer world, i.e. the economically developed North. This may explain the surprising views of revolutionary leaders whose platforms were otherwise anti-colonial, e.g. Amilcar Cabral who, after leading the struggle of independence of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde from Portugal using a lingua franca known as Crioulo, proclaimed Portuguese as the language of development of an African national and scientific culture (Galli and Jones 1987; Breton 2003). This is similar to post-independence education in most Latin American contexts, which continued to use Portuguese (Brazil) or Spanish, even in countries

with predominant indigenous populations like Bolivia and Guatemala (Albó and Anaya 2003).

There were some alternative choices made at independence, as discussed in on page 287. Even in newly independent countries that maintained the status quo there was some local language use in lower primary schooling, as was common practice in British colonies. In South Africa this practice was extended to eight years of mother tongue for separate-and-unequal education under apartheid from 1955 to 1976, during which speakers of African languages ironically achieved better results than they did in later Afrikaans- or English-medium models (Heugh 2003).

Access: real or perceived?

Long-standing attitudes toward languages with regard to prestige colour stakeholders' language aspirations and thus their preferences with regard to school languages. D'Emilio (1995) has discussed the tension between cultural identity and modernity apparent in comments such as, 'Children already learn the mother tongue at home, so why should they learn it in school?' Widespread public belief in the economic power of 'global' languages is cited as a reason to use them in school, the common claim being that 'If you want a good job you must speak X [insert any dominant language]'. While this aspiration is understandable, it is not always realistic; as Bruthiaux (2002) explains, well over 50 per cent of residents of low-income countries participate in the informal economy, which is more likely to require skills in local languages and regional lingua francas. Discussing the Indian context, Mohanty finds that people's negative attitudes toward their own languages create a cycle of exclusion: '[L]inguistic minority groups are driven to further poverty – culturally and economically – because their languages, as resources for educational achievement and, through it, for equal access to economic and other benefits in a competitive society, are rendered powerless' (Mohanty 1990: 54). If dominant languages serve mainly to perpetuate educational and economic inequality, policymakers might ask themselves whether precious school resources should be spent to teach them at all.

Multilingual educators work to raise awareness regarding the importance of the learner's first language in promoting school success and in learning additional languages, but stakeholders often need to see mother tongue-based education in practice to understand how it works (Benson 2008). Because non-dominant ethnolinguistic groups cannot reasonably be expected to challenge the status quo, Mac Donnacha (2007) argues (from experience in language planning in Ireland) that the onus is on public institutions to create an awareness that their languages can be used effectively and for greater participation in education and society.

Lack of technical and economic resources

Policymakers may be reluctant to consider a change in language policy due to the perceived costs of reforming the system. Such reform is estimated to cost 4 to 5 per cent of a national education budget at start-up, but costs decrease over time as innovations in teacher education and materials development are absorbed into the system (Heugh 2006). Several analyses have balanced the costs of implementing mother-tongue-based multilingual education with the benefit of improved efficiency (i.e. lower dropout, repetition and failure rates), which significantly lowers per-pupil expenditure (Vawda and Patrinos 1999; Vaillancourt and Grin 2000). A study in Guatemala (Patrinos and Velez 1995, 2009) found that the costs of implementing mother tongue programmes are outweighed by the savings due to more efficient schooling after only two years. The study also estimated that a complete shift to bilingual intercultural education would save the country over five million US$ per year (see pp. 296–7 for further discussion of this study).

Search for regional national coherence and/or identity

As already mentioned, policymaking has long been influenced by the belief that each nation-state should have a single unifying language (see Chapter 4 in this volume). This belief caused colonizer countries to suppress their own linguistic diversity (see for example the cases of Welsh, Irish, Basque, Catalán, Breton, Frisian and other languages of Europe; see also Moseley 2009) as well as that of their colonies, the school being considered a major force in doing so. African intellectuals (e.g. Mazrui 1997, Ngũgĩ 1987, Prah 2003) have described how colonized peoples were robbed of the opportunity to express themselves clearly in their own languages, particularly in writing. The ideology of linguistic unity has not been limited to post-colonial Africa. As Kosonen (2009) demonstrates in cases from south-east Asia, official dominant languages are used almost exclusively for education and governance, even in countries like Lao PDR where Lao speakers are a numerical minority.

Desire to improve educational outcomes

In some cases educational policy choices have been made to improve educational outcomes. Thomas and Collier (1997) noted that their research aimed to answer the question, 'What approach to educating English language learners in the US would produce the best educational outcomes for that population?' Similarly, Walter and Davis (2005) report that policy makers in Eritrea made choices about the use of language in early education with a view to maximizing the effectiveness of education in that country. This has been true in many cases in low-income countries that have introduced mother-tongue-based multilingual education to

address quality issues like low achievement and high dropout rates (see e.g. Benson 2004).

It cannot be assumed that improving educational quality is the interest of all policymakers, particularly those in highly selective systems, who might prefer to maintain the status quo to ensure the success of their own children over others. Students themselves may aspire to elite status, as reported in Ethiopia where, when considering alternatives to English as medium of instruction for secondary schooling, one student responded, 'How are we going to be different from those who are uneducated if we are learning in Amharic?' (Heugh *et al.* 2007: 99).

The product of political ideology

School use of the mother tongue has been the product of political ideology in some countries. In newly independent Tanzania, for example, Julius Nyerere promoted Kiswahili, a second language for the majority, as part of his *Education for Self-Reliance* programme to unite and educate the country. In Ethiopia, which did not have a colonial history, the Haile Selassie regime chose Amharic, the language of one ethnic group, as national language to unite diverse groups, a decision which remains sensitive to this day (Benson *et al.* 2010). In Guinea, Sekou Touré called for a cultural revolution that opposed the French while embracing linguistic diversity by using eight major national languages – Soso, Mandinka, Pulaar, Kissié, Kpele, Loma, Wameym and Oneyan – for primary schooling and adult literacy (Camara 2006).

In hindsight, according to Obanya (2002), these 'radical' approaches yielded positive results for education: the development of consistent ideologies involving people's own languages, the enrichment of school curricula that responded to societal needs, and the development of indigenous languages in education and public life. However, mother tongue education became more closely linked with political ideology than with effective education. In the case of Guinea, national language use ended with Touré's administration, and only in the last decade have efforts been made to bring national languages back into primary schooling (Benson and Lynd 2011). In Tanzania today, Kiswahili continues to offer access to basic education and social participation, but spaces have not been opened for learners' mother tongues, and the public seems to be leaning toward English-medium schooling even when quality is lowered (Rubagumya 2003, 2004). In the Ethiopian case, it seems that the use of Amharic led to public demand for other national languages in education, resulting in the 1994 adoption of mother-tongue-medium primary schooling for a full eight years (Heugh *et al.* 2007).

Eritrea offers us an interesting mix of the factors of ideology and educational outcomes in its educational language policy (Walter and Davis 2005). During its struggle for independence, the country's revolutionary

leaders found it politically as well as educationally expedient to propose a model of universal first language education to its citizens as a means of unifying a fractious revolutionary movement. As a result, Eritrea now has an educational language policy supporting the use of first languages in education for more than 95 per cent of its school-aged population.

The (re)claiming of social and cultural identity

Another reason for bringing languages into formal school systems is to (re)claim social and cultural identity, as is the case with European regional and minority languages such as Basque and Irish. In Thailand, the use of the Chong language had declined to an estimated 500 speakers from an ethnolinguistic community of thousands (Kosonen 2003, 2008). A community-initiated project to promote and revive use of the Chong language began in 1999 with the aims of raising the status of the language, increasing its usage, and passing it on to younger generations. With technical assistance from Thai university linguists, adult Chong speakers developed a writing system, produced instructional materials and trained to become teachers. Beginning in 2002, Chong became the first minority language in Thailand to be taught in formal schooling as a subject of study as part of the 'local curriculum' component. Since then the teaching of Chong has expanded with the support of parents, teachers and local language development committees. Similar initiatives are now underway in other Thai ethnolinguistic communities (Kosonen 2008).

The claiming of recognized legal rights

In some cases, school use of the mother tongue has been brought about through the claiming of legal rights. Regional and minority language communities in Europe provide examples. At the national level, 'historic nationalities' like the Basque in Spain gained the opportunity for autonomy through the Spanish Constitution of 1978, received autonomy and official recognition of their language in 1979, and developed educational programmes of which the most common is now Basque-medium schooling (Cenoz 2008). At the European level, the 1992 European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages, signed and ratified by twenty-four countries, calls for governments to recognize and promote regional and minority languages, eliminate all forms of discrimination against them and their speakers, and (in Article 8) provide opportunities for their use in educational programs at all levels.[4] The European Charter has allowed many linguistic communities to move forward even where national policies have been inconsistent.

At an even broader level, the Universal Declaration of Linguistic Rights (signed in 1996 by UNESCO and a number of non-governmental

organizations) supports the rights of endangered language communities to 'acquire a full command of their own language' (Section II on Education, Articles 23–30).[5] Skutnabb-Kangas (2000) provides even stronger argumentation for school use of learners' own languages as part of their inalienable human rights (see also Dunbar and Skutnabb-Kangas 2008).

Popular advocacy

It is possible to encounter popular advocacy both for dominant official languages and for mother tongues in education simultaneously. As discussed above, stakeholders are sensitive to language status issues, and parents wish for their children to gain access to the language or languages of power which they believe will best prepare them for success and social mobility. Meanwhile, bilingual education programmes demonstrate that languages of power can be learned by starting with learners' first languages.

Experiments in countries like Bolivia and Mozambique have created a demand for mother-tongue-based multilingual education by demonstrating what is possible (Benson 2004a). In the case of Bolivia, NGO-sponsored experimentation brought about public support for bilingual intercultural education (EIB), culminating in the 1994 Education Reform and national implementation of EIB (D'Emilio 2001; Albó and Anaya 2003). In Mozambique, five years after initiation of the bilingual experiment in Gaza and Tete provinces, families in those communities were reportedly taking in children of friends and relatives in anticipation of the next round (Benson 2004a), and the demand from these regions was the greatest when the 2002 Curriculum Reform allowed for bilingual schooling as an option. Bilingual schools are currently operating in sixteen Mozambican languages (Chimbutane 2011).

At the same time, there is a danger that poor implementation of bilingual schooling can cause parents to lose faith in mother tongue use. The chronically low resourcing of bilingual schools in Niger, which the Ministry of Education continues to call 'experimental' after more than thrity years, has reportedly caused many parents to move their children to French-medium schools, despite the grave challenges to understanding curricular content (Hovens 2002, Nikiema 2010).

Language policy in education – legal and empirical justifications

Educational development: access, quality and equity arguments

The relationship between medium of instruction and educational access and quality has received increasing attention in recent years. In a

background paper written for the UNESCO Global Monitoring Report on Education for All (EFA) in 2005, Benson (2004) argued that there can be no discussions of quality or reaching the goals of literacy, numeracy and inclusion of marginalized groups without consideration of the language of instruction. Many scholars agree; as Williams and Cooke (2002a: 317) point out, 'It is abundantly clear that education in a language that few learners, and not all teachers, have mastered detracts from quality and compounds the other problems of economically impoverished contexts.'

UNESCO Bangkok has taken the lead in providing the Asia and Pacific region with policy documents and implementation tools (e.g. Benson 2005; Kosonen, Young and Malone 2007; Malone 2007). Likewise, non-governmental organizations like Save the Children have issued policy documents recognizing the essential role of the child's first language (Pinnock 2009). Development agencies like USAID (Anís and Tate 2003) and even World Bank researchers (World Bank 2005) indicate increased interest in mother-tongue-based education as a means to improve quality, and find that more attention is warranted:

> Fifty percent of the world's out-of-school children live in communities where the language of schooling is rarely, if ever, used at home. This underscores the biggest challenge to achieving Education for All (EFA): a legacy of non-productive practices that lead to low levels of learning and high levels of dropout and repetition (World Bank 2005: 1)

The relationship between public education and economic development is far from well defined, and global tendencies such as pressure to reduce public spending on education, compounded by elite demand for internationalized curricula and languages, can negatively impact schooling for all, especially for people from non-dominant groups (Carnoy 2000). Alternatively, grassroots organizing has produced some alternative thinking about what people find important in terms of schooling and sustainable community development (Esteva and Prakash 1998), and this thinking is supported by grassroots level indigenous movements in Latin America (López 2006) as well as more intellectual africanization ideology in Africa (e.g. Prah 2003).

Linguistic human rights and other rights-based arguments

The pro-mother tongue position taken by UNESCO in its widely cited 1953 policy statement supported initial literacy and learning in the child's home language on psychological and pedagogical grounds. This position has been strengthened over the years by a number of other international conventions. Examples include the 1966 International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, Article 27 which recognizes the right of minority people to use their own languages; the 1989 ILO Convention 169, Article 28 which gives Indigenous children the right

to be taught in the language most commonly used by their communities; the 1989 Convention on the Rights of the Child, Article 29 which calls for education to respect the child's cultural identity, language and values; the 1992 Declaration on the Rights of Persons belonging to National or Ethnic, Religious and Linguistic Minorities, Article 4 which requires states to provide adequate opportunities for people to learn in their mother tongues; and the 2001 Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity, Article 6, which defines the educational role of the mother tongue in promoting multilingualism (UNESCO 2003: 21–2). The weakness of these conventions, as Skutnabb-Kangas (2000) has noted, is that they often contain provisions like 'wherever possible' which allow countries to excuse themselves from compliance. She argues under Article II of the UN International Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide that all cases of failure to use people's own languages should be defined as linguistic genocide, since they constitute 'forcibly transferring children… to another group' and 'causing serious… mental harm' (Skutnabb-Kangas 2006: 3).

UNESCO (2003: 11) recognizes another argument put forth by scholars like Krauss (1992), Skutnabb-Kangas (2000) and Wurm (2001) in favour of literacy in indigenous languages to 'safeguard diversity'. The argument is made most strongly by Skutnabb-Kangas, Maffi and Harmon (2003) that not only are half of the world's languages currently in danger of extinction, but also that languages encode humanity's collective body of knowledge about survival in the world, bits of which die with each language not preserved through oral and written use.

Improvement in educational outcomes – some research-based evidence

An obvious potential justification for MLE is its positive impact on educational outcomes. There is not, however, universal agreement on what constitutes convincing evidence of impact on educational outcomes or on the level of improvement needed to warrant changes in educational language policy. For example, is a 20 per cent improvement in standardized test scores more substantive than a 20 per cent reduction in attrition? Research designed to provide the requisite evidence is further compounded by the difficulties of implementing reliable data-gathering strategies in linguistically diverse developing countries.

Research in the North

The most compelling recent research on the impact of first language instruction in a developed nation is that of Thomas and Collier (1997, 2002). Their measurement variable was that of performance of defined

Table 14.4 *Mean performance of student cohorts (all English language learners) under varying amounts of instructional support in their first language*

Model	Size of cohort	Years of instructional support in L1	Mean percentile
ESL Pullout (mainstream classroom, some special lessons in English as L2)	21,500	0	11
ESL Pullout with academic content (mainstream classroom, some special lessons in English as L2 and content)	5,500	0	18
Transitional L1 (bilingual education in lower primary)	7,200	3–4	33
Transitional L1 with academic content (bilingual classroom with content support in lower primary)	3,800	3–4	38
One-way developmental (bilingual classroom for speakers of minority language)	3,000	6	55
Two-way developmental (bilingual classroom for both minority and majority language speakers)	1,270	6	70

cohorts on a Grade 11 nationally normed standardized test of educational achievement. Their findings are summarized in Table 14.4.

Students receiving no instructional support in their first language finished their formal education dramatically below the norm – at the eleventh percentile in the worst case. Conversely, those receiving six or more years of instruction in their first language actually finished above the national norm for all students including native speakers of English.

While the data in Table 14.4 clearly show marked impacts on ultimate educational outcomes based on extent of instructional support in children's first language, an even greater impact can be derived by considering the consequences of their performance on future work and career options. Table 14.5 compares the workplace consequences of student performance in the least and most effective models from Table 14.4.

The second column (NCE equivalent) divides the range of performance on the instrument of measurement into blocks corresponding to standard deviation (21 in this case). Assuming that the performance of the two cohorts being compared was normally distributed, the number of test-takers out of a hypothetical block of 10,000 students is computed for each level of performance. Among students who participated in the ESL pullout model (no instructional support in their first language), barely **10 per cent** scored 50 per cent or higher – a level that could be considered minimal for going on to university. Performance below this level

Table 14.5 *Educational implications of the Thomas and Collier model in terms of differential outcomes (Walter 2003)*

		ESL pullout		Two-way developmental		Social/ professional/ economic potential
Standard deviation	NCE equiv.	% of pop.	No. out of 10,000	% of pop.	No. out of 10,000	
Above 2nd	>92	.06	5.5	7.0	699	Researchers, scientists, top writers, top intellectuals, medical doctors
1st to 2nd	71–92	1.2	120	24.7	2,471	Professors, business leaders, professionals, journalists
Mean to 1st	50–71	9.5	950	38.3	3,828	Teachers, mid-level managers, engineers, programmers, bureaucrats
–1st to Mean	29–50	29.8	2,977	23.6	2,364	Skilled factory workers, equipment operators, clerical, service workers
–2nd to –1st	8–29	37.1	3,712	5.8	580	Blue collar workers, manual laborers
Below –2nd	<8	22.4	2,236	0.6	58	Hard to employ, domestics, menial labor

would be associated with blue-collar jobs, manual labour or unemployment. In contrast, 70 per cent of students educated in two-way bilingual programmes scored at or above the mean, thus giving them potential access to university and higher level professional careers.

This analysis demonstrates that the workplace and economic consequences of educational language choice are great, even in the USA where a minority of children are learners of the national language. In low-income multilingual countries where virtually all children are learners of an official language, the economic consequences are likely to be even greater.

The compelling work done by Thomas and Collier (see also 2002) was carried out in an economically developed country with well resourced

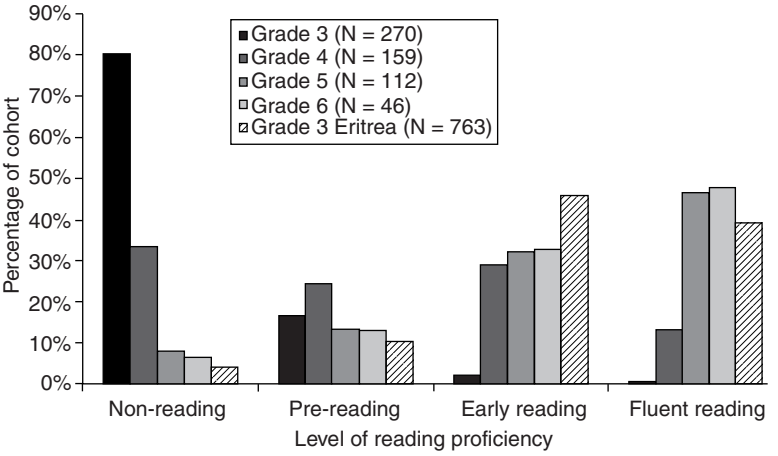


Figure 14.1 Progress towards becoming a reader – a comparison of two countries and two models

schools. It is logical to question whether such effects are likely to be seen in developing countries. A longitudinal study meant to replicate (or be comparable to) Thomas and Collier's work in the context of developing countries (Philippines, Cameroon, Guatemala, Thailand) is currently underway (Walter 2007; Walter and Dekker 2007; Walter and Dekker 2008; Walter and Trammell 2008; Walter and Trammell 2009). Unless otherwise noted, the following sections provide excerpts of this research. These findings have to be considered preliminary since the study is still ongoing.

Research in the South: learning to read – data from Cameroon and Eritrea

Learning to read is the most fundamental objective of basic education. How long should it take to master the basics of this most critical of educational skills? UNESCO has noted that five years is very common in sub-Saharan Africa. Baseline data gathered by Walter (2007) for the World Bank in Cameroon supports UNESCO's finding. Figure 14.1 provides reading data from Grades 3 through 6 in Cameroon (all rural schools) and from (mostly rural) Grade 3 schools in Eritrea (Walter and Davis 2005), illuminating the differences in second versus first language reading education. For the purposes of this comparison, four stages of reading development are distinguished: *non-readers*, who demonstrate virtually no knowledge of reading; *pre-readers*, who demonstrate some grapho-phonic knowledge and recognize some common words; *early readers*, who can read slowly with some errors and have limited comprehension; and *fluent readers*, who may still read slowly but only make occasional errors and have a reasonable to high level of comprehension.

Table 14.6 *Performance on a standardized math assessment in rural schools in Cameroon*

	Grade 1 – 2009			Grade 2 – 2009		
	Standard	Experimental	Statistics	Standard	Experimental	Statistics
Counting	15.2	40.6	$P < 0.001$	Not tested in Grade 2		
Place value	6.2	33.4	$P < 0.001$	Not tested in Grade 2		
Addition	10.9	46.7	$P < 0.001$	18.8	54.7	$P < 0.001$
Subtraction	9.5	35.7	$P < 0.001$	10.4	32.2	$P < 0.001$
Problem recogn.	Not tested in Grade 1			31.3	66.8	$P < 0.001$
Overall	10.4	39.5	$P < 0.001$	23.7	51.2	$P < 0.001$

The solid bars in Figure 14.1 show the percentage of the tested cohort found at each level of reading proficiency at each grade level in rural Cameroon where all children were being educated in English, their second language. As the darkest bar shows, Grade 3 learners are almost entirely in the non-reading or pre-reading categories. At Grade 4 there is progress, though over half are still in the beginning stages; at Grade 5, most have finally begun to read. As the lightest bar shows, most Grade 6 learners are reading at some level, though 20 per cent have not yet become functional readers.

The cross-hatched bars reflect findings from reading tests administered to randomly selected Grade 3 children in Eritrea. The data indicate that Grade 3 Eritrean learners are reading at levels comparable to Grade 6 students in rural Cameroon. The main difference between the two populations is that Eritrean children receive their basic education in their first language, a strategy which translates into a two to three year instructional advantage in learning to read.

Learning of mathematics – more data from Cameroon

Alongside reading, mathematics is a fundamental subject in basic education, and one in which learners from developing countries experience consistently low performance. To explore the relationship between low performance and the language of instruction, Table 14.6 analyses the results of a controlled experimental programme in Cameroon in which language of instruction was the primary manipulated variable (Walter and Trammell 2009). Students in the 'Standard' programme received all instruction in a second language – English in this case. Students in the experimental programme received most of their instruction in their first language. All reported data are group means on a scale of 0 to 100.

The Grade 1 results from the standard schools show that children are struggling to learn math with performance on a basic task like counting

being just 15.2 per cent. Overall, the experimental schools report mean scores almost four times as high in Grade 1, and over twice as high in Grade 2. Thus, we have evidence that it IS possible to learn math AND that math instruction appears to benefit significantly from using the first language for instructional purposes.

Cost and cost effectiveness – data from Guatemala

In 1981 Guatemala launched a programme of bilingual intercultural education using the four largest Mayan languages spoken in the country (Morren 1988). Walter and Morren (2004) obtained national educational statistics from the Ministry of Education for the period 1991 to 1999 covering all six years of primary schooling, including data on the number of children enrolling, being promoted, repeating, failing and dropping out. Adding nuance to this extensive database was national census data indicating the ethnic makeup of each *municipio* (city school district) in the country, as well as indications of which schools were bilingual, i.e. using children's home languages. Using the two datasets, a data subset was created containing only schools in *municipios* of high or very high Mayan ethnicity (95 to 100 per cent). It was then possible to compare the performance of Mayan-speaking children receiving first language instruction (596 schools in 1991) vs. second language instruction (638 schools in 1991), as shown in Table 14.7.

Starting at the left, the columns present the number of children enrolled in each grade, then the number of children promoted to the next grade, and the percentage promoted (persistence rate). The next column presents the total cost in US$ based on the Ministry of Education estimated per-pupil expenditure of US$ 145 multiplied by the number of children enrolled in each grade. The final column indicates the actual cost per pupil promoted to the next grade, and the figure at the bottom of each section shows the total cost of producing one primary school graduate in each model (calculated by dividing the total cost of the six years by the final number of graduates).

These shaded figures represent a measure of overall cost effectiveness for Spanish-medium versus Mayan language-medium schooling. Because persistence rates are significantly lower for Spanish-medium than for Mayan-medium education, the cost of successfully educating a primary school graduate from a Spanish-medium school is $500 higher ($3,077-$2,578). First language education thus represents a cost savings of approximately US$ 500 per child. The resultant cost efficiencies can be reckoned in several ways. If the Spanish-medium schools in this sample were to convert to Mayan-medium, we could estimate direct savings (499 x 22,068) of US$ 11.0 million. If we applied the apparent success rate of the Mayan-medium schools (17.06 percent) to the initial enrolment of the Spanish-medium schools, we could estimate a cost gain of US$ 15.2 million.

Table 14.7 *Comparison of enrolment and promotion data from Spanish- and Mayan-medium schools in highly ethnic areas in Guatemala for the period 1991–1997*
(Data from the Guatemalan Ministry of Education.)

	Spanish-medium schools in highly Mayan areas (95–100 per cent ethnic population)				
	Enrolment	Promotion	Persistence rate (%)	Total cost (US$)	Cost per pupil promoted
Grade 1	178,239	100,302	56.27	25,844,655	257.67
Grade 2	108,394	74,274	41.67	15,717,130	211.61
Grade 3	74,602	55,070	30.90	10,817,290	196.43
Grade 4	49,104	38,828	21.78	7,120,080	183.37
Grade 5	33,650	27,818	15.61	4,879,250	175.40
Grade 6	24,406	22,068	12.38	3,538,870	160.36
				67,917,275	3,077.64
	Mayan-medium schools in highly Mayan areas (95–100 per cent ethnic population)				
	Enrolment	Promotion	Persistence rate (%)	Total cost (USD)	Cost per pupil promoted
Grade 1	207,060	126,300	61.00	30,023,700	237.72
Grade 2	145,920	101,680	49.11	21,158,400	208.09
Grade 3	107,500	79,316	38.31	15,587,500	196.52
Grade 4	75,861	59,522	28.75	10,999,845	184.80
Grade 5	53,439	44,198	21.35	7,748,655	175.32
Grade 6	38,246	35,322	17.06	5,545,670	157.00
				91,063,770	2,578.10

Persistence into secondary education – more data from Guatemala

Internationally, a great deal of attention has been given to achieving universal basic education; however, in recent years it has been recognized that higher levels of education are needed to support sustained national development. Cost is often the filter which determines whether children graduating from primary school will proceed on to secondary, but little attention has been given to language as a constraining variable. Walter and Morren (2004) analysed data from Guatemala in an effort to determine whether first-language-medium education increased the likelihood that children would continue schooling beyond the primary level. The methodology was simple: 1,202 Mayan secondary school students were asked whether they received their primary education in Spanish (L2) or a Mayan language (L1). The results are presented in Table 14.8.

Almost 50 per cent of the Mayan students surveyed indicated that they had graduated from a bilingual school, even though only about

Table 14.8 *Data on continuing on to secondary education in Guatemala*

Type of primary school attended	Survey results	Expected result based on demographic and educational statistics
Spanish (L2) medium	620	810
Mayan (L1) medium	582	392

Source: Walter and Morren 2002

33 per cent of all Mayan children attend such schools. These data provide strong evidence that in such contexts, receiving L1 (bilingual) schooling increases the likelihood of going on to secondary schooling ($\chi^2 = 136.66$; $p = 0.000$). In this case, attendance of a bilingual school increased the likelihood of proceeding to a higher level of education by 48 per cent.

Individual variation in educational gains from first language instruction

Sceptics of first language instruction tend to cite instances of individuals (such as themselves or some friend) who were educationally successful *despite* not having had access to first language instruction. This argument ultimately assumes that if a 'mother tongue effect' exists, it must apply equally to everyone. The data, however, suggest that gifted children succeed in school regardless of the model or the quality of instruction. But what about average children who make up the majority of a country's population?

Using data from a controlled experiment in primary mother tongue education in the Philippines, Walter and Dekker (2008) explored whether or not first language instruction has more of an effect on certain learners. For this analysis, Grade 1 speakers of Lilubuagen from L1 and non-L1 programmes were tested separately (using instruments having identical content but varying by language of presentation). For this purpose, students were first ranked within their groups, after which an integrated ranking was produced with all rankings expressed as percentiles. Differences in ranking were treated as a measure of relative gains or losses due to the variable of language of instruction. Figure 14.2 presents the results of this analysis, where the vertical axis indicates the number of percentiles gained or lost by students participating in first language versus second language programmes and the x axis indicates percentile of performance.

Though care must be taken in interpreting the results, the graph provides support for the ideas that high achievers achieve no matter what, and that average children benefit more from first language education. At the far left, representing the high end of the percentile range, pupils

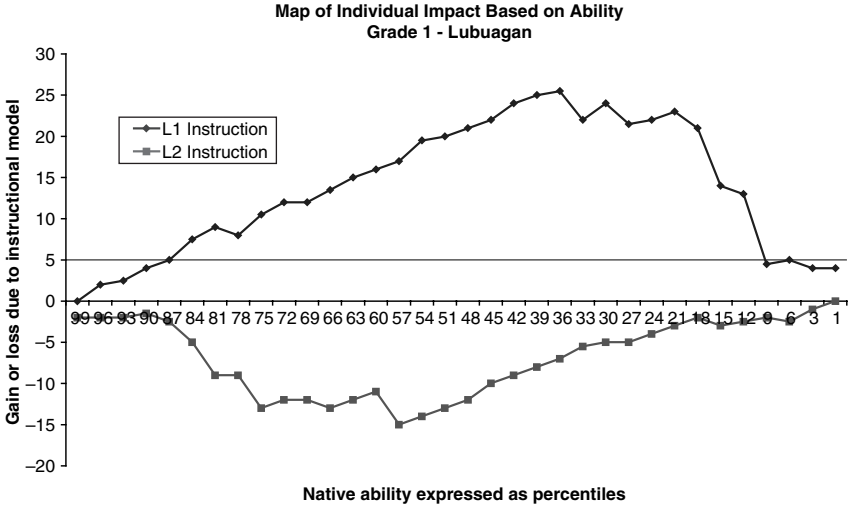


Figure 14. 2 Plot of differential percentiles based on the impact of the intervention of language of instruction

Source: Walter and Dekker 2008

down to the eighty-seventh percentile in both programmes lose little if any of their standing due to the language of instruction variable. This is not to say that pupils at the upper range of ability do not benefit from L1 instruction, but rather that in this analysis they cannot advance much further than they already have relative to their peers.

Figure 14.2 also shows that children learning through their first language, as represented by the line in the upper half of the grid, begin to experience significant benefits at about the 75th percentile, a benefit which grows larger down to about the 35th percentile. Especially noteworthy is the massive benefit seen for students between the 20th and 55th percentiles – children typically characterized as average to somewhat below average.

For children learning through their L2, as represented by the line in the lower half of the grid, the language of instruction appears to have the greatest negative impact between the 35th and 85th percentiles. Those at the upper and lower ends do not appear to be compromised by learning through their L2 – the former because they are gifted and the latter because they are hopelessly lost.

If this finding is corroborated by additional research across a broader range of data, it leads to the unavoidable conclusion that educational language policy has potent implications for language policy in education. Dependence on second languages as languages of instruction in schools seriously compromises educational outcomes for all but the most gifted of a nation's population. We are pushed to the conclusion, then, that language policy has the potential to be the basis for permanent structural underdevelopment in many emerging nations.

Conclusion

Linguistic diversity is a fact of our world, at once enriching, dividing and challenging us. Even the high technology of our digital world confronts daily the need to cope with the challenges of this diversity. A casual scan of history teaches us that language and language identity have been fundamental elements of the major social, religious, political and economic movements that shaped our world.

Use of language and social discourse are faces of a single coin. When societies are small and isolated, language variation is normally minimal. However, the emergence of nation-states, the growth of populations, the movement of people, the impact of natural disasters, and the human consequences of political machinations have stirred the language pot into a complex stew. The inevitable result is the creation of language policy – whether implicit or explicit – specifying or privileging the use of certain languages over others.

Since education is one of the most critical functions of language it is, perhaps, the domain most sensitive to the choices made about language. The bases for such decision-making have been various – convenience, colonial influence, numerical superiority, political ideology, social prestige and advantage, religion and nation-building. While there is a compelling intuitive logic to the notion that education is most effective when teachers and learners speak (well) the same language, educational effectiveness has not until recently been a deciding factor in policy-making about language use in the classroom. Many of the reasons – e.g. lack of evidence that choice of language matters; technical and logistic barriers to using local languages in education; the view that education need not be made available to all – are now being addressed.

A body of research on languages in education has emerged which provides clear evidence that medium of instruction choices do, in fact, impact educational quality, student performance and thus educational opportunities. With the current international drive for UPE, we must cope with the fact that nearly 40 per cent of the world's people are at a significant disadvantage in the classroom because their national schooling systems have not yet responded by providing instruction in the appropriate languages. The obvious implication is that educational equity will not be realized until policy makers and educational delivery systems have embraced and adapted to linguistic diversity. No one pretends that solutions will be simple or inexpensive, but no one disputes the worthy goals of improved educational and life opportunities for all.

15

Language policy in education: additional languages

Jasone Cenoz and Durk Gorter

Introduction: learning additional languages at school

Learning additional languages in educational contexts has always been an integral part of language policy. The design of specific language policies concerning additional languages is developed in most cases at the national and regional level. However, as we will see in this chapter, language policy has also had an important development at a different level in the case of the European Union. Language policy regarding the learning of additional languages can also be developed at the school level and even at the classroom level. Learning and using additional languages in educational contexts is characterized by its great variation regarding the aims of the educational programmes, the status of the languages involved or the intensity of the use of the different languages.

In spite of the diversity, language education policies usually share a common factor, the teaching of English either as a first language or as an additional language. In this chapter we will focus on additional languages so we will not discuss the teaching of English as a first language. In the first section the focus is on the role of English as an additional language as compared to the role of other languages. The second section looks at language education policy on additional languages in Europe. Then some of the current issues concerning additional languages will be briefly discussed.

English and other additional languages

Additional languages are part of the school curriculum in most countries around the world. English is the most widely spread language of international communication and the most common additional language in

education (see also Chapter 24 in this volume). It is considered a resource which opens doors for better opportunities and it is associated with social and economic mobility. There have been other languages of international communication in the past but their spread has been more limited. For example, Latin was used for many centuries as a language of wider communication but its use was geographically limited compared to the current spread of English and it was only available to a very small part of the population. The spread of English has resulted in its global use and nowadays the number of non-native speakers of English outnumbers the number of native speakers (Crystal 2003). The spread of English is particularly noticeable in education, and English is taught in many schools in different continents to all or most schoolchildren. The presence of English as part of the school curriculum is usually reinforced by its use in domains such as the media, advertising or the Internet.

The spread of English is also felt as a threat (see also Chapter 10 in this volume). For example, Skutnabb-Kangas (2000) considers that English is a killer of smaller languages. The spread of English is seen in many cases as a reflection of globalization and the loss of cultural identity. The use of English as the medium of instruction in some countries can be seen not only as a threat but also as a negative factor in school achievement in some contexts. For example, Heugh and Skutnabb-Kangas (2010) analyse different research studies conducted in Africa, Asia and Latin America and conclude that in these contexts there are educational benefits when the first language is the medium of instruction (see also Chapter 14, this volume).

The role of English in the curriculum is the result of the choice made in educational policy at the national, regional or school levels. In some countries, such as Colombia, Mongolia, Chile or South Korea, the goal is not for people to learn English as a foreign language but for the country to become bilingual in English and the national language (see Graddol 2006). Large-scale government policies to implement Chinese–English bilingual education can also be found in China (see Hu 2007). English is also the most popular language in Europe as we will see in the next section. When families can choose between English and another additional language they often want schools to provide good teaching of English.

Apart from English, other additional languages can also be part of the school curriculum. Some European languages such as French and German have a long tradition as school languages and are still learned in many schools in different parts of the world as additional languages along with English, often as third or fourth languages. This can also be the case of Spanish, which is the main second language in the United States but is learned as an additional third or fourth language in other countries. Learning Chinese as a foreign language is also spreading and may affect language education policies in many countries in the future (see Chapter 26, this volume, for Chinese in Africa).

Additional languages can also be languages in contact in bilingual and multilingual contexts where several languages are used. In these contexts, it is common to have the other languages as part of the school curriculum. For example, in the Basque Country in Spain, Basque and Spanish are compulsory languages both for children with Basque as their first language and children with Spanish as their first language. In other multilingual contexts such as Luxembourg, Luxembourgish, French and German are taught as first or additional languages.

As we have already seen, English is the most common additional language but not the only one. As Graddol (2006) points out, the spread of English in the world today is also linked to its use in combination with other languages and can contribute to language diversity in some situations. He provides an example of this language diversity in the case of the internet. English has a prominent use on the internet in relation to the number of speakers of English as a first language, but the relative proportion of English on the internet has gone down in recent years because other languages such as Spanish, Chinese, French and Arabic and even lesser-used languages are increasingly used. This is a trend that can also be observed in education in many contexts. English is spreading as an additional language but other additional languages are used as well. In these situations there are two or more additional languages in the curriculum and English is one of them.

There are many contexts in which at least two additional languages are taught, English being one of them. In some cases this is the result of adding English (or another language of wider communication) as a second or third language to the school curriculum and in others it can be related to the stronger role of regional, minority or indigenous languages. Mandarin is learned as a second language and English as a third language in Chinese regions where a minority language is spoken (see for example Yang 2005; Jiang *et al.* 2007; Dai and Cheng 2007). Some primary school programmes in China aim at trilingualism and triliteracy in Tibetan, Mongolian and Mandarin Chinese and are located in the Qinghai Henan Mongolia Autonomous Region in China. Cobbey (2007) also refers to schools using Dong, Mandarin Chinese and intensive English in the province of Guizhou.

The position of English in education is very strong in India but English is taught along with other languages (Khubchandani 2008). For example in states with a high percentage of children speaking tribal languages such as Andrha Pradesh, Orissa, Chhatisgard and Jharkhand, there is a consecutive introduction of the L1 (mother tongue), L2 (regional language) and English (see Mohanty 2008). The three language formula, introduced in 1957, generally has three languages as school subjects: (1) the mother tongue or regional language taught for five years; (2) Hindi in non-Hindi areas and another Indian language in Hindi areas for three years; (3) English from year three

onwards. The three language formula was changed in 1964 and Hindi is no longer compulsory.

Bahry, Niyozov and Shamatov (2008) give an example of a trilingual school in Tajikistan where English, Tajik and Russian are taught and they discuss the bilingual Turkish programmes in Turkmenistan and Kyrgyzstan. In these programmes English, Turkish and Turkmen or Kyrgyz are used as languages of instruction.

English is taught along with other languages to speakers of heritage languages (Guarani, Quechua) in Latin America. The spread of English in Latin America reinforces the trend towards multilingual education in the cases in which schools aim at developing literacy skills in indigenous languages and Spanish (see for example López and Sichra 2008). English is also taught as a third language for many African speakers living in countries where French is widely used as a second language (Mozambique, Mauritius) and many other contexts around the world.

Within the European context, Luxembourg is usually considered as a good example of multilingual education. Luxembourgish is the language of instruction in the first years of primary school and then German is introduced, first as a subject and then as a language of instruction. French is introduced in primary school as a subject and it is used as an additional language of instruction in secondary school. Luxembourgish is replaced by German and French as school languages but it remains very active at the oral level. English is also taught as an additional language (see Kirsch 2006). There are several other cases of multilingual education in Europe which involve regional minority languages, national languages and one or more foreign languages (see for example Cenoz and Gorter 2008).

So far we have seen examples of learning English as an additional language in multilingual contexts in which a regional or minority language is taught along with a stronger national language and English. In these cases the educational policy allows for the minority or regional language to be part of the school curriculum along with other languages. Speakers of these regional or minority languages are not always bilingual and multilingual by choice but because they need to learn at least the majority language of their country or region. This is also the case of immigrant children who speak their home language and learn another language (or languages) at school. Some immigrant children take classes outside the school curriculum to develop their linguistic and cultural competence in the home language. In these contexts being proficient in more than one language is not often valued by society at large. In contrast, in other contexts being multilingual is an option and learning foreign languages such as French, English or German is seen as part of the academic background of an educated person and is considered highly prestigious. This type of multilingual education is sometimes referred to as 'elite' multilingualism as opposed to 'folk' multilingualism.

An example of language education policy including several languages can be found in the 'gymnasium'. The gymnasium is a type of secondary school in many European countries which prepares students for university. Some of the options imply a strong presence of classical and modern languages in the curriculum. This type of programme is usually considered as foreign language acquisition rather than multilingual education. However, it is difficult to draw a clear boundary between the two, at least in some specific situations.

A more typical example of multilingual education is that of European schools. Nowadays, this is a network of fourteen schools with over 20,000 students attended mainly by European civil servants in seven countries (Belgium, Germany, Italy, Luxembourg, The Netherlands, Spain and the United Kingdom). Most students in these schools have their first language as the language of instruction at primary level and a foreign language is introduced as a subject in the first year of primary school. This second language, which is English, German or French, is used as the language of instruction in the last years of primary and increasingly in secondary. Most children who do not have English as their first language choose English as a second language. Then, a third language is introduced as a subject and in some cases as a language of instruction. The most popular third language is Spanish except for children who have not had English as a first or second language. The total number of languages offered in the European schools varies from four to twelve.

The schools which offer more languages are those located in Brussels and Luxembourg. Students usually have their first or second language as the language of instruction but in some cases, particularly in secondary schools when there are more optional subjects, they also have a third or even a fourth language as the language of instruction. The teachers are native speakers of the languages they teach as subjects or use as medium of instruction. Apart from the development of personal, social and academic skills the European schools have specific aims regarding multilingualism and European citizenship.

English is also taught as an additional language in international schools (Carder 2007). Many of these schools have English as the main language of instruction and in some cases they also teach other languages. For example, the George Washington Academy in Morocco[1] is an American school where English is the language of instruction in the first year of kindergarten and French is introduced as a language of instruction in the second year. In this school, Arabic is introduced as a subject in the first year of primary and from the fifth to the twelfth year (ages 10–18) the three languages are languages of instruction. English is taught for approximately 45 per cent of the time, French for 33 per cent and Arabic for 22 per cent. Another trilingual school with English as the main language of instruction where Arabic and French are also taught is

Adma International school in Lebanon.[2] These are examples of trilingual schools but in most cases international schools provide bilingual education in the language of the country where they are located and in English or another widely spread European language. When languages such as German, French or Italian are the main medium of instruction, English is often taught as a third language. Many international schools were originally aimed at children of European and American employees working abroad but in many cases some local children also attend these schools. There are different types of international schools and some are funded by government agencies. For example German schools aim at teaching the German language and culture but they also include the national language of the country in which they are located and have added English. Some examples might be the Deutsche Internationale Schule in Jakarta with German, Indonesian and English and the Deutsche Schule in Seoul with German, Korean, English and Spanish. French schools in different parts of the world are also often trilingual because of the teaching of English as a second or third language. Some examples might be the École Française in Saint Petersbourg with French, Russian and English or the École Française in Shanghai with French, Chinese and English. Another example of international schools can be found in Argentina with Italian as the main language of instruction and Spanish and English taught as additional languages (see Banfi and Day 2004).

Other trilingual schools are Hebrew schools outside Israel. These schools are aimed at Jewish children and provide religious education sometimes through the medium of Hebrew. Hebrew schools located in non-English speaking countries usually include English in the curriculum as well. For example, the so called 'double immersion' schools in Canada have Hebrew, French and English as languages of instruction (Genesee 1998). There are different types of double immersion schools and Hebrew is usually taught as a language and as the medium of instruction for Jewish studies.

The examples in this section show that English is the most common additional language but that the language education policy at the national, regional or school level provides for the teaching and learning of other languages. These situations can involve regional or minority language and also languages of wider communication and imply that some languages are taught as second languages and others as third or fourth languages. Are there differences between learning a second and a third (fourth or fifth) language? This question has received a lot of attention in research in the last years (see Cenoz 2011b in press a, for a review). When learners face the task of acquiring a third, fourth or fifth language they already have the experience of acquiring a second language and may have developed learning and communication strategies that can be transferred to the target language. They also have a larger linguistic repertoire at their disposal and can use this repertoire as a resource, either

when they have limitations in the target language or when they prefer to code-switch and code-mix to express their communication intent better.

Educational policy in Europe

Education policy is underdeveloped at the level of Europe as a whole because the states prefer to keep education under their own sovereignty. The same is true for their language policies. Therefore education systems and language policies differ widely between European countries. International bodies such as the European Union with twenty-seven member states and the Council of Europe with forty-seven member states (including all members of the European Union) only have limited powers in educational and language related matters. The main role of these bodies is to work towards integration, to promote cooperation and to encourage exchange of knowledge and experiences between their member states. In that way these bodies do exert substantial influence. The main difference between the European Union and the Council of Europe is that the European Union is based on economic integration and has substantial resources for funding whereas the Council of Europe emphasizes the principles of democracy, human rights and the rule of law ('money versus morals').

Since the 1970s the European Union has gradually developed a policy for education and culture. The current Lifelong Learning Program (2007–2013) includes formerly separate programmes such as *Erasmus* (university education), *Leonardo da Vinci* (vocational training), *Comenius* (secondary education) and *Grundtvig* (adult education). It also has a transversal programme which cuts across the others and is made up of the key activities of language and language learning, next to ICT (Information and Communication Technologies), innovation and the dissemination of results.

The development of language policy has gained momentum since the European Year of Languages in 2001 and the setting of the 'Lisbon agenda' on the knowledge society in 2000. This culminated in the creation of the post of Commissioner for Multilingualism in 2007, who was responsible for language policy. However, with the coming into office of the new European Commission in 2010, the area of multilingualism was re-integrated under the Commissioner of Education, Culture, Multilingualism and Youth.

The Commission policy on multilingualism has basically three aims: 1) to give all citizens access to European Union documents in their own language; 2) to promote a multilingual economy, and 3) to encourage language learning and promote linguistic diversity in society. The long-term objective is that starting from an early age onwards every European

citizen obtains basic skills in at least two languages besides the mother tongue. This is the so-called 'mother tongue plus two' formula (abbreviated as 'M+2') (see European Commission 2008; see also Ammon in Chapter 28 of this volume).

The Eurydice network collects data on education in all EU-member states. The report 'Key data on teaching languages in schools' (Eurydice network 2008) supplies statistical data on the language teaching systems of thirty-one European states (all twenty-seven EU-member states, plus Iceland, Liechtenstein, Norway and Turkey). The report is aimed at the practitioners and policy-makers responsible for designing and implementing language teaching strategies. It gives a comprehensive picture of which languages are taught in European schools, in what ways and at what stages. More specifically the report contains forty-four indicators and covers a wide range of aspects from foreign language learning at an early age, the variety of languages learnt, the proportion of language learners at each level, content and language integrated learning (CLIL) to the training of teachers of foreign languages. It is a vast source of information and only a few highlights can be given that are of crucial concern to the teaching of additional languages.

A basic statistic concerns the home language of European Union students at the age of fifteen. On average seven per cent of them report speaking a different language at home to the language of instruction used at school, but there is a wide variation between the countries, ranging from 0.4 per cent in Poland to 25 per cent in Luxembourg. Partly these are students with an immigrant background such as Arabic or Turkish, but they also include regional minority languages such as Basque, Catalan, Frisian or Welsh.

In almost all European countries students start to learn a foreign language in primary education, mainly English. In many cases they begin in the first year of primary education and sometimes already at pre-primary level (in the German-speaking Community in Belgium and in Spain). In most education systems there is a tendency towards an earlier start than previously. However, the time spent on foreign language teaching is seldom more than ten per cent of the school time and there are countries where it is less than five per cent. The amount increases substantially in secondary education. In lower secondary education, on average, 58 per cent of students study at least two foreign languages, but again there are considerable variations between countries. For example in Luxembourg all students learn two 'foreign' languages (and over half of them learn three: German, French and English) while in the neighbouring Walloon part of Belgium only 0.5 per cent of students in lower secondary study two foreign languages alongside French. However the percentage in the Walloon area goes up to almost 80 per cent in general upper secondary education.

Although the range of different languages on offer is sometimes very broad, in fact the actual number of languages studied is limited. In 95 per cent, it concerns only five widely used languages (English, French, German, Spanish and Russian). Students choose those languages either because their families insist on them or because there are not sufficient numbers of teachers in other languages available.

English is by far the most common taught language in just about all countries. English dominates almost everywhere and the percentage that learn English is rising, especially in eastern and southern Europe. In upper secondary education around 90 per cent of pupils learn English. In half of the countries, all students have the obligation to learn English during compulsory education. German and French are the second most commonly learnt languages. French is more popular in the countries of southern Europe, while German is second in the Netherlands, the Nordic countries and in eastern Europe. These statistics implies that the M+2 formula comes down in most cases to learning the state language, plus English as a second language and one of a very limited set of languages as a third language.

Several regional minority languages are included in the language curricula. In some countries, only students from these minority groups are taught these languages while in others all pupils are included.

The results of the Eurydice report also confirm the existence of a hierarchy of languages in Europe (Extra and Gorter 2008). On the top position, the English language is in a category of its own. English is the lingua franca of international communication and presumed to be the most valuable language within the labour market in Europe and elsewhere. A second layer consists of four languages (French, German, Russian and Spanish) which are seen as prestigious and are more widely used and taught, although their share as foreign languages in education gradually declines, with the exception of Spanish. Next are the remaining official state languages such as Dutch, Danish, Italian, Polish and Portuguese. In total there are twenty-three different official state languages in the twenty-seven European Union member states (and forty-one official languages in the forty-seven Council of Europe states). Another layer contains the languages of important trade partners not covered by the former categories, among them Chinese and Japanese. In the lower echelons of the hierarchy we find regional and immigrant minority languages as well as sign languages. An estimated 10 per cent of the population of Europe is in a situation where a regional minority language is in use. Some of the regional minority languages have co-official status in the state or in the region, among them Basque in the Basque Autonomous Community in Spain, Frisian in the Netherlands and Swedish in Finland. Other languages have little recognition or no recognition at all. This is the case of the regional minority languages in France and in Greece.

Europe has millions of speakers of hundreds of different immigrant languages, sometimes called 'non-European' languages. Turkish and Arabic are examples of immigrant minority languages, each spoken by millions of inhabitants. There are also many different sign languages, used by deaf communities, but frequently not recognized as languages. All these different minority languages are an integral part of the multifaceted constellation of languages of Europe (Extra and Gorter 2008). The languages can be rank-ordered, but the categories are of course not closed and probably can be better arranged along a continuum.

The European Union and the Council of Europe share the aims of preserving linguistic diversity in Europe and promoting the learning and use of languages as a means to support intercultural dialogue, social cohesion, minority rights and democratic citizenship, and as an important economic asset in a modern knowledge-based society. The Council of Europe plays an important role for language policy in education in three ways: (1) a general framework for language competencies, (2) the protection of regional minority languages, and (3) the development of so-called Language Education Policy Profiles. Furthermore, in 1994 the Council of Europe created the European Centre for Modern Languages (ECML) in Graz to promote language education through a range of projects and activities.

The work of the Council of Europe has many important consequences through the development of the policy instrument of the *Common European Framework of Reference for Languages* (CEFR, Council of Europe 2001a). The aim of the CEFR is to provide 'a common basis for the elaboration of language syllabuses, curriculum guidelines, examinations, textbooks, etc. across Europe' (ibid.: 1). It describes knowledge and skills of language learners. The CEFR consist of a set of proficiency scales comprising six levels: A1 and A2 (Basic user), B1 and B2 (Independent user), C1 and C2 (Proficient user). There are scales for each level for listening, reading, spoken interaction, spoken production and writing. Those scales are made up of 'can do' statements, i.e., describing instances of language use. The CEFR is not language specific and has been translated into thirty-six languages, including Arabic, Chinese and Japanese. The CEFR has had a very strong impact in the area of language assessment. It also has some influence on curricula and textbooks, but there are important differences among countries. For example, the CEFR has strongly influenced the national curricula of France and Finland (Bonnet, 2007). For the time being, the CEFR has had less impact in teacher education or in the classrooms. The CEFR has become quite influential and educational authorities in different countries take its levels into consideration when developing their policies (Little 2007: 647).

The European Union has also supported projects related to the CEFR. For example, the DIALANG project[3] is an internet-based language assessment system in fourteen languages. An estimated 200,000 persons take

a DIALANG test each year and get to know the scales of the CEFR. These scales are also included in the 'European indicator of language competence', the major EU-survey of foreign language proficiency of students in secondary education to be carried out in 2011–12.

An important application of the CEFR is the European Language Portfolio (ELP). The portfolio is used to record the learner's language achievements, both inside and outside of school by combining pedagogic and assessment functions. The Council of Europe has validated about a hundred different ELPs for a range of levels and types of language education. However, it is not known how many teachers and learners actually use them (Little 2007: 652).

Research in applied linguistics has benefited from the application of the CEFR and the interest in language assessment has increased. The CEFR has been criticized for its vague and imprecise expressions (Alderson 2007: 661). Flaws in scales of the CEFR have also been pointed out because they are not based on findings from second language acquisition research (Hulstijn 2007). Another criticism is that the CEFR does not address bilingual situations. It assumes that only one language at a time is used, in particular between native and non-native speakers. Byrnes (2007: 641) calls the CEFR an ambitious and successful example of the implementation of language education policies. It has made a major impact on international and national policy-making in Europe and far beyond. It is likely that the CEFR will continue to have an important influence on language policy in education.

Another European development in language policy education supported by the European Union and the Council of Europe is CLIL (Content and Language Integrated Learning). CLIL is an approach which involves learning subjects such as history or geography through an additional language. Even though CLIL has been used for centuries for linguistically enhanced education, today it is seen as a new strategy for language learning. Under the heading of CLIL many different possible ways of combining additional languages and other subjects are included both in the case of foreign language and regional minority languages. CLIL has grown enormously in school-based language learning all across Europe and can be found at all levels of education, but mostly in secondary education. In recent years it has also become a significant activity at primary level, as it is part of a growing trend of an early start for foreign language learning. At tertiary level there is little CLIL, although increasingly universities teach master courses through the medium of English (but because this is not seen as language learning it is not labelled CLIL). The demand for English language skills due to globalization is an important driver for CLIL. This has resulted in an increase in the number of schools that teach all or part of the curriculum through the medium of English. CLIL has also been criticized for strengthening the spread of English language to the detriment of other linguistic or cultural interests (Marsh 2002). The

European Union supports the implementation of CLIL to further its goals of multilingualism (European Commission 2003).

The Council of Europe has also established two important international agreements for the protection and promotion of minority languages in Europe: the *Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities* and the *Charter for Regional or Minority Languages* (Council of Europe 1995, 1998a). For both instruments the provisions for the field of education are of utmost importance.

The Framework convention was an outcome of the transition processes towards democratic states in central and eastern Europe in the early 1990s. The convention was opened for signature in 1995. Today, thirty-nine states have ratified the convention and four have signed but did not follow up by ratification; four states are not party to the treaty, among them France and Turkey (as of June 2010). The aims of the Framework convention are rather general. Among other fields, education is promoted as 'to foster knowledge of the culture, language and history of the national minorities, also among the majority' (Article 12) and to 'the recognition of the right to learn the minority language' (Article 14). The first article implies that all citizens of a state should be informed about minorities as part of the school curriculum. The second article confirms the fundamental right to obtain at least some minimal regional minority language teaching provision. The impact of the Framework convention has been greatest in central Europe (Gal 2000).

The *Charter for Regional or Minority Languages* has more significance for language policy in education. The drafting of the Charter started in 1981 (Woehrling 2006: 23–4). The political changes in central and eastern Europe in the early 1990s speeded up the process. The Charter was also opened for signature in 1992 and came into operation in 1998. After twelve years twenty-four states have ratified the Charter and another nine have signed but not ratified (as of June 2010). This implies that fourteen states are not party to this treaty, among them being, for different reasons, Belgium and Ireland, both states with a long tradition of elaborate language policies for minority languages.

Superficially the Framework Convention and the Charter look similar, but they are rather different legal instruments. The aim of the Framework Convention is to protect minority groups and the Charter is concerned with languages as cultural assets (Woerhling 2006: 32–3).

The concepts of 'regional' and 'minority' languages are not specified in the Charter but immigrant minority languages and dialects are explicitly excluded. The aims are to protect and promote minority languages as cultural heritage and to enable speakers to use their languages in private and public life. States are free in their choice of which regional minority languages they wish to include.

The degree of protection of each language is not prescribed and a state can opt for a stronger or a weaker policy. It is not the minority language

community itself, but the state that decides the degree of protection. The end result is a wide range of measures in the different states (Grin 2003b). Over the years the Charter has become an accepted international instrument for the protection and promotion of minority languages. It is seen as a European yardstick against which states are measured (Craith 2003). Overall the Charter is a relatively weak instrument in legal terms, mainly depending on a process of 'naming and shaming'.

The Charter requires that minority languages are present 'at all appropriate stages' of the education system, from pre-school education through university and higher level education, including adult courses, teacher training as well as the teaching of history and culture in relation to minority languages. It is reasoned that education 'is a crucial factor in the maintenance and preservation of regional or minority languages' (Explanatory Report, 1992, point 63). Language policy in education does not have to be uniform. In some cases, as the Charter says 'provision will need to be made for teaching "in" the regional or minority language and in others only for teaching "of" the language.' The Charter does not distinguish between first or second language education and how much the minority languages are used in the curriculum does vary widely.

Most states have chosen a cautious approach in the ratification of the articles on education. They tend to sign at the lowest level of an obligation ('to favour and/or encourage' or 'on request with sufficient numbers'). This results in a low average level of protection. Optimistically one could conclude that countries now at least give recognition to minority languages whereas before they neglected or discriminated against them. However, in many cases there is a gap between the formal acceptance of soft legal arrangements and de facto implementation of the language policy measures.

Due to the monitoring process of these international agreements with detailed periodical reports on the developments in each adhering state, the Framework convention and the European charter are not only a rich source of data on the situation of minority languages in Europe, in education and in general, but have also led to some gradual improvements.

Aside from the Framework convention and the European Charter there are other international documents that affirm the importance of the development of language policy in education for minority languages. Examples are the Oslo and The Hague recommendations by the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE), several declarations and reports by UNESCO, and the Universal Declaration of Linguistic Rights (May 2001). However, those instruments cannot be legally enforced and remain just a moral appeal for improvements in teaching minority languages.

Another more recent activity of the Council of Europe is the 'Language Education Policy Profile'. These profiles give members states, but also regions and cities, the opportunity to analyse their current policy and

to formulate future developments. The activity is based on the *Guide for the Development of Language Education Policies in Europe* (Beacco and Byram 2007). Thus far (June 2010) eleven member states, two regions, and one city have completed such a profile. These are not normative documents, but the outcome of a process of self-analysis and evaluation of policies and practices by the authorities where the Council of Europe provides a group of three or four experts and has a consulting role. The process is complicated and incorporates meetings and consultations based on a Country report, followed by an Expert's report and the joint production of the Profile document. The diversity between the member states and their particular preoccupations at a given point in time is substantial.

The Council of Europe produced a transversal report that cuts across all published profiles and presents a few themes that are common to the language education policies in the countries concerned. The idea is that the language education policy 'can develop in tune with the specific needs and circumstances of the country/region/city and take note of the broader European context and contemporary political and social change' (Council of Europe 2009: 2). Everywhere linguistic competences of the general population are perceived as important, mainly for economic development, in, for example, service industries such as banking and tourism. At the same time the development of literacy skills and development of home language at school is related to identification with a country or region. Immigrants may have concerns about identity and speaking an additional language which 'can sometimes be perceived as a symbolic threat to the society' (Council of Europe 2009: 6). This perception is in contrast with the principles of the Council of Europe which list multilingualism as a desirable development. The dominance of English in educational curricula and its impact on society is another important factor discussed in all profiles. Education authorities and parents often believe the learning of English is enough, but the Council of Europe suggests that the role of multilingualism is crucial for economic and cultural reasons. The common theme of quality control of language education related to the levels of the CEFR. The Council of Europe promotes a holistic vision of language education, where teachers of languages collaborate horizontally across the curriculum and vertically from one education level to the next. The reason is to ensure coherence and continuity, but in practice this is still largely underdeveloped (Council of Europe 2009: 10). The country and experts' reports and the profiles provide another rich source of data on language policies in education.[4] The profiles make clear that policy making is not just an issue of decision-makers at the national level, but is made locally as well. Each educational institution, school or university carries out a language education policy. Therefore school principals and teachers need to be provided with a better understanding of language education to implement policy changes. The holistic view of the curriculum is fundamental to

the policy of the Council of Europe. There is a focus on 'the concept of education for plurilingualism in the planning of teaching and learning' (Council of Europe 2009: 16).

As has become clear from the foregoing, nation-states are the most powerful institutions to develop policies in education for the teaching and learning of additional languages. Basically there are two models: in the first the central state has the decisive power, such as is the case in France, but also in smaller countries like the Baltic states, the Netherlands or Slovenia, and in the second the power for education has devolved to a lesser or larger degree to lower governmental levels of the regions or the local communities, such as in Belgium, Germany, Spain or the UK. This has important consequences for the development of language education policy for regional languages such as Basque and Catalan in Spain or Welsh in the UK. The space for teaching minority languages is usually much smaller in centralized policies.

The defence and promotion of a national language abroad is another important part of the language education policy of many countries. For example, the British Council for the English language, the Goethe Institute for German, the Alliance Française for French, the Cervantes Institute for Spanish, the Taalunie for Dutch, the Confucius Institutes for Chinese play an important role in the spread of learning these languages as an additional language all around the world. Their budgets are substantial and the economic interests significant.

Even with language education policies defined at central or regional level, the implementation of the policy in the school itself is usually rather diverse. Language practices in schools and classrooms show a rich patchwork of different ways to learn languages and to apply methods. For example, language teaching according to CLIL principles demonstrates a huge variation. In some countries CLIL refers to English language classes that have added some content to their programmes and in others it refers to the use of a foreign or regional minority language as the language of instruction of other school subjects. The approach regarding the use of the different languages in the classroom can also range from a strict separation of languages to approaches that allow for the use of different languages in the classroom as a teaching strategy.

Current debates

As we have seen in the other sections of this chapter language policy in education aims at providing the possibility of acquiring communicative competence in additional languages. In this section we aim at discussing some current issues on the acquisition of additional language: the scope of multilingual education, the spread of English and the future minority languages and the age factor.

The scope of multilingual education

Some educational programmes are referred to as bilingual and multilingual education. The acquisition of additional languages also takes place in regular programmes particularly in the case of foreign languages but these are not usually considered multilingual educational programmes. What is multilingual education? The spread of the term *multilingual* in the last years and the great diversity of language policies and multilingual educational programmes create problems when trying to define the scope of multilingual education. In fact multilingual education can refer to the teaching of different languages either as school subjects or languages of instruction and it can be aimed at different types of population. The use of CLIL (Content and Language Integrated Learning) and similar methodological approaches in foreign language classes makes it difficult to establish hard boundaries between bilingual and multilingual schools and schools where one or more additional languages are used.

Cenoz gives the following goal-oriented definition of multilingual education 'the use of two or more languages in education provided that schools aim at multilingualism and multiliteracy' (Cenoz 2011a). As the term 'multilingual' refers to two or more languages, bilingual education is also included in this definition. The focus of the definition is on educational goals and a programme that does not aim at multilingualism and multiliteracy cannot be considered to be multilingual education even if schoolchildren are multilingual. For example, Moroccan schoolchildren in Madrid or Mexican schoolchildren in Los Angeles can be bilingual and in some cases there will be a large number of bilingual or multilingual children in their schools but their educational programme will not be multilingual if it only aims at competence in Spanish in Madrid or English in Los Angeles.

Multilingual education programmes tend to use some of the languages as media of instruction and this is often seen as a characteristic of multilingual education (Skutnabb-Kangas and McCarty 2008: 4; Cummins 2008: xiii; May 2008: 20; Baker 2007: 131). However this is not always a necessary condition. Some educational programmes have a minority language (Catalan, Basque, Welsh) as the language of instruction in order to counterbalance the extended use of the majority language in society. In these programmes, aimed at majority and minority speakers, the majority language is a school subject and students achieve high levels of competence in the two languages (Cenoz and Gorter 2008; Cenoz 2009). When two or more additional languages are part of the school curriculum it is more common to have only some of them as languages of instruction.

Teaching through English and teaching through minority languages

English is the most important language of wider communication and as we have already said it is considered a resource which opens doors for

better opportunities and it is associated with social and economic mobility. English is the only language of higher education in many parts of the world, even in countries where English is not the first language of the majority of the population. In comparison, many regional minority languages can be considered superfluous to practical requirements because speakers can communicate in a majority language and use the majority language in all domains (see also Gardner-Chloros 2007). The efforts made at different levels of language policy (national, regional, school-based) to maintain and develop minority languages shows that apart from practical requirements languages have a symbolic value and are closely related to the identity of their speakers. Some examples of language education policy combine the promotion of regional minority language with the teaching of national languages and English (see Cenoz and Gorter 2008).

Within educational contexts, the use of minority languages as the languages of instruction faces different challenges as compared to the use of English. One of the limitations minority languages often find is the corpus of the language because many minority languages do not have a strong written tradition and in some cases there is not a common standard variety in education. In comparison, English and many other majority languages like Chinese, Spanish or French have been codified for a long time and have a long tradition as written languages and as school languages. Even if there is a standard, it is very often the case that minority languages do not have a strong tradition of being used for academic purposes. This situation creates additional challenges such as the shortage of qualified teachers and appropriate teaching materials. In the case of English the availability of teaching materials for any subject in the curriculum is such that the main challenge is the selection of the appropriate material for a specific context.

In the European context, the use of English as the language of instruction is spreading both at undergraduate and the graduate level but this is also common in many other parts of the world. The use of minority languages in higher education is not very common. In the European context, Catalan is a strong minority language that is widely used in higher education and Basque is also gaining ground as a language of instruction at the university (Cenoz 2009). Taking into account the specialization of university courses, the difficulties faced by minority languages in higher education are bigger than in primary and secondary education. Within the European context, the increasing mobility of students is reinforcing the position of English as the language of instruction in higher education and it is not clear what the position of other languages will be in the future.

The age factor and the acquisition of additional languages

When additional languages are taught in the school context an important question in language planning is the age at which these languages are introduced in the curriculum.

Research studies conducted in natural language environments tend to support the idea that children pick up additional languages more easily than adults (Singleton and Ryan 2004). These results have been explained as related to social and individual factors and have also been explained by the Critical Period Hypothesis (CPH) (Lenneberg 1967). According to this hypothesis human beings can obtain better results in the acquisition of additional languages at a younger age. The CPH has important implications if it is extended to school contexts because it implies that additional languages should be introduced in the curriculum as early as possible so as to benefit from the best conditions. In fact, additional languages are introduced at a very early age in some countries such as Spain where English is very often taught from the age of four. Research on the age factor in second language acquisition indicates that 'the earlier the better' can be applied to natural contexts where learners have a very intensive exposure to the target language (Singleton and Ryan 2004). However, in situations in which exposure to the target language is not intense and is limited to the school context the early introduction of additional languages is not necessarily associated with higher levels of proficiency (García Mayo and García Lecumberri 2003; Muñoz 2006). Genesee (2004: 557), when comparing early and late immersion in French considers that using an additional language as the language of instruction has different benefits in primary and secondary education. When French is the language of instruction from pre-primary or primary school, learners can benefit from natural language learning ability, their open attitudes to new languages and cultures, the opportunity for extended exposure and an optimal fit between learning styles of young learners and effective second language pedagogy. On the other hand, the use of the second language as the language of instruction later in secondary school can imply a more developed knowledge of the first language, particularly literacy skills, and self-selection because students who opt for later immersion are usually highly motivated.

Conclusion

This chapter shows that language education policies are developed for the teaching of additional languages in many parts of the world. Additional languages are part of the school curriculum in most countries but not all these languages have the same weight and English, being the most important language of wider communication, has a prominent position. The European case shows the complexity of language policy in education. The languages involved range from English as the strongest language to regional minority languages that need special support to survive. The complexity is also reflected in the different layers of language policy: the European Union, the state, the region and the school. Language policy

for additional languages in Europe is necessarily related to the specific sociolinguistic, historical, economic and political context in which policies are implemented. For this reason there is a great diversity in different European countries regarding the roles of the different languages in education, the age at which they are introduced or the number of hours assigned to each of the languages at the different educational levels.

The use of English together with the teaching of other additional languages often results in the development of multilingual education programmes. These programmes can use one, two or more languages as languages of instruction and aim at multilingual competence in two or more languages including the first language. However, language policy makers, language planners and syllabus designers do not often take into consideration the positive interaction between the different languages in the curriculum and develop language policies for each additional language separately. Future developments could certainly benefit from adopting a more holistic perspective that integrates the curricula of different additional languages and the first language. In this way learners can apply their competencies in one language to others.

Part III

Non-governmental domains

16

Language policy in the workplace

Alexandre Duchêne and Monica Heller

Why language policy in the workplace?[1]

Scholars consumed with questions of social and economic inequality have often looked to workplaces as key sites for understanding shifting forms of economic productivity and social regulation. In the workplace, resources – both material and symbolic – are produced and distributed. Regulating the production and distribution of resources is largely achieved through language and interaction. Conventions of linguistic interaction in the workplace (accepted linguistic varieties, norms, registers) shape what can and cannot be said, by whom, how and under what conditions. Consequently, language in interaction is intimately involved in regulating who gets to decide what should be done and how, who gets taken seriously, who gets a promotion, who gets deemed 'difficult', how various skills are valued, and how they will (or will not) be remunerated. Understandably, language policy in the workplace has been a key jumping off point for scholars interested in various dimensions of these processes.

In this chapter, we begin with an expedited overview of some of the ways in which language policy in the workplace has been studied, focusing on the approaches we find most relevant to understanding contemporary workplaces of the globalized 'new economy'. We then move to a discussion of important transformations which move language to the centre of workplace concerns, that is where language is both the means (how) and ends (what) of production. These are spaces in which language and interaction are the things being produced and sold and include call centres, translation services, hospitality and tourism and marketing agencies. Drawing on fieldwork conducted in such sites, we argue that the new economy highlights a contradiction between the necessary flexibility and variability that work in a globalized new economy encompasses, on the one hand, and a residual stronghold of rigid, scripted

Taylorized work activities on the other. Language is at once called on to be an efficient, effective, economically productive technological skill while equally needing to meet older, traditional expectations of being organic, natural and therefore authentic. The tension between organic and technocratic conceptualizations of language is of central importance in understanding contemporary language policy at work.

We start from the premise that the regulation of language in the workplace is strongly linked to the economic market. This allows us to then describe and analyse the workplace as an institution of power in which linguistic practices and performances are called to simultaneously meet consumer expectations while maximizing profitability. As we will show, this brings to the surface a number of contradictions and conflicts with respect to what counts as 'good' language and who benefits from new ways of valuing language. The discussion provides a critical understanding of the regulation of language – and its impacts – under late capitalism.

Work, language and the social order

A number of approaches to the study of language and language policy in the workplace offer us useful tools for thinking about language and work today. In this section we summarize the intellectual currents which underlie our approach to understanding transformations engendered by the new economy, and which have a striking effect on the role of language in the contemporary workplace.

Ethnomethodologists demonstrated that work is a social activity and should be studied as such (Drew and Heritage 1992; Goodwin and Goodwin 1996; Suchman 1996). For these scholars, work, as social practice, is understood as the interactional process through which one comes to learn what counts as work and how one does working. This destabilized the notion of work as an objective act and emphasized the social construction of workers and their realities. Understanding workplaces as spaces of work-knowledge production, ethnomethodologists have been able to raise questions about what counts as knowledge and how this knowledge gets negotiated, contested or reproduced in daily conversational and multimodal activities.

Interactional sociolinguists start from the premise that workplaces are sites of knowledge production, but understand this claim in less neutral terms by seeing knowledge production as unevenly distributed. That is to say, not just anyone can do it, or do it to the same effect. Interactional sociolinguists highlighted the way language in the workplace is bound up with processes of social exclusion, articulating with social categories like social class, citizenship and ethnicity. Workplaces, then, are sites where individuals compete over access to resources (money, prestige,

mobility); as a result language proficiency and mastering of certain communicative formats become central means of shaping and accessing work (such as Gumperz 1987, Gumperz, Jupp and Roberts 1981; Roberts 2000, Roberts and Sarangi 1999). Their work brought into focus the ways in which language in the workplace is bound up with the reproduction and maintenance of social difference and inequality.

Cicourel (2002) concurs that work-knowledge is unevenly distributed knowledge, however his work widens the focus to say that such distribution does not occur all in one place, meaning, important pieces of the process of producing labour and commodities happen beyond any specific workplace.

This wider sense of the distribution of knowledge has been explored most recently by language policy scholars studying multinational/multilingual workplaces. The shifting organization of work from national to international networks has led researchers to examine the way language practices are regulated on various institutional levels and across different interactional spaces and activities. For instance Nekvapil and Sherman (2009a) have examined how in multinational corporations in the Czech Republic, language choice is negotiated at different levels of the company. New language needs for internal and external communication emerge out of the increasingly multilingual situations in which workers find themselves. Accordingly, new forms of language management have also emerged (Nekvapil and Nekula 2006; Spolsky 2009). Even when language choice is affirmed in policy at the managerial level, daily practices are characterized as constant linguistic negotiations relating to the immediate situation and the stakes they carry. Similarly, Lüdi *et al*. (2010) describe a disjuncture between top-level institutional language policy which largely determines official internal communications and the local management of multilingualism related to more immediate constellations of participants.

Increasingly multinational and multilingual workplaces raise new sets of questions and concerns about language policy and the workplace. For us, the appearance of these new workspaces is indicative of economic transformations which we discuss in the next section in order to contextualize the increased importance of language in the workplace we, along with others, have observed. This allows us to then take a closer look at some of the tensions and contradictions these new demands place on language-ing workers in the new work order.

Workplaces in the globalized new economy

The workplaces we study emerged out of broad economic shifts which began in the 1970s, and, specifically, the continued breakdown, or global redistribution, of the 'old economy'. That involved the moving of

primary extraction and manufacturing into peripheral zones of the First World (such as the Arctic) or out of the First World altogether (Africa, China and India). This shift, in combination with technological advances, led to the emergence of the knowledge and service-based economy (Castells 2000a) in those states with sufficient labour and capital to invest in tertiary development (notably Canada, the US, Japan and Western Europe). The skills demanded by this new economy place language at the centre of production. Where talk was once prohibited in the workplace to ensure productivity (Boutet 2001, 2008), language and communication have now become both the means and ends to generating new forms of surplus value. As a result, we have observed a clear tension emerge between Taylorist forms of production which characterized the 'old economy' (extreme labour discipline and supervision of work, aimed at minimizing production time per unit of commodity), and the new economy's demand for flexibility and 'authenticity' in communication (individual customer service, development of niche markets, target advertising). Simply put, workers in the new economy must navigate linguistically a heightened tension between standardization and variability.

What this looks like on the ground in language-centred spaces of the new economy is productivity measured not by the number of pieces produced, but by the number of phone calls taken, words translated, products and services sold, or successful interactions with tourists. Standardized scripts control the quality of mass-produced products and services as they simultaneously create demand for workers who are easily interchangeable producing bodies, or more accurately, voices (Cameron 2000a, 2000b; Boutet 2008). The *main d'œuvre* (Duchêne 2009a, 2009b) is now the *parole d'œuvre*: the workforce is transformed into the wordforce (Heller 2010), with what counts being not the individual worker as a whole, but his or her ability to produce certain kinds of standardized products; linguistic ones.

As standardization remains a significant mode for the management of labouring bodies, flexibility and variability are a co-occurring motto for employees of the new economy who are called on to engage in multiple activities and practices to optimize company profit (Korczynski 2002, Sennet 1998). In fact, many activities of the new economy cannot be totally predicted nor rationalized as was the case within primary industries. As economic markets fluctuate, institutions oblige workers to constantly adapt. New clients emerge with new language needs; others may decline making some language skills obsolete and jeopardizing job security for the worker (this is known as 'flexibility'). Clients – although they may be constructed as homogenous in some ways – also expect individualized services. Communication entails, and demands, variability that cannot be handled through Taylorist models normally used to ensure proficiency and profit.

The tension between standardization and variability in language maps onto conflicting ways of managing labour forces. These intersections and interstices have real consequences on the ground for how work is accessed, experienced and remunerated.

We detail this tension and its consequences in subsequent sections to illustrate and describe how this plays out in the workplaces of the new economy and to raise future questions for research on language policy in the workplace.

Standardization and variability: teasing out the tensions

Let's begin with an example of language work which describes the tension between standardization and variability in language[2]. A tourism provider wants to attract more tourists to Switzerland. She starts by analysing the market situation (trends in who visits Switzerland, when). She considers her target groups might be the general population, those who like cities, those who prefer the mountains or those into healthy holidays. She decides to create marketing materials. She considers which pictures and texts to use for brochures, a website and advertisements. She takes particular care in her choices of wordings and slogans. She needs to decide if the brochure should be translated, and if so into what languages, where and by whom. Finally, she finds ways of disseminating the information: using the Internet, targeted networks and locations, and local travel agents. These activities engage multiple layers of language work, and therefore language workers: writers who compose texts and advertisements, translators, salespeople, call centre agents, and tourism board employees.

In all of these processes, standardization and variability come into play. First, standardization emerges as a central deciding factor with respect to profitability. The cost of a brochure in different languages is higher than a monolingual one. A generalist brochure will target a higher number of people. Second, standardization appears in the way the audience is constructed, that is as homogeneous, even in its differentiation (the Chinese, the Japanese, the rich, backpackers, etc.). Standardization is considered with regard to the translations in terms of which standard variety of particular languages will be chosen. Finally, standardization frames the wording of texts, slogans and website materials which use globally connotated markers like *Wellness* (in English) for constructing Switzerland as part of global bourgeois culture.

Variability is an equal factor in terms of how to reach new clients or keep them (translating a brochure into Polish, adapting a website with content-specific information for gay travellers, etc.). Although variability might cost more money, it allows the seller to focus on customer expectations and create a sense of exclusivity that attracts a certain type of

clientele. Variability is also a consideration in wording choices so as to create and draw on marketing discourses which construct Switzerland as unique and particular. Furthermore, variability matters in hiring tourism call centre workers who need to speak foreign languages with a Swiss accent to 'sell' Switzerland in a more authentic way.

This tension reveals how central decision-making processes in the new globalized economy (and by extension language policy in the workplace) are strongly related to economic activities in which certain practices, speakers and communicative practices are valorized and hierarchized (in the sense of Bourdieu's 1993 concept of the linguistic market). As such, they are often the object of strict forms of regulation, even forms of regulation which demand the successful navigation of the standardization/variability tension. This entails a constant dialectic between the local and the global, homogeneity and diversity, standardization and variability. Communicative practices – as well as products and goods – are more and more dependent on local and global economic interests that are not stable but constantly changing in deference to strategic market expansion and the creation of new niche markets (Coupland 2003, Duchêne and Piller 2011, Heller 2003, 2005, Kelly-Holmes 2000, 2006, Piller 2000, 2001). The consequences for the wordforce are still largely unexplored.

These considerations lead to the central issue of this chapter. All the processes described earlier are labour processes. Be it translation, drafting of texts, interacting with clients in their languages, or selling authentic cultural products, all of these activities are linguistic forms of work. When examining workplace language policy in the new economy, we must grasp *what* in language is being regulated; next, how both issues of standardization and variability are managed; how this impacts workers; and finally, how work is organized.

Taylorization and flexibility: regulating practices in the workplace

In this section we examine the ways in which in the contemporary workplace language and speakers are objects of regulation. We would like to address *what* it is about language that is being regulated and how. This involves exploring Taylorist approaches to regulating labour practices centred on standardization processes on the one hand, and attempts to incorporate flexibility, individuation and unpredictability into regulation regimes on the other.

A Taylorist conception of work: language and its standardization

In 1911, Frederick Winslow Taylor published his influential book which reshaped the way work activities in the primary and secondary industries

would be divided and regulated. According to Taylor, to achieve maximum efficiency, production should be segmented, constantly controlling time needed for work, as well as strict and 'objective' management of workers. For primary and secondary industries this was deemed efficient and effective.

In the globalized new economy, the aim to maximize the efficiency of production through means of divided and standardized work processes remains salient. However, the changing nature of work and its dependency on language for production (and as product) leads to increased attention on communicative practices. For example, scripts, language and communication training, as well as attempts to control the quality and time of commercial interactions characterize the ways work is regulated in call centres (Boutet 2008, Cameron 2000b, Cowie 2003, Dubois *et al.* 2006, Heller 2005, Roy 2003). The speed of translation and its automatization emerge as key issues for localization processes (Cronin 2003, Venuti 1992, Pym 2004). Domestic workers are trained to have 'appropriate' communication and cultural skills (Lorente 2010). These are all forms of regulating language, but also forms of regulating work and workers. We can observe the Taylorist ideology at all moments of the work experience, from recruitment, to training, to performance evaluation.

Recruitment processes in the new economy, such as job interviews, evaluate language in a range of ways. Candidates must prove their ability to communicate (orally and in writing) and may be asked to complete standardized language tests. The variety of languages spoken, one's accent and type of voice are of central importance. In recruitment processes, the candidate's ability to produce Standard French or Standard English is scrutinized, often tracking 'irregularities' in order to determine if the candidate will be able to put aside their original accent. For jobs that entail face-to-face interaction with the clientele, criteria like non-verbal communication strategies, appearance, and ability to behave in a customer-oriented way are equally evaluated.

Targeted hiring based on linguistic qualifications is also common. A manager speaking Cantonese or Russian will be recruited if the firm needs to open a representative office in Canton or in Moscow. Tourism board offices look for employees who speak a certain number of languages in order to be able to serve the international tourism clientele. Businesses operating in bilingual regions and who deal with two linguistic communities hire a bilingual secretary in order to manage the bilingual administrative work and improve company efficiency. In many ways, the recruitment process aims to evaluate the amount of time an employee will need in order to conform to company expectations in terms of language practices, keeping in mind that the training costs money – and so is rather short – and cannot totally compensate for the discrepancy between what the candidate brings as competence and what is expected for the job.

A second site where Taylorist forms of regulation are observed is employee *training* offered by language-centred businesses. For low-end positions, very often, the employee receives task-targeted training. Usually it is very short (ranging from one week to three weeks) and provided only to those new employees working in direct contact with customers. Depending on the type of job, training could cover the use of specific software or information on specific products or services etc. In a wide range of service industry sites, we have observed 'communication training' modules. Communicative standardization and codification is widely considered an aspect of quality management in workplaces dedicated to service (call centres, customer service, domestic workers).

Most of the training programmes aim to train the employee to serve through appropriate communication techniques, which are presented as 'universal'. Employees are expected to communicate in an honest, clear, efficient, client-oriented, polite and professional way. Training programmes implement rules often in the form of scripts. Employees learn when to speak and when to be silent. They learn how to say/write things in connection with guided principles of what 'good' communication is (Duchêne 2009b).

In most communication training programmes, multilingual needs on the part of the trainee are not addressed. The instructions tend to be provided in the majority language of the area. The underlying assumption seems to be that these pragmatic aspects are easily transferred across languages and that there is a one-to-one mapping of form (e.g., rephrasing) and function (e.g., good communication) across languages. Intercultural communication is a frequent training topic. In these sequences, trainees learn how 'the Japanese' or 'the Chinese' think, how they communicate, and what their expectations are in terms of service. Needless to say that most of the discourses dramatically essentialize language and culture!

Training can also focus on specific language features which need to be acquired. Accent training will be given to employees in, for instance, Morocco or Senegal who work in call centres which serve France. They learn how to erase their accent in French and more generally they learn how to perform an appropriate identity by changing their names.

The purpose of this training is twofold. One, workers learn how to work. Second, they learn what it means to be a worker in the particular workplace and within the broader political economic moment. Training teaches workers to 'behave' in the way the company wants them to behave. Often trainers insist on the importance of representing the company properly, often referred to as emotional control of labour. While training gives tools to the workers in order for them to fulfil production quotas, it enshrines a model of regulating production in which individual workers are held accountable for circumstances that are largely out of their control (tourism industry declines, Canada becomes the new Switzerland, everyone has already upgraded their cell phone plan).

In terms of *job performances*, workers are provided with technical tools in order to perform their job adequately. Scripts taught in the training classes are made available in the form of paper sheets (so-called 'Bibles') that hang at the workstation. Most are formatted instructions focused on opening and closing interactional sequences (greetings for instance), timelines for interactions (what should be said when), and pre-formatted responses to specific questions (if the customer asks this, answer that). They also might include a translation index of certain words in the second language of the worker. Scripts are considered to be a key way of standardizing work processes. One of the basic assumptions is that the following of rules and guidance provided by the scripts enables the worker to meet client expectations. Scripts control the employee as they are evaluated on the basis of their adherence the script.

New technologies and their tools are commonplace in the globalized economy (Gee *et al.* 1996). Software, translation machines, preformatted letters or emails, websites and voice recordings all contribute to the technologization of communication. Technical tools can be used by workers or can replace them altogether. Technical tools are linked to the rationalization of work in the sense that they permit an automated management of language and communication.

Through recruitment, training, evaluation and tools development, Taylorism still has a stronghold on the ways in which work is regulated. Under this guiding ideology, language and communication are considered to operate in a way that can be anticipated and standardized. Language here is 'objective' and purely technical. It can be regulated, formalized, trained and encoded. What we hope is becoming clear, is that as language is regulated, so too are the speakers of those languages.

Flexibility and variability: soft-management of language and work

As discussed, the Taylorist method of regulating labour depends on standardizing language. This is, in many ways, in tension with different demands of the contemporary workplace. Taylorizing 'language', as it turns out, is much more difficult than Taylorizing auto production. Communication is a social event and therefore unpredictable. Scripts cannot solve all communication problems encountered at the workplace. Technical tools cannot replace the feeling of talking to a human being. Linguistic variability is essential to niche marketing. Next, the nature of the globalized new economy demands adaptability to meet different client expectations as markets shift and reform. Individualizing ideologies are also pervasive in the new economy. Workers are to be 'self-starters', take initiative, and have a personality which distinguishes them from others or from machines (Urciuoli 2008). As flexibility and variability come into tension with standardized perceptions of work under

Taylorism, this engenders new modes of regulation. We have observed that flexibility and variability are often regulated on an *ad hoc* basis drawing on the linguistic resources of employees themselves while allowing companies to capitalize on them.

Scripts tell the worker to behave following a format, yet employees must also prove their ability to manage unpredictable situations. When communication is successful, the ability to adapt to specific communicative contexts is regarded as an asset. Not following scripts and rules in these instances is proof of creativity and initiative. The evaluation and the control of these non-coded communicative practices are based not on the appropriateness of the technique used but on the achieved output. The search for workers with 'personality' has emerged as stronger criteria in recruitment processes. 'Be yourself', 'Be creative' are constant mantras of training sessions. Here, the personality of the worker is valorized as long as it serves the company. Accents and non-standard varieties of language can be regarded as an asset if they create a sense of authenticity or distinction.

With language skills of workers (other than those listed in the job advertisement) now considered useful in the workplace, linguistic diversity is managed in a range of ways; from soft-management to non-management. In the recruitment process, mastering 'unusual' languages might help one get a job since the globalized new economy's language needs often entail particular situations in which certain languages might be useful. For instance, in an airport, language contact and multilingual practices are constant. The Swiss airport keeps a database of its employees' linguistic repertoires called the *Übersetzer für seltene Sprachen* [Translators for less frequently used languages]. Frontline employees access the database when faced with a client with whom they do not have the language skills to communicate. Most of the workers on the list with 'unusual' language skills are migrants and work in the luggage sector or in special assistance – that is behind the scenes, as invisible workers. They were often asked to come to the front spaces of the airport (service desks, help kiosks) to solve problems by playing the role of a language broker. This is a form of soft-management where the airport can draw on the skills of the entire workforce, without having to compensate those same employees for having those skills (for a detailed analysis see Duchêne 2011).

These flexible linguistic demands mean that language skills cannot entirely be regulated institutionally (in policy); a secretary is asked to quickly double-check a text, a colleague with proficiencies in Portuguese is asked to make a phone call to a client, an agent at a desk counter asks her colleague how to say something in French. One form of regulation doesn't exclude others, they co-exist.

In all these examples, flexibility and variability are required. The 'personality' of the worker, their ability to face non-standard situations,

their unusual language skills allow for the regulation of work and the larger production process. Non-standard communicative characteristics of an employee may make them, under specific circumstances, legitimate and valued. They can be rewarded; however, in our field experiences, they often remain unrecognized in terms of salary or social promotion. The skills are considered 'natural', that is to say they are often not seen as skills at all. The evaluation of communicative skills is determined by interactional outcomes. Non-standard behaviour is sanctioned in cases where the outcome reveals non-achievement of production goals. All this we believe – although it has less to do with Taylorization – is part of the language management of the workplace. Regulating flexibility and variability usually translates into the capitalization of workers' communicative abilities.

Conclusion

In the previous sections, we have seen how Taylorization and flexibility, in most workplaces of the globalized new economy, coexist. Both are objects of regulation by the company, but of course in varying degrees: hyper-control of language on one side, soft-management on the other. In both cases the legitimacy or illegality of certain communicative actions remain in the hands of the company. These processes we have described here have consequences. We have to admit that is not yet clear for us what they are for the workplace. It is not clear to what extent Taylorization of language clearly works in the logic of cost-benefit that the globalized new economy aims to achieve. The soft-management (or in some case the non-management) approaches to regulating language offers many benefits to companies at no cost. They certainly cannot be totally unaware of the importance of these skills. Recognizing it in a more official way, however, induces more cost and reduces control over production as workers perform in unscripted ways.

Future questions for research should aim to understand who benefits from these forms of regulation as these modes of regulation have real consequences for employees. Standardization on the one hand subjugates workers, automatizes work and adopts a logic of productivity in which language is an instrument of quality management and control. Although the globalized new economy proposes little in the way of entirely new models of work, we see that new symbolic capital is awarded to multilingual workers, in some cases creating a more prestigious, plurilingual proletariat. Irrespective of the symbolic valuation of linguistic flexibility and variability, workers' communicative competences are always valued in the light of what they offer companies. Their skills are only minimally recognized and mostly companies take these skills for granted by constructing them as 'natural'.

The perspective we have adopted here on language policy in the workplace has put an important emphasis on the way language becomes both the object and the means for regulating work and production. We strongly believe that language policy research should continue working on the ways in which the workplace remains a central space for access to, and distribution of, resources. We also believe that critical inquiries are necessary in order to question the impact of changes on language and speakers – and so too on the (re)production of social inequalities on linguistic grounds.

17

Language policy and religion

Christina Bratt Paulston and Jonathan M. Watt

In this chapter we focus on the influence of religion on language and on the policies, explicit or implicit, which result from this interrelationship. We follow the thought of scholars from William James (1902: 26–7) to Joshua Fishman (2006b: 25) in not specifically defining religion, partially for practical reasons – it tends to elude comprehensive definition. Yet we also believe with Rudolph Otto ([1923], 1958: 5–7) that holiness is a category peculiar to the sphere of religion and that it 'completely eludes comprehension in terms of concepts… There is no religion in which it does not live as the real innermost core, and without it no religion would be worthy of its name.' We recognize the existence of this 'unique, "numinous" category' in religion and so refrain from academic definitions. Instead we merely point out that we wish to limit our discussion to religion as a man-made institution, as *un fait social*, and as a group behaviour. We make no attempt at evaluating the reality of individual faith systems nor the legitimacy or relevance of religious institutions. The many publications on language rights have made clear the importance of situational factors in describing, explaining and predicting the results of such rights, and we will follow that lead here in concentrating on the contextual variables of language policy which result from the interaction of language and religion.

The domain of religion

Following Spolsky (2009), we consider religion as a domain. 'A domain is an abstraction which refers to a sphere of activity representing a combination of specific times, settings, and role relationships' (Romaine 1994: 44), a collective which is accessible to its practitioners and simultaneously observable to outsiders, even as its contours

will necessarily differ according to the specifics of each religion. For example, sacred space in a historically documented and bureaucratized tradition such as Roman Catholicism differs greatly from that which is understood by an Animist; each group's activities, likewise, are quite distinct. Once sacred space is defined by a religion, it may prompt language use quite different from language usage elsewhere in the culture. Sacred texts come to hold immense value in various religions such as Hinduism, Judaism, Christianity and Islam. Yet the manner in which these texts are expected to influence their followers may differ too.

Variables

Sociology of language and religion (SLR) attempts primarily to identify independent or causal variables, i.e. the various factors which give rise to or cause something to happen; in sociology of language and religion as a field of study most frequently a choice of language variety, be it use of a specific language, dialect, register, or lexicon (the dependent variable). The preferred choice for religious worship frequently causes a quality of holiness to be ascribed to a certain language variety; the consequence for the code deemed appropriate for religious use becomes one of a sacred language. Typically sacred languages are not the variety spoken by worshippers in their quotidian life, and these languages are kept unchanged with great effort. Students of linguistics learn from the outset that one of the earliest linguists was Pāṇini, an Indian grammarian who lived no later than the fourth century BC and who developed a system for describing the Vedas' Sanskrit (Lepschy 1994), also used for keeping the Vedic language from changing into Hindi. As a result of such a tendency, the Torah, the King James Bible and the Qur'an all have in common that they pose comprehension difficulties for speakers of modern-day Hebrew, English and Arabic.

But speakers differ in their attitudes toward translation. For some schools of thought in the various religions there is no difficulty or problem in not understanding a sacred language. It becomes not unlike the magic formulas of the Middle Ages which children to this day are fond of memorizing and repeating, phrases like *abra kadabra hocus pocus filiocus*.[1] In short, a deity's word is sacred and must not be changed; there can be no translation of the holy writ. For others, the meanings, the lessons inherent in the sacred words are what is important, and for that comprehension is necessary, and so translation is permitted or encouraged. The sociology of language and religion question then becomes: What are the social circumstances which prohibit or encourage translation? What are the contextual variables?

Contextual variables

Between cause and effect, between independent and dependent variables, we can identify and define intervening or contextual variables: 'a set of intermediate functional processes which interconnect between the initiating causes of behavior on the one hand, and the final resulting behavior itself, on the other' (Kerlinger 1974: 40). Contextual variables, in other words, involve the circumstances of the social situation(s) which affect the outcome of the studied phenomena in a predictable fashion.

The following will illustrate. God's spoken Word was continuously regarded as holy; nevertheless, when speakers in the Jewish diaspora that settled in Alexandria during the fourth and third centuries BC experienced a language shift to Koine Greek, eventually the result was the Septuagint translation of the *Tanakh*, the Old Testament, from Hebrew into Greek. Similarly, the Christian Word, the New Testament, written predominantly in Koine Greek, eventually was translated as the Latin Vulgate by St. Jerome at the end of the fourth century AD and used in this form throughout Europe and came to be regarded as 'sacred' scripture. Its usage came under protest in the sixteenth century by Martin Luther and was translated into German. In this form it continues to be used by the Amish in the United States, a German-English speaking Protestant group, whose comprehension of it is proving increasingly difficult. The Vulgate (in revised version) continued in use by the Roman Catholic Church until Vatican II in 1962–1965. The question then is, which of these circumstances can be identified as merely historical accidents, isolated events of no significance beyond their own, and which can be identified as contextual variables, likely to repeat a similar influence on, in this case, language choice for the deity's teachings? Can we claim that the language variety in a language choice is always a dependent variable? We should point out that the relationship between religion and language use as cause and effect is only one of the possible relationships. Language may also have a causal effect on religion, but for reasons of thought and space we have chosen to concentrate on one (see Omoniyi and Fishman 2006).

Fishman's claim that 'we stand now in the sociology of language and religion just about where we were relative to the sociology of language per se some 40 or more years ago' (2006: 13) makes it appropriate to cite Dell Hymes' efforts from that time 'toward a descriptive theory':

> The primary concern must be with descriptive analyses from a variety of communities. Only in relation to actual analysis will it be possible to conduct arguments analogous to those now possible in the study of grammar as to adequacy, necessity, generality, etc. of concepts and terms. Yet some heuristic schema are [*sic*] needed if the descriptive task is to proceed. (Hymes 1972: 52)

The heuristic schemata which Hymes developed and then rewrote in many versions eventually came to be known as the ethnography of speaking (variously also referred to as ways of speaking, ethnography of communication, ethnography of speech). The immediate goal of this enumeration of concepts was developing and aiding the identification and analysis of the components of speech, the larger purpose the development of a theory of communicative competence (a counter-concept to Chomsky's linguistic competence) which focused on a theoretical description of rules or norms for the selection of socially appropriate as well as grammatically correct forms of the language with an emphasis on the appropriate rules rather than the grammatical. The three major areas for contributing units of analysis were context, form, and function, which Hymes introduced in the frame of linked concepts of speech situation, speech event and speech act. A speech situation may be a party or may even be non-verbal like a football game, but speech events and speech acts are governed by the rules or norms for the use of speech. A speech event, the basic unit, consists of a unified set of components, the same purpose, topic, participants, key and setting throughout. A conversation, a medical interview, and a priest's sermon, are all examples of speech events. Speech acts are the smallest unit in this set of speech situation, event and act. It is easiest defined by example: greeting, thanking, apologizing, saying goodbye, are just a few examples of speech acts in English (Austin 1962; Saville-Troike 1982; Searle 1976).

The sixteen components of speech events which Hymes listed (1972: 40–6) are *verbatim*: 1. Message form; 2. Message content; 3. Setting and 4. Scene; 5. Speaker or sender and 6. Addressor; 7. Hearer or Audience; 8. Addressee; 9. Purposes – outcomes; 10. Purposes – Goals; 11. Key; 12. Channels; 13. Forms of speech (a. language ~ dialect; b. codes; c. varieties and registers); 14. Norms of interaction; 15. Norms of interpretation; and 16. Genres, of which we select for discussion those we find germane to linguistic usage as a result of religious practice, beliefs or management (Spolsky 2009: 4).

Spolsky discusses as an assumption three interrelated parts of language policy: namely practice, beliefs and management. Language practice is what people do with language, the observable behaviour and choices for appropriate usage that people make. Spolsky concludes that to the degree that these choices are regular and predictable, their description constitutes what Hymes called ethnography of speaking.

Language beliefs correspond mainly with what today is discussed under the scholarly focus of language ideology (Kroskrity 2000a; Schieffelin, Woolard and Kroskrity 1998). In the sociology of language and religion, both language and religion have their own sets of ideology. The outcome for language is especially observable in the status accorded the language varieties used for worship and prayer; for religion, ideology is the driving

force which can account for many of the specific choices and selections among codes, lexicon, phonology, etc.

Ideology can also account for issues of cultural capital (Bourdieu 1984 [1979]), and Gramsci (1992 [1929–33]) himself uses the Catholic Church as an example to explain his notion of legitimization by hegemony, but both those key constructs need a chapter of their own, so we will only mention them here.

Language management, finally, is the component of language policy which is the explicit and observable effort by actors with authority, individually or collectively, which results in the changed or modified language behaviour of participants in speech situations; Vatican II changing the mass from Latin to the vernacular, Allah speaking in Classical Arabic, the infallibility of the pope speaking *ex cathedra* and, less successfully, rabbis exhorting Jews to keep speaking Hebrew, are all examples of language management. The oft-cited paragraph from the Talmud about Rabbi Hillel teaching the Torah to a Gentile proselyte, who had requested he do so while the student was standing on one foot, has Hillel responding: 'What is hateful to thee, do not unto thy fellow; this is the whole Law. All the rest is commentary to this law; go and learn it' (Babylonian Talmud: Shabbat 31A). All of this would come under the message content, as the focus is not on language use.

Religion as a domain is especially rich in examples of influence of language management, with influence that modifies practices and beliefs, presumably because of the ultimate authority held by the deity. So we shall give particular attention to some of the ways certain modifiers, drawn from Hymes, affect how the domain of religion (independent variable) influences language policy (dependent variable) by means of two case studies.

Case Study I: Islam and Qur'anic Arabic

The religion of Islam was revealed in the early seventh century in connection with reports that its central prophet Mohammed (*c.* 570–632) had been receiving divine revelations starting around the time he was forty. These revelations were believed to originate with Allah ('the God') and, mediated through the angel Gabriel, conveyed eternal truths inscribed on golden tablets in heaven. The earliest converts to this emerging religion included Mohammed's wife Khadija, along with other family members and friends. As it grew, this monotheistic religion became an increasing political threat to Animist tribal authorities at Mecca. Forced to evacuate the city, Mohammed led his followers to the city of Yathrib/Medina (an event known as the *hegira* or 'flight') where they were able to consolidate in strength and numbers. They returned in force to Mecca about two years before the prophet's death,

and Islam became the city's dominant religion and the locus for political and economic power. The subsequent expansion of Islam throughout the Arabian Peninsula, North Africa, the Middle East and beyond is legendary.

Fourteen centuries of history have since provided ample evidence of the profound reverence Muslims have for their sacred scriptures, including the extremes some have gone to in order to defend the reputation and sanctity of the Qur'an. A doctrine of inspiration of the Qur'an, similar in some ways to Jewish and Christian traditions while differing significantly at various points, has been a staple of Islamic tradition. It is based on nothing less than the character of Allah and the manner in which he has ostensibly made his thoughts available to mankind; the Qur'an states 'And it is not for any mortal that Allah should speak to him except by revelation or from behind a veil, or by sending a messenger and revealing by His permission what He pleases; surely He is High, Wise' (Surah 42:51). Though the Qur'an acknowledges traditions of Moses and the Gospel, certain Muslim writers dismiss these traditions on the grounds of literary corruption, leaving the Qur'an as 'The only authentic and complete book of God in existence today… complete and authentic…' (Abdalati 1975: 12).

What follows, then, is our adaptation of intervening variables from Hymes' work, with illustrations taken from the circumstances that have invested one form of Classical Arabic with such exceptional status that it has become requisite for Muslims of all language communities to learn it in order to understand their faith and worship Allah.

Message Form – The concern expressed by Hymes (1972: 41) is that 'the message form, and… the rules governing it' must be addressed in a way that will 'unite[s] form and content in the scope of a single focus of study'. He says: 'The more a way of speaking has become shared and meaningful within a group, the more likely that crucial cues will be efficient, i.e. slight in scale.' When it comes to religious activities, issues such as when it is, or is not, appropriate to use certain terminology, raise particular subjects, speak in tongues, and the like, are at the forefront of participants' concerns. Message form is primarily a question of practice but, in religious practice, language use often comes to be based on ideology and beliefs, such as Allah speaking Classical Arabic, so that form results from a co-occurrence of language practice and belief. Similarly, Jehovah spoke in Biblical Hebrew, ultimately with the same result of a sacred language, based once again on language practice and belief. The theoretical proposition as generalization is then clear: following the deity's example, man through practice and belief will in a predictable fashion bring about a sacred language. We will leave alone the question of whether Allah and Jehovah can be considered language managers – we have no observable behaviour at that point – and presumably the existence of Allah and Jehovah are considered mutually exclusive by their

believers, which would bring about an evaluation of individual belief systems, a priori excluded from this discussion.[2]

Since message form usually involves a co-occurrence of language practice and belief, it is appropriate to note that the view widespread across orthodox Islam has been that Allah conveyed his word in the Qurayish dialect of what we now refer to as Classical Arabic, an awareness implicit in various surahs (chapters of the Qur'an) but most evident in 41:44: 'And if We had made it a Qur'an in a foreign tongue, they would certainly have said: Why have not its communications been made clear? What! A foreign (tongue) and an Arabian!' The insistence that the sacred book was transmitted from heaven in this language, and none other, appears never to have been challenged from within this religion.

Setting – The 'time and place of a speech event' (41) define an activity as religious, though in a way specific to that religion. What Roman Catholicism sees in a cathedral, Hinduism may connect with a temple replete with statues of deities, while an Animist may identify such location as a forest or desert locale. This concept of *setting* applies to the original act of revelation to Muhammad, which has been variously described as remote, visionary, auditory or, at times, he 'simply found the words in his heart somehow, and eventually came to regard this as occurring by the operation of Gabriel' (W. M. Watt 1968: 18–19). Subsequent speech acts – in worship, private readings, or a madrassah – would be overshadowed by the original setting and easily acquire a similar aura.

Scene – According to Hymes (1972: 41–2), this designates the 'psychological setting' and clarifies nuanced details of religious behaviour, such as whether it is formal or informal, God-centred or community-oriented, and may therefore affect how language is used accordingly. Does one perceive a funeral as a time to mourn a departure from earth or celebrate an arrival into eternity? May one talk with fellow worshippers before or during a religious event? Setting and scene are instances of language practice. In Islam as in many other religions, worship – whether at a mosque or done individually – is practised in deep reverence and solemnity, being focused on the holiness of Allah and his solemn will for mankind. Body movements, like words, are calculated to express respect for the dignity of God.

Speaker / Addressor – Though Hymes (1972: 42) listed these as separate categories, he provided no explanation of the distinction. Later, in a response to a request for clarification (he had been asked whether God was the speaker or the addressor in a speech situation of a church service, where the priest spoke to the congregation by citing God's words), Hymes wrote:

> I would have thought of God as the addressor and the priest as the speaker. But it could perhaps be either way by cultural definition. You are no doubt thinking of God speaking through the man. I think

> I meant 'speaker' as 'voice' and 'addressor' as 'source of message'… maybe 'spokesman' helps make 'speaker' intermediary for me. I was making "speaker" like scribe.[3]

The issue of Speaker/Addressor easily becomes an issue of language management.

In the case of Islam, the speaker/addressor involves, for example, a cleric and Allah, respectively, transcending the chasm of heaven and earth by investing a person with representative authority. The very name of Islam's book means 'that which is recited' or 'the collected things' and, as Cooper (1985: 55) notes, it shows a preference for the Qurayish tribal dialect. Inasmuch as the Qur'an has been viewed as eternal and uncreated, and Surah 43:3–4 portrays it as 'an Arabic Qur'an that you may understand… in the original of the Book with Us, truly elevated, full of wisdom', then speakers will carry a profound burden to sustain that which has always been, just as it has always been.

Hearer / Addressee – Hymes (1972: 42) listed these as distinct categories but did not elaborate on how they differed. He did, however, group these four (speaker, addressor, hearer, addressee) together with elaborate case illustrations. We suggest that age, level of education, community standing and other aspects of socio-cultural status of hearer/addressee will influence how the religious language is used with reference to them. For example, African-American pastors of biracial congregations have been observed to code-switch as they define theological concepts in sermons, alternating between formal English and vernacular in order to render abstract ideas 'real' to their constituency. Breitborde (1983) noted that Liberian pastors used more or less English according to age and status.

As specified human actors or agents, especially addressor and addressee as source and receiver of message, these four will occasionally fill the role of manager with an effort to modify practice or belief in 'a language management decision [as] policy' (Spolsky 2009: 5), for 'Much of religious conduct can be interpreted as part of a native theory of communication' which *collectively* become the manager in language policy decisions. Hymes similarly had grouped speaker/addressor along with hearer/addressee and illustrated them together, adding that 'Groups differ in their definitions of the participants in speech events in revealing ways, particularly in defining absence (e.g., children, maids) and presence (e.g., supernaturals) of participation' (1972: 42). Whether or not this collective's effects are successful, their role assignment stays intact: Vatican II remains an attempt at language management even if it failed to convince many worshippers that Latin was not the more suitable, the sacred, language for celebrating Mass. It did succeed in changing behaviour, as the Mass is now typically practised in the vernacular.

We need further reflection on language policy situations of partial success, more common than one might expect, which component

of language practice, belief or management, when in conflict with the other(s), will be the overriding factor, if indeed any. In any events, the impulse to regard religious readings as authoritative is overwhelming when one believes he is replicating divine utterance; formal public readers of the Qur'an are clerics, never laymen.

Purposes-Goals and Outcomes – Intentions within a group that has gathered for a religious activity may differ from those of their surrounding communities, a distinction Hymes (1972: 43) designates as the 'purely situational or personal' versus the 'latent and unintended'. This is evident, for example, in the Chinese government-sponsored rebuilding of Buddhist temples that had been destroyed by Red Guards during the Cultural Revolution, or the gradual relaxing of restrictions upon non-government-sponsored Christian services in certain urban centres. For the religious, these current developments mean freedom to worship publicly, while to the government they offer redress for past wrongs and provide nationalistic legitimization in the face of globalization.

As our three primary components of language policy go, they may all play a role varying with the situation. As far as language practice is concerned, much policy is the official sanction of ongoing practice; when the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania approved the bilingual education curriculum for Amish schools, it provided recognition and acceptance of Amish language use of German and English, not any new policy. Some policy may be based on religious beliefs, as in the sacredness of Sanskrit, which led to this dead language's recognition as an official language in modern India. All official policies of a country will have their designated managers, officials with the authority of its religious body to make language decisions (although probably rarely thought of as decisions about primarily language). The colonial administrators in the New World wrote pleadingly to the Spanish king to command the Jesuits not to teach the natives (i.e. the Nahuatl elite) Latin because it enabled those natives to tell which Franciscans were fools (Heath 1972).

With regard to the (in-)group intentions which may differ from those of the outside communities, e.g. Hymes' designation of them as that which is personal versus what was unintended, we note a curious phenomenon with respect to the Qur'an. It is the fact that its proponents insist on keeping its purity apart from translation – English translations are typically qualified with adjectives or explanatory phrases such as *The Glorious Koran* (Pickthall 1930) or *The Qur'an: Translation* (Shakir 1983[4]) – resistance to translation would normally dissuade speakers of other languages from reading it, yet many converts to Islam report that they learned Arabic by memorizing what initially they did not comprehend. The pseudonymous writer Ibn Warraq (1995: xiii) indicates that he grew up in an Islamic republic and that 'Even before I could read or write the national language I learned to read the Koran in Arabic without understanding a word of it – a common experience for thousands of Muslim

children.' The internal goal of preserving the eternal, inspirational act has become both an exclusionary (the West remains largely disconnected to this Middle Eastern-based religion) and enticing (many are drawn to what they perceive to be a beautiful language backed with nothing less than divine prestige) phenomenon.

Key – Hymes (1972: 43) defines this as 'the tone, manner, or spirit in which an act is done… the modality'. Religious activities tend to be serious rather than sarcastic or flippant; they tend to call for non-verbal correlates such as formal dress and posture, or specific gestures; readings and messages tend to be more authoritative than whimsical; and the rhetoric of sermons in particular is specific to each religious tradition. Key is very much a matter of practice overriding other meanings. Islamic worship, even in comparison to the sister faiths it acknowledges, is marked by utmost formality and solemnity, even severity, of its proceedings. Fatwahs are issued by clerics in the face of challenges or ridicule, real or perceived, in regard to the scriptures or their intermediary, Muhammad, and their sermons have been described as more polemic than didactic. These may indicate fringe extremism, though the words *Islam* and *Muslim* are generally derived from a word meaning, in part, 'surrender', i.e. to a powerful and authoritative God. And in the minds of perhaps most Muslims is an association between the original language of the Qur'an and the tone of religious activities that employ the book; as Abdalati notes (1975: 3–4):

> Good literary works cannot be fully translated into any other language. This is more so in the case of the Qur'an, the Book that challenged (and still does) the native masters of the Arabic language and literature and proved their inability to produce anything even remotely similar to the shortest chapter of the Book. It is impossible, therefore, to reproduce the meaning, beauty, and fascination of the Qur'an in any other form. What appears, then, is not the Qur'an proper or its perfect translation even if such were possible. Rather, it is human interpretation in *a different language that falls far short of the forcefulness* of the original Book of God. (italics ours)

Not only the words of the original 'guarded tablet' (Surah 85: 22) but also its 'forcefulness' are features deeply entrenched in the message, setting, addressors and addressees, and key, of Islamic religion.

Forms of Speech – Even monolingual communities use differing forms of language, with diversity of dialect, code, register, style and variety. Multilingual communities possess expansive potential for variety diversification. Hymes says (1972: 44): 'A major theoretical and empirical problem is to distinguish the verbal resources of a community.' Religion is sometimes behind the evolution of variant codes: for example, *diglossia*, i.e. bilingualism in complementary distribution, developed amidst mutinying English sailors from the HMS Bounty after they landed on

Pitcairn Island in 1789, the emergent Tahitian-English vernacular contrasting with the formal, standard English in use for worship services and Bible readings.

The world of Islam is a prime example of religion-based diglossia. Qur'anic Arabic was but one of at least three major classical varieties of the seventh century (upon which Modern Standard Arabic is based) while the large number of living colloquial dialects fall under the primary divisions of Maghrebi (North African), Middle Eastern and Bedouin, among others in locations where it is a secondary language or a pidgin variety. While the language itself stands independent of the religion, its diversification has been advanced by its sacred status and, in return, that has helped undergird its cultural and geographic advancement. The religion thrives on what Rippin and Knappert (1990: 4) describe as 'the aesthetic effectiveness of the Qur'an on some verbal level'.

Norms of Interaction – Interacting with social structure as well as the religious setting, this pertains to the rules of communication unique to such settings, addressing matters such as whether one may interrupt a speaker, whether speech is loud and direct or hushed and private, whether one must take turns or speak simultaneously with others (e.g. a chorus of speaking in different tongues simultaneously, or turn-taking with 'interpretations'). This area is a matter of both practice and management. Differing norms are made patently clear, for example, in the expectations of conservative American Presbyterians who are very quiet in worship services while Pentecostals and African Methodist-Episcopalians, among others, encourage simultaneous responses of 'amen' in the midst of sermons and loud, simultaneous prayers elsewhere in the services. Spolsky and Walters (1985) discuss the different rules for turn-taking of the formal synagogue and the Hassidic *shtibel*. To Western ears, Islamic worship is exotic on both behavioural and linguistic levels. Sometimes its worship invites a mixture of quiet respect and loud affirmation, silent listening or enthusiastic chant and shout.

Genres – Categories of writing or speech are quite important in any situation, and no less in religious ones. The usages of historical narrative, poetry, proverbs, epistles, myths and tales, prayers, lecture or sermon, or songs, are all marked (as distinct from casual speech) and may imply the way in which the contents are to be regarded by the hearer. Some genres convey authority (e.g. epistles and sermons) while others are more informational (narratives and lecture), and still others more reflective and private (poetry and song). Hymes observes (1972: 45) that genres 'often coincide with speech events' but cautions that they 'must be treated as analytically independent of them.' Co-occurrence is typical of religious events: a hymn is sung or chanted, an epistle is read, and in some traditions only certain religious authorities can read certain types of literature. Genre, he notes, interacts with key and tends to influence particular outcomes, e.g. since lectures and sermons

typically are formal speech, their very format implies authority. The Qur'an is essentially divine monologue.[5] It is an unflinching sequence of pronouncements, blessings, commendations, condemnations and exhortations; absent are narrative tales, devotional songs and meandering reflections. Co-occurrence, typical of religious events, is seen in the fact that poetic recitation is the unavoidable means of its public usage; from cleric to muezzin, 'That which is Recited' takes on the same form regardless of culture or venue.

The foregoing adaptation of Hymes' work and illustration via Islam and Qur'an has aimed to clarify the contextual/intervening variables that mediate between the independent variables of social context and the dependent variables of choice of language variety. Fitting well with this approach to religion and language policy are Spolsky's three interrelated aspects of language policy – practice, belief and management – features which are profoundly interconnected and mutually enforcing when it comes to Islam and Arabic, as indicated by R. M. Speight (1989: 24):

> The vehicle of this final revelation was the language, Arabic, not the man, Muhammad, nor the event of Muhammad's call to prophethood. The essential role of the language means that *what* God said is inseparable from the way (the particular language) the thoughts are expressed. So the meaning of the Qur'an cannot be conveyed exactly in any words other than the original Arabic words of the Book…' (italics his)

He cites (1989: 100) as evidence the Muslim scholar Mohammad Hosayn Tabataba'i, who believed that 'Arabic is a powerful and versatile language that can express the subjective states of human beings in the clearest and most precise manner possible. No other language approaches Arabic in this respect.'

This time-honoured view of language, and its implications, has left an indelible print on human societies. The status of Qur'anic Arabic, and by association its related varieties, is assured for the foreseeable future because of its unique relationship to religion, and symbiotically the religion may command prestige wherever the language is a means of communication. These things are predictable and recurrent.

Case Study II: Missionaries and language management

> Because of the close interconnections between economic development and the 'civilizing mission', and because in practice state officials, missionaries and the white executives of the private companies always lend each other a helping hand, the image has emerged that the Belgian Congo in reality was governed by the holy trinity of King–Church–Capital. (*Wikipedia* 'Belgian Congo')

Spolsky's third component of language policy posits in the human agent form that of language managers, and the 'theory assumes that each of the three components [practice, belief, management] constitutes forces which help account for language choice' (2009: 5), and we add that probably the most potent of language managers in the domain of religion are missionaries. This section will explore some of their force at work.

The quotation above on the role of King–Church–Capital in colonization of the Belgian Congo holds as well for most of the colonization that became the 'white man's burden'. Most of South America today speaks the language of the King and Church some 500 years ago; most of Africa has as official language the same language as their colonizers; true also for large parts of South East Asia, and most of that language work was done by missionaries, for better or worse. We recognize the controversial nature of this work, but that is not our concern here.

Paulston (1983 [1974]), drawing on work by Björn Jernudd (1973) and Joan Rubin (1973), discusses as subsets of language planning three stages: language determination, language development, and language implementation. Determination refers to initial decisions among alternate goals and outcomes (choice of medium of education and official language choice are typical examples); development refers to the working out of means and strategies to achieve desired outcomes (the preparation of normative grammars and classroom textbooks are examples); and finally implementation is the actual attempt to bring about the desired goals (the sale of grammars and dictionaries and reading lessons are all implementation endeavours). Missionaries do get involved in determination, usually by default, but most decisions are actually left to the King and his representatives. The King of Spain decided that Indian children were to learn to read in Spanish, and so be it. We can safely assume that such decisions are likely to be made on political or economic grounds rather than on pedagogical. The implementation of that decision involved writing a letter; the heavy lifting was done by missionaries, in this case the monastic orders (Heath 1972).

Most often the initial work involved language description of unwritten, non-Indo-European languages, a truly enormous undertaking. In addition, the practical demands of translation further influenced missionary thinking about language, the formal study of which eventually became a major impetus for the academic discipline of linguistics. To give but one example: many languages have inclusive *we* (all of us guys) and exclusive *we* (my friend and I but not you guys) and, if such forms are unfamiliar, this inclusive/exclusive feature of the first person plural pronoun is far from immediately apparent. So it is not surprising that the poor Jesuits inadvertently translated 'Our Father' with exclusive *we*, and subsequently discovered to their horror the Aymara Indians' interpretation of a God-for-white-folk-only, which notion was the last on earth that the Jesuits had intended.

We know of no major study which seeks to incorporate and consider systematically the factors which influence missionary decision making, but in general terms using Spolsky's framework it is clear that existing practice joined with religious belief combined and led to a language management which melded pragmatism with ideology, a truly powerful admixture. When missionaries in what is today Tanzania arrived in the 1860s, they found Swahili, an indigenous language, already in use as a major lingua franca in the Arab-controlled monsoon trade. Swahili was the obvious pragmatic choice for the missionaries. The practice of Swahili was well established with a writing tradition in the Arabic script (they changed that) and their Protestant belief system argued for worship, with translation and reading of the New Testament in a language the local population could understand. Rather, a discussion of factors influencing missionary decision making is to be found in individual case studies, which entails that ordinarily such studies carry in and by themselves virtually no generalizability. On the other hand, taken together, they provide a great deal of data for testing propositions and model making.

Most missionary case studies deal with ethnographies and linguistic analyses of various kinds [6] or with educational issues of bilingual education, such as Larson and Davis' *Bilingual Education: An Experience in Peruvian Amazonia* (1981). Most missionary linguistic work comes under the heading of corpus planning and is highly skilled, talented and technical. Apart from language (dialect, variety, script, orthography) selection, it involves working oral, linguistic forms into pedagogical and descriptive grammars, developing textbooks for literacy, assessing language vitality, etc., always with the goal of producing the best possible translation of Holy Writ (Lewis 2001).

But there are also exceptions, like Clinton Robinson's *Language Use in Rural Development* (1996) about his work of ten years with the *Société Internationale de Linguistique* in Cameroon. SIL International, formerly Summer Institute of Linguistics, affiliated with Wycliffe Bible Translators, is one of the world's largest Protestant missionary organizations and recognized for having provided an alphabet for many of the world's isolated and ignored languages.

Robinson addresses the question of language choice and use in development intervention, and argues for the use of local language in rural development using a novel approach of cross-disciplinary perspective from sociolinguistics and economic development studies.

> Official development policies aim at grassroots involvement, yet this appears to take place largely outside government structures. Language practice over the years shows a constant tension between local and official languages, yet this ambiguity is hardly addressed, much less resolved in official policy. (1996: 137)

Robinson finds two key issues to be those of identity and power, development being one of the interfaces between ex-colonialist administration and traditional African society, with the problem that the former dominates and cannot meet the needs of people whose local culture is traditionally African.

Robinson does not question the notion of rural, economic development, just as missionaries as a rule do not question their assignments. Development, however, has been extensively problematized and written critically about in a post-colonialist movement by Third World intellectuals, from Edward Said to Homi Bhabha and Arturo Escobar: '… in order to make room for other types of knowledge and experience. The process of unmaking development, however, is slow and painful, and there are no easy solutions and prescriptions' (Escobar 1995: 216–17; see also Martinussen 1997). Ironically Robinson's concern for local input, a people's voice, culturally appropriate change, echoes the points Escobar makes in criticism of development. Ultimately strongly held ideology trumps pragmatism as input for language choice, but even when they are unanimous, they cannot override centralized power of the government as language manager in determination decisions.[7]

There are no easy solutions, and the use of local languages is not easy, nor is it likely to be a solution in the face of oppression and exploitation, of poverty and malnutrition, in Escobar's terminology. But in the twenty-first century, global interconnections of interventions, if only in the form of health care, are unavoidable. Missionaries may be forced into being pragmatic; they have a set and finite task to achieve, and whatever achievements for which intellectuals merit recognition, it is not pragmatism. This section is not intended as an *apologia* for missionaries; it is only a cursory exploration of their role in language planning in order to illustrate the interconnection between language, religion and language policy of, we remind the reader, its manifestation within social institutions.

Explicit or implicit, language policies have predetermined goals, but that is not to say that there are not unintended outcomes, or as Fishman once called them 'unexpected system linkages' (1973). Usually these are of a negative nature and difficult to find accounts of, but we also have language policies which had positive if unexpected results. Most failure, to use an old-fashioned expression, is of the status planning kind, but we also have corpus planning differences of approach which can lead grown men to cry real tears in public when recounting them, in this particular case at a conference presentation on whether Gallego should use *ny* or *ñ* in its writing system (see also Edwards 2009). Also, in Guatemala there has been serious linguistic feuding over how to spell a Mayan language, Quiché or K'iche'. In either case, it is of course not just a choice of letters which gives rise to differences of opinion, but rather the principles which underlie the choice: in the Galicia case, a matter of regional nationalism

(Keating and McGarry 2001), an ideology men have been willing to risk their lives for; in Guatemala, a question of introducing new symbols or using a pattern already in use in Spanish (cf. Quechua, an Andean language). It should be readily apparent that evaluation of these cases of corpus planning is dependent on the values of whoever does the evaluating, and it is misleading to discuss them as success or failure without very careful specification of linguistic criteria. The cases look identical on the surface; they are both concerned with the imposition of Spanish language orthography. The passionate nationalist (he was not a missionary) had no linguistic criteria – he was basically anti-Castilian – but his case together with the Quiché will serve to illustrate how easily confusion can lead one to believe that language policy is about language. Status planning most often is not.

In 1885, the Berlin Conference, convened by Otto von Bismarck, strange as it seems 'gave' King Leopold II of Belgium as his personal property the territory constituted as the Congo Free State, today known as the Democratic Republic of Congo. To cut a long, infamous and bloody affair short, Leopold attempted to run his property, as absentee kings often do, with what amounted to a mercenary army, complete with white officers and black soldiers. The majority of the Belgian officers were Flemish and paid slight attention to enforcing official French, but allowed the soldiers under their command to use the local lingua franca Lingala, a pidgin language, with little respect (L. Musaba, Personal communication, 1975; see also Fabian 1986: 33–41). However, Lingala spread with the army and is today creolizing with about two million native speakers and is a national language of the DRC. 'Standard Lingala (*Lingala littéraire*) is historically associated with the work of the Catholic Church and missionaries' (Lingala Language, Wikipedia). King Leopold's intended aspiration was to gain prestige for his small and rather recent country; certainly the vitality, spread, and standardization of a lowly trade language was not his intended outcome – though surely every linguist who hears of this episode in the language history of Africa will consider it a positive, albeit unplanned, outcome.

This age-old relationship, then, between religion and language, and its implications, has left an indelible imprint on human societies. The status of sacred languages, and by association their related varieties, is assured for the foreseeable future because of their unique relationship to religion, and symbiotically the religion may command prestige wherever the language continues as a means of conversation. These matters are predictable and recurrent, and this chapter is an attempt to map future directions of scholarship.

18

Language policy in the family

Stephen J. Caldas

Introduction: Family as start and end of language policy

All meaningful language policy is ultimately played out in the home. Except for perhaps a medical doctor or midwife, the first words a child hears upon entering this world are those of his or her mother, and, to a generally lesser extent, father. This reality is reflected in the expression 'mother tongue'. Unless the child is immediately whisked away to the care of others, he or she is immersed in the linguistic amniotic fluid of the mother tongue for many years after birth. Since most children do not begin schooling until ages 5 or 6 (if they are afforded elementary schooling at all, which is not the case for many children in third world countries), the child's near total exposure to only the home language (or languages) takes place during the most important linguistically formative years of one's life (Döpke 2000). The child quickly becomes 'fluent' in his or her mother-tongue, and it is this home tongue (or tongues) with which the child will speak with the least amount of effort for the rest of his or her life

What is family language policy?

For the vast majority of families, the family language policy is not consciously planned, but rather has essentially been predetermined by history and circumstances beyond the family's control. It is 'invisible' (Pakir 1994, 2003). The 'default' home language policy for most is to always speak the native tongue of the mother, who bears the brunt of childrearing (Thompson 1991), or the mother and father, in the case of parents who are bilingual, or who each speak different languages to the child. In short, the vast majority of parents do not strategically plot and plan family language policy. As will be shown in this chapter, governments,

using legal and regulatory means, try to influence the linguistic choices of their citizens. However, where government policies run contrary to the interests of families, and/or ignore the sociolinguistic realities of the societies they are trying to influence, they have little practical effect on the 'invisible' family language policy (Seidlhofer 2003; Spolsky and Shohamy 1999b).

As noted by King, Fogle and Terry (2008: 907), the new field of family language policy focuses more on the visible 'explicit and overt planning in relation to language use within the home among family members' in contrast to the explicit language planning of governments. For example, making the explicit decision to rear bilingual children, once considered the purview of the elite class (Lambert 1975), is becoming more and more commonplace among the 'non-elites' (Barron-Hauwaert 2004; King and Fogle 2006a: 696). Planning and plotting to rear children who speak two or more languages is an increasingly mainstream, middle-class practice somewhat along the lines of parents who want to provide as much enrichment to their children as possible (Barron-Hauwaert 2004; Curdt-Christiansen 2009; King and Fogle 2006a). In other words, for some parents, adding a second or third language to a child's linguistic repertoire is seen as giving an important advantage and enhanced social capital to their children (Curdt-Christiansen 2009), much like offering them years of private music lessons, summer camp experiences, or advanced math tutoring.

Only a relatively small percentage of all families probably make overt, explicit choices on which languages to speak in the home, and strategize as to how to rear their children to speak more than one language. The sociolinguistic reality is that family language policies lie along a continuum ranging from the highly planned and orchestrated, to the invisible, laissez-faire practices of most families. Somewhere in between are found the pragmatically inspired language strategies employed by families in sociolinguistic contexts that confront them with real choices that have real consequences for their children.

Why a family language policy?

So, what motivates parents to make explicit choices about which languages to speak in the home? In a study by King and Fogel (2006a), parents often made vague references to research that suggested bilingual children had some sort of cognitive advantage. Other parents want to maintain the heritage language of the family, culture or ancestral country of origin, like Russian among immigrant families in Israel (Kopeliovich 2009) or Māori among New Zealand's indigenous inhabitants (Te Puni Kōkiri 2006a). Cajun parents in Louisiana decided *not* to speak to their children in French, and spare them the social humiliation

to which the parents had been subjected (Caldas 2006). Still other parents want to confer a positive economic advantage on their children, like the Chinese immigrants in Montreal, Canada (Curdt-Christiansen 2009). Government efforts to influence family language policy range from the highly successful, as was the case with promoting Hebrew and French in Israel and Quebec, respectively, to the dismal failure of the Louisiana government to promote the speaking of Cajun French in Louisiana. This chapter considers each of the cases mentioned above in more detail, as they represent important sociolinguistic contexts that influence family language policies. One thing is certain: for endangered languages like Cajun and Creole in Louisiana, if communities and families do not adopt proactive policies to promote the speaking of these languages amongst the young, the languages and associated cultures will be lost forever. The case of language extinction occurred most recently with the death of the last speaker of the Bo language, one of the Great Andamanese languages that had been spoken for millennia on the Andaman Islands off the east coast of India (Harmeet Shah Singh 2010). There was no one left with whom the last, elderly speaker of Bo could converse.

Rearing bilingual children

Rearing children bilingually is perhaps the most commonly practised family language policy among parents who make explicit language decisions for their children. King and Fogle (2006a) studied twenty-four families who had adopted a bilingual family language policy, and discovered three major influences on these parents' language strategies. These influences included information contained in the popular press (and to a much lesser extent research), the experiences of other extended family members, and their own personal experiences with languages. By far the most important factor which framed the parents' family language policy was the personal experiences of the parents. According to a study by Barron-Hauwaert (2004), the most important source of information on *how* to rear bilingual children came from books – though not always authoritative ones – on bilingualism. Even though these parents might not have been able to point to specific scientific studies to justify their strategies, they were able to distill out some important findings of linguistic research. For example, many parents indicated that they had gleaned the salient finding that the earlier they began their bilingual family language policy, the better. If parents want children who speak with native-like fluency, then this belief is correct, since the window of opportunity to speak like a native may close as early as age six (Ellis 1995). Also, a common characteristic of the King and Fogle families was that they had a pioneering spirit and were bucking the 'negative' child-rearing examples of family and friends (2006a: 703).

Though some families may explicitly devise an initial bilingual strategy, family language policies are rarely rigid. Rather, they likely evolve with the changing dynamics of family life, are adjusted to account for their perceived effectiveness, or are 'negotiated' between family members (Barron-Hauwaert 2004; Caldas 2006; Lanza 2004). The language policy a family may start out with is not always the policy that they end up with, in part because the initial idea might not prove effective, or at some point social pressures intervene to make the initially appropriate choice counterproductive, as Caldas (2006) discovered with adolescents. Barron-Hauwaert (2004) noted that about twenty per cent of the families in her study changed their initial bilingual strategies over time.

This growing desire of some parents to explicitly rear bilingual children is in part evidenced by the burgeoning interest in dual-language programmes (also known as 'two-way immersion' programmes), where children from majority and minority language backgrounds are educated together in each others' languages (Lindholm-Leary 2001). Especially in the United States, middle-class parents are becoming increasing assertive about having their children educated bilingually, and they are increasingly dissatisfied by traditional language approaches used by schools which are not effective (Montague 2000). Likewise, minority language families in the United States and elsewhere are increasingly strident in their demands that schools maintain and further their children's heritage language skills, in addition to teaching them English.

One-parent-one-language family language policy

One of the most common language policies employed by parents desiring to expressly rear bilingual children is the 'One-parent-one-language' strategy (Barron-Hauwaert 2004; Döpke 1992). This strategy involves each parent speaking in only one language to the child, typically the parent's native tongue. This approach was first championed by French linguist Maurice Grammont in a book he published in 1902 as the optimal way to rear bilingual children who would not mix up their two languages. Jules Ronjat (1913) methodically and successfully applied Grammont's method in one of the first scientifically documented family projects to rear a bilingual child from birth. Ronjat spoke only French to his son, while the child's mother spoke only German. One reason for the continued popularity of this approach is the non-research based notion that such a strategy helps keep the child from becoming linguistically confused (Eisenberg, Murkoff and Hathoway 1989) or that language delay is the result of this confusion (King and Fogle 2006b). There is no solid evidence that language confusion or language delay is caused by rearing children to be bilingual, regardless of the family strategy used (Lanza 1992; King and Fogle 2006b).

The author of this chapter and his wife implemented the one-parent–one-language strategy in their own home for the first year and a half of their oldest child's life, but in the pragmatic spirit of flexibility mentioned earlier, changed the strategy and both began speaking only the minority language – French – in their Louisiana and Quebec homes (Caldas 2006). We felt that our infant son, who was developmentally late to begin speaking any language, was exposed to too much English in his daily routine in Louisiana. Indeed, our identical twin girls who followed two years later (and to whom we only spoke French) were even more delayed in their speaking. However, all three children ultimately spoke both languages fluently and with very little language confusion (but with perfectly normal code-switching).

Romaine (1995) noted that a common outcome in families who employ the one-parent-one-language approach is children who can understand both languages, but only speak the majority language of the community in which they live. These children have a sort of passive bilingualism, which means that they can understand both languages, but generally speak only one of them (Döpke 1992; Yamamoto 1995). Thus, a second strategy which some parents follow (whether by design or necessity) is to speak only the minority language in the home, a strategy which ultimately worked extremely well in the case of the author's family, once we abandoned the one-parent-one-language strategy.

In short, passive bilingualism may result because the child is not exposed to enough of one of the two household languages, or is not put into situations where they must speak the minority language (Caldas 2006). There is research evidence that the one-parent-one-language approach is effective in producing bilingual children, but parents need to be very consistent in their application of the approach, and they must interact frequently and constantly with their children in their designated language (Bain and Yu 1980). Pearson, Fernandez, Lewedeg and Oller (1997) found that to produce balanced bilinguals, a child needs from 40–60 per cent exposure to both languages.

Lanza (1997) spoke of a 'Bilingual–Monolingual Interaction Strategy' which was a much more flexible and situational response to the one-parent-one-language approach. This might involve one parent strictly enforcing the speaking of only one language with the child, while the second parent might speak both languages with the child. Lanza noted that there were several techniques which parents employed to signal to their child to switch back to the parental language. These include the parent pretending not to understand the child's utterance, pretending to guess the child's utterance, repeating the child's utterance in the appropriate tongue, and answering the child's utterance in the target tongue.

According to Barron-Hauwaert's study (2004), most parents employing the one-parent-one-language were not even aware that they were code-switching with their children (shifting from speaking their mother tongue

to the other family language), insisting that they only spoke one language with the child. She noted that there was a lot of variation between families in how much code-switching was accepted from children. Barron-Hauwaert also found that among her sample of parents, more language mixing took place with older children, as parents tended to apply the one-parent-one-language strategy with less strictness. She hypothesized that this might be the case because older children were better masters of their two languages, and that being aware of this, parents felt they could relax their efforts. Indeed, some research suggests that it is more important to adhere to the one-parent-one-language strategy with younger children (Taeschner 1983). In the case of the author's family, speaking the minority language around our adolescent children in majority monolingual environments simply seemed ridiculous at times and not a natural or sustainable phenomenon at all. As with rearing adolescents in general, the best family bilingual language policy with children in their teens should probably include a healthy dose of flexibility.

Peer influences on bilingual family language policies

Even the best efforts of parents to implement explicit bilingual family language policies can be thwarted by the external environments into which they send their children. This reality suggests that successful bilingual family language policies are more likely to be found in families where parents choose their children's external environments carefully. Parents do have at least some measure of control over where they buy or rent their homes, the jobs they accept, the schools/programmes they enroll their children in, and where they vacation.

Perhaps the most poisonous external environment to a bilingual family language policy is that of a child's peer group. Particularly during adolescence, if a child's peer group does not speak the minority language being spoken in the home, then it is very likely that the child will not speak the home language either. This holds true even within the home and beyond the earshot of friends if the family also has the capability in communicating in the majority language (Caldas 2002, 2006). Thus, parents who do not entirely understand this important principle of Language Socialization theory could easily be discouraged and give up on efforts to ensure their child progresses in knowledge of the home minority language, especially after their children become adolescents (see Ochs and Schieffelin 1984, for a discussion of language socialization theory).

However, knowledge of the theory can also be used to the benefit of a family's bilingual language policy during adolescence. Parents can strategize to periodically immerse their children in an environment where the children's peers speak only the minority language, perhaps with

relatives or at summer camps in the mother's or father's native country over the long summer vacations from school. In social milieus where only the home minority language is spoken by same-aged youth, the children would feel pressure to conform linguistically to the language norms of their new peer groups, and speak the home language with friends (Caldas 2002). Indeed, this family strategy, if it could be implemented, would push the child to excel at speaking the home language in a way that all the parental effort in the world might not match.

Family structure and bilingual family language policy

Another potentially important influence on the success of a family's language policy is the presence of siblings. Parents have much more control over language usage with only one child in the family. However, when siblings arrive, language dynamics change considerably, and parents lose a measure of control. Whereas the parent could exert his or her influence on the only child by using the strategies mentioned above to encourage the child to speak the target language, parents have essentially no direct control over which languages siblings choose to speak amongst themselves. The siblings themselves, though, might exert pressure on each other to follow the family plan, as was the case in the author's family. The pre-adolescent twin girls were screaming at their recalcitrant adolescent brother to 'Parlez francais!' when he insisted on speaking English in the Louisiana home. However, a few years later the siblings were reinforcing each other's English speaking, undermining our bilingual family language policy.

Bilingual family language policy and Educational Options

Parents rearing bilingual (or multilingual) children have essentially four schooling options, depending upon where they live (Barron-Hauwaert 2004). They can send their child to: (1) a monolingual school in the majority language, (2) a monolingual school in the minority language, (3) a bilingual school offering both family languages, or (4) a school offering a third language (Barron-Hauwaert 2004). Obviously, one of the most important considerations in choosing a formal educational option is whether the family wants multiliterate as well as multilingual children. One truth is certain: formal schooling introduces perhaps the most important outside influence (for better or worse) on a family's strategy to rear multiliterate/multilingual children, in part because schooling and peer group influences are inseparable.

In Barron-Hauwaert's study of ninety-eight bilingual families, fully 92 per cent of the families indicated that they sent their children to

monolingual majority language schools. This option may well be the default option, as it is probably the easiest and least expensive. But it may not be the best option for rearing balanced bilinguals, as the child may be exposed to much more of the majority language at the expense of the family minority language, especially if only one parent is speaking the minority tongue. Moreover, rearing multiliterate children becomes even more difficult if they are being formally educated in only the majority language.

Though not available to everyone, a bilingual schooling option offering instruction in both of the family's languages is probably the most effective educational option for rearing bilingual/biliterate children (Baker 2000). The best bilingual schooling option is a setting that provides approximately equal instructional time in both languages, like a dual language programme. A two-way dual language classroom typically includes native speakers of both target languages (i.e., Spanish and English speakers in the US), and provides a roughly 50/50 mix of instruction in both languages. Another similar schooling option is a one-way language immersion programme that also offers an approximately 50/50 mix of instruction in both target languages. In a one-way immersion programme only majority language students sit together in the same classrooms which are typically instructed by native speakers of the minority language. This is the case with Louisiana's many French-immersion programmes. Since language socialization theory underscores the importance of peers on learning and speaking a language, the two-way dual language programme would be the superior bilingual option, since majority language children are interacting socially with children who are native speakers of the minority language in an environment where the minority language has equal status with the majority language.

Unfortunately, one-way and two-way dual language programmes are not universally available, and parents dedicated to ensuring that their children grow up as balanced bilinguals must seek alternative schooling options that support their bilingual family language policy. Some families choose the option of enrolling their children in a minority language school so that the child will have more exposure to the minority language although living in a community where the majority language is spoken. An example of this would be a French/English family living in England, but choosing to enrol their child in a French international school. Though this option would be a counter-balance to the strong societal English influences, it also segregates the child at least to some extent from normal peer interactions in the local community. This is a situation that many children would resent, and many parents would find unacceptable.

Another very important influence on families rearing multilingual children, and one that needs to be taken seriously when choosing formal schooling, is culture. Language is inexorably linked with culture

(Fishman 1985), and children thus absorb the culture through the acquisition of their languages (Harris 1995). Thus, multilingual children are also multicultural children. Parents who choose the minority, monolingual schooling option, are therefore emphasizing the minority language (and therefore culture) at the expense of their children's full linguistic and cultural immersion in the dominant majority peer culture. Few families choose this option, in part because few children want to be isolated from their mainstream majority peer culture (Barron-Hauwaert 2004). On the other hand, the mainstream peer culture, especially for adolescents and especially in the United States, can suffocate the minority language and culture (Caldas 2006; Phinney 1993), and even stymie a child's academic development (Steinberg 1997).

For all practical purposes, though, it seems realistic to expect that most parents will enrol their children in the local monolingual majority language school. This strategy presents a myriad of obstacles to parents' intent on ensuring that their children continue to speak, not to mention learn to read and write, the home language. The child will be under intense pressure from students and teachers to conform to the linguistic and academic norms of the monolingual school, and will be assigned homework in the majority language that at least at the primary level will require parental assistance to complete. Based on this researcher's own family experience, it was impossible to speak only the minority language while working with his children on homework in the majority language (Caldas 2006). There were nightly readings to do in English, new English terms to learn, math to be performed only in English, and social studies/science with so many English terms that often it made no sense to speak anything but English while doing homework.

An antidote to the constant intrusion of the school majority academic language is exposing the children to the written minority language in the home. In this author's informed opinion, the easiest, most pleasant, and most natural way to do this is by reading to the children in books written in the minority language. This practice can begin well before the child is exposed to formal schooling in the majority language, and indeed, even before the child begins to speak any language at all. The private, intimate time spent together is also building the essential parent–child social capital that is crucial for the social, emotional and academic well-being of the child. Additionally, research suggests that the stronger a child is academically in his or her minority home language, the more quickly he or she will learn the majority language (Collier 1992; Echevarria and Graves 2003). Thus, it may well be in the child's best interest to develop the speaking, reading and writing skills in the L1 minority languages to the greatest extent possible before the child begins formal schooling in the L2 majority language.

If using the one-parent-one-language policy, a potentially even more effective approach would be for each parent to read to the young child

in his/her native language. Thus, the child begins to develop biliteracy even before entering a formal educational setting, and would be better prepared for either monolingual or bilingual schooling.

There are many supplemental educational options for parents in addition to the standard formal Monday to Friday schooling. In order to supplement the reading or tutoring in the minority home language, parents may be able to enrol their children in Saturday schooling in the home language, which is a popular option for many parents who want to provide additional instruction in Korean, Chinese and Hebrew (see Curdt-Christiansen 2009, for successful example of Chinese Saturday schooling).

Family language policy in sociolinguistic contexts around the globe

As already noted, family language policies are not developed and implemented in a vacuum, but are shaped by the historical, social, economic and political environments within which families live. To illustrate the importance of social context on family language policy, I present four different cases from around the globe to demonstrate the different language policies families adopt (or don't), depending upon their differing sociolinguistic environments. I consider Māori in New Zealand, Russian in Israel, French in Louisiana, and English, French and Chinese in Montreal, Canada.

The preservation of Māori: a case study in government support for family language policy

Like Cajun and Creole French in Louisiana, the indigenous Māori language of New Zealand was well on the way to disappearing during the twentieth century (King, Harlow, Ray, Watson and Keegan 2009). Only about 14 per cent of the Māori population of New Zealand still speak the language well or very well (Te Puni Kōkiri 2006b). The intergenerational transfer of the Māori language almost ended with the large scale migration of Māori families from all-Māori speaking rural communities to virtually all-English speaking urban and suburban centres of New Zealand after the Second World War. The New Zealand government had an integrative policy of 'pepper potting' (distributing Māori families throughout English-speaking neighbourhoods) in an effort to more completely integrate them into English-speaking society (Te Puni Kokiri 2006b). During this period, according to Biggs, 'Māori parents throughout the country seem to have made a collective decision (albeit unconsciously) to use English rather than Māori in bringing up their children' (cited in Benton 1981: 86). English proficiency was a necessary

prerequisite for participation in much of New Zealand's economic system.

The late 1970s marked the beginning of a concerted effort to preserve the Māori language, an endeavour increasingly supported and funded by the New Zealand government. In 1987 the government-funded Māori Language Commission was established to promote the use of Māori. Māori radio stations sprang up across the country. Māori school immersion and bilingual programmes were started. The Community Based Language Initiative, administered by the Department of Education (1989), has overseen the development of plans to encourage community and family usage of Māori. In 2003 the Māori Television Service was established, and now boasts two stations which broadcast exclusively in Māori, giving parents the option of exposing their children to television broadcasts in the endangered heritage language. A Māori dictionary was completed with government funding, and glossaries of words in various subject areas were created to increase the vocabulary of modern Māori terms. The government subsidizes in full the tuition to attend many university courses offered in Māori. In short, there is a major push among the Māori, supported by tens of millions of government dollars, to encourage the use of the language at all levels, especially in the family (or 'whānau') (Te Taura Whiri 2007). The government directly funds initiatives to target resources to 'whānau' 'where Māori children are present' (ibid.: 34), in the hope that there will be an intergenerational transfer of the language.

Government-funded Māori researchers are carefully tracking the language usage of families and societal attitudes towards Māori. Surveys are regularly administered to New Zealanders to determine who is speaking Māori to whom within families. The government is also interested in determining what are the primary motivators for Māori to learn their heritage language. In a study of thirty-two adult Māori aimed in part at determining why they wanted to learn the language, four major motivators were uncovered: 'a quasi-religious worldview', 'New Age humanism', 'a connection with ancestors and Māori culture' and a 'connection with a kaupapa Māori philosophy' (King 2009: 99). There was no mention, however, of the need to learn the language for economic purposes.

No doubt as a result of so multifaceted an effort by so many sectors of New Zealand society, there has been a small but steady increase in the percentage of Māori who indicate that they are proficient in reading, writing, speaking and understanding the language (Te Puni Kokiri 2006b). Though many Māori reported learning the language from taking classes, watching/listening to TV/radio, or talking with neighbours, a significant number indicated they were learning the language through interaction with family members. According to a comprehensive evaluation of Māori language proficiency and usage, 'there is a growing minority of people using Māori as a key language of communication to children' (Te Puni Kokiri 2006b: 34).

So we see the positive influences of a major societal effort, funded and supported by government, to preserve a heritage language. However, this effort came late in process of language shift, when only a small percentage of the population still spoke Māori, and most Māori already spoke the dominant language of English. Moreover, there is not really an economic incentive in New Zealand to learn Māori. The verdict is still out as to whether this all-out push to preserve Māori will influence family language policy to the extent necessary to ensure the language's large-scale intergenerational transfer to future generations of New Zealanders.

The preservation of Russian speaking among immigrants to Israel

Russian speaking in Israel presents the case of a very large immigrant group with a well-established language, confronting an overwhelmingly monolingual environment, and quickly acquiescing to the new linguistic reality. Since the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991, roughly one million Russian Jews have immigrated to Israel. In the early years of this massive wave of immigration, there was some hope that with so many native speakers of Russian, the immigrant population might be able to retain their language in the face of strong Hebrew hegemony in Israel (Spolsky and Shohamy 1999). This hope was bolstered by the Israeli Ministry of Education (1995) which for the first time issued a policy encouraging immigrants to Israel to maintain their mother tongues. Indeed, the policy specifically singled out Russian. However, the hope that the language shift of Russian immigrants to Hebrew might be slowed by a policy proclamation was apparently wishful thinking along the lines of King Canute thinking he could control the tides by simply holding up his hand.

There was a perceived need among the Russian immigrants to quickly acquire Hebrew as a means of integrating more completely into Israeli society, and as a consequence, many families did not feel the need to maintain Russian speaking in the home. According to Shulamit Kopeliovich, who has studied the efforts of Russian immigrant families to preserve their heritage language, 'If anything, the rapid acquisition of Hebrew in order to cope with schooling seemed much more important than the preservation of Russian' (personal communication, 8 February 2010). Though the loss of Russian among some immigrant families was not considered problematic, other families, wanting to maintain their heritage language, have fought an uphill battle to pass on Russian speaking to their children (Kopeliovich 2009). But it is quite possible that the struggle was a lost cause from very early on in the process.

As early as 1992, a vast majority of Russian immigrant adolescents who had been in Israel for between three and thirty months were already indicating on a survey that they did not feel it was important to preserve the Russian language, or to speak the language at home or with

their Russian-speaking friends (Kraemer, Zisenwine, Keren, Levy, and Schers 1995). And even though most of these youths reported not speaking Hebrew well, only about half of the survey takers indicated they did not want to speak Hebrew in the home, indicating that the other half felt speaking Hebrew (a tongue they had not yet mastered with their Russian-speaking family members) was important! Such is the hegemony of Hebrew in Israel.

According to Kopeliovich, the dynamics in Israeli society in general, and schooling in particular, are not healthy ones for the preservation of Russian speaking (nor, apparently, for any other languages except perhaps English and Arabic (B. Spolsky, personal communication, 22 February 2010). Though the Israeli government has officially embraced multilingualism, the stated government position alone appears no more likely to preserve Russian speaking in Israel than Louisiana's 1968 endorsement of promoting French was going to save the quickly disappearing minority tongue of the Bayou State. While pro-government action might be an important pre-requisite to helping foster language usage, families must have a strong and intrinsic interest to actually speak the language at home. In the case of Russian speaking within Israeli immigrant families, social and economic pressures to speak Hebrew, and not the minority tongue, have simply been too strong for most families to resist.

Families cannot isolate themselves from the sociolinguistic context of a larger community. Even very motivated families with the knowledge and resources to foster the maintenance of the home minority tongue were, according to Kopeliovich, swimming upstream in their efforts. This is not surprising, though. Language socialization theory, which emphasizes the important influence of peers on language learning and usage, would predict what Kopeliovich discovered (Caldas 2007; Garrett and Baquedano-Lopez 2002; Watson-Gegeo 2004). Harris (1995) noted well, and we are seeing this with Russian-speaking children in Israel, that children acquire both the language and norms of their peer groups. These peer norms (which are reflective of the larger societal linguistic norms, especially among adolescents), can have a greater influence on the children's behaviour than even their home environment (Caldas and Caron-Caldas 2002). Kopeliovich observed that even among motivated Russian immigrant families with the position, status, resources and knowledge to implement what should have been a successful family language policy to preserve Russian speaking in the home, only moderate success was achieved.

Kopeliovich's work (2009) dug deeper than simply considering the dichotomy of the degree to which children were speaking either Russian or Hebrew at home. She noted that family policies which use so simplistic a gauge of success are bound to be disappointed. She pointed out the reality that the interplay between the two languages created an

interesting convergence and fusion, which makes it impossible to uphold a 'pure' standard which could ever realistically be attainable. Indeed, she noted that children were puzzled at their parents' requests to speak 'the good Russian', when the vocabulary and grammatical structures of both languages were influencing each other in subtle ways and creating a perfectly legitimate (in the children's minds) contact variety of Russian. It didn't help that the parents, too, were code-switching and using the same contact variety of Hebrew-influenced Russian as their children, modelling the linguistic behaviour they were railing against (not practising what they were preaching, if you will).

I present an example from my own family bilingual research project which illustrates the difficulty in passing along a 'pure' version of a language. All of my family members adopted the French expression *banc jaune* to refer to the 'yellow bench' in our home, regardless of what language we were speaking. I never heard the word 'yellow bench' even once, and had I used this expression, I'm sure I would have received puzzled looks. It would have therefore been completely futile and even pointless to order that everyone suddenly refer to this structure as 'the yellow bench' when speaking English, and to measure the success of our family project on the purity of the unadulterated English and French we spoke. The reality is that language is dynamic and constantly changing (consider the new official terms 'texting' and 'sexting' which have been formally adopted into the English dictionary), and the dynamics of family speech are simply microcosms of what happens on a societal level.

In the long run, though, it appears that even the contact variety of Russian currently spoken in Israel may disappear. Due to the sociolinguistic dynamics operating in Israel, Russian speaking there may have no more hope of survival on a broad scale than did Greek speaking in the same region 2,000 years earlier. This is also the sober assessment of the sociolinguist Bernard Spolsky, who would like to see the survival of the immigrant languages brought to Israel, specifically Russian, but acknowledges the hegemony of Hebrew (personal communication, 22 February, 2010). Ironically, it in part took concerted, coordinated and planned community pressure from early in the twentieth century and after 1948 governmental action to promote Hebrew, a language that had not been widely spoken for two millennia, to the status it currently enjoys in Israel. The powerfully reinforcing 'Speak Hebrew!' norms of the Kibbutzim in Israel were, it seems to this author, just as important in encouraging children to speak Hebrew in their families as was governmental fiat (see Spolsky and Shohamy 1999, for a treatment of the revitalization and revernacularization of Hebrew in modern Israel). Ultimately, one would need to speak Hebrew in order to participate fully in Israeli society, and this point is lost on no one today: not Russian, Arab or any other citizen of the Jewish state.

Family language policy in French Louisiana and French Canada: a study in contrasts

Nouvelle France 'New France' once constituted a large swathe of North America, stretching from near the Arctic regions of what is now the Province of Quebec to the subtropics of coastal Louisiana. However, the British military conquests of 1759 coupled with the Treaty of Paris in 1763 ceded the northern part of this French territory to England, and the southern part – Louisiana – to Spain. French speakers have remained a majority of the population in Quebec to the present day. However, the native French speakers of Louisiana, a territory briefly re-acquired by France in 1800, sold to the US in 1803, and formed into a state in 1812, are on the verge of extinction on account of families' refusal to pass along a perceived linguistic handicap.

The fate of the Gallic tongue in North America was the consequence of a combination of government action (or inaction), social, political and economic pressures that influenced families in Quebec and Louisiana to pass along, or not pass along, French. During the twentieth century, Québécois, in the face of encroaching English hegemony, made the daring and bold choice to preserve and even enshrine French, while Louisianans chose to do just the opposite, until it was too late to significantly reverse the language shift to English.

What caused Louisiana mothers to stop speaking French to their young? In short, the death of French among Louisiana native Cajuns and Black Creoles was the result of larger social forces which influenced societal linguistic norms that in turn fostered the passage of anti-French speaking laws and educational policy. When Louisiana became a state in 1812, a majority of its citizens spoke French, which had co-opted even the Spanish of the territory's temporary custodian. French continued as a vibrant, growing language, with several variants, including the strain introduced by Acadian immigrants deported from maritime Canada by the British beginning in 1755, and Haitian French introduced by refugees (Black and White) fleeing the Haitian revolution of 1803.

French in Louisiana remained one of the most tenacious minority languages in the United States. It successfully resisted the onslaught of English throughout the 1800s and into the early twentieth century, while during the same period most other minority languages in North America, like the Scandinavian tongues, German, Polish and Italian, were being quickly extinguished. There are many examples of the extreme pride that infused the French descendants of Louisiana, from their waving French flags and declaring themselves French citizens during the Civil War (a half century after becoming a state!) to Cajuns referring to all English-speaking Louisianans as '*Les Américains*' 200 years after Jefferson bought the land from France! However, even such deep-seeded ethnic and linguistic pride could not withstand the post First World War xenophobia

and isolationist sentiment which swept over the United States, and cast the state's native French-speakers in a socially unfavourable light.

In short, it was American nationalism that was largely responsible for ultimately crushing French speaking in Louisiana, as it has done with most every other immigrant tongue, except Spanish, protected by continuing immigration. Narrow nationalism manifested itself through the passage of laws forbidding teaching in French in Louisiana schools in 1921, and the creation of a public atmosphere which was hostile to languages other than English and non-mainstream cultures (Amédée 2004; Ancelet 1989; Caldas 1998). This very public force had tragic private consequences for Cajun family language policy. This author and others have documented a multitude of cases where bilingual French–English speaking parents in Louisiana during the 1920s through 1960s expressly refused to speak in French to their children for fear of passing along the humiliation that they had been exposed to in school (Ancelet 1989; Caldas 2006). In the 1920s and 1930s, Cajun children were whipped, forced to kneel on rice, stand in the corner, and in general ridiculed for speaking French on school grounds, in both public and Catholic schools. One woman from the swamp community of Pierre Part where French is still spoken by a few ageing residents, recounted to the author how as a young girl her accented English was punctuated with French words, including *mais* (but), and how that she was frequently forced to write hundreds of times the line 'I will not say *mais* in school' as punishment for slipping up and speaking this word (she even wrote the lines in advance of the linguistic infraction she knew she was going to commit). She was also ridiculed by a nun at her Catholic school for having so heavy an accent, an action which today would be grounds for dismissal.

Cajuns internalized the popular negative stereotypes about their culture and language, and passed these stereotypes along to their children. For example, another woman recounted to the author how her mother – a Cajun French speaker with strong accented English – was ashamed of the then bilingual Cajun Governor Edwards, because he (like she) spoke English with such a heavy French accent. Needless to say the mother did not speak French to her daughter. There were instances – rare ones – where individuals resisted the pressure to conform. A university colleague recounted how during the 1920s linguistic pogrom sweeping the state his grandfather was sitting in class when the girl in front of him turned to whisper to him in French. The teacher, overhearing the French, demanded to know who spoke it. When no one snitched on the young offender, the teacher lined up all the boys and switched them one by one. Just before the grandfather was to be punished, he jumped out of the schoolroom window to begin a life of trapping. He never returned to school (Caldas 2006).

The linguistic atmosphere in the state was quite simply poisonous, and only the very bravest families tried to preserve their French in the face

of the public scorn and open ridicule they had to face. Another Cajun university professor (nearly sixty years old in the mid-1990s) recounted to the author how he resisted the rural community's slide toward English, insisting that his children speak French in the home (personal communication, Robert Fontenot, September 1994). The professor would even refuse to pass the sugar at the dinner table if the children dared ask for it in English. But his case, like that of the Cajun singer Zachary Richard (who had to leave the state to become popular) is rare indeed.

The author lived for a time in the rural Louisiana community which, according to the US Census, had the highest proportion of native French speakers in the entire state. Over a thirteen-year period he was able to observe first hand and frequently the family dynamics of what must surely have been one of the last Cajun families where native speakers of Louisiana French had passed along the language to one of their four children. In this farming family (who were neighbours to the author's family, a Cajun-speaking mother and father, in their forties during the 1990s, had helped to pass along the language to their son, who was fifteen years old in 1994, and attending a local public school. None of his three older sisters could speak the language (though they could understand it). The son worked with the father in soybean and sugar cane fields, alongside White and Black speakers of Cajun and Creole (two very similar dialects). The son was the youngest fluent speaker of native Louisiana French the author ever met.

Unlike the author's family, this Cajun family did not have an explicit policy of speaking French. Rather, the parents spoke French to each other in the presence of their children because this was their native tongue until they entered the first grade and had to learn English. By force of contact with other French speakers, the son's exposure to his parents' French was reinforced by the French he was exposed to by adult agricultural worker in the fields. The father and mother could therefore speak French to their son, who was able to answer in French (unlike his sisters). The author and his wife learned much of their Cajun French interacting with the mother, father and son. In turn, the Cajun family learned modern French terms from the author and his family, like the word *ordinateur* [computer]. The farming operation was passed along to the son, who as a young adult continued to interact in French with older Cajun and Creole agricultural interlocutors.

Since there are fewer and fewer Louisiana Cajun farming families (and few of these speak French), and these families are increasingly likely to hire all Spanish-speaking crews from Mexico (as the Cajun family now does), rather than local workers, the intergenerational transfer of French through rural farming is coming to an end.

Suddenly realizing the inestimable value of their disappearing treasure, in 1968 the state of Louisiana created the Council for the Development of French in Louisiana (CODOFIL) and launched efforts to try and stem the

loss of French. The most significant action the state took was the creation of French immersion school programmes (also known as one-way dual language programmes) where up to 50 per cent of the instructional day was conducted in French. In terms of creating functionally bilingual (and to some extent biliterate children), the programmes were successful. However, if the success of these programmes were measured by their having fostered French speaking within families, then this author would have to judge them as completely ineffective. Indeed, based on this author's observations, these programmes hardly even encouraged spontaneous French speaking between students sitting next to each other in the same French-speaking classrooms, and almost certainly had no effect on the immersion students' propensity of speak French to each other outside of the classroom (Caldas 2007). In short, the state's efforts have not stymied at all the steady loss of native French speaking among Louisiana families, since the variety of French taught in schools is not Cajun or Creole. Thus, these variants of Louisiana French will almost certainly be lost as living languages within a generation, going the way of the Great Andamanese languages of the Indian Ocean.

Vivre le Quebec libre!

The story of the survival of French speaking in Quebec families is a much happier one. To understand the family language policies of families living in Quebec, one must first be acquainted with the history of the province. Contrasting the very different histories of French speaking in Quebec and Louisiana is instructive in understanding how larger social forces influence family language policy. In the simplest terms, it can be argued that nationalism was the reason that Louisianans stopped speaking French to their children, and nationalism is the reason that French is still spoken in Québécois families, and is even being adopted by non-Francophone immigrants into the province.

In Quebec, there was an antagonistic relationship with the British from the very first day that French Canadians became the unwilling subjects of the King of England in 1763. This restive super majority of almost 99 per cent of the population of the new British province was grudgingly granted religious rights and a measure of self-governance by the Quebec Act of 1774, a mere fifteen years after the decisive English victory on the Plains of Abraham overlooking Quebec City (Endleman 1995). The British had no choice but to grant these rights, as there were simply too many French speakers for the redcoats to subdue or evict (as they had done with the numerically smaller Acadian population of the Canadian Maritimes in 1755). Most French Canadians (now generally referred to as Québécois, itself a nationalistic term) never needed to learn English, unlike most Louisianans. Additionally, Québécois have never lost the sense that the land belongs to them, as the French were the first explorers and settlers. Indeed,

the expression *Canadiens* initially referred exclusively to French and not English settlers. Schooling has remained exclusively in French throughout the history of Quebec for most Québecois (overseen by the Catholic Church until the 1960s), so there remained a tradition of French literacy, which was much, much more pronounced than in Louisiana, where most children (if they went to school at all) were forced to learn English.

English hegemony in Canada did slowly grow, however, until by 1960 only one in four Canadians was of French descent. Moreover, the business elite of Montreal, the historic commercial capital of Canada until recently, was English speaking. Over the course of the early twentieth century, the English domination of the Province of Quebec slowly grew until most of the monied class at the top of the hierarchy was English speaking, and most of the lower level employees working in the elite's businesses and industries were French-speaking (Endleman 1995). Moreover, the English in Montreal – a quarter of the city's population – did not need to speak French. This inertial state of affairs might have continued, except that unlike the Cajuns of Louisiana who capitulated in the face of nationalistic pressure to assimilate, the French Canadians rose up in non-violent rebellion against their English (and Catholic) clergy masters during the 1960s and 1970s in what is commonly known as *La Révolution Tranquille* – the Quiet Revolution. French Canadian political hegemony quickly grew, resulting in the creation of the *Parti Québécois*, a home-grown populist, left-leaning political party advocating for the separation of Quebec from Canada. The party pushed for the passage in 1976 of Bill 101, controversial provincial legislation which declared that French was the official language of the province (thereby denouncing bilingualism as an official provincial policy). The law mandated that most immigrant families and all Francophone families put their children in French schools. The law even forbade the use of English on signs. Montreal was transformed from a city where French in public was becoming invisible by 1960, into a community where French is now evident everywhere (Spolsky and Shohamy 2000) though, based on my experience, French isn't really necessary to navigate around Montreal.

This controversial collective decision to strive to save the public face of French in Quebec sent a strong message to families that French was a valued societal language that was not going to die. The message was so strong, in fact, that thousands of Anglophone Montrealers and businesses, feeling threatened, fled the province (Edleman 1995). However, those English-speaking families that stayed behind realized the importance of their children learning French. According to the second language acquisition specialist Fred Genesee of McGill University:

> There has been an overall increase in the number of anglophone families who send their children to French language schools. When we do research on language acquisition, we have difficulty finding

> monolingual anglophone preschool or school age children. So, the other trend over the years has been for families to send their preschoolers to French language or bilingual preschool programmes and daycares. (Personal communication, 9 March 2010)

Indeed, according to a study by Curdt-Christiansen and Riches (2010), French–English bilingualism is now the primary educational concern of Anglophone parents. Curdt-Christiansen and Riches' interviews with both Anglophone and Chinese immigrant families in Montreal revealed the depth of concern these parents had that their children acquire fluency in French, and their faith in French schools and French immersion programmes to help develop French fluency.

Curdt-Christiansen's (2009) qualitative study of ten Chinese immigrant families in Montreal revealed their family language policies to rear French–English–Chinese trilingual children. All ten families, who spoke Chinese within the home, felt very strongly about their children's need to acquire written Chinese as well, and sent their children to a Saturday Chinese heritage language school. The families expressed the viewpoint that their children needed to speak Chinese to be in touch with their ethnic identity. The parents also acknowledged the rise of China as a great world power as a pragmatic reason for passing Chinese along to their children. In accordance with Bill 101, nine of the ten families enrolled their children in French schools, where they acquired fluency in reading, writing and speaking the language. However, one of the most interesting aspects of these families' language policies was a universal belief in the need for their children to acquire English. Indeed all children were proficient in English and had literacy levels equivalent to Anglophone children their age, in spite of having no formal instruction in the language, and all but one having parents for whom English was not their native tongue. According to one father:

> How can you not understand English? English is an international language. Wherever you go, you have to know English… (Curdt-Christiansen 2009: 363)

All of the Chinese families had reading materials and videos in Chinese to promote literacy in the family tongue, while nine of the ten Chinese families also had English literacy materials that included books, videos and magazines (electronic media are particularly effective in second language acquisition (Pearson 2008)). Though not native speakers, most parents read to their children in English, one of the most effective strategies of language instruction (Patterson 2002). Only two fathers and no mothers had any functional French abilities. Still, most parents helped their children with French literacy. A few mothers took French courses and three families hired French tutors. Interestingly, even though their children were learning a third tongue in a school system foreign in structure

and language to the parents, the parents still felt the educational standards were not high, and that their children needed supplemental schoolwork at home.

As for native French-speaking Québécois, in the aftermath of *La Révolution Tranquille*, these families were to some extent reassured that their passing along the home language would not be a handicap to their children's ability to make a living within the French-speaking province. However, the desire of the *Parti Québécois* for a monolingual province where all aspects of life could be lived only in French with no need for English, was an ideal that apparently has not been realizable. This is obvious to anyone who cracks open *Le Soleil*, the largest circulation daily French newspaper of Quebec City, a metropolitan area which is over 90 per cent Francophone. In a recent online edition in the classified advertisements for employment (accessed on 11 March 2010), of seventy-one positions under the category 'administrative assistant' that the author perused, fifty-seven, or 80 per cent, required or recommended that the applicant be a French/English bilingual. Wondering if perhaps the need for bilingual workers was limited to administration, the author looked at the job openings for mechanics. Yet even here, three-quarters required French/English bilingualism. Finally, assuming that surely plumbers could make a living in Quebec speaking only French, the author perused the 'wanted' advertisements for plumbers and discovered that fifteen out of twenty-three, or 65 per cent of them, required or recommended that the applicants be bilingual.

Any Francophone mother or father reading these advertisements would come away with the impression that for their child to have the brightest economic future possible in Quebec, even in a blue collar job in an overwhelmingly Francophone area, he or she would need to be bilingual. Indeed, according to Professor Genesee, there has been increasing demand among Francophone parents for an enhancement in the amount and quality of English instruction in Francophone schools (personal communication, 9 March 2010). Professor Roy Lyster, also a second-language specialist at McGill, noted that French-speaking parents would like greater choice in the schooling of their children than the limits set by Bill 101 (personal communication, 10 March 2010). This sentiment that Bill 101 is too restrictive has also been expressed by the Chinese immigrant families studied by Curdt-Christiansen (2009).

By way of personal example, the author is married to a Québécoise whose large Francophone family was supportive of Quebec's effort to separate from Canada. Nevertheless, every one of her siblings with children in Quebec has taken active steps to help their children learn English. These family language strategies range from enrolling their children in English-immersion programmes (within French schools) to sending their children to English speaking summer camps. In fact, the author

has never met any Québécois who had a negative attitude toward speaking English.

Conclusion

This chapter investigated the various language strategies that families practise, whether consciously or not, in a variety of different social milieux. We see that family language policies are greatly influenced by the broader historical, political, social, economic, educational and cultural contexts in which families raise their children. In the case of the Māori, there has been a powerful movement, backed by government goodwill, legislation and money, which in combination with strong ethnic pride, has helped stem the loss of the minority language by providing families with tools to maintain their heritage language. These include schooling programmes, television and radio programming in Māori and a general promotion of Māori as an important social and cultural (but not necessarily economic) value of New Zealand. Still, the future of Māori in New Zealand does not seem assured (Spolsky 2005), in part, it seems, because knowledge of Māori is not a necessary requisite for living and thriving in the country.

In the case of Russian speaking among immigrants to Israel, we see that even the presence of hundreds of thousands of families speaking the third most commonly spoken language in the country will probably not ensure the continuity of the Russian language in the Hebrew-dominated country. Social and cultural norms in Israel, which have been wholeheartedly adopted by the 1.5 generation of Russian immigrants, and certainly the second generation, do not really value Russian speaking. The need to quickly learn Hebrew in order to move up the food chain and thrive in Israel is readily apparent to the Russian youth. They want to assimilate quickly, it seems, even if assimilation means losing their heritage language, and in spite of many of their parents' best efforts to promote Russian speaking in the home.

Unlike Israel, where the assimilation of Russian speakers is happening relatively quickly, in Louisiana it has taken more than 200 years for the American monolingual norm to break the linguistic will of Cajun families. During the 1920s and 1930s, English-only legislation and schooling, national isolationist sentiment, and the publically sanctioned humiliation of French speakers in Louisiana's public and Catholic schools succeeded in convincing Cajun parents not to pass along to their children the heritage minority language that had caused them such grief. Revitalization efforts to save the language beginning in the 1960s was, in this author's professional estimation, too little, too late.

Finally, the Province of Quebec in Canada is presented as an example of a place where the fate of French speaking was buttressed against the

ever threatening hegemony of English. Drastic governmental action which was promoted by a quiet revolution against the slow encroachment of English stemmed the tidal wave of North America's most spoken language. Francophone parents were forced to enrol their children in French schools, and most immigrants to Quebec were required to do the same. Even Anglophone families who had the option of educating their children only in English are now mostly choosing the bilingual educational option. The Chinese immigrant families in Quebec present the interesting case of parents rearing their children trilingually, by providing many opportunities in the home for their children to learn English literacy skills in addition to the Chinese heritage language and the French their children are acquiring in the schools. In these families, we see not only the strong influence of traditional cultural norms (learning Chinese) and societal norms (learning French), but also the pragmatic pull of economics (learning English for career opportunities). In sum, family language policy is not developed or practised in a vacuum. Rather, family language policies are crafted in response to social, political, cultural, educational and economic pressures. Since these pressures vary greatly by country and region, so do the variety of language policies that families practise.

19

Language policies and the Deaf community

Sherman E. Wilcox, Verena Krausneker and
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Introduction: signed languages and Deaf communities

For reasons that will become clear as we outline their history, language policies concerning deaf users of signed languages have generally been established by people who, in many (perhaps most) cases, were neither deaf themselves nor fluent users of well-developed signed languages. In fact, there are many characteristics of deaf signing communities that differ fundamentally from those of hearing spoken language communities.

First, and perhaps most obvious, is the difference in modality – visual rather than auditory. This modality difference results in structural differences at the basic linguistic level and differences in practice at the level of interpersonal interaction. Signed languages make full use of three dimensional space in their grammars – and in many cases these grammatical functions have no analogue in speech. Moreover, no signed language has ever had a fully realized written literature.

Second, and less obvious but perhaps more telling with respect to the formulation of language policy, is the fact that most, probably more than 90 per cent, of deaf users of signed languages do not learn these languages from their parents or other family members. This is due to the manner in which deafness is acquired – even when its cause is genetic, it is rare that a deaf person's parents are deaf themselves. Traditionally, these languages have been learned in schools, especially the residential schools for the deaf that began to appear in Europe in the late eighteenth century and then in the Americas. For this reason, development of policies concerning the use of these languages, and the development of the languages themselves, has been heavily influenced by teachers and administrators in schools, most of whom have been hearing people with varying degrees of signed language fluency. It is clear as well that language policies regarding signed languages have been heavily influenced

by prevailing educational policies and practices for deaf children. A further complicating factor, at least in the United States, is that, because of very rapid expansion of instructional offerings in American Sign Language (ASL) to hearing people, it is possible that there are now more hearing second-language users of the language than there are deaf users. As we will show later, this may also be having a profound impact on the evolution of the language and is an issue that needs to be addressed in any formulation of policy.

Undoubtedly, indigenous signed languages have been developed by deaf people outside of educational settings, and documentation of such communities exists. Perhaps the best-known example is that of the signing community that apparently existed on the Massachusetts island of Martha's Vineyard during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Because of a genetic founder effect and a high rate of inbreeding on the island, there was a very high frequency of genetic deafness in the population. Apparently the language came into frequent use by the hearing islanders as well as their deaf relatives and neighbours (Groce 1985). Similar situations have been documented in other small-scale traditional societies, notably in Central America (Fox Tree 2009), Bali (Branson, Miller and Marsaja 1996) and a Bedouin village in Israel (Meir *et al.* 2010). It has been claimed that the Vineyard sign language was one of the bases, along with the French Sign Language introduced into the United States by Laurent Clerc and T. H. Gallaudet, for subsequent development of ASL at the American School for the Deaf in Hartford, Connecticut, which was attended by many Vineyard islanders during the nineteenth century. This story of contributions to the development of a signed language, in a national or local school for the deaf, from both indigenous and educational sources, may be typical of what happened throughout Europe and the Americas during the nineteenth century.

Language engineering as language policy

It is necessary to examine the use of signed languages in these early residential schools in more detail because it reveals the first attempts at language policy. Following Lane (1980) we will describe two approaches to language policy and deaf education. Lane has characterized the two approaches as dialectization and replacement.

The goal of dialectization is to 'lead the users of the nondominant language to believe that theirs is a substandard dialect of dominant language' (ibid. 1980: 119). Dialectization in the deaf context refers to attempts to modify an existing natural signed language in order to make it fit the structure of the surrounding spoken or written language.

Dialectization by language engineering is an old practice, first employed by the Abbé de l'Epée in what is generally regarded as the

birthplace of deaf education, the Paris Institute, in the late eighteenth century. We know through the writings of a deaf Frenchman, Pierre Desloges (1779), that a natural signed language was in widespread use among Deaf people in eighteenth-century Paris. Although Epée respected what he called 'le langage des signes naturelles', his ultimate goal was to teach his young deaf students to read and write French. For this purpose, Epée invented what he called 'methodical signs'. The purpose of methodical signs was to represent written French in signs. To accomplish this, he took the signs from the existing natural language that was in use among Deaf people in Paris. To these signs, he added extra sign markers to represent French affixes and other grammatical features. For example, Epée explained that to sign *aimable* (lovable) in methodical signs, 'I make the radical sign [for love], then the sign for an adjective, but of one terminating in *able* formed from a verb: To this I must subjoin the sign for possible or necessary '(Epée 1784, translated 1860: 40, cited in Lane 1980). Epée also broke down French words into component concepts and used existing and invented signs to represent these parts. An example of such a practice is the word 'believe', which Epée analysed as 'know' plus 'feel' plus 'say' plus 'not see' plus a sign to represent the grammatical class 'verb'. Thus, although a natural French Sign Language existed, methodical signs were the sole practice in the classroom. It soon became clear, however, to the teachers at the Paris Institute that methodical signs were not achieving their goal.

The Abbé de l'Epée's method of language teaching nevertheless spread. His fame travelled across borders and in 1777, the ruler of the Austrian Empire, Joseph II, visited him in Paris. Impressed with what he saw the emperor agreed to found an 'Institute for the deaf and dumb' in Vienna if Epée would teach two Austrian educators his French method. Two men, Stork and May, were chosen and instructed by Epée. When they eventually returned to Austria they taught in the 'Wiener Taubstummeninstitut', the first (1779) state school for the deaf in the world (Berger 2006).

The early American system of Deaf education was also based on Epée's French system. In 1816, Thomas Hopkins Gallaudet returned from a trip to the Paris Institute along with Laurent Clerc, one of the former deaf students and instructors at the school. Together, in 1817 they established the first school for deaf children in America, in Hartford, Connecticut. In the Hartford school, as in Paris, methodical signs were used in the classroom; as we have shown, many of the deaf students arrived at the school using a natural sign language. As in Paris, it soon became clear that methodical signs were not working. Gallaudet (1819: 785) wrote revealingly about the failure of methodical signs and the existence of an indigenous natural language, an early precursor to American Sign Language:

> A successful teacher of the deaf and dumb should be thoroughly acquainted both with their own peculiar mode of expressing their

> ideas by signs and also with that of expressing the same ideas by those methodical signs which in their arrangement correspond to the structure of the written language. For the natural language of this singular class of beings has its appropriate style and structure.

Other American schools, such as the New York Institution, also relied on methodical signs in their early years, only to come to the same conclusion that Gallaudet and others did – that methodical signs were ineffective, and deaf students were better served by permitting the use of the natural sign language. The New York Institution's Fifteenth Annual Report, issued in 1834, described the situation (Lane 1980: 127–8):

> Our American schools have hitherto pursued the [Paris system], making methodical signs the great dependence in instruction. … the system has failed of that lightness, simplicity, and that adaptation to the purposes of rapid execution, which its theory presumes: It has become unwieldy in its material, and burdensome in its use; retarding the labors of the instructor, and seriously impeding the progress of the pupil.

As an instrument of instruction, therefore, methodical signs have been abandoned at the New York Institution. The means on which the principal reliance is now placed are the language of action, so far as it is in familiar use, writing, symbolic grammar, design, and the manual alphabet.

After this failed experiment with methodical signs, American schools and many of the European schools came to rely on the local natural sign language for instruction. This situation remained stable until the 1880 Milan congress of educators of the deaf and the advent of the second wave of language policy – replacement.

Oralism: language suppression as language policy

In replacement, the dominant language group attempts to impose their language on the users of the nondominant language, effectively trying to eliminate the nondominant language. Widespread use of signed languages in educational institutions, as well as their acceptance as legitimate forms of language, came to an abrupt halt in the Western world in the late nineteenth century. This was due to the emergence and hegemony of an educational philosophy known as oralism. Oralism is the policy of language replacement in the deaf context.

Oralism reached its full force at a conference of educators who supported the oral method, the infamous 1880 Milan Conference. Hearing educators struck upon two tactics that would ultimately prove to be the downfall of the use of signed languages in deaf education. First, they declared that signs were inadequate to restore deaf people to society (Franck 1880: 8, cited in Lane 1980: 155):

> 1. The Congress, considering the incontestable superiority of speech over signs, for restoring deaf-mutes to social life and for giving them greater facility of language, declared that the method of articulation should have preference over that of signs in the instruction and education of the deaf and dumb;

Oralism, then called 'articulation', had been a part of Deaf education even during the years in which signed language instruction was prevalent. Many schools incorporated articulation training in what they called the 'combined method'. Educators had relegated articulation to a secondary role, however, arguing that articulation training was most likely to succeed with students who had residual hearing or whose deafness was of relatively late onset or was progressive.

The second tactic devised at the Milan Conference undercut this stance. The conference members declared that the combined method must be abandoned, that the oral method and signed language could not co-exist. The oral method must forbid the use of signs in the classroom, and it should be the sole method of instruction (Franck 1880: 8, cited in Lane 1980: 155):

> 2. Considering that the simultaneous use of signs and speech has the disadvantage of injuring speech and lip-reading and precision of ideas, the Congress declares that the pure oral method ought to be preferred.

The deaf attendants at the Milan Conference were denied their right to vote on the matter and could only watch as the serious decision on their language was made.

Strict oral education for deaf students thus had as its goal to 'restore deaf people to society' – that is, end their presumed isolation by giving them the means to communicate in speech. The oral education programme involved intensive speech therapy and training in speech reading (also known as lip reading). It also supported an ideology obsessed with the suppression of signed languages. The oralist assumption was that, due to the ease with which they seemed to acquire them, if deaf children were allowed to use signed languages, they would not progress in acquiring oral skills.

Following the Milan congress, monolingual oral-only educational programmes became almost universal in Europe, and to a lesser degree in North America. As Lane (1980: 131) notes, in 1867 there were twenty-six schools for the deaf in America and ASL was the language of instruction in all; post-Milan, by 1907, there were 139 schools and ASL was not allowed in any of them. Practices like making students sit on their hands in order to prevent them from signing in the classroom have been documented. There are authors who categorize the oralist ideology and practice as 'an institutionalized form of child abuse' (Ladd 2003: 439).

It is important to point out, however, that this by no means meant that signed languages were to become extinct – they survived for informal use in many residential schools, even as they were forbidden in classrooms. The suppression of these languages had two associated consequences: (1) in general, deaf adults could no longer be teachers of deaf children, and (2) signed languages tended to lose legitimacy in the view of the general public and among language scholars who had previously considered them worthy subjects of linguistic analysis.

By the mid-twentieth century it had become apparent within many national education programmes that oral education was not proving successful for many deaf children, with the consequence that, if they failed to acquire the necessary spoken language skills, they could not understand their teachers and therefore could essentially learn nothing at all in school. With this new understanding, educators once again introduced signs into deaf education. Instead of reinstituting the use of natural, indigenous signed languages, however, as had taken place in Paris and many of the American schools in the early nineteenth century, educators once again turned to methodical signs.

Total communication: the reappearance of methodical signs

As disenchantment with oral-only education mounted at mid-century, education involving signed communication began to be reintroduced into schools and programmes for deaf children. It is important to note the use here of the term 'signed communication', as new methods were developed that included simultaneous use of signs and speech, as opposed to use of an indigenous signed language. This period also saw the development of surrogate signing systems designed to convey direct visual information about the morphemes and grammatical structure of spoken languages, including such systems as Signed English, Signing Exact English, Seeing Essential English, and Texas Preferred Signs in the United States, as well as similar signed systems in other countries, such as *Lautsprachbegleitende Gebärden* in Germany and Austria. Many of these methods came to be grouped together as a system, or more accurately perhaps, philosophy, known as Total Communication – the use of any available means to convey messages in the spoken language of the majority society. Total Communication thus opened the door for signs to re-enter the American Deaf classroom, but in a form similar to the methodical signs that had failed and been abandoned nearly 100 years before.

It is probably safe to say that little research was conducted, either with respect to the linguistic situation that was created or the educational efficacy of the methods that were used. One result was the creation of a good deal of confusion in the mind of the public as to what actually

constituted the signed language of the local Deaf community and over who should decide what is appropriate usage in a particular signed language. Because of the lack of reliable research on the educational outcomes of this approach, little is known about the cognitive and other potential impacts it has had on deaf students. At least in the United States, where it has been in use for up to four decades in some programmes, it has not been noticeably successful in increasing academic performance in English reading or writing.

Establishing the linguistic status of signed languages

At the same time, there was renewed interest in the scholarly and linguistic study of the indigenous deaf signed languages themselves. For example, work on the signed language in use in the Netherlands was conducted in the early 1950s by Bernard Tervoort. In 1960, William C. Stokoe, a professor at Gallaudet College, published *Sign Language Structure*, a revolutionary work that introduced the use of structural linguistic methods to describe signed languages. This and subsequent work by Stokoe and others led to general recognition of the signed languages of the deaf as linguistically complete languages in their own right, distinct in structure from the spoken languages that surrounded them. Although Stokoe prepared descriptions and analyses of what came to be called American Sign Language (ASL), it quickly became apparent that the structural linguistic methods he developed could be applied to any number of other signed languages. Coming as this linguistic movement did, at least in the United States, at the same time as massive civil disobedience designed to change the nation's racial policies, it was natural that Deaf people would seize the opportunity to begin demanding linguistic rights as well, including control over decisions about who should teach ASL and who should decide on standards of appropriate usage. Movements organized around the demand for recognition of signed languages as bone fide human languages have led in various countries to the reintroduction of signed languages into educational systems and to recognition of signed languages as official national languages (although not in the United States which has no official national languages).

In addition to the factors that were discussed above that have complicated the status of signed languages as minority languages, the situation on the ground is further complicated by diversity within the community itself with respect to such critical factors as ages of onset and degrees of deafness. The earlier in life a child becomes deaf and the less functional hearing he or she possesses, the less likely he or she is to acquire the spoken language of the family or the surrounding community naturally. If the child has early onset deafness and, as is highly likely, hearing parents, acquisition of any language is likely to be delayed. When the

child's deafness is identified, the parents may be influenced by medical or other professionals against exposing the child to a signed language. The situation may be further complicated in polyglot situations where the hearing parents may themselves be members of a minority spoken language community and may, therefore, have expectations concerning their child's exposure to more than one spoken language. For all of these reasons, it is not possible to make assumptions about the fluency in a signed or any other language of many deaf adults. Finally, individual choice may play a large role in whether or not a deaf person becomes a member of a signing community as an adult.

Recent developments in the demographics of deaf populations (elimination of several major causes of deafness), educational policies (inclusion and mainstreaming), and in assistive technologies (cochlear implants, mobile texting devices) are likely to have profound effects on the status of signing Deaf communities and the shaping of policies related to them. In this case, size does matter. The larger the size of a language community, the more likely it is to have influence in setting the policy within a national political context, at least within a reasonably democratic political system. As signing Deaf communities shrink for the reasons listed above, they become more and more endangered, both with respect to their ability to maintain a critical mass of signers needed to maintain the language physically and with respect it their abilities to maintain political influence. Even before the full effects of the factors mentioned at the beginning of this paragraph could be felt, the deaf populations of several industrial countries had levelled off or begun to decline with the elimination of deafness due to certain diseases, such as maternal rubella.

The Deaf communities of several countries have been successful in having their languages recognized and bilingual educational policies established. Ironically, however, it is becoming apparent that the signed languages in these countries may be as threatened by these demographic factors as they never were before, even by universal oralist educational policies. With respect to Norwegian Sign Language, Vonen (2006: 220) has this to say: 'It appears to be more protected as well as more threatened than perhaps ever.' Following a painstaking analysis of demographic trends in the Australian deaf community, Trevor Johnston (2006) has predicted the possible demise of the signing community there within a generation or two. His conclusion with respect to policy concerning Australian Sign Language is that it should shift to a focus on preservation, especially through the compilation of video archives.

The discussion that follows will present more detailed information on language policies in various parts of the world affecting the education of deaf children and the status of deaf communities. We will present this information in the form of two brief case studies of linguistic policies in very different national contexts, and a general overview of activities,

documents and treaties concerning signed language policies by international organizations.

Language policy at Gallaudet University: emergence of a bilingual model

Gallaudet University was established in Washington, DC by the US Congress in 1857 as a school for deaf and blind children. Soon after its founding, responsibility for educating blind children was removed, and, in 1864, Abraham Lincoln signed the federal law authorizing it to confer 'collegiate' degrees, making it the first institution in the world to offer higher education through sign language. We believe that it is still the only free-standing institution of its kind in the world. In this regard, it has a special significance in the Deaf world. Dirksen Bauman (2009: 93) summarizes the importance of Gallaudet to the world Deaf community in these terms:

> In order to understand… one has to appreciate the near mythic role that Gallaudet University plays within the Deaf world. It is the only plot of land in the entire world where Deaf people have direct access to higher education through a signed language. Historically, Gallaudet has been a bastion of signed-language instruction even during a time when all residential schools in the United States banned ASL…

Gallaudet, then, has been a safe haven for ASL use in education and advanced discourse, during a time when its use for this purpose was all but eliminated elsewhere, within a tradition reaching back to the founding of the first residential school for the deaf in Paris, during the late eighteenth century. In this section, we will discuss the use of signed language at Gallaudet, and the policies that have governed it. We can, to some extent, trace the course of its evolution for this purpose, from the early years through written descriptions, and, from the inception of motion picture technology in the late nineteenth century, by direct observation (see, e.g., Supalla 2004).

We start this discussion by noting that the languages used for academic discourse in universities throughout the world are specialized prestige registers, including substantial lexicons designed to provide for the needs of the fields of study that are supported by them. In particular, it is important to note that these registers, and the world languages from which they have developed, have undergone extensive evolution. English is currently the world's dominant scholarly language, having replaced French and German, which, in turn, had replaced Latin in this role. Much is known about the historical course that English followed, and we will discuss that briefly here, as it has a direct impact on what has happened to the ASL used at Gallaudet during the past century and a half. While

English is classified phylogenetically as a Germanic language, most of its lexicon is derived from other linguistic stocks, notably from Greek and Latin, but especially the latter. The influx of Latin lexicon into English began in 1066 with the Norman conquest of Anglo-Saxon England and accelerated during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries as English began to replace Latin as the language of scientific and scholarly discourse in the English speaking world.

While the ASL used for instruction at Gallaudet has been built upon a vernacular ASL platform, it has been heavily influenced by English. This has occurred, at least in part, for much the same reason that academic Latin terminology was hauled bodily into the English language register used at English speaking universities during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries – there was simply a need for specialized words and there was no reason not to use the resources that were already at hand. Motion pictures from the turn of the twentieth century make it clear that English was incorporated into the learned discourse of deaf people at this time primarily through the medium of fingerspelling. Fingerspelling made the entire lexicon of English potentially available for use as needed by literate ASL signers, and it was used liberally at this time (in this regard, see the special issue of *Sign Language Studies*, Vol. 4, No. 3, 2004, devoted to research on the so-called NAD and Gallaudet films). One practice that was used extensively was to sign a word or phrase, then fingerspell its English translation, then, when it was signed again, its English equivalent could be assumed. Fingerspelling has also introduced English into ASL by a slightly different route. In many cases, the fingerspelled first letter of an English word is used in the production of an ASL sign with a similar meaning, unambiguously associating the sign with that specific English word, as in the sign for 'poem'. The fingerspelled version of a short English word may also be contracted, as in 'job' and 'dog', replacing the traditional ASL sign for the same concept.

Over time, there has been a transition to a situation in which the use of fingerspelling seems to have decreased at Gallaudet, to be replaced by the mouthing of English words, in association with ASL signs, to disambiguate an underlying English message. This practice must be distinguished from two other practices, mentioned above, that are widely used in the education of deaf children – Signed English and what has been called Simultaneous Communication (SimCom). Signed English most closely resembles the Methodical Signs used in France in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries – the goal was to use natural and invented signs to represent essentially all or at least most of the English morphemes visibly in the course of an utterance. SimCom, on the other hand, involves an attempt to speak an English sentence more or less normally while simultaneously producing a sign stream that is supposed to represent the spoken English, more or less completely. It is apparent that the practice currently in use at Gallaudet has been influenced by these

two practices – however, it is identical to neither, either in underlying philosophy or actual practice. This form of signing, over time, has been influenced in a direction away from either SimCom or Signed English by two major forces: 1. At least when it is used by hearing people, speech has become suppressed to be replaced by selective mouthing of words; 2. Many of the spatial aspects of ASL signing are incorporated into the sign stream. One of the authors (DFA) has observed this system evolving over the past three decades and can attest to its employment by both deaf and hearing people. At the risk of employing an anachronism, it is also clear that some sort of continuum exists among the signers on the Gallaudet campus (surely the largest signing community currently gathered in one place on Earth today, numbering somewhere around 3,000, somewhat more than half of whom are deaf or hard of hearing), along an ASL–English axis. One interesting phenomenon is that whether or not an individual is deaf is not a reliable predictor of his or her placement on this axis.

All of this has not occurred without controversy, and in order to understand the political forces at work at Gallaudet, a brief historical sketch of this unique institution is needed. As we have seen, Gallaudet has been offering higher education to deaf people for almost a century and a half, and, as a consequence of this, the United States has had an educated deaf elite that is probably unique in the world (an anthropological study of this elite appears in Stokoe, Bernard and Padden 1980). There have been two main sources of this elite: (1) children of deaf parents who had ASL as their first language; (2) late onset deaf or hard of hearing people fluent in written and/or spoken English. Traditionally, both groups were respected at Gallaudet and both groups provided key leaders of the deaf community in the United States. However, as far as we can determine, ASL never had a formal place in the University's undergraduate curriculum – it was not possible to earn credit toward graduation for exemplary use of that language. It is also important that Gallaudet, although it has been supported continuously since its founding by funds appropriated by the US Congress, is a private corporation, governed by a self-replacing board of trustees. Private governance has meant that the institution was relatively free to develop on its own terms, without official government interference. From 1864, the time of its establishment as a higher education institution, until 1988, it was governed by boards that included few or no deaf people, and it was administered by hearing presidents appointed by those boards. In 1988, when a hearing dominated board again appointed a hearing president, a strike (known universally in the world Deaf community as DPN – Deaf President Now), led by deaf students, faculty and alumni, closed the campus and resulted in the appointment of the institution's first deaf president, a late deafened alumnus of the University, and to the replacement of the board by one with a deaf majority. When the first deaf president retired in 2006, the

campus again erupted in controversy – this time a strike was directed at a deaf person, this time a born deaf but not a native ASL signer, who was appointed by a deaf majority board. Once again, the board was forced to withdraw its appointment and appoint another deaf person president.

The causes of this latter protest are only now being analysed (see Armstrong 2007, Bauman 2009, Christiansen 2009), and they are complex, almost certainly involving political issues internal to the deaf community and aspects of the personalities of various finalists for the presidency. It has also become clear, however, that there were underlying issues concerning language policy. Prior to 1957, Gallaudet was unaccredited, which in the United States at the time meant that its undergraduate degrees carried little weight when deaf graduates wanted to apply to graduate school. The board set in motion a series of changes, especially affecting the faculty, that resulted in Gallaudet's accreditation in 1957. In particular, it was necessary to hire a large number of new faculty with advanced academic credentials, meaning that the main source of teachers at Gallaudet would no longer be the residential schools for the deaf – increasingly they would be hearing people with no prior experience teaching deaf students, and they would have to learn ASL on the fly, so to speak. Among those hired by Gallaudet to build up the credentials of its faculty, prior to accreditation, was a young scholar with a Ph.D. in English from Cornell named William C. Stokoe. As we saw earlier, Stokoe, although he knew nothing about sign language or deaf people when he arrived at Gallaudet in 1955, was soon to lead a revolution in the way signed languages were understood – especially that they were languages in their own right, independent in structure from the spoken languages surrounding them. As we have also seen there were simultaneous forces at work in the United States and at Gallaudet that led to the increasing influence of English on the evolution of ASL.

It has been maintained that one of the chief causes of the discontent at Gallaudet in 2006 was the intersection of these forces at the level of day-to-day communication in the classroom and on the campus of the University (e.g. Bauman 2009). Who should decide the extent to which the sign language in use for various purposes would be influenced by English, and who should decide on standards of correctness and aesthetic value? And to what extent was the penetration of ASL by English for the purpose of raising the level of intellectual discourse and to what extent was it for the convenience of hearing professionals who were having difficulty mastering ASL? One outcome of the protest and closure of the campus was that Gallaudet was placed on probation by its accrediting agency, and one of the chief criticisms levelled against it was that the institutional leadership appeared to lack clarity with respect to its mission. When discussion of the institutional mission began, it quickly became clear that questions about language were to be key issues. What resulted from the review of the mission was the adoption by the board

of a new statement in 2007 that, for the first time in the institution's history, gave pride of place to American Sign Language:

> Gallaudet University, federally chartered in 1864, is a bilingual, diverse, multicultural institution of higher education that ensures the intellectual and professional advancement of deaf and hard of hearing individuals through American Sign Language and English. Gallaudet maintains a proud tradition of research and scholarly activity and prepares its graduates for career opportunities in a highly competitive, technological, and rapidly changing world.

It is apparent that adoption of this new mission statement has not resolved the underlying questions that were mentioned above. It has, however, led to public discussion and debate and to changes in the undergraduate curriculum that have given ASL an explicit place in the University's educational programme. Debate continues, however. One thing is clear, the process by which language policy will be decided at Gallaudet is now firmly under the control of deaf people – a majority of the members of the board of trustees is deaf, as are the president and chief academic officer. The faculty includes deaf and hearing scholars, fully competent in both ASL and the relevant scholarly disciplines, who are currently debating these issues.

Unified Arabic sign language: history repeats itself

We saw that history of language policy first repeated itself when, after methodical signs were abandoned in the early years of deaf education, the practice of language engineering was taken up once again in the mid-twentieth century in the form of signed systems. History is being repeated yet again in our second case study, the development of a 'unified Arabic sign language'.

This project began in 1980 when Arab delegates to the Arab Federation of Organizations Working with the Deaf (AFOOD) recommended that studies should be carried out to develop a pan-Arabic sign language.[1] In 1993, AFOOD called on every Arab country to document its native signed language in the form of a dictionary. This would then allow the federation to develop a unified sign language, stemming from the languages already in use.

Initially, the goal of this project was to study and document the region's indigenous signed languages. It soon became clear, however, that documentation efforts would take a back seat to the invention of a unified Arab sign language. The organization and people involved in this project are predominantly hearing people, many of whom do not sign. A host of reasons have been given for the need to develop a unified Arab sign language:

1. A unified sign language would allow Deaf Arabs to access TV media.
2. National signed languages have limited lexicons.
3. A unified Arab sign language would improve deaf educational systems by providing a standardized signed language.
4. It would increase mobility among Deaf Arabs such that they are able to travel for education or an occupation.
5. It will mainstream deaf Arabs into society.
6. It will strengthen Arab brotherhood and a sense of pan-Arab nationalism.
7. It is a tool for modernizing deaf people.
8. The unified Arab sign language project will promote human rights of Deaf Arabs.

While some of these goals are laudable – few would argue against access to televised media for Deaf people or against their right to participate in mainstream society – many of the arguments in support of a unified Arab sign language are reminiscent of those used to support the development of methodical signs. In order to develop the unified Arab sign language, supporters of the project began collecting signs from the many indigenous signed languages of the Arab countries. Signs were collected from the few published dictionaries or lists of indigenous Arab signed languages. The general consensus among experts in these languages, however, is that these publications are inadequate, incomplete, and often present factually incorrect information. Signs were collected from Deaf people, but the sense of many Deaf Arabs is that those selected to participate did not fully understand the nature of the project. While they knew that the project's stated aim was to unify the sign languages, many Deaf Arabs felt misled into believing that a unified sign language would promote services for Deaf people and improve Deaf education.

So what does the newly created unified Arab sign language look like? First, it is a compilation of signs from some of the indigenous signed languages in the Arab world, including Saudi Arabia, Jordan, Egypt, Kuwait and Qatar. The collection of signs did not stop with Arab countries. Because the project leaders have little if any technical sophistication in signed language linguistics, they often view natural signed languages as lacking vocabulary. To resolve this perceived problem, they have turned to the signed languages of other countries, such as American Sign Language.

But it is more than a simple amalgam of vocabularies. The project directors note that certain grammatical features of spoken Arabic do not appear in these natural indigenous signed languages – as we would expect, since they are independent languages. For example, spoken Arabic marks verbs for gender: 'he goes' and 'she goes' require different verb forms. In order to recreate gender marking in unified Arab sign language, the project leaders have unwittingly relied on a solution devised

by Epée more than 200 years ago: they use signs meaning 'man' and 'woman' to mark gender on verbs. The methodical sign practice of initializing signs – adding the fingerspelled first letter of the written word – is also commonly used in the unified Arabic sign system.

Many Deaf Arabs have resisted this project. They offer up reasoned objections, such as:

1. The unified Arab sign language is not a language, as it does not follow linguistic properties of any language.
2. It is a collection of vocabularies with no functional grammar.
3. Languages cannot be learned from dictionaries alone. A surrounding culture and native users are necessary.
4. Deaf people are rarely represented in the project, and when they are, they are hand-selected, often for local political reasons.
5. Deaf people can more effectively be brought into mainstream society if they are taught to read and write; they can improve their literacy rate through proper television captioning.
6. No matter what signed language deaf people use, mainstream society by and large will be ignorant of it.
7. Unified Arab sign language threatens indigenous sign languages and cultures, ones that have been passed on and developed for generations, as there are no parallel efforts to promote research and preservation and use of these local signed languages. On the contrary, the project seeks to replace them in schools and on television.
8. United Nations resolutions and conventions state that people and minority groups have the right to practise and enjoy their own culture and their own language without outside interference or prejudice.

A number of efforts have taken place attempting to halt the unification project. Deaf leaders have sent letters to government officials in Saudi Arabia, Qatar and other Arab countries, to AFOOD officials, and to representatives of the Arab League. They have participated in direct discussions with the project leaders at conferences, in online discussion forums, and other venues, in an attempt to persuade them to stop the project.

The World Federation of the Deaf (WFD) became involved in protesting the project's activities in 2007 when it issued a statement on the Unification of Sign Languages. Later, in 2009, the WFD issued an 'Open Letter with regard the unification project of Sign Languages in the Arab region'. In its letter, the WFD wrote:

> It is the position of the WFD that these activities endanger local/national Sign Languages. These activities are in defiance of WFD's January 2007 statement that 'any forcible purification or unification of Sign Languages, conducted by governments, professionals working

> with Deaf people, and organizations for or of the Deaf, is a violation of the UN and UNESCO treaties, declarations and other policies, including the recent UN Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities.' The persistence of the unification process despite the WFD's expression of concern has prompted the organization to issue a second statement in June 2009, calling for its immediate cessation in the Arab region.

The WFD concludes its letter with a strongly worded statement about the nature of the project and its potentially harmful impact upon the indigenous signed languages of the Arab world, and on the lives of Arab Deaf people:

> The WFD is very concerned about such activities because they reflect persistent lack of understanding and appreciation of local/national sign languages. Such activities suggest directly and indirectly that local/national Sign Languages are backwards, complicated, weak and lacking. Equivalent processes to unify sign languages in some regions in the past did not turn out successful ones.
>
> The WFD asserts that such beliefs impair and block deaf people's path to opportunities. Not their sign languages, but poor teacher training and the lack of interpreter certification in local/national Sign Languages have kept deaf Arabs marginalized. The encouragement of using the unified dictionary in all aspects of deaf people's lives without parallel efforts to encourage the use of local/national Sign Languages denies deaf Arabs the opportunity to learn, communicate in, and access languages they already know.

The moral of this story is clear. In Epée's Paris Institute, methodical signs ultimately failed to create what we would now call 'Signed French'. Methodical signs used in American deaf education in the 1800s likewise failed as an early form of 'Signed English'. Not learning the lesson of history, American deaf educators in the mid- to late twentieth century once again attempted to devise forms of signed English and other signed representations of spoken languages. The same scenario is playing out in Japan (Nakamura 2006). All of these attempts at language engineering have failed to achieve their desired goal.

There is no reason to believe that attempting to engineer a language, in this case a unified Arab sign language, will achieve success. The World Federation of the Deaf offers what we consider to be a reasonable alternative:

> In place of such unification activities, the WFD strongly believes that resources are better spent on preserving and promoting local/national Sign Languages through documentation and linguistic, historical, and cultural study. Local/national Sign Languages should be used in teacher training and interpreter certification as well as for access to local media. As for communication across communities in

the region, deaf people can (and many already are) become multilingual in more than one sign language. The WFD also promotes the use of open captions in written Arabic at large events and on satellite media networks to provide access to deaf audiences. Such measures will improve the education of deaf people and provide them with increased opportunities.

Activities, documents and treaties by international organizations

Signed languages were only quite recently discovered as a topic for modern linguistic research and, similarly, for positive language planning by international organizations. Formal and specific legal recognition of signed languages is a fairly new development in the area of language planning. We know of about forty-four countries (a fifth of the world's nation-states) that have awarded their national signed language(s) official status as a language. The actual status of so-called 'recognized' signed languages, however, differs greatly from country to country.

Some Deaf communities in the world indicate that their thriving development is mostly based on 'recognition' of their signed language in the area of education (Sweden, to name the most well-known example and the first country in the world to recognize its signed language in 1980); whereas other communities whose languages are supported by constitution, such as Austria, to name one of approximately ten countries, have practically no linguistic rights they can claim on the basis of this recognition. The vast majority of recognized signed language communities rely on a few more or less effective laws in specific areas of life (media, education, etc.).

Two facts are worth pointing out. First, a surprising number of national laws recognize 'sign language' without mentioning the actual full name of the language. The inadequacy becomes apparent when compared to spoken languages: Has there ever been a national law universally recognizing 'language'? The fact that it has happened in the area of signed languages points to the fact that knowledge of diversity and completeness of signed languages is scarce.

Secondly, in several countries Deaf communities and their languages have been awarded official status or linguistic rights by laws that were specific disability laws (e.g. Germany and the USA). This is unique to the group of signed languages and points to the categorization problem their users cause for legislators: Are Deaf people a linguistic minority, or are they people with a disability?

The following section describes sign language specific activities by bodies of international organizations such as the United Nations, the Council of Europe and the European Union. Neither state-specific sign

language policies nor national linguistic rights of sign language users will be described here.[2]

UN Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities

The most potent international document on the rights of people with disabilities came into force on 3 May 2008. The United Nations Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (CRPD) is not a classic language rights instrument, but it includes several paragraphs that specifically mention Deaf sign language users and their rights, e.g.:

> Article 24, Paragraph 3.
>
> (b) Facilitating the learning of sign language and the promotion of the linguistic identity of the deaf community;
> (c) Ensuring that the education of persons, and in particular children, who are blind, deaf or deaf-blind, is delivered in the most appropriate languages […]
> 4. In order to help ensure the realization of this right, States Parties shall take appropriate measures to employ teachers, including teachers with disabilities, who are qualified in sign language and/or Braille, […]
>
> Article 30, Paragraph 4.
>
> Persons with disabilities shall be entitled, on an equal basis with others, to recognition and support of their specific cultural and linguistic identity, including sign languages and deaf culture.

The convention was drawn in collaboration with many organizations, one of them being the World Federation of the Deaf (WFD), which has consultative B-Status within the UN and was quite active in drafting the CRPD. The convention is one of the rare examples of an international and potent text that is not formulated from a solely hearing perspective. It is also worth noting that no other disability group and their needs are mentioned overtly as precisely and often in the convention as the Deaf/Deafblind group. This reflects one of the core issues of policy-making of and for Deaf people within the disability framework: The vast majority of their needs are linguistic and differ greatly from other disability groups' needs regarding full access. Therefore the CRPD, as a strictly disability-oriented document, nevertheless includes recommendations that clearly address language policy.

Currently (in September 2011) there are 149 signatories to the Convention and 103 ratifications of the Convention (UN has 192 member states). The UN Website provides an easily accessible, always up-to-date overview of these countries and a brief description of the Convention's

history. Interestingly, the report 'Deaf people and Human Rights' as compiled and published by the World Federation of the Deaf in 2008 makes use of the concepts and terminology as used in the CRPD. The report presents situations as reported by 93 national associations of the Deaf (mostly in developing countries). The focus is on legislation and policies, services, accessibility to media, information on signed languages, the status of signed languages, education and employment. Chapter 5.3 of the report describes the legal status of national signed languages of those countries included. In Chapters 5.4 and 5.5 further data is presented that show the connections between citizenship of Deaf people and recognition of their national signed language.

Council of Europe

The Council of Europe (CoE) was founded in 1949 by ten countries and now has forty-seven member states on the European continent. The CoE 'seeks to develop throughout Europe common and democratic principles based on the European Convention on Human Rights and other reference texts on the protection of individuals (www.coe.int). CoE is not to be confused with the European Union or any of its bodies. Two of the most important European minority rights instruments were developed by the CoE, the European Charter on Regional or Minority Languages (1992) and the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities (1995), but neither includes the group of signed languages. Apparently, this exclusion was rooted in a profound misunderstanding about the nature of signed languages. Mr Albanese, Director of Environment and Local Authorities in the Secretariat General of the Council of Europe argued in his (written) statement that:

> […] Article 1 (a) of the Charter gives the following definition:
>
> 'a) 'Regional or minority languages' means languages that are:
>
> i) traditionally used within a given territory of a State by nationals of that State who form a group numerically smaller than the rest of the State´s population; and
>
> ii) different from the official language(s) of that State; it does not include either dialects of the official language(s) of the State or the languages of migrants;'
>
> Personally, I think that in the case of the Sign Languages some of the essential elements required by such a definition are missing:
>
> - the 'Historical' character of the regional or minority languages, since the Sign Languages are connected with a handicap and not with the membership to a group, ethnically, religiously, linguistically different from the majority of the population of a state;

- the concentration on a 'given territory,' that is a restricted geographical area in a State; the users of the Sign Languages are widespread on the whole territory of a State;
- the difference in respect of the official language(s) of a State. If I understand it correctly, Sign Languages are a means of communication within any language.

Therefore I do not think on the basis of the information in my possession that the Charter applies to Sign Languages. In any case, such a problem was never raised during the negotiations of the Charter. (Letter from Albanese to Krausneker, 2 April 1998)

The CoE has since changed its approach to the topic profoundly. In the Parliamentary Assembly Recommendation 1492 (2001) Rights of National Minorities (in particular paragraph 12.xiii on sign languages), Recommendation Nr. 15 suggests:

> Concerning the official recognition of sign languages at the national level the CD-P-RR could consider drafting a report for the attention of the Parliamentary Assembly on the status of sign languages in member states.

Accordingly, a report was compiled by a consultant. While *The Status of Sign languages in Europe* (published as a paperback by CoE in 2005) constitutes a unique official publication by an international organization, it has some shortcomings. Apparently only information in a language the consultant spoke herself was included, and, furthermore, Deaf Associations were not approached to provide supportive information provided by national representations or state institutions. With signed languages being minority languages that were ignored for a long time by nation-states, this process resulted in partly questionable outcomes.

In Doc. 9738 on the *Protection of Sign Languages in the Member States of the Council of Europe* (17 March; Council of Europe 2003a) the Committee on Legal Affairs and Human Rights, specifically rapporteur Mr Malcolm Bruce, reported extensively on the data collected regarding rights of signed language users and recommended:

> that precise needs be evaluated at European level, that a European legal instrument be drawn up on the rights of the users of these languages and that various measures aimed at guaranteeing the equality of rights be adopted in each member state.

A text drafted in this report was adopted shortly after by the Parliamentary Assembly of the CoE: Recommendation 1598 on *Protection of Sign Languages in the Member States of the Council of Europe* was passed on 1 April 2003.

The profound internal development and change in understanding since 1998 is so far concluded by the Council of Europe's most recent publication, the *Report on the Protection and Promotion of Sign Languages and the*

Rights of their Users in Council of Europe Member States: Needs Analysis (2008). This text is not an official document but an expert opinion commissioned by the CoE. It aims at covering the situation in all member states concerning basic topics such as Language Acquisition of Sign Language Users and Deaf Education and concludes with twenty-five recommendations. The Council of Europe has therefore developed into the one international organization with the greatest output on the topic of signed languages.

European Union

Because of the principle of subsidiarity, the European Union (EU) does not have the right to launch language activities that might have political or legislative consequences in member countries. Although any activity having political or statutory impact is ruled out, the EU has been active in the field and the European Parliament is the author of the first international petition on signed languages. Already in 1985 there were within the European Parliament motions for resolutions on the topic of minority languages (Doc. B2–767/85 and Doc. B2–1192/85). They are important because they prompted the parliamentary Committee on Youth, Culture, Education, Information and Sport to decide on 29 January 1986 that a report on the topic of Sign Languages should be drawn up. An extensive and precise text was concluded after one and a half years – that is, after a public hearing of representatives of the World Federation of the Deaf and a discussion of the draft report. The committee mentioned above adopted the draft motion for a resolution on 17 February 1988 unanimously and the *Resolution on Sign Languages of the Deaf* was carried by the members of the European Parliament on the same day (Doc A2–302/87). It is no coincidence that the first item of the resolution calls upon the European Commission to make proposals to the Council concerning official recognition of the signed language used in each Member State and also calls upon the member states themselves 'to abolish any remaining obstacles to the use of sign language.' All other items reflect the most urgent concerns known of today, e.g. interpretation, the media, teaching signed languages, dictionaries, institutional and funding aspects.

The report compiled by delegate Lemass in 1988 was pioneering for the European Union and its member states. For many years this short recommendation was the only international text to back national struggles by Deaf Associations to have their signed language recognized by their governments. The passing of a second *Resolution on Sign Languages* by the European Parliament in November 1998, ten years after the first one, marked the continued necessity for change (European Parliament 1998).

Conclusions

Effective language policy for signed languages has been impeded for centuries by two powerful social and linguistic factors. First, language policy has been controlled by hearing people with little or no knowledge of the languages concerned, and who, by and large, view Deaf people as a disabled population rather than a fully functioning linguistic minority. Second, those who develop these language policies have been plagued by a historical amnesia that condemns them to continually resurrect failed attempts at language engineering with the goal of creating invented systems designed to serve as signed surrogates of spoken languages.

The way forward is not difficult. Effective language policy in Deaf communities depends on two simple principles: respect for indigenous languages, and respect for the right of people to use the language of their choice. Signed languages must be recognized for what they are: fully fledged, natural languages that meet the functional needs of their linguistic communities. Language policy regarding the use of signed languages must be developed by the Deaf communities affected with the assistance of experts knowledgeable in signed language linguistics and language planning, as Ladd *et al.* (2003) conclude:

> In responding to the emerging policy agenda there will be a need to ensure that actions which bring material benefit to Deaf communities are pursued in consultation with Deaf communities themselves. It is of fundamental importance that mere symbolic recognition is avoided and that action is not limited to certain easy domains. With this in mind it is of fundamental importance that Deaf communities, and the research and policy worlds act in partnership to build on gains from current situation of flux and receptivity. (Ladd *et al.* 2003: 66)

Part IV

Globalization and modernization

20

Transnationalism, migration and language education policy

Kendall A. King and Adam C. Rambow

Introduction

This chapter considers current research and theory in the study of transnationalism and migration as it intersects with theories of language use, language learning, and, in particular, with language education policy. Drawing from current transnational theory and the concepts of simultaneity, polycentricity and hybridity, this chapter illustrates how past and current language policy research and practice have been challenged by recent studies of migration, language and education. Specifically, the chapter reviews three rapidly developing lines of research. First, we consider issues of second- and foreign language education policy and transmigration. Second, we explore digital literacies and their implications for language education policy. Finally, we examine the relationship between language policy and citizenship, with a particular focus on the role of language testing. We discuss the ways in which long-standing concepts such as 'immigrant', 'resident', 'citizen', 'second language' and 'Indigenous' have been problematized by the greater focus on widespread transnational circulations of people, ideas and information. The research reviewed here highlights the ways in which traditional notions of language shift (e.g., the three-generation model) and language educational policy designations (e.g., 'English as a second language student') are increasingly recognized as problematic. Moreover, we argue that this research challenges overly simplistic views of the targets of language policy, and we conclude by pointing to directions for future work in this area.

Transnational migration

Scholarship on international migration over the last two decades has noted two pronounced, inter-related trends. The first trend is

demographic, as migration patterns have both shifted and intensified during this period. As an example, in the European Union, the number of immigrants increased by 25 per cent between 2002 and 2006 (Herm 2008), while in the US, the percentage of children with at least one immigrant parent tripled between 1970 and 2006, from 6 to 20 per cent (Capps and Fortuny 2006). According to the United Nations, in 2005, almost 191 million people world-wide were immigrants, compared to 155 million in 1990 (United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs 2006). These data point to the continued expansion of international migration.

Migration patterns world-wide have not only expanded in recent decades, but their nature has changed. While historians note that past migrations were also cyclical and very often involved families (Gabaccia 2010), there is evidence that this is more the case now than previously. For instance, the percentage of female migrants to developed nations rose from 49 to 51 per cent between 1980 and 2000 (Martin 2004). In turn, the number of US-born children in mixed-status families (unauthorized immigrant parents and citizen children) has expanded rapidly in recent years, from 2.7 million in 2003 to 4 million in 2008 (Passel and Cohn 2008). And, as Newland suggests, 'circulation is more the rule than the exception in migration patterns between North and South' (2009: 11).

Partly in response to these shifting demographics, a second trend is that scholarship on migration has attended more closely to how migrants construct lives, identities and communities – real and imagined – across national borders. Within much of this work, 'immigrant' is not so much viewed as a 'point of entry in a teleologically understood story, but as a complex site for the production of race, nation and globalization as they intersect with other categories of difference and with different and overlapping histories' (Lukose 2007: 413). Such a 'transnational' or 'transmigratory' focus entails a break with past work that has tended to treat migration as a one-way, unilinear process of assimilation. Within this former paradigm, scholars argued that social and economic success for immigrants (perhaps in the US, in particular, but also elsewhere) entailed abandonment of heritage languages, practices and connections. In turn, the last decade of work within the field of migration studies has seen sharp criticism of the so-called unilinear assimilationist paradigm and a concomitant rise of what is described as a 'transnational perspective' (Levitt and Glick Schiller 2004).

Specifically, a transnational perspective on migration recognizes that 'the lives of increasing numbers of individuals can no longer be understood by looking only at what goes on within national boundaries' (ibid. 2004: 1003). This work highlights how 'migrants are often embedded in multi-layered, multi-sited transnational social fields, encompassing those who move and those who stay behind' (1003). While studies of transnationalism are often linked with diaspora research, the terms and fields of study have different points of reference and emphasis. While

diaspora studies tend to examine the cultural production and imaginative worlds of migrants, transnationalism is more tightly focused on social activities, communications and institutions that function across nation-state borders (Shukla 2003: 12, in Lukose 2007: 409). As such, a transnational lens allows us to see how the social, cultural, linguistic and economic incorporation of individuals into nation-states *and* the maintenance of transnational connections are not contradictory (Levitt and Glick Schiller 2004). Further, such an approach 'rejects the long-held notion that society and the nation-state are one and the same' (ibid. : 1003).

These twin shifts – one demographic and one conceptual – together call into question long-standing concepts within the fields of applied linguistics and language policy, including definitions of 'immigrant', 'resident', 'Indigenous' or 'citizen', as well as more basic terms such as 'family', 'generation', 'home' or 'community'. A lawsuit brought against the California State Board of Education by the Hindu American Foundation (HAF), described by Lukose (2007), illustrates how transnationally complicated notions of both 'home' and 'community' have challenged education policy and its interpretation. HAF, an organization claiming to represent the interests of the Hindu community in California, charged that the state textbooks contained biased and discriminatory depictions of Hinduism. What became central in the case was not the representation of Hinduism, but rather what constituted the 'home' culture and who genuinely represented the 'community': Indian parents in California and their children who would use the textbooks, the HAF (widely reported to be part of the right-wing Hindu nationalist movement, based in India but operating transnationally), or US-trained Indian scholars? As Lukose observes, 'what this kind of cultural politics, part of wider transnational cultural politics of home, belonging, and identities in the context of migration… brings to light is the highly contested nature of what constitutes "home" and "community"' (2007: 406).

The concept of 'generational' is likewise problematized under a transnational lens (Glick Schiller and Fouron 2003). Scholarship on migration has long given primacy to the notion of 'generation', with 'first', 'second' and 'third' serving as organizing concepts for describing both experiences and practices. The first generation is understood as shaped largely by the home/native language and culture, and the second and third generations largely by that of the host/destination context (Ishizawa 2004; Wei 1994). A transnational lens, in turn, recognizes that socialization occurs transnationally and is rooted in at least two social and cultural contexts. As Levitt and Glick Schiller (2004: 1017) observe:

> Even children who never return to their parents' ancestral homes are brought up in households where people, values, goods and claims from somewhere else are present on a daily basis. Similarly, the children of

> nonmigrants are raised in social networks and settings entirely permeated by people, resources, and what Levitt (1999) has called 'social remittances' from the host country. For these individuals, the generational experience is not territorially bounded. It is based on actual and imagined experiences that are shared across borders regardless of where someone was born or now lives.

In this light, conceptualizing 'generation' as a lineal process, 'involving clear boundaries between one experience and the other, does not accurately capture the experience of living in a transnational field because it implies a separation in migrants' and nonmigrants' socialization and social networks that may or may not exist' (Levitt and Glick Schiller 2004: 1017). Three concepts, each outlined below, further explicate this conceptual shift and provide tools for considering implications for the study of transmigration and language education policy.

Simultaneity is the experience and construction of a life that incorporates institutions, routines and activities across national borders (ibid.: 1003). The concept of simultaneity draws from the understanding that 'migrant incorporation into a new language and transnational connections to a homeland or to dispersed networks of family, compatriots, or persons who share a religious or ethnic identity can occur at the same time and reinforce one another' (ibid.: 1003). Recent work within the field of applied linguistics has focused on the ways in which individuals represent and enact experiences of simultaneity in and through narrative. For instance, Warriner (2010) examines the ways in which refugee learners of English represent and enact experiences of simultaneity in and through autobiographical storytelling during qualitative research interviews. More specifically, she documents how five refugee women from the Sudan, through a range of daily practices, are able to stay connected to people, goods, ideas and practices from the 'homeland' while simultaneously establishing connections to new people, communities, ideas and practices. Her close analysis of narratives illustrates the 'highly particularlistic attachments' (Waldinger and Fitzgerald 2004: 1177) that emerge among those who have been displaced as well as the many and varied connections to the homeland and the practices that remain.

Polycentricity, in turn, refers to the simultaneous orientations to different 'centres' of authority and normativity (Blommaert, Collins and Slembrouck 2005). Some of these orientations are made by the subjects directly, whereas others are imposed by outside individuals (ibid.). As Blommaert and his colleagues have argued, polycentricity is a central feature of interactional regimes in all human environments (Blommaert 2007). The term intends to highlight the multiple batteries of norms to which an individual might orient within any particular communicative event and to encourage researchers to uncover and analyse these multiple norms, which are often more salient in transnational contexts.

As Blommaert (2007) further argues, the term also identifies the social structures of power and inequality at work. A focus on polycentricity suggests 'a less innocent world of linguistic, social and cultural variation and diversity, one in which difference is quickly turned into inequality, and in which complex patterns of potential-versus-actual behaviour occur' (2007: 120). Further, the notion of polycentricity enables us 'to move beyond the usual sociolinguistic units, homogeneous speech communities, and consider situations in which various "big" sociolinguistic systems enter the picture, as when people migrate in the context of globalization, or when in the same context messages start moving across large spaces' (ibid.: 120).

Hybridity emphasizes cultural activities as 'repertoires of practice' (Gutiérrez and Rogoff 2003), as well as the notion that there are competing discourses and knowledges that can be employed in any particular context (De la Piedra 2009). A focus on hybridity also draws into question many of the established dichotomies (i.e., home vs. host country; academic vs. everyday literacies); rather than defining binaries, 'hybridity theory posits that people in any given community draw on multiple resources or funds to make sense of the world' (ibid.: 112). This is potentially manifested in the construction of a 'third space', where we may find an 'integration of knowledges and ways of speaking learned in different spaces that merges the "first space" of people's home, community and peer networks with the "second space" of the discourses they encounter in more formalized institutions such as work, school, or church' (Moje *et al.* 2004: 41, a'ted in De la Piedra 2009).

Recognizing hybrid practices of youth entails a critical examination of what we mean by core terms commonly used within the field of language policy, including 'native language', 'Indigenous language', 'language learner' and 'language shift', as well as newer labels such as 'generation 1.5'. As an example, although 'generation 1.5' was intended to draw attention to the often overlooked needs of this population, the term rests on assumptions of fixed, static categories of 'nativeness' and 'non-nativeness', as well as 'binary categories of nationhood' (Reyes 2007). While 'generation 1.5' refers to students born outside the US who received part, or most, of their formal education in the US, three interconnected discourses of partiality shape understandings of 'generation 1.5' (see Benesch 2008). A discourse of *demographic* partiality 'posits nativeness and nonnativeness as the normative demographic positions' and highlights students' 'in-between' immigration status as neither nonnative (them) or native (us) (ibid.: 299). A discourse of *linguistic* partiality frames these students as linguistically lacking relative to an idealized standard variety of English – neither monolingual English speakers, nor balanced bilinguals. Reyes (2007: 136) likewise claims that, with its focus on birthplace, the native/non-native construct 'oversimplif[ies] complex phenomena, often reducing identity issues to intergenerational tensions

or conflicts between nations and cultural values'. And third, a discourse of *academic* partiality frames these students as lacking high-level academic skills. Together, these discourses are the 'linguistic realization' (Canagarajah 1999: 30) of the ideological monolingual/monocultural construction of 'generation 1.5' (Benesch 2008: 295). More specifically, 'the unwillingness to come to terms with multiple and overlapping languages, identities, and cultures leads educational institutions to marginalize students who are not monolingual speakers of the standard variety and members of the dominant cultural group' (ibid.: 296). Taken together, these discourses of demographic, linguistic and academic partiality construct English learners generally and 'generation 1.5' in particular, as linguistic and cultural outsiders who are constantly in need of remediation. A transnational research lens and focus on hybridity, in particular, thus shed light on the ways in which terms such as 'generation 1.5' – and the ideological foundations upon which they rest – are problematic.

Key areas of work

The above concepts are particularly relevant to three specific avenues of research: second- and foreign language education policy and transmigration; digital literacies and language education policy; and language policy and citizenship. The remainder of this chapter highlights recent research in these areas. This review, while not comprehensive, intends to draw attention to cutting-edge work and demonstrate how a transnational lens in general, and the concepts of hybridity, polycentricity and simultaneity in particular, are useful for contemporary work in migration and language education policy. While much of the literature reviewed here falls outside the traditional boundaries of language policy, our aim is to suggest ways in which language policy might productively engage with this work.

Language education policy and transnational migration

While the bulk of language policy scholarship is less than five decades old and has only recently developed into an organized area of study (Ricento 2006; Shohamy 2006; Spolsky 2004), the field has undergone three substantial, paradigmatic shifts (see Ricento 2000). Early work (e.g., Fishman, Ferguson and Das Gupta 1968; Rubin and Jernudd 1971a) tended to focus on efforts to resolve 'language problems', typically in post-colonial and economically developing countries, through positivistic, technocratic and linguistic solutions based on the effective management of linguistic resources. By the late 1970s, it became apparent that the development (and language policy) efforts in these nations often

failed to achieve their aims (Spolsky 2009) and that core language policy constructs such as 'diglossia' and 'native speaker' were far from neutral (Davies 1991; Woolard and Schieffelin 1994). Language policy, in its second phase, turned its focus to the role of language – and language policy in particular – in reproducing social and economic inequality both within and across nation-states. The third and current phase of language policy work, rooted in the 1990s, greatly expands these critical approaches, as research has focused on personal agency and emphasized the ways in which language policy interacts with individual and collective language ideologies and politics as well as with global forces such as large-scale migration.

While central terms and constructs within the field of language policy generally have been challenged at least since 1980, the last decade in particular has seen a growing critique of the efficacy of prevailing institutional categories (see Leung, Harris and Rampton 1997; Nero 2005), including those used in educational contexts for language learners. School-oriented language policies frequently rely on categories – for instance, English as a Second Language (ESL) student, English language learner (ELL), native speaker/non-native speaker (NS/NNS) – that fail to capture students' multiple, simultaneous and overlapping cultural, ethnic and linguistic affiliations (see Brutt-Griffler and Samimy 1999; Widdowson 1994). Further, these institutional categories manifest in language and education policies that stratify immigrant groups according to their assimilation into normative cultural and linguistic practices.

Perhaps most widely critiqued of these categories is the native speaker/non-native speaker dichotomy, which is commonly used to identify individuals according to their presumptive first language, thus positioning learners as insiders or outsiders based upon their status as 'native speakers' (NS) or 'non-native speakers' (NNS) (Davies 1991). As Rampton (1990: 97) notes, this characterization is based on several spurious assumptions, including the belief that 'a particular language is inherited, either through genetic endowment or through birth into the social group stereotypically associated with it'. Language education policies are often built upon these theoretical foundations and constructs. For instance, following the *Lau v. Nichols* Supreme Court ruling in 1974, US school districts are required to develop procedures to identify students who are 'limited English proficient' (LEP). To this end, nearly every US state requires its school districts to administer a home language survey. A typical survey (in this case, from the Saint Paul, Minnesota public schools) includes questions such as 'Which language did your child learn first?' and 'Which language does your child usually speak?'. While these surveys are a reasonably effective means of determining the languages to which a learner has been exposed, they account neither for the changing nature of language use among contemporary migrant populations, nor for the hybrid practices that characterize many transnational homes and communities.

Recent scholarship illustrates some of the potential limitations of such static categories for creating school language policies. For instance, Harklau explored the experiences of high school English as a Second Language (ESL) students as they made the transition to post-secondary education. Her data revealed that 'the very same ESL students who had been considered "the good kids" in high school… subsequently came to be characterized as underachieving and difficult students in their college ESL classes' (Harklau 2000: 36). While their institutional status as ESL students remained static over time, this status led to disparate ascriptions of both ability and identity in the secondary and post-secondary contexts. Thus, as students negotiate a polycentric social sphere, defined by multiple and often competing affiliations with peer groups, nuclear and extended families, and cultural or religious organizations, schools must examine the way these students balance the normative representations of their abilities and identities with their own agency to shape these representations. As Harklau concludes, there is 'a need to constantly reexamine how program configurations and placement measures are chosen, and what is taken for granted in those choices' (2000: 63). Such a re-examination necessarily involves adapting educational language policies to the reality of constantly shifting linguistic practices.

Talmy (2008), in his work with school ESL programmes, adopts a language socialization perspective (Schieffelin and Ochs 1986) and illustrates how language socialization rarely if ever takes place in a linear and uncontested fashion. Emphasizing what he refers to as 'contingency and multidirectionality' in language socialization, he documents how students had complex and contradictory relationships toward the ESL programme. As for the programme itself, he found that it tended to minimize individual differences in language ability in favour of broad placement criteria. Students were placed in ESL classes based upon length of enrolment at the school rather than English proficiency; curriculum was largely undifferentiated; and there was little institutional support for the programme. Many students resisted these practices in various ways, including refusing to complete class work or to bring required materials. Talmy concluded that 'local students' productions of the ESL student threw into question what precisely were the "target" community, cultures and practices… that students were being socialized into' (2008: 639). Nevertheless, although students used language and behaviour to resist and reappropriate institutional constructions of ESL, the instructional programmes and categories used to define students remained intact. The concept of polycentricity helps us understand the tension between institutional structures and individual agency evidenced in this instance. While students were required to enrol in ESL courses, they resisted the social stigma associated with being placed in the programme. Nevertheless, as Blommaert (2007: 120) suggests, 'the multiplicity of available batteries of norms does not mean that these

batteries are equivalent, equally accessible or equally open to negotiation'. Talmy's data illustrate that although these immigrant students, through their actions and use of language, negotiate between discursive centres of authority, the school norms ultimately take precedence.

Other language socialization research sheds light on how hybridity and polycentricity are evident in language use and behaviour among children with immigrant parents. Applying a transnational lens to language socialization, Lo (2009) found that in the context of Korean language heritage instruction in California, teacher ideologies surrounding what constituted respectful language were intertwined with expectations regarding comportment and behaviour. In particular:

> When children used non-deferential forms, these were not read as indexing a sign of disrespect. Instead, such forms were revalorized as indexical of the children's language ecology – specifically, the circumstances of their language acquisition and thereby of their identities as Korean Americans. Yet similar reframings were not extended to forms of demeanor, where children's bodies were narrated as displaying inappropriate affective stances. (Lo 2009: 218)

Lo illustrates how students' practices and behaviours are variably interpreted and linked with respect and deference in transnational contexts. The teachers modified their expectations somewhat in response to students' hybrid language contexts and practices, yet were less willing to overlook perceived non-linguistic breaches in comportment. Further, this work illustrates the polycentric orientation of both language learners and teachers toward cultural norms that are often taken for granted as immutable. Lo's findings imply that the school policy needs to move away from an essentialized view of heritage identity toward a position that accounts for the multiple cultural and linguistic spheres that both teachers and students negotiate through their daily interactions.

Other research this decade (e.g., Blackledge 2003; Duff 2002) provides rich examples of some of the ways in which students contradict and complicate institutional categories, and in particular of those behaviours and affiliations that challenge representations of homogeneity among linguistic and ethnic groups. Spotti (2006), for instance, chronicles tensions in the way an instructor of Dutch as a second language draws upon wider discourses of ethnic homogeneity and cultural otherness to construct her Muslim pupils as deviant from a normative Dutch identity. In fact, these students represent a heterogeneous group, both ethnically and linguistically. In order to avoid the kind of essentializing discourse exhibited by the teacher in this study, Spotti advocates an educational policy stance that will 'avoid addressing immigrant minority pupils as being cultural "others" or as having specific language learning needs that go beyond the usual needs of their majority counterparts' (ibid.: 133). Spotti's position points to the need for language and education policies

that acknowledge the multiple linguistic repertoires that students draw from in the construction of hybrid identities and practices.

In the context of public schooling in Britain, Blackledge (2003), in turn, examined the policy of the British Office for Standards in Education (Ofsted), which is responsible for compiling data on schools throughout Britain and Wales for the purposes of evaluating school efficacy. As part of this work, Ofsted reported on the practice of immigrants taking extended leaves to their home countries during the academic year. Blackledge (2003) argues that the reports prepared by Ofsted do not acknowledge the importance of these immigrants' transnational networks; instead, they 'contribute to ideologies that characterize visits to heritage countries as negative, harmful to pupils, a burden to the system and an abuse of rights' (339). Blackledge's analysis points to the failure of school policy to acknowledge the simultaneity in the lives of these families who have ties to both Britain and their 'home' countries. As they move back and forth across national boundaries, these immigrants draw from and contribute to speech communities, language practices, and cultural forms that Ofsted does not acknowledge as resources.

With respect to the foreign language context, Kininger (2004) asserts that, in order to provide more meaningful foreign language instruction, policy makers and curriculum designers must account for the complex identity work that students invest in language learning. Kininger illustrates how foreign language students as well as second language (immigrant) students are in the process of creating hybrid identities and affiliations through their use of the target language. More specifically, the communicative model of foreign language instruction as it is often employed does not account for learners who are consciously building hybrid identities through their use of the target language. Kininger writes of her participant, Alice, whose 'story problematizes foreign language as an object of desire in ways that are obscured, within contemporary educational approaches, by emphasis on functional language use' (240). Far from being a communicative tool, language represents a means of accessing particular identities that learners associate with the target culture.

Recent work has also disrupted any simple notion of what a 'heritage language' might be. Studying community schools in Birmingham, England, Blackledge *et al.* (2008) focused on Bengali heritage language instruction and found that students made use of language in a strategic fashion to highlight or minimize certain aspects of their identities. These identities did not necessarily coincide with stereotypical constructions of Asian immigrants, either those imposed by the dominant culture or by their own families and communities. The school administrators often adopted a discourse of nationalism and heritage language preservation in their construction of school policy, stressing the importance of fostering in students ties to a common home nation and a shared sense of past. As part of this strategy, the schools privileged a standardized form of

Bengali, despite the fact that students 'in addition to making use of linguistic resources of English, Sylheti and Bengali… watched Hindi films, read the Qur'an in Arabic, and listened to popular contemporary music in varieties of American English, and also Indian and Bengali pop music' (Blackledge *et al*. 2008: 548). Many of these students ultimately resisted or subverted the goal of fostering a homogenous sense of Bengali identity in favour of hybrid language practices that included use of multiple dialects and parodic use of Bengali. The study illustrates that within this community, actors are subject to many different centres of symbolic authority and make use of linguistic resources according to shifting conceptions of identity that do not cohere into a single construction of a 'typical' Bengali. Ultimately, '"heritage" might well become a site at which identities are contested rather than imposed unproblematically. That is, those who seek to preserve and pass on certain sets of resources will instead find that the next generation either rejects imposed subject positions, contests the validity or significance of resources, or appropriates them for other purposes' (ibid.: 537). This strategic and hybrid use of both English and other languages further challenges binary categorizations of language learners. Moreover, students' simultaneous investments in both English and their heritage language illustrate a means of negotiating these two centres and the process of making sense of their place in multiple, distinct linguistic, and cultural systems. Yet this polycentricity was not factored into the school policy, which was predicated on the primacy of Bengali and the importance of reinforcing a unified sense of Bengali identity.

Work such as that reviewed here has highlighted how the linguistic and cultural practices of transnational youth are often characterized by hybridity, simultaneity and polycentricity. This work points to the problematic assumptions supporting binary terms that often flatten these overlapping cultural, ethnic and linguistic affiliations. These terms, in turn, become institutional categories that manifest in language and education policies. The line of work overviewed here directly challenges some of these categories and terms, and calls into question the resultant policies. More broadly, this research encourages us to consider how language policies and the terminology employed therein can be devised to be not only widely understood, generalizable and meaningful, but also adaptable and relevant in the face of constantly shifting discourse practices of learners in both second and foreign language contexts.

Digital literacies, transmigration and language education policy

Digital literacies, the second area of work reviewed here, have important implications for our understanding of the links between transnationalism

and language education policy. More specifically, current research on digital literacies complicates language education policy by drawing attention to the polycentricity of linguistic interactions, the hybridity of cultural and linguistic practices, and the simultaneity that characterizes the lives of immigrant youth. This research challenges language education policy and educational practice, more generally, to respond to permeable national boundaries and linguistic affiliations. A number of scholars have noted the dramatic shifts in literacy practices that have accompanied global technological expansion (e.g., Gutiérrez 2008; Hull 2003; Warschauer 2007; Williams 2008). Here we highlight key literature that explores this dynamic shift and the role it plays in the lives of migrant and multilingual youth. Taken as a whole, this research problematizes notions of linguistic and national boundaries as coherent and readily identifiable, further complicating some of the working assumptions within the field of language policy.

Much of the research into language learning and digital literacy is based on a socio-cultural perspective, drawing upon New Literacy Studies (NLS) and the work of the New London Group (1996). A central tenet of this work is that the concept of literacy includes a variety of social practices beyond reading and writing. For example, Lam (2009: 378) argues for the need to consider 'multiliteracies', a concept that takes into account '(a) the increasing salience and ubiquity of cultural and linguistic diversity across localities and globalized relations across national borders, and (b) the growing variety of hybrid text forms associated with information and multimedia technologies'. In exploring this phenomenon, Lam focuses on the online interactions of her focal research participant, a Chinese immigrant youth. Through her interactions with peers in remote locations, the young girl adopts a variety of language practices, including code-switching between Cantonese and Mandarin and the use of vernacular English punctuated by phrases associated with hip-hop music. Lam argues that more than simply communicating with her acquaintances, her participant was building a complex multilingual and transnational identity. Lam's work draws from the concept of simultaneity, concluding that 'the multilayered and multilingual identifications of this youth across social and geographical spaces were maintained and developed simultaneously through the use of multiple semiotic and communication tools' (2009: 394). Indeed, this work illustrates the integral role that technology plays in the lives of adolescents who are building relationships simultaneously with peers in their local sphere and with other adolescents across the globe.

The salience of digital media is also emphasized in Lam's other work (2000; 2004; 2006), which explores the ways that multilingual adolescents utilize technology to forge connections across national borders and to construct identities that exhibit simultaneous affiliations with multiple speech communities and national identities. For example, in

theorizing the impact of globalized electronic communication on linguistic practices, Lam (2006: 173) makes the important distinction that 'within this context of globalized communication and the forging of transnational relationships, the logic of socialization may be changing from that of *acculturation* (socialization into the culture of one's adopted country) to *transculturation* (socialization to multiple modes of belonging and participation across national boundaries)'. According to Lam, the concept of transculturation better describes the ways that immigrants, in the context of globalization, are continually adapting their linguistic and cultural practices according to a battery of communicative norms. Moreover, this idea of transculturation embodies the concepts of simultaneity, polycentricity and hybridity. For as immigrants shift across boundaries, both spatial and discursive, concepts such as acculturation, which are rooted in a normative focus on the host country, have less explanatory power than they once did.

Other research highlights how adolescent language learners use digital media to forge academic and social identities that challenge normative characterizations of immigrants. For example, Black (2005) analysed the potential of digital spaces to shape the academic identities of language learners. Specifically focusing on a writing genre called *fanfiction*, Black explored the shift in writing practices of her research participants through their use of an Internet site dedicated to user-generated content related to characters from popular animated television programs, movies and comics. Through these writings, which were reviewed by other users, 'ELLs are able to draw on popular cultural, social, and personal resources to construct an identity as an English writer and reader that may depart significantly from the one that they are able to display in the ESL classroom' (124). This exemplifies the kind of 'third space' (Moje *et al.* 2004) suggested above, in that this individual combined academic discourses with social practices associated with youth culture and popular media. In related work, Thorne and Black (2007: 149) comment upon how this might impact educational policy, noting that as these kinds of digital literacies become more integral to the lives of multilingual youth, 'education generally, and language education particularly, will need to accommodate emerging communication tools, their emergent and plastic cultures of use, as well as their attendant communicative genres that are… everyday dimensions of competent social and professional activity'.

In other work that emphasizes immigrant students' digital literacy practices, Yi (2007) describes Joan, a Korean-American high school student. Yi characterizes Joan as a 'parachute kid' (Zhou 1998: 26) – 'a student who lives with a distant relative or a legal guardian in order to attend school in America'. By focusing on Joan's out of school literacy practices, Yi documents how Joan develops an identity as a writer through the poetry she shares over instant messaging (IM). Significantly, Yi finds

that media literacy is a key tool in the development of biliteracy, as Joan, through her participation in these digital practices, exhibited 'swift, constant, and comfortable movement among multiple genres, sites, and languages while engaging in multiple literacies' (Yi 2007: 34). Not only did Joan utilize this technology in order to maintain simultaneous ties with distinct linguistic systems, but she also created hybrid texts that include elements of different languages and literary forms.

Close analysis of the ways in which youth engage with multiliteracies and digital spaces reveals the absence of neatly bounded, nation-based linguistic and cultural communities. As the above work shows, language learners are simultaneously affiliated with multiple languages and nations; with the advent of digital spaces, these affiliations are increasingly fluid. This dynamic process challenges binary categorizations of linguistic ownership and nationhood that undergird many language policies. Work in the field of language policy must begin to account for what Jacquemet (2005) has referred to as 'transidiomatic practices' – that is, language use that is marked by simultaneity, mediated through technology, and likely challenges conceptions of languages as bounded entities. Jacquemet argues that 'the problematic indexicality of cellular communication, the fuzziness of machine translation, the transidiomatic practices of deterritorialized speakers, and the emergence of recombinant identities problematize our taken-for-granted, common-sensical knowledge of what is a "language"' (ibid.: 273). We, in turn, suggest that such shifts present challenges for traditional approaches to language policy, particularly in the areas of corpus and acquisition planning.

Language policy and citizenship

A third and growing area of research examines the relationship between language policy and citizenship, and more specifically the critical role of testing as de facto language policy for international migrants. This body of work, recently overviewed by McNamara (2008) and Shohamy (2009), critically examines the use of language testing by governments for determination of asylum, immigration and citizenship status. This area of language policy – and related language education policies – has grown dramatically over the last decade. This growth is due primarily to increased transnational migration and corresponding state efforts to regulate entry, residence and citizenship generally, and to limit access to state-supported individual rights and benefits particularly. Shohamy (2009: 55) argues that long-standing ideological assumptions about and definitions of 'language', 'test' and 'citizenship' work together to 'impose powerful and strong sanctions on immigrants who have very limited space to resist'. These exams, which take varied forms, represent examples of language policy implementation through high-stakes testing.

For international refugees fleeing persecution or human rights abuses and seeking asylum within a country that has signed the international refugee convention (UNHRC 1951 [1967]), establishing country of origin is essential but often difficult as many refugees arrive with no official documentation. Within this context, language tests are often used as a means of determining nationality. Such tests are based on highly problematic assumptions that, for instance, all members of a nation will (a) speak that national language fluently and natively, and (b) hold specific knowledge about that that nation (McNamara 2008). These assumptions belie the hybridity and simultaneity that characterize the experiences of most transnational migrants and asylum-seekers, in particular, many of whom have sought initial refuge in a third nation or have lived in close contact with speakers from different regions. Blommaert (2001b; 2008), for instance, analysed an asylum application of a Burundese man whose written description of his home country was judged insufficient to prove his Burundese citizenship. A Belgian judge had asked the applicant to produce a text describing everything he knew about Burundi. The judge found that the text did not qualify the applicant as a *bona fide* resident of Burundi presumably because the text contained variable spellings, punctuations and capitalizations, borrowings from local languages, lists, drawings and unconventional genres. These kinds of assumptions and testing practices have been challenged (e.g., Eades, Fraser, Siegel, McNamara and Baker 2003), albeit with limited success.

Language tests have also become a common part of immigration procedures. For instance, the Dutch government requires that immigrant applicants take a Dutch language proficiency exam in their home country (Extra and Spotti 2009a). Requirements mandate language testing for all potential immigrants, including those intending to come as spouses of Dutch citizens. As McNamara observes (2008), this is particularly important for the Moroccan community as it is common for Moroccans residing in the Netherlands to bring spouses from Morocco. Presently, however, all immigrants who plan to immigrate as spouses need to pass a test in Dutch; this test is administered in their country, for example in Morocco, by telephone (McNamara 2008). While this practice has been critiqued as an unsubtle means of restricting immigration from these regions (also see Extra and Spotti 2009a; 2009b), it also points to how it is not just migrant networks operating transnationally, but government administration and testing mechanisms as well.

Language tests are also an important aspect of citizenship and naturalization procedures. Many countries, including the US and the UK, require knowledge of English for citizenship. The UK requires that all citizen applicants demonstrate 'knowledge of language and life in the United Kingdom' by passing the 'Life in the UK test' (example true/false question: 'Ulster Scots is a dialect which is spoken in Northern Ireland') or by passing a course in English language and citizenship. These

language testing policies, particularly those surrounding immigration and citizenship status, are shaped by mainstream language ideologies that link migration status and language proficiency and equate learning the national language with being 'good immigrants'. In the US, for instance, English is framed as both a prerequisite for personal success and as an easily accessible tool for learning (Haviland 2003). In this way, English use can be understood as a central component of banal nationalism (Billig 1995), as it is strategically employed to define who is (and who is not) a member of the national community. Since knowing English is connected with both '*becoming* and *being* American', English proficiency tends to serve as an index of nationalism and patriotism (Warriner 2007: 345). In turn, limited English proficiency and maintenance of a non-English language is often taken as an individual deficiency and a sign of lack of personal commitment to the US or 'American' values. Pavlenko (2002) shows how these links between American national identity and English are relatively new and were created in just one generation, and, further, how what 'was in fact a coercive turn in American history, became romanticized and glorified' (192). As bilingualism became unimaginable, 'the hegemonic ideology of English monolingualism as a keystone of Americanness came to dominate public discourses' (ibid.: 192).

Shohamy (2009) challenges not only the ideological assumptions at work here, but also the practicality of such requirements given the multilingual and bidialectal nature of many immigrant communities and clear evidence concerning the extended length of time it takes for immigrants to learn a new language well enough to complete exams in that language (Collier and Collier 1989). A further challenge concerns the extent to which 'knowledge of a new language is always *essential* for *all* newcomers' (Shohamy 2009: 48), to what extent the state possesses the right to impose a language on individuals, and whether such an imposition violates individual rights of freedom of speech and general democratic principles.

Such testing policies are clear instances of state language policy, primarily because the tests are established to motivate language learning and language use behaviours of individuals; moreover, legal outcomes concerning residential status depend on linguistic proficiency. This testing-policy-immigration complex rests on an ideological foundation in which tests are constructed as embodying objectivity, fairness and standards, and also as criteria of value, worth and quality (Shohamy 2001; 2006; 2009). Yet these assumptions have been challenged in profound ways, namely within the field of 'critical language testing', which has analysed the covert political and social objectives of tests as well as the impact on individuals and languages, in particular in reinforcing hierarchies, essentialist categories, and exclusionary practices (McNamara and Roever 2006).

For transnational migrants, language policies stipulating citizenship tests often present a major obstacle. These tests and the ideological assumptions supporting their formation overlook or even contradict the hybridity and simultaneity that define the experiences of many transnational migrants. For instance, for asylum-seekers who need to establish country of origin, their experiences of border-crossing, of long-term 'temporary' residence in refugee camps, and of close linguistic contact and multilingualism means that a Rwandan refugee, for instance, might only rarely sound (stereotypically) Rwandan (Blommaert 2008; Samuelson and Freedman 2010). Drawing on this work, the ideological assumptions of these policies are increasingly challenged. For instance, Shohamy (2009: 51) argues that 'while immigrants tend to develop bilingual, multilingual and hybrid varieties, these language tests are based on monolingual constructs and norms'. These policies thus do not recognize 'the widely used varieties and/or languages that immigrants use which involve their first languages and skills' (ibid.: 51–2).

The concept of citizenship is also critical and has likewise been challenged by applied linguists and other scholars. Citizenship has traditionally been linked to blood, *jus sanguinis*, or to soil, *jus soli*. Under *jus sanguinis*, citizenship is based on ancestry. Under *jus soli*, citizenship is determined by place of birth, with individuals 'earning' the right to citizenship through state-established symbolic acts. In light of transnational migration, *jus soli* policies have emerged as a major source of debate and tension as states attempt to 'manage migration' in increasingly aggressive ways (Kofman 2005, in Shohamy 2009). Soysal (1994, in Shohamy 2009), for instance, argues that 'there is need for post-national universal citizenship that will focus on immigration rights beyond the nation state to be granted by higher institutions such as the European Union or the United Nations. The claim is that states require their immigrants to give up their culture and basic identities in order to become citizens and this implies loss of basic personal and human rights'(Shohamy 2009: 54). Yet little progress has been made in this area. As Kofman (2005: 464) notes, 'whilst discourses of hybridity, diasporas, multiple belongings and cosmopolitanism circulate freely with intellectual writings on globalization and weakening of the nation-state', there is simultaneously 'increasingly vociferous demands for undivided loyalty and affiliation to national cultures and polities'.

Kofman (2005) suggests two trends, both apparent in the review here, as well as a sobering contradiction. On the one hand, academic work, leveraging critical theory and concepts such as hybridity, polycentricity and simultaneity has been employed to attack core concepts of testing, migration and citizenship. As we have seen here, the foundational ideological and definitional concepts and the policies that arise from them are increasingly recognized as problematic in academic circles. Yet on

the other hand, state-sponsored use of language testing to stem migration and 'manage' transmigration, continues to increase. This points to the need for academics to construct arguments that are more accessible to the public, perhaps by stressing not just the contradictions, but also the inhumanity of such language policies.

Conclusion

As the field of language policy has evolved rapidly over the last five decades (Spolsky 2004; Shohamy 2006), there has been significant development of frameworks and rubrics for the analysis of language policy sub-areas (corpus, status, acquisition), types (function, form), and goals (standardization, maintenance, graphicization, etc.). And as language policy became defined as a particular field of study, with its attendant assumptions, methodologies, frameworks and internal theoretical debates, it has also differentiated and, in some cases, isolated itself from other areas of work within applied linguistics (and beyond).

The review of literature here suggests some of the ways in which it is potentially productive for the field to engage with other areas of work, including recent developments in transnationalism, digital literacies and language testing and citizenship. This review has highlighted some of the ways in which transmigrants maintain simultaneous ties to multiple speech communities and polities and, in particular, how adolescent language learners engage in hybrid practices, especially in the digital realm. These everyday phenomena challenge some of the key concepts and assumptions in language policy (e.g., the nature of citizenship, the existence of clearly bounded linguistic communities, educational designations such as 'ESL student') and push scholars to develop new theoretical frameworks. Language policy, if it is to remain a relevant and productive area of study, must engage with, reflect and account for these dynamic processes in new ways as well.

For instance, the three major peer-reviewed language policy journals (*Language Policy, Current Issues in Language Planning* and *Language Problems and Language Planning*) still overwhelmingly publish articles that analyse national-level policy formation and implementation *within* one nation's geographic boundaries. Given the great mobility not just in populations, but also in ideas, information and resources of all types, greater attention is merited not just to how language policies within one country impact migrants (already a reasonably well covered topic), but how individuals in one physical location interact digitally with multiple linguistic ecologies and sets of language policies. Future work might also examine how language policies function cross-nationally (e.g., within the EU, NAFTA, Mercosur, etc.) as well as the increasingly influential language policies of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) such as the United

Nations. Included here would be analyses of how international contact and communication is now often subject to policy and policy-ing, for instance, in the areas of commerce (e.g., international call centres, King 2009), non-governmental organizations (e.g., Duchêne 2008) and media (Blommaert *et al*. 2009)

Also warranted is sustained attention to language policy development in particular local contexts and to how so-called bottom-up language policy initiatives can effectively address the linguistic needs of rapidly shifting populations. For example, Lamb (2001) reports on a policy initiative in Sheffield, UK, that created a partnership between local schools, the local university, and community language teachers in order to raise the status of these community languages by offering them as subjects of study within the school curriculum as well as in community schools. The benefits of such a policy include flexibility and sensitivity to shifting local situations. Lamb advocates a national language policy, which, in contrast to many of those discussed in this chapter, is 'an enabling and flexible policy which nevertheless *requires* the development of local responses appropriate to local needs' (2001: 11). Attention is also needed to the ways in which youth negotiate language policy through everyday interactions. For instance, Gafaranga (2010) recently described how language shift is 'talked into being' amongst Kinyarwanda–French bilinguals in a Rwandan community in Belgium through a specific interactional practice, referred to as 'medium request'. Through this informal language practice/policy (which consists of youth, when interacting with adult members, constantly but indirectly requesting the latter to 'medium-switch' from Kinyarwanda to French) language shift is being negotiated in transnational spaces.

Finally, while one important shift concerns the increasingly permeable boundaries of language and education policy, another relates to how language policy is researched. The bulk of language policy work at present still focuses on close reading of policy texts, perhaps supplemented by historical accounts, demographic data, and possibly surveys or interviews. In contrast, most of the studies reviewed here are ethnographically oriented descriptions of language practices, many of which illustrate how transmigrants position themselves to language and education policies in unexpected ways. This sort of 'ethnography of language policy' (see McCarty 2010) has much to offer in understanding how language policies are locally interpreted, negotiated and resisted. At the same time, this sort of locally informed understanding of hybridity, polycentricity and simultaneity does much to help advance a broader conception of how and why some language and education policies are deemed 'successful' and others are not.

21

Language management agencies

John Edwards

Introduction

This chapter *could* be a very long one, for language management is one of the oldest of human phenomena, making its presence felt along a continuum anchored at one end by uninstructed individual desires for intervention or change and, at the other, by formal agencies and scholarly concerns. Furthermore, the force, utility and efficiency of the prescriptivism that underpins all management impulses fall along another continuum, this one ranging from dictatorial fiat to broadly accepted standardization (for example). A fully fleshed account, therefore, is far beyond the bounds of this chapter. Furthermore, to attempt some chronological or geographical survey of language agencies would be both tedious and repetitive. The thrust here, then, is to try and place these agencies in context, bearing in mind the three continua just noted – the scales of time, formality and provenance – and to illuminate the important and recurring generalities that mark the work of most intervention activities.

Milroy and Milroy (1985a: 41) noted some time ago that a linguistic 'tradition of complaint' is centuries old. It is indeed an evergreen phenomenon, with the substance of complaints remaining remarkably similar across time and setting, regardless of impact (or the lack thereof). Indeed, 'no matter how often the writers complain about "you was" and the misuse of apostrophes, millions of people cheerfully continue to use the proscribed forms, and dialects that differ from the standard language continue to flourish.' These sorts of complaints about usage and abusage are most noticeable at the individual, 'popular' end of the formality continuum, reflecting a 'perennial fascination' fuelling 'a war that never ends' (Halpern 1997: 19). Clearly on the side of those many 'ordinary' citizens who believe in prescriptivism, Halpern takes on linguistic heavy hitters like Geoffrey Nunberg and Steven Pinker, who argue for some sort of 'naturalness' to linguistic evolution and who, in a misconceived

egalitarianism, rail against prescriptivism as an unwanted imposition of 'someone's idea of what is proper', a force for inappropriate stasis in what is, after all, a dynamic entity. In fact, however, there is a great deal to be said for these scholarly views. They remind us of that linguistic dynamism, and of the ongoing requirements for change and innovation. They have also acted as necessary counterweights to narrowness born of social elitism, to the inaccurate and psychologically damaging accusations levelled at non-standard varieties, to the view that there is only one completely 'correct' variety and that it is presented to the wider community *de haut en bas*.

Equally, however, arguments for a less intrusive and more sensitive prescriptivism are also reasonable (and, as history repeatedly shows, highly desirable for linguistic efficiency) and, here, Halpern makes a useful point or two.[1] That the rules of usage rest upon social agreement rather than upon some once and future permanence is not in itself an argument against rules per se. And how, as a human construction, can language possibly be thought of as some 'natural' entity whose course would be wrongly, immorally or unethically diverted by prescriptivist intervention? A major thrust here, then, will be to suggest that prescriptivism has always had a necessary place in the evolution of language practices and that, in fact, it is actually endorsed – if unacknowledged – by many contemporary scholars, typically under headings like 'language planning' or 'language management'.

Continua of formality

This chapter is centrally concerned with *agencies* whose remit involves language planning in some form or another. But what should they know of agencies, who only agencies know? All attempts at language planning are necessarily prescriptive, and this is the first substantive point I want to make here. A second is that any meaningful discussion of agencies – institutions, academies, councils – must see them as points on continua of activity and attitude, and not as independent bodies whose workings can be understood in isolation. At the most informal level, for example, is 'popular' opinion, which is sometimes, but not invariably, ignorant and biased. The scholarly opinions of the Pinkers and the Nunbergs might come next on our scale. A further position on the continuum is occupied by those scholars who are requested, or who are ready, to build upon their knowledge and act as language managers. This gives rise to my third introductory point: just as the activities of agencies are best understood from the perspective of particular social contexts, so scholar-planners are rarely independent operators. As we shall see, they are typically not the prime movers in the management exercises to which their expertise is directed.

The most formal position on our planning continuum brings us, finally, to agencies. The discussion to follow will highlight some variations, and so my fourth introductory point can simply be that not all formal bodies are created equal. Some are charged exclusively with language prescriptivism, while others (substantial groups like International TESOL and the Modern Language Association come to mind here) weigh in on specific interventionist matters (having to do with 'language rights', for instance). Some institutions are long-established and have a potentially broad scope (like the *Académie française*), while others are much newer, and of immediate concern only to very narrow constituencies (*Kesva an Taves Kernewek* – the Cornish Language Board). Many of the bodies that style themselves as 'academies' – a word that, to most people, signifies advanced scholarship in the service of arts or sciences – are small groups of enthusiasts whose primary activity is language teaching, and whose various statements and proclamations have little or no force beyond the group itself. In some contexts we see several agencies whose work overlaps, not always to best effect: in Ireland, for instance, *an Foras Teanga* now exists as the overarching language body for both Northern Ireland and the Republic; one of its two main constituents is *Foras na Gaeilge*, the institution for the promotion of Irish. It, in turn, has taken over the responsibilities previously assigned to *Bord na Gaeilge*, a Dublin-based body established in 1975. The latest development in the Republic involves the passage of an Official Languages Act (2003), an attempt to translate the formal support for Irish enshrined in the Irish Constitution into something more mundane and workable: with this act came a *Coimisinéir Teanga*, an official Language Commissioner.

As a specific elaboration of my fourth point, we could note that, unlike the provisions of the Canadian legislation (which the Official Languages Act in Ireland mirrors to some extent), the Irish version must rely more upon goodwill than anything else. Nic Shuibhne (2002: 203) notes, then, that the Commissioner's role will likely involve 'enforcement more by stealth than force', and that his or her powers will rest heavily upon publicity. In a similar vein, Ní Bhuacháin (2005) points out that the availability of state services in Irish will depend upon whether or not a particular body has decided to opt in, as it were, to bilingualism – a weaker approach, that is, than one in which *all* official institutions are obliged to provide services in the language of a citizen's choice. Quite apart from the force of the federal Canadian legislation, consider here that of the *Office de la langue française*, the Quebec body charged with protecting and enforcing the status of French in the province. As Spolsky (2009) remarks, this language organization is one of the very few in the world with strong 'policing' powers.

One final note, on this same point about the inequalities among formal language agencies, is that while some institutions are large – think again of the French Academy, but think too of the Quebec *Office*, which is

three centuries younger than its Parisian ancestor, but which has broad legislative powers, a multi-million-dollar annual budget and a large permanent staff – others are very small. In fact, two of the most famous and influential language 'agencies' were essentially one-person efforts. The work of Samuel Johnson and Noah Webster will merit some special attention (see below).

As a fifth point: it is obvious that the influence of formal language-management agencies – the degree to which their activities and products (orthographies, grammars, dictionaries and the like) are more or less widely 'diffused' among relevant populations – is very much dependent upon the factors just noted. It remains the case, however, that even the biggest, strongest and most venerable institutions may find their best efforts to have only limited or ephemeral status. This is simply because, in democratic societies at least, competing linguistic influences are difficult to outlaw; this is a 'problem' that has obviously grown exponentially as the world of communication and contact has shrunk. Just as *hoi polloi* continue to use the nonstandard dialects condemned by their betters, so they are prone to the seductions of foreign influence – sometimes on the grounds of novelty, sometimes on status, sometimes on simplicity. It may be officially 'correct' in French to say *courrier* (or *message*) *électronique*, some may prefer the quasi-official *mel* (in France) or *courriel* (Quebec) – but the great majority simply say *un email*. The reason that borrowings from other languages is so often vehemently opposed reminds us, too, that we are often discussing matters that go far beyond language itself, matters of linguistic group boundaries, matters of identity. Why else would the *Académie française* become exercised enough to argue that, in our electronically small world, the short, simple and universally understood 'web' should be rejected in favour of *la toile*?

Managing Tensions

An introductory note

Contemporary linguists, particularly in the English-speaking world, have generally rejected prescriptive attempts of the academy or dictionary variety, and a widespread conviction is that common usage is the ultimate arbiter of 'correctness'.[2] However, anyone who reads the newspapers realizes that a concern for 'good' English animates many people who have very clear ideas of what this variety is; moaning and worrying about the state of the language is often allied to a perception that school standards are falling, and that 'inappropriate' class or regional varieties represent a linguistic fifth column threatening the desired status quo. There are, as well, any number of popular books on the subject. Given this continuing public concern, on the one hand, and the dislike many linguists have of entering into battle, it is apparent that more illumination is needed

of that no-man's-land between academic linguistics and common usage. Many modern 'laypersons' may continue to espouse prescriptivism, but it is insufficiently realized that such a stance was, for a very long time, that of the 'professionals', too. Indeed, as we shall see, contemporary scholars *still* endorse prescriptivism, which, in some measure, continues to be necessary (or seen to be necessary) in many contexts – hence the modern scholarly dichotomy between descriptivism (good) and prescriptivism (bad) is too glib, to say the least.

Historical tensions

Quintilian (*c.*42–118) provides an early example of the complex interplay of descriptivism and prescriptivism. While he appeared to adopt the modern posture that equates 'correctness' with public usage, his reference group excluded hoi polloi and his popular usage was in fact the speech of educated men (Butler 1920–1922). This rather specialized conception of public usage, of the referential language community, has remained intact ever since. Its only sustained challenge came with the writings and opinions of twentieth-century linguists who – as part, one might say, of a general movement away from those value judgements that were once integral to all moral philosophy – argued that the usage of the *menu peuple* is king.

The perception that only elite segments of the public constitute reasonable linguistic resources for prescriptivist injunctions and language-management efforts is the attitude that links earlier and later planners, whether these are individuals or institutions. Thus, we find the French poet and classicist, François de Malherbe (1555–1628), encouraging a prescriptivism that may be thought to have emerged (as have similar attitudes elsewhere) from a potent combination of ignorance, insensitivity and insecurity. Malherbe inveighed against obsolete words as well as newly coined terms, Latin forms as well as French dialect variants. While he might have had the masses in mind at some theoretical level – it is said that his main concern was that even the *crocheteurs du Port au Foin* should be able to understand poetry – Hall (1974: 174) suggested that Malherbe's main audience was 'court fops and light versifiers'. This is too dismissive, however, of a somewhat broader and more enduring influence from someone who argued for greater linguistic simplicity, and against the flowery language then in vogue. Half a century after Malherbe's death, the critic Nicolas Boileau-Despréaux (1636–1711) wrote in his *Art poétique* that 'enfin Malherbe vint, et, le premier en France … réduisit la Muse aux règles du devoir' (1674: Chant 1, 131–4). Rules, to be sure, rules to be encouraged among all segments of society, but rules essentially based upon the usage of the upper crust.

This posture was clearly espoused when the *Académie française* was formally established in 1635. One of its founder members was Claude Favre

de Vaugelas (1585–1650) – he was the first occupant of *fauteuil 32* – and he helped with the academy's first dictionary. His own central work, however, was the *Remarques sur la langue françoise* (1647), in which he assured his readers that the best usage is that of *la plus saine partie* of nobles, courtiers and classical authors. Small wonder that Vaugelas' views were popular among those who counted and, more importantly, among those who wished to count. His book's subtitle (*Utiles à ceux qui veulent bien parler et bien escrire*) makes the author's intention clear – it is to guide his readers towards clarity and appropriateness, to reinforce sociolinguistic conformity and to discourage ambiguity and neologism. Little wonder that *parler Vaugelas* soon became synonymous with speaking 'proper' French.[3]

Across the Channel, concerns for a 'cleaner' use of language had been growing for some time. If the French critics had largely literary motives, their English counterparts were more (although not exclusively) animated by the increasing demands of the 'new science'. Writing at the same time as Malherbe, Francis Bacon (1561–1626) preached the gospel of linguistic plainness and directness. Rhetorical flourishes heighten complexity but add nothing, he argued: 'for all that concerns ornaments of speech, similitudes, treasury of eloquence, and such like emptinesses, let it be utterly dismissed' (Bacon 1857–1874, 4: 254). Writing at the same time as Boileau-Despréaux, Thomas Sprat (1635–1713), in his influential account of the new Royal Society, told its members to watch the 'manner of their discourse' lest the force of their work be 'eaten out by the luxury and redundance of speech'. He went on: 'the ill effects of this superfluity of talking have already overwhelmed most arts and professions … eloquence ought to be banished out of all civil Societies as a thing fatal to peace and good manners' (1667; cited by Hogben 1940: 31). Sprat summoned up a past of 'primitive purity, and shortness, when men deliver'd so many *Things*, almost in an equal number of *Words*' (1667: 113), a past eminently worthy of recapture.

As in speech, so in writing. Indeed, mid-seventeenth-century opinion saw language reform as central to the success of scientific progress, for clarity of exposition and accurate categorization, and this *almost* resulted in an English institution to parallel the *Académie française.* A committee of the Royal Society to study the 'improvement' of English was struck in 1664. The constitution of the committee was not exclusively scientific, reflecting both the broad ambit of the Society itself – in which scientists rubbed shoulders with clergymen, noblemen, writers and merchants – and the extent of the desire to better manage the language: members thus included Dryden, Evelyn and Waller. As Shapiro (1968) reminds us, simplicity and straightforwardness of language were important to both 'new scientists' and latitudinarians: direct and unadorned usage was intrinsically good, necessary for the advance of science, and also a defence against narrow doctrine and dogma.

However, while Cardinal Richelieu gave his imprimatur to the founding of a formal French academy in 1635, the English committee meeting a generation later was unsuccessful in emulating that establishment. The members met several times, and Evelyn wrote a proposal for further work that included collecting and classifying all of the 'pure English' words, but nothing came of it. What might have been the cornerstone of an official English-language management agency failed to develop because many of those with particularly linguistic interests became more and more caught up in the scientific studies that were their natural home, and to which language reform was essentially seen as an important aid. There were others whose concerns at least touched upon what we would now see as ethnolinguistic or ethno-national matters, who wanted to firm up the linkages between language and identity, and who – in other countries – would have come to constitute the initial core (whether acknowledged or not) of what was to be a central academic thrust.[4]

The lexicographer as academy

If an English academy was not to be, there yet remained the need for standards, a need that was essentially met by Samuel Johnson's dictionary of 1755. For our purposes here, the interesting features have to do with the type and degree of prescriptivism that Johnson endorsed. Did he rely, as the earlier French scholars had done (and, indeed, as had some of those English proponents of a formal language academy) upon the usage of the 'best people', or can we detect in his work a more descriptive, perhaps more democratic, impulse? Johnson displayed, in fact, a certain ambivalence.

In the *Plan* for his dictionary (1747), Johnson told his patron, Lord Chesterfield, of his hopes for a dictionary 'by which the pronunciation of our language may be fixed, and its attainment facilitated; by which its purity may be preserved, its use ascertained, and its duration lengthened' (Johnson 1747: 32). In the (unpaginated) preface to the great dictionary itself, Johnson added that the language had hitherto been allowed to spread indiscriminately, such that it had become 'copious without order, and energetick without rules', a farrago of impropriety and absurdity. Unsurprisingly, then, Johnson – like Quintilian before him, and like the efforts of the continental language academies – felt justified in ignoring the 'fugitive cant' of the 'laborious and mercantile part of the people'. And yet, he also realized (we are still in the preface here) that at least some words 'must depend for their adoption on the suffrage of futurity' and, more pointedly, rejected the idea that the lexicographer could or should attempt to 'embalm his language, and secure it from corruption and decay'. It is not, after all, within the prescriptivist's power to

'change sublunary nature, or clear the world at once from folly, vanity, and affectation' – qualities which, further to Johnson's credit, he did not ascribe solely to those labourers and merchants.

So we see, with Johnson, something of the most basic tensions that animate all language-management efforts. In our own day, these rarely rest upon assumptions of the correct usage of some elite segment of society, usage to be elevated, encouraged and perhaps imposed upon all. Instead, we are more likely to engage in standardizing and regulating matters on a more democratic basis. The fact remains, however, that whenever choices have to be made, and whenever those choices have some scholastic, moral or other force (not excluding, of course, rather more tangible pressures), prescriptivism necessarily makes a reappearance; a language 'energetick without rules' is ambiguous at best and deficient at worst. Johnson's position may be seen as a way-station between the efforts of modern language managers – almost always espousing democratic and inclusive ideals, generally waiting to be called in rather than marching in, taking great pains to consult with local communities, to build upon local insights and wisdom, and so on – and the more heavy-handed prescriptivism seen as both natural and desirable in earlier times. For Johnson, after all, was modest enough to realize that, ultimately, language practice is not a matter of control from above. But his words suggest that this realization was a grudging one, and hardly an early example of the beliefs and ethics held by language managers today.

Noah Webster, the American Johnson, revealed a similar ambivalence. In his dictionary (1828), he hoped to actually encourage linguistic innovation; at the same time, he felt it his duty to remove 'improprieties and vulgarisms', to say nothing of 'those odious distinctions of provincial dialects' (Webster 1783: 7). Like Johnson, Webster felt that the 'ascertaining' of the language was important, while agreeing that no dictionary could establish final norms. But Webster was a nationalist, too, and concerned for the linguistic independence of the United States. He wanted Americans to stop using foreign borrowings, particularly from the French. More importantly, he urged spelling changes that would help differentiate American from British English. Webster hoped and believed that the two great anglophone countries would become more and more linguistically separate, perhaps eventually arriving at different languages *tout court*. In his view, the American people already spoke the purest English (Webster 1789).

Agency and agencies

As Spolsky (2009) has recently observed, language management – at whatever level and to whatever degree – is basically about choice and, as I have already implied, the opinions undergirding choices may be more

or less informed. Choices may be within or across languages, they may be forced or voluntary, they may be officially recognized, regulated and encouraged or they may arise from the on-the-ground circumstances of language contact and conflict. Among the most interesting – and least studied in any general or comparative manner – are those within-community choices in which some degree of explicit or formal policy is involved. The rubric under which we can approach this category is *language management*. Spolsky's (2009) monograph is devoted to the matter, which he presents as the third component of language policy (see also Spolsky 2004). Actual language *practice* is the initial element in his model, and this might be thought of, in fact, as the 'real', ongoing policy, however unarticulated. The second element identified by Spolsky is *belief*, although *attitude* might be the more accurate (and the more inclusive) designation here, since his discussion at this point is about the perceived status and value possessed by a language: in a word (his word, in fact), language *ideology*. Language *management*, then, represents some variety of explicit intervention in language usage and attitude, and involves the efforts of individuals or groups who have authority, or think they have, or are considered by (some element of) the community to have authority. Spolsky considers, incidentally, that 'management' is preferable to 'planning'; for further information on the distinction, see Chapter 2 in this volume and Nekvapil (2006).

As I have already noted, formal 'agencies' of language management hardly constitute a monolithic category. If we are willing to spread the net wide enough, we can understand that families, religions, businesses, schools and governments can all take an active and conscious interest in managing and manipulating language practices. These are among the entities, in fact, dealt with by Spolsky (2009), who goes on to add that legal, health, broadcasting and military organizations may also feel it necessary to manage the language usage of their personnel; see also Kaplan and Baldauf (1997). All sorts of voluntary organizations, clubs, societies and teams may regularly or occasionally wish to act formally here. And, at the other extreme as it were, international and cross-national bodies typically have to establish some linguistic guidelines, encouraging some practices while discouraging others: obvious cases in point here are institutions whose membership is multilingual, where not every language can be accommodated in every set of proceedings, where some varieties are stronger than others but, equally, where matters of politics, diplomacy (and identity) must also be weighed, and so on (see Chapter 8 in this volume). In short, the ubiquity of language in a linguistically heterogeneous world means that formal attempts at management occur in a very large number of contexts indeed. Spolsky (2009: 228) writes that 'almost any government agency may in the course of its normal work implement language policy'; in fact, he might almost have left out 'government' as a qualifier here.

A useful and meaningful distinction can be drawn, however, between 'agencies' whose language management efforts arise as a consequence of other concerns, and those for whom language issues are central or, indeed, account for their very existence. Application of this distinction puts most of the organizations just cited – regardless of the degree of specific linguistic intent behind some of their activities – in the first category, and allows us to focus upon the much smaller number whose work is more or less entirely language-centred. When, however, we turn to institutions for whom language is the very *raison d'être*, a further important distinction seems to present itself. On the one hand, many of the activities of language agencies are directed towards the technicalities of language itself (Kloss 1969): words and orthographies, for example, may have to be created or modernized, grammatical standards may have to be developed and made normative, and so on. These are the sorts of matters discussed by Kloss (1969) under the heading of *corpus planning*, and to which Haugen (1966a, 1983) referred when he wrote of linguistic *codification* and the subsequent *elaboration* needed to maintain the viability of norms and standards over time and in altered circumstances. On the other hand, many important measures – perhaps the most important – fall under the rubric of *status planning*. Here, efforts are made to alter the patterns, contexts or functions of language use or, as Haugen suggested, to socially *implement* the variety that has been *selected* for attention. The difference, roughly stated, is between managing languages and managing speakers (see Spolsky 2009).

A further distinction may be inserted here between the symbolic and the instrumental features of language. The latter is commonly taken to mean the more prosaic communicative functions of language, whether oral or written. Prosaic it may be, but it is among the most immediate and important features of human life. Nonetheless, even the most cursory attention to that life reveals that language can serve other purposes as well. Language has always acted as a symbol and a group boundary marker, and the fact that symbolism is by definition an intangible quantity has never implied peripheral or ephemeral value. Indeed, this value has often retained psychological importance even after the communicative function has become attenuated, or worse. So, the two aspects of language that (among majority-group speakers, for instance) are typically joined can become unlinked (among minority-group members who have undergone language shift, for example) and, at a symbolic level, a language no longer spoken can continue to play a role in group identity. There is a proviso to be added here, however. Although 'symbolic language' can have a long life beyond vernacular shift, that life has originally grown out of communicative usage – not the other way about. An implication is that the loss or abandonment of a language in its ordinary communicative role must eventually lead to the dilution and the disappearance of its symbolic or 'associational' role (to use a term introduced by Eastman and Reese 1981).

The distinction between language as instrument and language as symbol may be understood in relation to the earlier one between corpus and status planning, between managing languages and managing speakers. And this brings me to a central point about those agencies for whom language is the primary concern and with which this chapter is particularly concerned. It is simply that *all* aspects of the management activities of such agencies are, at base, motivated by social and psychological considerations much more than they are by 'technical' matters, however complicated these may be and however much they may require prolonged scholarly attention. I am suggesting that *both* corpus planning (with its emphasis upon codes and standards, modernization and elaboration) *and* status planning (with *its* traditional concerns for the encouragement and promotion of given varieties within given social settings) are in the service of group *identity* (see also Milroy and Milroy 1985a)

It might be argued that, in their earliest efforts at least, language institutions have had their hands full with regularizing orthography and spelling, with ironing out infelicities and inconsistencies, with producing a more serviceable instrument. Or, it might be argued that, with the introduction of a written form where one had not previously existed, or with the modernization of a medium traditionally lacking terms now deemed necessary, or with the intricacies involved in moving from one orthographic system to another, we are again dealing only with tools. But all such arguments fail because they build upon the false premise that language can be approached, understood and dealt with in isolation from its speakers.[5] The early enterprises of the great European academies – their grammars and dictionaries, their concerns with terminology and toponymy – did not, after all, arise at random times in history. They emerged, rather, as their language communities began to flex nationalistic muscles, as the gradual withdrawal from the scene of older lingua francas promoted the emergence of new mediums, and as new technologies necessitated new formalities and standards. A refining of tools, to be sure, but also rather more than that. As to the related arguments about literacy, one can again invoke the time factor, if nothing else: why is literacy a concern *now*, why do terminological or orthographic developments suggest themselves *now*? Answers here again inevitably involve considerations of the social and psychological currents, perceptions and definitions of 'groupness'. The general point, of course, brings us squarely back to *choice*. Choosing among instrumental variations that are more or less equally 'efficient' means bringing other, non-instrumental, factors into play. (More *direct* concerns for the language–symbolism–identity nexus would soon arise in the history and activities of these organizations, of course.)

A final note: given the importance of language management, past and present, and given the large number of official and non-official agencies concerned with management – a number that remains impressive even

when we restrict ourselves to those organizations for whom language is the *central* focus – it is remarkable to find very little systematic treatment in the wider sociology-of-language or sociolinguistic literature. There are several notable studies of individual academies, although some are quite dated and most treat European institutions. Not surprisingly, the *Académie française* has received the lion's share of the scholarly attention: see Brunel (1967 [1884]), François (1905), Robinson (1910), Académie française (1935), Gaxotte (1965), Oster (1970), Caput (1986) and du Closel (1989). Historical accounts of the Italian body – the *Accademia della Crusca* – have also appeared (Parodi 1983; Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies 1985; Accademia della Crusca 1985), as have treatments of the *Real Academia Español* (Sánchez 1961), *l'Académie canadienne-française* (Barbeau 1960), and many others. Furthermore, there are important works dealing with academies (and similar bodies) in more general fashion: here one might mention Rubin and Jernudd (1971a), Rubin (1979), Lihani (1988), Brann (1991), Conru *et al.* (1993), Domínguez and López (1995), Tjeerdsma (1998) and Ingram (2001).[6]

These lists notwithstanding, substantial works in the area are surprisingly few, particularly when one puts aside the quite sizeable number of hagiographic treatments. Furthermore, the larger sub-section of the sociology-of-language literature in which study of academies finds its natural home – the section, that is, that deals with the intriguing intertwinings of ethnonationalism, linguistic purism and prescriptivism, and which might most generally be put under the rubric of 'language planning' (see below) – is itself woefully under-developed. Overall, we can agree with Spolsky's note that 'the paucity of scholarship in this sphere is remarkable' (2009: 259).[7]

Prescriptivism and planning

The most important attitudes, prejudices and preferences about language and language choice are those enshrined in law or sanctioned practice, for these are the codified wishes of the socially dominant. The effective areas of language planning or management can be seen in this light; I write 'effective' here because, as noted, many individuals and non-dominant groups are *also* interested in planning exercises: their status, however, means that most of their management efforts are tenuous or ephemeral. Lack of broad social clout, however, is also a factor in most contexts where 'small' or threatened varieties are in play, but this has not meant that the activities and agencies so common among the 'large' languages are absent in these 'at-risk' settings. Many lesser-used varieties have formal institutions dedicated to their growth and well-being: there are French, Spanish and Italian academies, but there are also ones devoted to the interests of Quechua, Frisian, Saami, Romani, Occitan,

Arumanian and many others. These may lack the officially-backed force of larger and more well-established bodies, but they are not insignificant and, indeed, may have considerable influence – most often at regional levels. It is nevertheless something of an irony that small language communities around the world often fall prey to the notion that formal institutional backing can of itself provide a desired long-term linguistic stability. After all, even languages that have an entire state behind them find more and more that unwanted foreign influence cannot easily or acceptably be halted at the customs-post.

Desires for formal language recognition, promotion and protection have traditionally appealed, then, to languages at all levels of dominance, scope and use. The establishment and the workings of the 'big' academies are of course easier to document than are those of smaller or less official bodies – but it is entirely reasonable to assume that similar motivations and aspirations underpin all institutional dynamics. Differences here are usually ones of degree, not of principle.

As already implied, prescriptivist concerns have a history that is probably coextensive with language itself, and scholarly study of their formal and informal manifestations has been with us for centuries. The umbrella field of 'language planning', however – within which all such activity now finds it most obvious home – is relatively new. Early work included that of Gukhman (1960) and Ray (1961), but neither author was generally known in anglophone circles until the early 1970s. Einar Haugen (1966a, 1966b) discussed planning more directly, and applied the concept in his work on Norwegian. It was not, however, until Rubin and Jernudd (1971) published their seminal collection that language planning was placed on firm contemporary footings. As the editors wrote in their preface (1971: x), 'this is the first time that a consideration of the potentialities and limitations of language planning as a sociolinguistic study and pursuit is [sic] taken up'. While this initial collection was also noteworthy for its multidisciplinary approach, it is clear that subsequent work has not always demonstrated the crossing of scholarly boundaries that the field requires. It is also clear that, whenever an unwarrantably narrow perspective has been employed, the results are unsatisfactory.[8]

Over the last few decades, language planning has become a formal topic within the sociology of language and applied linguistics; it is now an area with its own journals, books and conferences. The single most comprehensive overview remains that of Kaplan and Baldauf (1997), who are also the editors of the important journal, *Current Issues in Language Planning*. A more venerable publication is *Language Problems and Language Planning*, established in 1977, and many other journals publish articles having to do with language planning. Especially in its selection and implementation modes, language planning is a heavily value-laden exercise. Any disinterested theorizing becomes compromised in practice, and

language planning is usually concerned with applications in highly controversial settings: the maintenance or revival of 'small' or endangered languages, the establishment of a lingua franca, the navigation of acceptable channels among oceans of linguistic diversity, and so on. Planning is inevitably coloured by ideological imperatives and what appears as progress to some may be persecution to others.

All these points are familiar, of course, even though there have been occasional scholarly attempts to defend a more 'scientific' status for language planning, at least at the level of theory (e.g. Cobarrubias 1983b). But theorizing can only remain value-free at the most abstract levels: its application immediately involves opinion and preference. Cobarrubias himself (1983a) felt obliged to admit that working for language change is not a neutral exercise, and planning is 'ultimately contingent upon' the ideological positions of those in power. Many leading lights have agreed. Haugen (1983) pointed out, for instance, that any theory of language planning was forced to 'take a stand' on values, and Neustupný (1983: 27) said that it was 'unrealistic to maintain that language planning theory could or should be a value-free politically neutral discipline … [it] has always been governed by socioeconomic value judgements'. Even Fishman (1983: 383), whose breathless endorsement of threatened languages often suggests some stand-alone possibilities for linguistic intervention, has pointed out that planning is secondary to more basic social currents, 'often but the plaything of larger forces'. Williams (1981: 221) bluntly argued that language planning is undertaken by those who have the power to do so, and that it is therefore 'designed to serve and protect their interests'. He was really only echoing the more general observation of Elie Kedourie (1960: 125), in a comment about the rationalization of language borders: 'It is absurd to think that professors of linguistics and collectors of folklore can do the work of statesmen and soldiers. What does happen is that academic enquiries are used by conflicting interests to bolster up their claims, and their results prevail only to the extent that somebody has the power to make them prevail.'

Although language planning has now 'come of age', in the sense that it has established itself as a category within the larger sociology-of-language literature, theory has tended to lag behind practices (see Jahr 1992) – and these practices have, after all, been going on for a very long time. When Haugen (1983) reviewed his initial formulations (see above), he found no compelling reason to substantially alter them. That same year, Neustupný (1983) outlined a language planning 'paradigm', the key features of which emphasized 'problems' to be solved and methods of 'correction'. He also noted that theoretical advances would most probably reside in some typological approach. If this is the case, then we remain largely in a pre-theoretical phase, since most work is still of the case-study variety: the area awaits its Linnaeus. Edwards (2010) has provided

a summary of typological efforts in the area. This is not to say, of course, that careful descriptive work should be downgraded; indeed, one could argue that there has often been a premature social-scientific rush to immature and undoubtedly ephemeral theorizing. Neustupný's summary points are apposite here: language planning is not a free-standing enterprise, to be understood only through attention to language itself; relatedly, it cannot be a value-free or socio-politically neutral exercise or discipline.

In their useful overview, Kaplan and Baldauf (1997: 302) suggest that 'language planners' are caught somewhere between linguistic description and prescriptivism. On the one hand, they are now largely drawn from the scholarly ranks, and this implies a disinterested and dispassionate stance. On the other, their work 'contains a kernel of prescriptivism by definition'. (There is, in fact, much more than a kernel here.) Kaplan and Baldauf try to make the case that language planning is descriptive in its data-gathering mode but, beyond that, becomes prescriptive. This, I think, is already an admission of the heavy prescriptive weighting overall, since the activities that come after fact-finding (recommendations for action, selection of policies, implementation, review, and so on) consume much the greatest amounts of time and energy. Even the initial survey work, however, even the assembling of the necessary data, is initiated for reasons that are rarely dispassionate or apolitical. Kaplan and Baldauf recognize this themselves, for, shortly after saying that data-assembly is 'essentially descriptive', they point out that, even when most 'objective and disinterested, the language planner is not a pure descriptivist' (ibid.: 303).

Language planning as a field is in fact so broad as to encompass virtually all aspects of the social life of language, as Kaplan and Baldauf's very long roster of topics and sub-topics indicates. *Any* application of *any* combination of linguistic and sociological matters can be placed under the heading. This is a useful reflection of reality, chaotic in tooth and claw, but it does pose serious difficulties for any tight definitions, for any meaningful or substantive theoretical statements. Furthermore, much of the wide and traditional language-planning perspective has now been translated and shrunk into the now-trendy 'ecology of language' (see Edwards 2009, 2010). Kaplan and Baldauf capture this translation very well in a diagrammatic representation of 'forces at work in a linguistic eco-system' (1997: 311). This simply shows how existing concerns (for language death, change, revival, and so on) as expressed by various agencies (including government, education, community institutions) can easily be seen as facets of an ecological model. This comes at the beginning of a section entitled 'Towards a model for language planning', but the many details presented, as well as one or two further diagrams, only go to show the sprawling nature of any such 'model'.

Contemporary postures

Crowley (2003: 11) has argued that the alleged shift to objective and descriptive linguistics never really occurred (in Britain, at any rate), that the 'social and rhetorical concerns' of earlier periods have not abated. Thus, the phonetician Daniel Jones referred to 'Cockneyisms [and] other undesirable pronunciations'; the philologist Henry Wyld suggested that while 'provincial dialects' were all well and good, they attracted attention and ridicule in 'polite circles'. The criterion of *class* is of course central here, and earlier commentators were not bound by any latter-day political correctness.[9] Oliphant thus wrote of the 'revolting habit' of dropping one's aitches, a 'hideous barbarism' much employed by 'those whom we call "self-made" men' (1873: 226). Later in the twentieth century, even the famous treatises on English usage by Henry Fowler and Ernest Gowers can be understood as examples of a 'modified' prescriptivism.[10] We think of them, perhaps, as commentators on usage rather than arbiters, but they saw their task as providing informed opinion and, more pointedly, they were concerned to eliminate verbose, woolly, jargon-ridden and incomprehensible language. (The fact that societies devoted to 'plain English' continue to thrive reminds us that their campaign is hardly over.) Of course, neither Fowler nor Gowers was a trained linguist – the former was a schoolmaster, the latter a civil servant – and they both preceded the modern scholarly era (Fowler died in 1933, Gowers in 1966). Consequently, one might suggest that Crowley's argument for the continuation of a prescriptivist posture into that modern era is rather stretched. As we shall see, however, it is quite clear that, whether or not it is articulated (or perhaps even recognized), prescriptivism continues to underpin a great deal of applied-linguistic activity: Crowley's British limitation can quite reasonably be removed. Indeed, the desire to emphasize this point and, relatedly, to argue that the study of prescriptivism itself should be an important part of that activity, are central to this chapter.

Nonetheless, descriptivism has (theoretically) become the norm and prescriptivism has become a long four-letter word in modern scholarly circles. We could go further. A generation ago, Milroy and Milroy (1985a: 6) noted that 'mainstream' linguists felt prescriptivism to be quite peripheral to their concerns, perhaps irrelevant, and certainly 'not quite respectable'. This posture, they suggested, has led to 'a general tendency to study language *as if* prescriptive phenomena play no part in language'. This is ostrich-like indeed, given that long history of 'complaint' which, for better or worse, is an important aspect of the social life of language. Linguists animated by Chomsky's famous disdain for the atheoretical 'banality' of sociolinguistics and the sociology of language might (accurately or not) see prescriptivism as outside their purview (Edwards

1995). Nonetheless, even within those banal sub-disciplines, even within the field of language planning itself, prescriptivism has hardly been acknowledged.

Contemporary linguistic scholarship naturally endorses efforts to reduce bafflegab and unintelligibility, but the ambivalence I have remarked upon means that a low profile is the most common one here. This may open the door to those whom Bolinger (1980) called the *language shamans*. These are the people who write books on language 'decline' and 'decay', who agonize in newspaper columns and letters over the abandonment of both standards and propriety, who berate the apathy and indolence of professional linguistics in the face of attacks on the language, who anathematize any dictionary or grammar produced on descriptive principles – and who always find a willing and worrying readership. In their rush away from prescriptivism, linguists may have abdicated some responsibility, leaving an important field to those less well-informed. A refusal to confront the continuing complexities of prescriptivism – on quite reasonable scholarly grounds – might mean that 'every enterprise of language planning will be dominated by ignorant enthusiasts and incompetent pedants' (Haas 1982: 3).

In one sense we have come a long way from Quintilian, and we may imagine that enlightened opinion has eradicated the narrow prescriptivist prejudices of the past. After all, the very presence of ambivalence or tension suggests an opening up of previously closed areas. As noted, however, prescriptivist postures remain strong outside the cloisters; more important for this segment of the argument is the fact that some attenuated prescriptivism is simply unavoidable in many important circumstances. Whether in the service of basic intelligibility, of orthographic regularization, of lexical modernization – or, more sociologically, of strengthening the linguistic links in the armour of group identity – prescriptivism is 'probably coterminous with language' itself (Thomas 1991: 13). Thomas' very useful book shows the clear thread that runs from narrow and ignorant grass-roots purism, through to the amateur interventions of Bolinger's *shamans*, and on to the formalized and officially sanctioned activities of academies and other management agencies. (A recent example of the power of essentially amateur efforts – and, Bolinger would no doubt have said, of the risks when important language matters are not left in the hands of those most capable – is found in the anti-Spanish activities of the *US English* movement; see Edwards 1990, 1995, 2010.)

All this, I suggest, is the necessary underpinning for any understanding of modern language-management enterprises. My chief point is that a wholly understandable reluctance to 'prescribe', based largely upon a broad scholarly recognition that language change is a constant and natural process, and one that makes usage the ultimate criterion of 'correctness', must still contend with real and sometimes pressing needs

for intervention. The appropriate reconciliation here involves, I think, action by those who have the requisite skills and experience but who *also* maintain as disinterested a stance as is possible – easier said than done, to be sure.

The essential elements of language management remain those presented by Haugen in the 1960s (see above). They have been embroidered in various ways over the years, and new terms have been suggested at various points, but at their heart are obvious and unchanging requirements: desirable linguistic alterations are identified, put in train, and evaluated. The most important aspects, of course, are not the technical ones having to do with language per se but, rather, those bearing upon and reflecting social acceptance or rejection. Dictatorial force aside, it then becomes clear that the role of linguistic experts, while essential, is not the most important feature of the exercise. Language 'managers' should not delude themselves into thinking that they are prime movers. If not from the beginning, then certainly at the point at which any application becomes socially important, planning is subservient to the demands of non-academic interests, with social and political agendas whose remit is typically broader than language alone. As in other areas of public life, 'experts' are called upon as needed, and their recommendations are either implemented or gather dust according to how well they support or justify desired positions.

Conclusion

The force of the discussion here can be collapsed into one or two major points: first, acceptance of the idea that, in language as in other things, some regulation is desirable is *not* the same thing as an undesirably static endorsement of any particular notion of 'correctness'; second, the strength of prescriptivist activities almost always rests upon considerations of group boundaries and identities; third, some varieties of prescriptivism are necessary, some are at least plausible, and many are *both* understandable and desirable: there is an ongoing need for what we might style a 'modified' prescriptivism, for minimalist intervention.[11] It can be predicted, then, that formal language-management agencies will continue to thrive, undertaking activities that are entirely reasonable in the eyes of some and, at the same time, reprehensible in others.

It is clear enough that many institutional attempts at prescriptivism have failed in the broadest courts of public usage. Many, indeed, look curious, quaint or simply wrong-headed. But failures do not detract from the importance of such formal organizational efforts as manifestations of will and intent – especially when we realize that they rest upon broad public concerns for prescriptive leadership. Indeed, lack of success may indirectly illustrate the power of the 'natural tide of language'

to resist direction (Thomas 1991). The establishment of language academies and councils, and their continued existence despite a poor track record, can tell us much about the importance of language as a marker of national identity. Thomas noted that 'it has become fashionable to lampoon language academies for their stuffiness, their smugness and their otherworldliness' (ibid.: 111), but he was quite aware of their powerful symbolism. Their pronouncements continue to mark linguistic and nationalistic anxieties which, whatever the logic of the matter, obviously persist in the popular imagination.

At the very least, therefore, one can surely make a good case for more deeply embedding investigations of prescriptivism – particularly at the 'agency' level – into the fabric of sociolinguistics and the sociology of language. Cameron (1995: 9) notes that 'verbal hygiene' is

> latent in every communicative act, and the impulse behind it pervades our habits of thought and behaviour. I have never met anyone who did not subscribe, in one way or another, to the belief that language can be 'right' or 'wrong', 'good' or 'bad', more or less 'elegant' or 'effective' or 'appropriate'… it is rare to find anyone rejecting altogether the idea that there is *some* legitimate authority in language. We are all of us closet prescriptivists – or, as I prefer to put it, verbal hygienists.

Romaine (1997: 424) writes that Cameron's position here is equivalent to saying that 'there is no escape from normativity', and this accurate assessment applies to both individuals and institutions. This being so, it would be wrong – particularly in areas dealing with some form or another of 'language planning' – to continue our scholarly coyness about prescriptivism. It is time to bring its study out of the closet and into the light.

My final point is simply the reminder that, in all our studies of intervention, of language management, of 'verbal hygiene', we are essentially dealing with the social life of language rather than linguistics per se. More specifically, studies of prescriptivist intervention are, at the deepest level, studies of identity. As Romaine (1997: 424) points out, 'verbal hygiene is not really about language, but about what language stands for. Arguments about usage are really debates about the values held by opposing groups in society'. Just so.

22

Literacy and writing reform

Florian Coulmas and Federica Guerini

Introduction

Written language has been the object of political designs in various ways. From its invention, the technology of writing was closely linked with power differentials, both within and between organized communities. Command of this technology facilitated the formation of larger groups, secured privilege and led to the emergence of social hierarchies. For the management of trade and the administration of empires, writing became an invaluable and, from a certain level of development, indispensable tool. It thus turned into the defining element of civilizations and cultures. Written cultures considered themselves, and in many ways were, superior to those that made no or only limited use of writing. Literate cultures expanded, while 'by and large oral cultures are small scale' (Goody 1999: 31). Writing gave rise to other aspects of culture, notably codified religious cults, and since the written cultures originating in the Mediterranean from the Hellenistic to the Roman world were particularly successful at expanding, their writing systems became associated with progress. A causal link between a particular writing system and development has proved difficult to establish, but the notion that the Roman alphabet was the apex of the development of writing and hence a driving force of modernization became a fixed theme in Western ideology.

The spread of the Roman alphabet, like that of the Arabic, was propelled by empire and proselytizing zeal, and as such has always been ideologically charged. More generally, because of their visibility and association with cult, writing systems lend themselves easily as symbols of identity. In this sense, there is no symbolically neutral writing system, script or orthography. The ascent of the West with the European expansion in the age of colonialism carried the Roman alphabet to many parts of the world where it came into contact with other literate

traditions as well as oral ones. The diffusion of European-style literacy in the garment of Roman was an ambivalent process, promoting analytic thinking, the systematic accumulation of knowledge and scientific investigation, on the one hand, and bringing in its wake the denigration, discrimination and destruction of other cultures, on the other. While literacy supported by the printing press went along with major changes of social development in Europe (Graff 1981), the Roman alphabet became a core element of European self-understanding as the harbinger of human progress.

The industrial revolution turned peasants, who had little use for writing, into workers who had to sell their labour in the market place, which, in the long run, they could do more effectively with the help of basic literacy skills. Industrial production underscored Europe's pre-eminence in the world and with it the notion that the Roman alphabet was superior to other writing systems – a point of view also adopted on the other side of the Atlantic when, in the twentieth century, the United States became the principal sponsor of the Christian (Protestant) mission. A basic assumption was that by virtue of its systematic properties the Roman alphabet is a better tool for the promotion of literacy than other writing systems.

The European experience with literacy coincided with the establishment of 'national languages' understood as codified written languages suitable to unite those literate in it to form a national community. Industrialization, it has been argued, was facilitated by linguistic homogenization and literacy.

When these ideas were carried to other parts of the world they met with very different conditions. In many cases, the choice of the suitable language(s) of instruction was the first and an often divisive issue to be resolved. What is more, the introduction of literacy produced illiteracy, which came to be viewed as a defect. Similarly, the introduction of a colonial administrative language produced the ignorant masses unable to speak it. The divide between the literate and the illiterate – such as that between the European language-educated elite and the unschooled locals – rationalized social inequality and legitimized power structures. Traditionally oral cultures could do little to resist the diffusion of the European literacy model. Goody (1989 [1986]) has drawn attention to the different effects of European cultural expansion on oral and literate cultures. Quoting Goody's work approvingly, Prah (2001: 125) argues that in contradistinction to Africa, the Americas and Oceania, 'Asia has indigenized westernism', and that it was their written cultures that made 'the resistance against cultural neo-colonialism of parts of Asia more successful'. Yet, even in the context of age-old literate traditions such as the Chinese, the dominant position of Western culture has led to prolonged discussions about the advantages of 'Romanization' in the interest of promoting literacy more efficiently.

In the post-colonial world many literacy programmes were designed promising political freedom and economic advancement. Results were variable. Practical literacy work and research into the causes of success and failure of organized campaigns during the past several decades have led to a broader understanding of literacy skills, and to the insight that literacy is not an isolated ability that can be promoted easily to bring about economic improvement. Rather it interacts with other factors such as political power, economic development, social structures and gender roles, as well as cultural tradition and multilingualism, all of which have not always been sufficiently appreciated and taken into consideration in planning and executing literacy campaigns.

Progress has been made. More people are literate today than ever before. However, the oft-predicted eradication of illiteracy (Wagner 1994) has not been accomplished and is unlikely to be accomplished soon. UNESCO's 2008c report states: 'while there has been a quite substantial decrease in the self-reported rate of illiteracy, the overall number and patterns of sex, age-cohort and regional differences have not changed much over the last 50 years' (UNESCO 2008b: 48). This implies that, with the exception of some atypical cases such as Cuba, illiteracy rates are still the best predictor of poverty and underdevelopment, being strongly correlated with other World Development Indicators, such as infant mortality, GDP, primary school enrolment and penetration of fixed and mobile telephone lines. It was for this reason that in 2003 the UN General Assembly launched the United Nations Literacy Decade (2003–13).[1] And while the topic of literacy usually evokes discussions about developing countries, it must not be forgotten that there is also a residual problem of illiteracy in advanced OECD countries, where it is expectedly indicative of social inequality. It is against this background that the complex issue of literacy and writing reform is discussed in this chapter.

Literacy: concept and definition

In modern linguistics the 'primacy' of speech over writing has been asserted in three respects, referred to as *anthropological priority*, *ontogenetic priority* and *phylogenetic priority*. All the natural languages currently employed in written form are (or *were*, as in the case of Latin) used in speech as well, whereas only a small portion of the world's languages has been provided with a written form (anthropological priority). Children learn to speak before they learn (if ever) to write (ontogenetic priority). And all human societies have relied on oral communication before they developed (if ever) writing (phylogenetic priority).

However, the *social* primacy of writing over speech is beyond dispute. As noted in the previous section, written cultures consider themselves superior to those that make only limited use of writing. Literacy is

highly valued in almost all 'developed' and developing countries, being correlated with economic, cultural and democratic advances. It affords access to knowledge and favours the acquisition of skills required in a constantly changing labour market (van Holthoon 2009: 431). *Illiteracy*, by contrast, carries a number of negative connotations, being associated with backwardness, disadvantage, impairment and social tensions (Barton 1994: 11). The United Nations declared literacy a basic human right,[2] along with the right to freedom of opinion and expression, and the right to the free development of one's personality.

But how can we define literacy and how is this term related to language management and language policy? Taking into account the broader context of social relations in which the actual use of reading and writing skills is embedded, we can say with Barton that literacy is 'a social activity which can best be described in terms of the literary practices which people draw upon in literacy events' (Barton 1994: 34).

The notion of 'literacy events' parallels that of 'speech events' (Hymes 1972). Heath (1983: 93) characterizes a 'literacy event' as 'any occasion in which a piece of writing is integral to the nature of the participants' interactions and their interpretative processes'. Hence a literacy event can be described as a contextually bound circumstance where reading and writing skills play a role, and which, given its social – that is, rule-governed – nature, shapes the way the above-mentioned skills are deployed. Discussing a newspaper article with a friend, posting a 'back soon' notice at the entrance of one's shop, and filling in a job application form are three examples of literacy events.

Another key concept is that of literacy practices, that is, 'the general cultural ways of utilizing literacy which people draw upon in a literacy event' (Barton 1994: 37). This implies that 'literacy practices vary with cultural context' (Street 2000: 25). For example, a young man meditating on a prayer book is engaged in a literacy practice which may take different forms according to the larger social and/or cultural context in which that action is embedded. Similarly, home literacy practices may be in conflict with those expected at school, especially if the language employed as the means of instruction is different from the pupils' native language. The notion of literacy practice is thus closely interrelated with that of domain, in that different literacy practices tend to be associated with different domains of language use, such as home, school and workplace (Barton 1994: 39).

The idea that the development of reading and writing skills should be instrumental to the accomplishment of the literacy practices relevant in a given community is generally referred to as functional literacy. This term was introduced by Gray (1956) who recognized that literacy skills may be exploited in different ways and with distinct practical consequences in different societies. He argued that:

> A person is functionally literate when he has acquired the knowledge and skills in reading and writing which enable him to engage effectively in all those activities in which literacy is normally assumed in his culture or group. (19)

If we accept that literacy is shaped by the social and cultural dynamics of the community where the reading and writing skills are deployed, the relevance of Gray's observation is beyond dispute. Being able to fill in a job application form, to write a letter of remittance and to read a medical data sheet may be functional in one context but less so in another (Verhoeven 2002: 5).

Functional literacy entails the application of the received knowledge in everyday activities as well as the retention and improvement of reading and writing skills after the completion of formal education. Literacy acquisition is viewed as a life-long process changing with the individual's needs. If individual life circumstances do not help to sustain reading and writing skills, these skills are doomed to decline. Hence the importance of assessing which type and level of literacy skills are 'functional' (Leseman 1994) in a given community prior to the implementation of a literacy campaign.

Some scholars view functional literacy as a narrow, negative counterpart of critical literacy. The general assumption underlying this argument is that individuals are functionally literate when 'their level of literacy allows them to function within their society, but not necessarily to understand that society, almost certainly not to change that society' (Rubin 1988: 22).[3] Critical literacy, in contrast, is viewed as a 'tool' for enhancing social and political participation, and for promoting a critical awareness in the individual.

The same argument is, however, used to exclude from political participation individuals and groups lacking the literacy level 'necessary' to exercise their civil rights. This is especially evident in post-colonial contexts, where the former colonial language remains the only official language employed as a means of instruction in school. In most cases, such a policy serves to protect the privileges of the ruling elite (e.g., Bamgbose 2000b; see also below).

The role of literacy varies with the nature of the speech community. In multilingual societies different literacy practices tend to be associated with different languages, according to the status, prestige and the functional domain allocation of these languages. In a West African urban centre, for instance, the menu displayed outside a traditional restaurant may be written in a local vernacular; the prayer books at the local church will be in a regional lingua franca; whereas the capacity to read a national newspaper and many public signs, presupposes competence in the official language, that is, English or French.

Any language education policy aimed at promoting literacy skills in a multilingual community must take into consideration the functional distribution of the community's languages. This entails an assessment of the community's literacy needs on the basis of the literacy practices associated with each language.

Writing reform: concept and definition

A written language is a valuable asset as an instrument of communication that serves the needs of education and science, law and administration, and in general participation in modern life. It can be conceived as a public good, which has no owner and benefits all who partake in it, which makes its cultivation a matter of common interest. On occasion it is the object of deliberate reform. Three different kinds of reform must be distinguished pertaining to the writing system of a language, its script, and its orthography (Coulmas 2003: 234–5). Orthography reforms are the most frequent, involving adjustments of spelling conventions that have been distorted over time. Script reforms concern changes of the visual appearance of a language by replacing one graphical code with another. A writing system reform is the most consequential of the three, involving changes of the systematic design and the basic operational units of writing, that is, graphical morphemes, syllables, segments and features.

Development and the promotion of literacy

Given the social implications of literacy and its role as an instrument of social advancement and political participation, the promotion of reading and writing skills has been a matter of much concern to policy makers, social activists, linguists and professional educators alike. Access to education is still unequal in many developing and developed countries (see below) and attempts to enhance literacy levels are challenged by the need to reconcile a variety of linguistic and non-linguistic (i.e., political, economic, social) factors. In this section we address some of the key issues involved in developing policies for literacy promotion and consider the political, economic and social implications of reducing illiteracy rates.

Political aspects

Political arguments for the promotion of literacy are based on psychological and cognitive assumptions: literacy is believed to increase self-awareness, critical thinking and the capacity to question the established socio-political system. A typical example of this line of reasoning is Farrell's claim that 'the cognitive restructuring caused by reading and

writing develops the higher reasoning processes involved in extended abstract thinking' (Farrell 1977: 451, quoted from Street 2009: 333).

Although such assertions are difficult to substantiate, it is indisputable that even elementary literacy enhances access to knowledge and information which may improve political participation and awareness of the existing power relationships. The right to vote is difficult to exercise unless you can decipher the ballot sheet. In recognition of the high number of illiterate rural residents eligible to vote, India has made an effort to overcome this problem by using pictorial symbols for political parties on ballot sheets. However, because of the stigma attached to illiteracy, advanced countries are unlikely to adopt similar solutions. Thus, in Germany's 2009 general elections, an estimated 750,000 citizens were kept away from the polls because of their inability to make sense of the ballot sheet (Sparkassen Schulservice 2009). Since the ability to vote is a basic form of political participation, illiteracy exacerbates political (and social) marginalization.

In some cases, this relationship between illiteracy and exclusion has been exploited to defend the elite's grip on power. As noted above, in most post-colonial contexts, the former colonial language remains the sole language for official purposes and education. Those who cannot attend school long enough to acquire some degree of proficiency in that language are thus excluded from political participation. In this way, in most developing countries literacy in the former colonial language continues to be used as a 'gatekeeping device essential to the maintenance of the position of the ruling elites' (Brock-Utne and Skattum 2009: 20) and functions as a means of 'elite closure' (Myers-Scotton 1990: 25). The failure to reduce the divide between the literate and the illiterate serves the interests of those who benefit from the status quo (Bamgbose 2000a).

Social aspects

Literacy in itself cannot solve social problems and counteract inequalities, but it is a first step toward better job qualifications and greater social mobility. It may improve self-confidence and prevent exploitation by increasing awareness of the rights of workers. Campaigns aimed at poverty reduction are expected to address the issue of illiteracy (Brenzinger 2009), though it is evident that improving one's social status and standard of living also depends on the ability to recognize any ideological bias of written texts.

In a society where only 5 per cent of people were literate, illiteracy was of little consequence. But the ubiquitous spread of new technologies and means of communication nowadays has greatly increased the importance of reading and writing skills. The dissemination of literacy, including suitable strategies to prevent relapse into illiteracy, are therefore highly relevant to social progress.

The rise of women's movements in many developing countries is one of the most important socio-political developments of the last few decades, with profound repercussions on the future spread of literacy (Le Page 1997: 81). Illiteracy rates have generally been higher for women than for men. A variety of economic and cultural factors made it difficult to challenge the status quo. However, women's movements have encouraged women in many countries to challenge asymmetric power relations, persuading them that literacy offers them new opportunities. Given the child-raising role of women, and their responsibility as informal educators, increasing literacy rates of women can be expected to have several valuable implications. An African proverb says that 'if you teach a man, you teach one person; if you teach a woman, you teach a family, a neighbourhood, a whole village'. In addition to achieving greater gender equity, improved access to educational opportunities for women will ultimately result in better life chances and socio-economic advances for the community as a whole (Egbo 2000).

Economic aspects

'My son won't learn English, your son won't learn English. But Jyoti Basu [the Chief Minister] will send his son abroad to learn English' (text of a graffito in Calcutta, quoted in Rushdie 2003: 249). The decision by the Marxist government of the state of Bengal in the early 1980s to discontinue the teaching of English in government-run primary schools met with popular discontent. People understood that such a policy would exacerbate the divide between the rich, who send their children abroad for English-medium education, and the rest of the population who could not afford to do so, and thus would be excluded from the most important and lucrative careers.

In the last few decades, as English has advanced into almost every sociolinguistic repertoire (Spolsky 2004: 220), it is economically advantageous to be literate not just in the community language but also in the language(s) of wider communication. As argued by Dutcher (2004), mother tongue education holds both promises and perils: while bilingual education and literacy programmes promote individual and community development, lack of proficiency in a language of wider communication leaves people dependent on expensive foreign expertise and curtails access to important information thereby acting as an obstacle to economic development.

What is more, literacy campaigns in local languages may not satisfy the expectations of the target population. Speakers of minority languages, for example, need to be multilingual and to develop literacy skills in their 'mother tongue' and in the majority language. The needs and aspirations of parents and children must not be disregarded. Dissatisfaction with a literacy programme runs the risk of parents withdrawing their

support and dismissing literacy as inconsequential. Discussing the political and economic repercussions of high illiteracy rates in Sub-Saharan Africa, Le Page (1997: 29) argues that 'as long as all the people with the best jobs in the government and in large corporations expect to operate in English, aspiring parents will want to have an English-medium education for their children and it may be difficult to convince them that the best route to that is through a vernacular-medium primary school'. This sounds like crude utilitarianism, but it is a very powerful argument in developing countries and in minority communities struggling to obtain greater social and political equity.

The most promising strategy is thus to promote bilingual literacy in the community language and in a language of wider communication. For most developing countries this is a tall order. However, the examples discussed below show that multilingual literacy campaigns can succeed if enough attention is paid to the linguistic ecology of the speech community involved. If teaching and learning resources are available and the motivation is there, literacy in a community language can be extended to other languages, especially if the same script is used.

Linguistic aspects

Much of the research on literacy and language policy has dealt with the question of how the right to mother tongue literacy can be reconciled with the fact that many languages lack a written tradition or an accepted written standard. The problem is especially evident in multilingual settings, where the functional differentiation of the languages in the local linguistic repertoire entails that only some languages are used in writing, whereas others serve the purposes of oral communication. Providing a language with a written form is a complex task that is subject to political, social and practical constraints. It involves choices of a variety for graphization, a script and an orthography. Further, lexical elaboration and the production of a reference dictionary and grammar are also necessary (Spolsky 2004: 26–38).

Without going into details (but see Chapter 14 in this volume), it is worth pointing out that for a language to be used for literacy training and as means of instruction in school, adequate teaching materials, textbooks and primers, as well as a body of literature, must be made available. This is often impeded by insufficient financial resources, but in many cases learners prefer literacy training in a language with regional or national diffusion, or in a European language rather than in a hitherto unwritten minority language.

These observations bespeak the need to rethink the very notion of 'mother tongue literacy'. In some multilingual environments, mother tongue literacy may take the form of literacy in a language that is reasonably close to the learners' mother tongue, but more highly developed and

suitable for the purposes of school education and other formal domains. In other cases, initial literacy may be provided in a vernacular with a gradual transition to literacy in a language of wider communication.

The history of literacy promotion in Italy provides an instructive example of the problems involved in accomplishing this goal. During the second half of the nineteenth century, a mass literacy campaign was launched using the Italo-romance dialect of Tuscany, now known as Italian,[4] as the language of instruction. At the time it was the mother tongue of less than 3 per cent of the population (De Mauro 1991: 43). In order to consolidate the unity of the country, which had been divided into several princely states for centuries, this variety was made obligatory as the only language of education and literacy. The languages that were then spoken in Italy included more than twenty Italo-Romance varieties differing substantially from Italian though genetically related to it. Outside Tuscany and the surrounding areas, proficiency in Italian was restricted to intellectuals interested in the masterpieces of Italian literature by Dante, Petrarca and Boccaccio. Because of the diglossic relationship between Italian and the Italo-romance *dialetti*, which were the mother tongues of major parts of the population, the introduction of Italian as the only medium of instruction on a national level met with major resistance. It took two World Wars and a considerable amount of internal migration for Italian to become the language of spoken, informal communication. For decades, the Italian educational system taught reading and writing in a language not used in the family domain. Up to the 1870s, literacy rates were lower than in the rest of Europe, but as of that time they were approaching the European average (Schram 1997: 91–3).

A gap between the language spoken at home and that taught at school and in literacy classes is still common in many countries (Spolsky 2009: 90; see also Chapter 14 in this volume). Apart from educational arguments for or against mother tongue instruction, the status of the languages involved, the ability of the educational establishment to offer multilingual literacy training, as well as the language practices, attitudes and beliefs held by children and parents must be taken into account in selecting a suitable language variety.

Writing reform

The uses of writing in modern societies are intimately linked with storing, retrieving and securing access to information in a standardized form that moreover ensures continuity. Writing reforms, therefore, need official sanction. The general motivation for such reforms is to secure the functionality of the system by simplifying its rules and thus facilitate the task of children becoming literate. Because written language is

associated with institutions such as school, the church and courts of law, it has almost always proved difficult to limit the discussion to linguistic aspects in the narrow sense. Culture is an important background aspect which interacts with political, economic and social determinants of language regulation (Fodor and Hagège 1983–1990).

Linguistic aspects of writing reforms

Since writing is fixed, while language is in flux, the relationship between the two is subject to distortion over time. As a general rule, the smaller the basic operational unit of the writing system, the sooner inconsistencies between writing and speech will appear. A morphemic writing system will require adjustments at greater intervals than one that maps onto sound segments, because sound change is more rapid than morphological change. With a few exceptions, writing systems were not deliberately designed, but evolved more or less spontaneously. Therefore, and because of the historicity of language, all writing systems constitute suboptimal solutions to the problem of establishing relationships between graphical and linguistic units.

Ever since the Carolingian reforms in the Middle Ages, which were intended to check the corruption of Latin by making people throughout the Empire pronounce it *ad litteras*, spelling reforms have been designed to reduce the gap between pronunciation and orthography. In modern times, however, adjustments have generally been in the opposite direction, bringing the spelling in line with pronunciation. Considering the phonetic variation of any sizeable language, this is easier said than done. A more moderate aim is to make phoneme–grapheme relations more consistent. Uniformity, transparency and simplicity are common aims of spelling reforms, as for example the Dutch (van der Sijs 2004), German (Eroms and Munske 1997) and French (AIROÉ 2000) orthography reforms of 1995, 1996 and 2000, respectively. All of these reforms claim to simplify the spelling rules. Since many rules are quite abstract and complicated, and since there are always reasons to retain irregular spellings, the three reforms include, in addition to a set of rules, long word lists of approved spellings. These lists suggest that regularity that can be captured by a simple set of rules is hard to achieve.

The said reforms do not alter any basic design features of the orthographies in question, pertaining to accent marks, word separation, the use of capital letters, the integration of loan words, as well as some other lesser problems. In all three cases international institutional efforts were made to realize the reform, yet they met with major resistance by defenders of the old norm. As a result, rival conventions coexist. Purists are disturbed by this state of affairs, but many readers, writers and publishers do not seem to be concerned.

This highlights one of the most interesting questions about spelling reforms in our day. Has the mastering of spelling rules in the age of spell checker software become a matter of lesser importance? Have major European standard languages entered into a phase of de-standardization? Spell checkers for English, French and Spanish, for example, come in more than a dozen variants each. For a relatively short period of time sanctioned orthographies were testimony to the authority of nation states over language use. In industrial society, the principal agent of executing this authority was compulsory education, where rigid orthographic norms were a key element of the curriculum, instilling in the pupils a sense of exactitude and uniformity. Complaints in the Western media about increasingly lenient high school teachers, on one hand, and college students who can't spell, on the other, suggest that this period may be on the wane and that state authority over language is giving way to market forces. To answer the question of whether this is the case, more research is needed about how speech communities deal with variation in writing and with computer-mediated text production.

Advocates of writing reform invariably cite linguistic reasons to argue their case. Writing systems are compared for transparency, regularity and simplicity. For example, Italian children spell better than their English-speaking peers, which has been attributed to the Italian spelling system being more transparent than the English one (Cossu 1999). However, the influence of other factors, such as teaching methods and social attitudes to literacy, are rarely controlled for. Findings such as the fact that the English reading ability of Singaporean children is superior to that of Irish and American children (Elley 1994) cannot be explained on linguistic grounds. A well-known project to deal with the intricacies of English spelling was the Initial Teaching Alphabet developed by Sir James Pitman (Pitman and St John 1969). ITA is more or less phonemic and much more transparent than English spelling. In the 1960s it was tested in British schools and proved to be helpful for pupils with severe reading disability, but in spite of extensive research no hard evidence has been produced to demonstrate that children learn more effectively with ITA than with the conventional English orthography. Similarly, nothing indicates that American spelling is learnt more easily than British spelling, although the former is supposedly simpler. German spelling reformers have for a century wrestled with the problem of capitalization. Defenders of the current practice to capitalize nouns emphasize that majuscules facilitate parsing. However, the advantages, if any, for the reader are easily outweighed by disadvantages for the writer, given that 'a word spelt with an initial capital' is the most common dictionary definition of what a German noun is.

To sum up this section, linguistic reasons for writing and spelling reforms are multifarious and cogent. In some measure, improvements of transparency, inner logic and linguistic motivation are always possible.

Whether or not such improvements have any effect on a script's learnability and usability is a different matter. So far, compelling evidence that design features of writing systems help or hinder becoming literate has been elusive. In regards to literacy, linguistic motivations for writing reform, therefore, seem to be of secondary importance at best. Sebba (2007) has argued that linguistic orthography studies tend to treat orthography as a neutral structure and fail to adequately recognize its sociocultural nature, which, however, should be reckoned with in any writing reform. He therefore advocates the notion of 'orthography as practice', subject to the formative influence of institutions, traditions and attitudes.

Social aspects of writing reforms

A principal motivation of writing reforms is to make the acquisition of literacy easier and thus provide for wider access to education. A major reform undertaken in the fifteenth century by King Sejong the Great in Korea is an early example. Korean used to be written with Chinese characters, which were not only very numerous but also ill-suited to the Korean language (Shin *et al*. 1990; Kim-Renaud 1997). The king, therefore, ordered a new, purely phonetic writing system to be drawn up which would be (1) more suitable for Korean and (2) easier to learn than the Chinese. This task was admirably accomplished. The new system, known nowadays as *Han'gŭl*, was very simple, consisting of only twenty-eight letters with unequivocal phonetic interpretations, of which twenty-four are in use today. While Chinese literacy was the privilege of a small elite, the new system proved to be easy to learn – too easy for its critics, who disparagingly called it *ach'imgŭl* [morning letters] or *amk'ŭl* [women's letters], implying that the new alphabet could be learnt in one morning and even by women. This was in stark contrast with the many years of study that full literacy in Chinese required. Those who had undertaken this task perceived the new phonetic script as a threat to their intellectual authority and privileged position in society, an attitude that commonly accompanies writing reform (Fishman 1988: 280).

Chinese writing, too, has been the subject of various reforms. After the Opium War (1840–1843), a language movement gained momentum that attributed China's weakness and backwardness to its literary culture (Chen 1996). Intellectuals argued that Chinese characters were a major impediment to mass literacy and set out to investigate alternatives to the traditional script. In the twentieth century, these efforts were carried on in recognition of the importance of education for empowering the masses. During the first decades of the century various schemes for the Romanization of Chinese were developed, such as the 'National Phonetic Alphabet' (*Zhuyin Zimu*), promulgated in 1918, the 'National Language

Romanization' (*Gwoyeu Romatzyh*), promulgated in 1928, and the 'Latinized New Writing System' (*Latinxua Sin Wenz*), published in 1929 in the Soviet Union. The authors of these schemes and Chinese government officials agreed that a more manageable written language was needed.

After the founding of the PRC in 1949, writing reform remained a government priority, with Chairman Mao himself getting involved in the discussion (DeFrancis 1950). Initially the government seemed committed to replacing Chinese characters with a Latin orthography. To this end, *Pinyin*, based on 'common speech', or *Putonghua*, which is the pronunciation of Beijing, were developed by the Committee for Writing System Reform of China. However, when it was promulgated by the government in 1958 it was no longer intended to replace characters, but to perform auxiliary functions, such as indicating the pronunciation of characters.

A second reform serving the same superordinate purpose of facilitating the acquisition of literacy was pursued at the same time: character simplification (Coulmas 1983). A first list of simplified characters in common use was drafted in 1956, and after a long process of deliberation and improvement the government published a list of 1754 simplified characters in 1964. A second character simplification scheme was promulgated in 1977, although in the face of confusion and opposition this was rescinded in 1986.

Character simplification consists essentially of standardizing cursive forms and reducing the number of constituent strokes. The rationale underlying this approach is that fewer strokes mean less work both in the learning and writing of characters. The potential risks are that simplified characters will be less distinct and more difficult to identify with historically earlier forms. These are valid concerns making it easy for opponents to resist the reform. Taiwan refused to join the reform for other reasons, stressing its autonomy and proving itself as the sealbearer of Chinese tradition. For many years no innovation that came from the PRC was acceptable in Taiwan, certainly not one that would amount to recognizing the PRC's authority over something so symbolically charged as the writing system. As a result, simplified and unabbreviated characters are now used concurrently in the Chinese-speaking world, exemplifying a common pattern of written language use in the wake of many writing reforms. Supporters and opponents, often split along lines of political inclinations between conservatives and progressives, both rely on their own reputable experts to support their position. This is to show how difficult it is to keep practical and symbolic aspects of writing reforms apart, and that writing reforms are hard to implement in the absence of complete control over the territory and/or the population concerned.

It stands to reason that standardizing Chinese characters, reducing their graphical complexity and their number, would be conducive to mass literacy, but this is hard to prove. The reason is that the success of

literacy education depends on many variables, and real-life conditions outside educational laboratories are highly complex. Literacy in the PRC has been lower than in Taiwan for decades and still lags behind, but this does not imply anything about the suitability of unabbreviated characters for literacy education. It does not even justify the conclusion that the effects of the PRC's writing reform are negligible. What we can learn from the Chinese case is that relationships between structural properties of writing systems and literacy levels are hard to substantiate. As Taylor (1999), among others, has argued, Chinese characters do not in and of themselves present an obstacle to mass literacy. There may nevertheless be good reasons for periodic writing reforms, such as harmonizing standard and current usage as well as eliminating inconsistencies.

The fact that the PRC trailed Taiwan in literacy rates although the latter uses more complex characters can be attributed to social factors such as the more advanced degree of urbanization in Taiwan. However, the implications of this observation are of more general interest, because it calls into question the causal relationship that has often been assumed to hold between writing system and literacy, that is, between the complexity of the system and the spread of literacy in society. Notably low literacy rates in the USA and other Anglophone countries have been blamed on the intricacies of English spelling (Bell 2004), which the Simplified Spelling Society calls 'a serious obstacle to education'.[5] How serious, if at all, is a matter of controversy. Conclusive evidence of negative effects of complex writing systems on educational achievement has proved difficult to establish. It is possible that although writing systems differ in complexity, this difference is not a crucial predictor of how quickly and well children learn to read, let alone social literacy levels, but is outweighed by other variables, such as school curriculum, teaching methods, pupils' language background, education coverage, social attitudes toward literacy, etc. Since these factors can only be controlled under laboratory conditions, it is virtually impossible to determine the effects of writing reforms on literacy.

Political aspects of writing reform

Writing reform does not necessarily carry a political direction, but is often associated with and motivated by political goals. The form of the written language is a marker of identity which lends itself easily to political instrumentalization. A well-known example is the Turkish language reform of the 1920s, which was part of Kemal Atatürk's nationalist modernization movement. In the event, the Arabic script used throughout the Ottoman Empire for Turkish and several other languages all over Central Asia was replaced by the Latin alphabet. The paucity of vowel letters in the Arabic alphabet was considered deficient for Turkish. Its eight

vowels were thus assigned the Latin letters 'i, ü, ı, u, e, ö, a, o'. At the same time, the lexical dependence of Turkish on Arabic and Persian loans was reduced by creating many new words on the basis of Turkish roots to replace them. Turkish in the Latin script symbolized a cultural and political reorientation of the country, a turning away from the Ottoman past and an alignment with the European future. Regaining national self-esteem after the collapse of the Ottoman Empire was part of the political background. In Atatürk's words: 'The Turkish nation, which is well able to protect its territory and sublime independence, must also liberate its language from the yoke of foreign languages' (quoted from Lewis 2002: 42).

Similar script reforms were carried out in the orbit of the Soviet Union, first when it was founded and again when it dissolved. In Azerbaijan, for instance, the Soviet government promoted literacy in the new Latin Turkic Alphabet 'to free the proletariat from the Arabic script' (Clement 2005, quoted in Hatcher 2008: 107). Under Stalin, however, the Latin script was replaced by Cyrillic, for fear that in the wake of Atatürk's language reform the Latin alphabet would create an unwelcome link between Turkey and Turkic minorities in the USSR. Within months of the demise of the USSR in 1991, the Azerbaijani Parliament reinstated the Latin alphabet as the official script, resisting calls from Teheran to return to the Arabic script, which is used by the large Azeri minority in Iran.

Turkmenistan underwent parallel shifts. In the post-Soviet period the Turkmens divested themselves of Cyrillic, opting instead for a Latin orthography which, by striving for one-to-one phoneme–letter correspondence, differed markedly from the Common Turkic Script promoted by Turkey. In 1993, the Turkmen National Alphabet was promulgated as a symbol of national independence and renewal. The expectation that it would be conducive to literacy was offered as an additional motivation: 'to mark every phoneme with an individual grapheme, scholars believed, would facilitate learning to read' (Clement 2008: 178).

Script reforms are often politically motivated and arouse political passion. To a larger extent than spelling reforms they constitute a disruption of intellectual life, making literature in the old script inaccessible to the non-specialist. Only where the literacy level of the general population is very low and a strong ideology, particularly nationalism, secures the reform's popularity does this not endanger successful implementation. Since both were given in post-Ottoman Turkey, the shift from Arabic to Latin letters was accomplished without major problems.

Economic aspects of writing reform

In connection with writing reform proposals, economic arguments are invoked on the level of system design and learning. Both arguments are

related and lead to the common claim that a writing system is in need of reform because it is uneconomical. For example, 'billions of dollars are lost each year through our archaic spelling, which is a prime cause of academic discouragement and failure. We throw money away trying to teach it and money away trying to use it' (Citron 1981: 181). This is a typical statement which rests on certain ideas of humanity and writing, that is, that humans are by nature thrifty (lazy) and that this human trait determined the history of writing. These ideas have been argued most forcefully in Zipf's (1949) book, tellingly entitled *Human Behavior and the Principle of Least Effort*, and Gelb's (1963) *A Study of Writing*. 'Zipf's Law' states that the relationship between a word's frequency of occurrence and its rank on a frequency scale for a given corpus is a constant to the effect that there is a fixed proportion between a small number of high-frequency words and a large number of words with a low frequency of occurrence. This distribution, according to Zipf, testifies to the force of the Principle of Least Effort, which is at work in all human behaviour, specifically in the creation and development of tools, since the conservation of energy results in an evolutionary advantage. Gelb (1963: 72) similarly postulated 'a principle of economy' underlying the history of writing, which aims 'at the effective expression of the language by means of the smallest possible number of signs'.

Some writing systems, notably Sumerian and Akkadian Cuneiform, with which Gelb was most familiar, reduced their sign inventory over time, but the argument that this is a universal principle of evolutionary progression governing the history of writing is untenable, because inventory size interacts with other properties of writing systems that determine ease of use and learning, especially simplicity, unequivocalness and faithfulness. For example, Japanese kana are more numerous than the twenty-six letters of English, but learning kana is much easier and faster than learning English spelling. And while the twenty-nine letter Finnish alphabet does not differ significantly in size from the English, learning Finnish spelling, too, is much easier than English. Every writing system involves both memory and combinatorial rules. The multiplicity of extant writing systems suggests that there is a great range for striking a balance between the two, some relying more on memory, others more on analysis/synthesis. What is more, the balance that has been found for the graphic form of a language does not necessarily stay the same. For instance, making use of a twenty-six letter alphabet, English has shifted ever more from analysis/synthesis to memory. Thus, even if Gelb's principle of economy has certain merits for the early history of writing, its pertinence for explaining current differences between writing systems is limited (Daniels 2008), as is its significance for planning writing reforms.

This observation suggests that either the principle of least effort is not as universal as claimed, or the notion that some writing systems

are measurably more complex than others is problematic. Even if writing systems could be ranked for complexity, which is by no means self-evident, there is a conspicuous lack of evidence to support the claim that the relative complexity of writing systems is a significant variable of determining mass literacy levels. Hence, on closer inspection, the argument that writing reforms are called for in order to reduce waste fails to convince.

Literacy and minority languages

A special problem in the context of writing reform and literacy concerns the allocation of written language status to minority languages. The above discussion of linguistic, social, political and economic aspects of writing reform suggests that there is at best a tenuous relationship between writing system and literacy, as long as children are learning to read a language they know. For speakers of minority languages this is often not the case, notwithstanding the many arguments in support of mother tongue literacy. Apart from the conceptual difficulties of defining 'mother tongue' (Khubchandani 2003), many of the world's languages remain unwritten to date. In multilingual environments functional differentiations of languages are common. For example, in India, ninety-one languages with eleven scripts between them are used in education (Daswani 2000: 131), but according to *Ethnologue* 445 languages are spoken in the country.[6] Since more than three out of four languages have no written form, the goal of mother tongue education is far from being realized. In African countries, too, it is not uncommon for speakers to use several languages in their everyday life (Djité 2008). The ideal of mother tongue education and literacy implies that the functional division of codes in such settings should be reconfigured by providing hitherto unwritten languages with a written form.

If a language is given a written form, it usually acquires a higher status, but it also then competes with other languages for status which wasn't necessarily the case before, when speakers were agreed that only some of the languages in their community were used in writing. For reasons discussed above, in such a situation people may resist attempts at writing their language. Some communities consider plans for reducing their language to writing as just that, a reduction that threatens its survival. As Olson (1999: 135) put it, 'writing is, in principle, metalinguistic […] and provides a conceptual model for speech'. If literacy has never been a part of a linguistic tradition, the speech community may have no use for the model provided by a newly designed writing system for its language at all.

It is, moreover, very difficult to ascertain whether or not alphabetizing unwritten languages is conducive to literacy (Fordham *et al.* 1995).

In post-colonial settings, where written communication is limited to European languages, this is more likely than in settings characterized by the traditional allotment of written and oral functions to different autochthonous languages. The European ideal of cultivating one all-round standard language for all communicative functions has never caught on in these settings.

There may be other motivations than the promotion of literacy for providing a language with a written form, such as satisfying minority groups' desire for equal language rights, enhancing their prestige and documenting their languages. The latter point is particularly relevant for the many endangered languages with very small speech communities that are unlikely ever to play a role in functional literacy, but which will be lost without trace unless recorded in writing (Crystal 2000: 138–9). If large portions of the Bible had not been translated into Gothic by the Arian bishop Wulfila (*c.* AD 311–83), who devised an alphabet for what was a hitherto unwritten language, our documentary knowledge of this important East Germanic variety would be limited to a few fragmentary sources. It should be noted, however, that no matter how skilfully standardization and graphization problems are solved, the written form of a language represents only a reduction, rather than speech written down.

Cases in point: literacy campaigns

As mentioned in the previous section, different literacy practices tend to be associated with different languages, according to the status, the prestige and the functional distribution of these languages. For a number of reasons literacy campaigns tend to be 'monolingual'. Hence, every literacy campaign begins with the selection of a suitable language (variety). Depending on the objectives of the campaign, a certain language may be privileged over others. Adult literacy campaigns, for instance, tend to promote literacy skills in a language the learners already speak and use in their everyday activities, in order to meet the learners' immediate needs and make them aware of the practical benefits of their efforts. Literacy classes for children may privilege the language that will enhance their future life chances. Whatever the choice, language attitudes in the community must be assessed beforehand, lest resistance on the part of the learners jeopardize the entire campaign.

Another challenge has to do with teaching and reading materials. As mentioned earlier, in multilingual environments not all languages are used in writing. And the fact that a language has been reduced to writing and is occasionally used in some written domains does not mean that reading materials suitable for use in a literacy programme are available. Similarly, qualified teachers may be hard to find. A native speaker is not necessarily a good teacher of her/his mother tongue. And teacher

training courses and materials for minority languages are not always available.

What then are the requisites of a successful literacy campaign? The annual UNESCO International Literacy Prize acknowledges the success of institutions and NGOs in planning and executing literacy programmes as well as in creating literate environments which support the retention of reading and writing skills.[7] An analysis of the features shared by the award-winning projects of 2009 reveals a number of criteria.

In Burkina Faso – where, according to *Ethnologue*, sixty-eight different languages are spoken – the literacy rate is one of the lowest in the world: 26 per cent for men and 18 per cent for women. In the eastern villages where the *Tin Tua* literacy programme has been implemented since 1986, however, the literacy rate is well above 40 per cent. The programme, funded by a local NGO, promotes the acquisition of basic literacy skills in five local languages and is designed to help learners handle problems in farming, health, hygiene and human rights, along with reading and writing skills. Beneficiaries of the programme are teenagers above 15, but also early school leavers between 9 and 15 years of age. After completing a full course in a local language, participants are offered the opportunity to continue with literacy classes in French – the language of instruction in the official school system. Since the beginning of the programme, some 1,400 youths enrolled in French literacy classes have obtained a certificate. The programme also supports the production of primers and reading materials, and has encouraged the setting up of free-access mobile libraries moving from village to village to prevent the newly literates from losing their skills.

In Afghanistan, during the years of the war, the local population had only limited educational opportunities. Women and girls in particular were denied any kind of schooling by the Taliban regime. In order to alleviate the consequences of this policy, the Pashai Language Development Project was devised in 1999. The Pashai people inhabit the eastern region of the country close to the Pakistani border. The most important language of wider communication there is Pashto. Since Pashai had no written form, the project initially offered basic literacy classes in Pashto until, in 2003, a Pashai orthography (based on that for Pashto in Arabic script) was developed with the collaboration of local elders and teachers (Yun 2003). The project currently offers a bilingual Pashai–Pashto literacy programme open to both men and women from roughly forty villages. Local authorities provide classrooms, select students and encourage them to attend the classes. Supervisors and teachers are from the villages where the classes are held. Along with literacy, the learners are offered information on animal husbandry and farming, activities which are highly valued for their potential to improve the community's standard of living.

The focus on real-life problems and needs is also a key component of the Continuing Education Programme run by the Ministry of Education

of the Kingdom of Bhutan. In Bhutan, with twenty-five languages and a population of 600,000, the literacy rate is estimated at 47 per cent for women and 54 per cent for men. The Continuing Education Programme offers basic literacy in Dzongkha, which has official status and is employed as the medium of instruction in school, and which is the mother tongue of one-fifth of the population. In addition, there is a post-literacy programme providing practical information on health, hygiene, AIDS prevention, family planning, agriculture and carpentry. Beneficiaries of the programme are illiterate adults and youths with less than three years of school. A self-learning programme for adult students who cannot attend classes regularly has increased to 135,000 the number of participants, 70 per cent of whom are women.

Teaching literacy-derived skills that are relevant to the community is a crucial factor in the success of yet another campaign, the Continuing Education and Lifelong Learning programme coordinated by the Municipality of Agoo in La Union, the Philippines. In this highly multilingual area, where most of the languages have only a few thousand speakers each and lack written forms, this programme, serving forty-nine local villages, offers literacy and post-literacy classes in English. Its beneficiaries include not only illiterate adults and early school leavers, but also teachers and municipal workers who want to improve their skills and believe in life-long learning. Literacy is not taught for its own sake, but as a means to improve the learners' job opportunities, to enhance their social position and increase their income. To this end, the post-literacy programme is divided into six parts, including communication skills, critical thinking and problem solving, sustainable use of resources, productivity, self-development and expanding one's world vision. The programme is funded by provincial and national government agencies as well as some NGOs, but local authorities are charged with the assessment of community needs.

The lessons we can draw from the above examples are as follows: first, the award-winning literacy programmes adopt a *holistic approach* (Yun 2003: 2): 'the purpose of the literacy classes is not just to help people become literate, but also to help them understand the problems they face and learn how to manage and solve these problems'. A literacy campaign is more likely to be successful if its beneficiaries are not offered literacy skills per se, but are encouraged to apply these skills in everyday life. Such a practical approach may appear inadequate to the critics of functional literacy, but it represents a necessary first step, especially in adult literacy.

Second, the above programmes all have a flexible timetable, allowing the learners to attend to their daily tasks. Each programme is 'community-based', relying on the active participation of the community as a whole, as well as on the support of local authorities and elders. From a sociolinguistic point of view, a proper understanding of the linguistic

ecology of the community is crucial when it comes to the choice of the language (or languages) for literacy. If possible, literacy skills are offered in the learners' native language, but learners are also given the opportunity to refine their skills using a language of wider communication or the language of instruction in the school system. As mentioned above, literacy in a community language can be extended to other languages (Le Page 1997). The population of Agoo in the Philippines attends basic literacy classes in English. In Bhutan, thousands of otherwise illiterate citizens took advantage of a basic literacy programme in the Dzongkha language. However, the fact that a vernacular lacks a written form does not have to stand in the way of a successful literacy campaign. As Yun (2003) reports, a Pashai orthography was developed in 2003 and is currently being tested and revised in collaboration with some of the learners who attended the first classes in 1999, when the local campaign began.

Finally, another key feature of the programmes honoured by UNESCO in 2009 is their commitment to the creation of a literate environment. Preventing a relapse into illiteracy is a major concern of every literacy campaign. Individual relapses undermine the effectiveness of the campaign itself and have negative repercussions on the attitudes and motivation of the community where it is undertaken.

Illiteracy in developed countries

Much research on literacy is understandably focused on developing countries (Street 2001), but in advanced countries, too, adult illiteracy persists. UNESCO's 2008 Literacy Report lists regions rather than countries and shows that illiteracy is heavily concentrated in Africa and Asia. International statistics list virtually all countries of the northern hemisphere and Australia and New Zealand with literacy rates in excess of 99 per cent.[8] At the same time the problems of measuring and comparing literacy rates across countries are generally acknowledged (UNESCO 2008a). In many cases literacy rates of more than 99 per cent are statistical artefacts reflecting school enrolment rather than actual assessments of literacy skills. Depending on how literacy is defined, it is not rare that 10 per cent of the population in developed countries are found to be functionally illiterate. Because literacy is a graded skill, comparative assessments are difficult. But the number of total illiterates is disquieting. The population in this category aged 15 years and older in North America and Western Europe is estimated at 1,470,800 for 2005 (UNESCO 2008a: 43). Small as this figure is, it bears witness to an incomplete task of larger proportions. Access to education is still unequal as patterns of sex, ethnic and regional discrimination persist.

In 2002, the Committee on Employment and Social Affairs (2001) submitted its 'Report on Illiteracy and social exclusion' to the European

Parliament stating that the long-held assumption that, thanks to the policy of compulsory education for all, developed countries had no literacy problem was mistaken. Another report pointedly asked: 'Why literacy in Europe?' and offered as an explanation for continuing concern that there are in Europe 'millions of people [who] do not have the basic competencies to tackle the demands of everyday life' (UNESCO Institute for Education 2005: 1). The report emphasized that it did not focus on marginal groups, but on the 'mainstream population'. And again in 2009, the Swedish EU presidency stressed the importance of promoting literacy, pointing out that some '20 per cent of Europe's children have poor literacy skills' (Pop 2009).

Many adult education institutions are aware of literacy deficits in their countries and run remedial programmes. For instance, the International Center for Educational Statistics publishes estimates for all American states of adults 'lacking basic prose literacy skills', citing 15 per cent for Alabama, 19 per cent for the District of Columbia, and 22 per cent for New York.[9] In Germany, estimates of the proportion of adults whose literacy skills do not suffice for simple text processing vary between 6.5 per cent and 14 per cent (Döbert and Hubertus 2000). A comparative study of OECD coordinated by Statistics Canada (1995) found that similar rates of the population in Canada, Netherlands, Sweden and Switzerland had literacy problems.

In Australia, the situation is compounded by the large immigrant population. In 2006, the country participated in The Adult Literacy and Life Skills Survey, which measures prose literacy, document literacy, numeracy and problem solving.[10] Between 46 and 70 per cent of adults performed poorly or very poorly in one of these domains of literacy. While the overall situation is complex, because the survey was in English and many Australians may be fully literate in a language other than English, one result was patently clear: the illiteracy level of Australia's indigenous people is significantly higher than the rest of the country.

Japan has long taken pride in its high literacy rate (Gottlieb 1995). The satisfactory conclusion of a 1948 survey was that no noteworthy adult illiteracy existed in Japan. The government, therefore, chose to ignore the problem, maintaining that Japan's education system was so effective that illiteracy was not an issue. No further surveys were therefore carried out, and only of late have scholars pointed out various weaknesses of the original survey, which produced the 'myth of total literacy in Japan' (Yamashita 2010). To date, there are no literacy statistics for Japan, but the problem of limited literacy skills in certain sections of the population, both Japanese and foreign, is no longer disregarded.

In the developed countries compulsory education has been in place for one or two centuries. The link between literacy and national wealth has been understood just as long, and education has been recognized as the gateway to a decent job for decades. Why is it that illiteracy nevertheless

continues to be a problem? Being as it is an acquired skill of a rather specialized nature, literacy is subject to personal capabilities and individual differences. The demands of *functional* literacy in the technology-driven societies of the early twenty-first century are very high and continue to evolve. These two conditions alone bode ill for the total eradication of illiteracy and low literacy competence. Underachievement has therefore been attributed to pedagogic and psychological problems. However, it is also a structural phenomenon. Barton (1994 [2007]: 197) cites a study of a small town in the United States where illiterates are well integrated in social networks 'where it was seen as unnecessary for everyone to develop every skill personally'. However, it is highly doubtful that the emerging knowledge societies, in which individuals are increasingly expected to choose their own life plans, will allow the semi-literate full participation rather than being relegated to the bottom of the social hierarchy.

The issue of illiteracy in developed countries is not one of individual shortcomings but social exclusion. Modern societies and the welfare states they have built have not delivered what they have promised since the French Revolution, namely, equal life chances for all citizens. Very generally speaking, this state of affairs is an indication of a continuing discord between political and economic developments in these countries. Democratic polities call for an educated populace able to acquire and process information in the written mode, whereas the capitalist market economy is compatible with – and perhaps even requires for the functioning of – an uneducated underclass that by virtue of being uneducated is excluded from participating in creating a just society. In several Western countries the coincidence of globalization and population ageing has produced such an underclass, increasingly manned by immigrants who are often needed to do low-prestige jobs. Ill-conceived immigration policies that are not backed up by sufficiently sophisticated integration and education policies designed specifically to impart literacy skills have led to this situation and are likely to perpetuate it. Only significantly higher investment in education can reduce illiteracy in developed countries. However, population ageing works as an impediment, reducing governments' capacity and willingness to shift financial resources from welfare programmes for elderly voters to education for lower-class children and immigrants (Merkel 2009: 56). In sum, illiteracy in developed countries must be seen as an aspect of the reproduction of social relations and inequality. Just as national literacy rates are strong indicators of disparities between countries, illiteracy correlates with social inequality within countries. Policies designed to break this link need to promote critical literacy (Rubin 1988). As Freire (1970) argued, focusing on developing countries, the relationship between social class and illiteracy must be taken into account seeing written language as an instrument for people to analyse access to power and resources in their society.

23

Language activism and language policy

Mary Carol Combs and Susan D. Penfield

> Without the disrupters, campaigners and ideological pests, all noble words amount to nothing but blackboard dust. This is not to justify every activity undertaken in the name of activism but to state a plain historical truth: no noise, no improvement. Activism as such is not sufficient for improvement, but damned if it isn't necessary.
>
> Todd Gitlin, *Letters to a Young Activist* (2003)

Activism is frequently defined as intentional, vigorous or energetic action that individuals and groups practise to bring about a desired goal. For some, activism is a theoretically or ideologically focused project intended to effect a perceived need for political or social change. For others, activism is controversial and disruptive; after all, it often manifests as confrontational activity that directly challenges the order of things. Activism is uncomfortable, sometimes messy, almost always strenuous, and it does not occur without the presence and commitment of *activists*, that is, folks who develop workable strategies, focus a collective spotlight onto particular issues, and ultimately move people into action (Gitlin 2003). As Gitlin suggests above, effective activists also make noise, sometimes loudly.

If *activism* conventionally is defined as ideologically inspired, energetic action designed to achieve a social or political goal, what is language activism? Is it advocacy or action for more linguistic diversity? What does activism look like in the context of language revitalization work? What are insider and outsider activist roles? How important is it to be a language activist (and what does that really mean)? In this chapter, we attempt to answer these questions and to provide at least a working definition of language activism, if not a definitive one. The definition cannot be definitive because language activism manifests differently at different times and in different contexts. Just who is a language activist differs as well: language policy researchers may be language activists or

they may not. A few individuals meeting regularly to study the grammar, vocabulary and pragmatics of their endangered ancestral language may also be called language activists, as could the linguist helping them. Our principal goal in this chapter is to raise additional questions about what it might mean to be a language activist. We also hope to spotlight some of the creative tension that activists must generate, that is, in the way that Martin Luther King, Jr described in his Letter from a Birmingham city jail. In this seminal work on activism, King argued that nonviolent resisters must 'create a crisis and establish such creative tension that a community that has constantly refused to negotiate is forced to confront the issue… [Nonviolent direct action] seeks to dramatize the issue that can no longer be ignored' (in Washington 1986: 291).

We locate our discussion within two somewhat disparate contexts: first, language activism on behalf of (or against) language minority groups exerted through legislation, the courts, and 'direct democracy' initiatives. Our second context concerns language revitalization efforts, specifically in indigenous communities where endangered tribal or heritage languages are at issue. This kind of activism might be advanced to benefit both a group or an individual. In the latter context especially, we argue for the need to broaden our sense of responsibility for language activism. We suggest that without increased attention to how language activism develops, is implemented and organized, minority and endangered languages are unlikely to achieve the reinforcement of official language policies which support their use and existence.

Drawing from the above definition of activism, we suggest that *language activism* is energetic action focused on language use in order to create, influence and change existing language policies. In this sense, language activists are individuals or groups who, through various means, actively defend their right to venerate and freely use their languages in multiple, often public domains. Language activism may develop as a reaction to larger, state-imposed efforts to suppress or discourage the use of non-dominant languages. In the United States, for example, those who actively oppose Congressional English Language Amendments, English-only work place rules, or state anti-bilingual education voter initiatives are language activists. Similarly, individuals who advocate for endangered Native American languages in order to forestall the shift to English count as language activists.

This characterization also means, however, that majority language speakers who focus their energies on the obstruction, suppression and eradication of minority or endangered languages also count as language activists. We might justifiably scoff at claims by restrictionist organizations like US English and English First that English speakers suffer discrimination from minority language policies, but we would be hard pressed to deny that their efforts are not a form of activism. Our definition of language activism must therefore be broad enough to include

many points of view, still actuating the notion that language activism is a force for social change which may result in changes in language policy, whether official, community or family-based.

Language activists may need to be noisy in order to be heard, as Gitlin suggests, but in fact language activism can be quiet, personal and practised in smaller, more intimate settings. If an individual commits to learning or relearning her ancestral language, she is practising a kind of language activism. To paraphrase Siskiska (Blackfeet) educator Darrell Kipp, such a commitment protects and shields her language, allowing her to embrace, use, foster, renew and teach it to her own daughters and sons. She has no need to defend her motives, her actions or her vision. For Kipp, action and results are key, and Native children who end up actively speaking the language are the ultimate goal (Kipp 2000): 'When a baby speaks our language, everybody wants one' (20). Kipp likens an active commitment to language revitalization to love and survival, and we agree. We also believe this is language activism.

Language activism does in fact influence language policy, although as stated earlier, not always in ways we might endorse. Consider the anti-bilingual initiatives promoted in several US states (California, Arizona, Colorado and Massachusetts). All of the campaigns for these measures were bankrolled by a single wealthy individual – software engineer Ron Unz – who with a handful of activists in each state portrayed bilingual education as a failed and expensive Spanish-only, academic welfare programme in which children languished for years, or as an entrenched bureaucracy seeking to preserve its financial stake (Ayala 1999; Crawford 2008; English for the Children–Arizona 1998; Unz 1997, 2001a, 2001b).[1] Unz's 'English for the Children' initiative campaign facilitated the passage of anti-bilingual education measures in California, Arizona and Massachusetts, which resulted in sweeping changes in language policies in these states.

National and regional language activism may also inspire the intervention of international governing bodies. From the latter part of the nineteenth early to the mid-twentieth century, indigenous children were forced into residential boarding schools in both the United States and Canada. Because of these coercive school policies in both nations, entire generations of students lost their ancestral languages. A large scale response to the injustices of such long-term policies was the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, adopted by the General Assembly on September 13, 2007.[2] In addition to recognizing the collective rights of indigenous peoples to their languages, the Declaration also promotes their rights to culture, identity, education, health and employment. Enactment of the Declaration was the culmination of years of activism on the part of hundreds of indigenous language advocates worldwide. While the legal applicability of the Declaration has

been called into question, there are legal considerations for the nations that signed it.

Language activism: language rights and the law

Our discussion would be incomplete without addressing a major impetus for language activism: energetic affirmation of one's legal or human right to language, though what 'legal' and 'human' mean is anything but settled. Is a language right literally a right to language in and of itself, however abstract that may be? Is it a legal right to access fundamental services through language, like voting, the legal process, education, etc.? Do governments bestow language rights individually or collectively? How does the United States recognize language rights compared to international venues?

The question of whether language rights are granted to individuals or groups exposes a philosophical and legal tension in the US legal system. On the one hand, US jurisprudence is predicated upon the idea that in a democratic state all citizens are equal, regardless of race, ethnic, national or linguistic origin (Williams 1998). This approach to law privileges individual rights over those of the group. Indeed, the Bill of Rights (the first ten amendments to the US Constitution) spells out the rights and immunities of the individual citizen. On the other hand, a system of individual rights – itself a majoritarian idea – does not adequately address the civil rights concerns of a minority group which, more often than not, finds itself petitioning for rights never requested by the dominant or majority group (de Valle 2003; Phillipson, Rannut and Skutnabb-Kangas 1995; Williams 1998). As a consequence, litigation on behalf of the group or class of people 'similarly situated' has been the favoured approach to civil rights actions.

In the United States, practically speaking, a language right is not granted to a sole individual. A single Chinese speaker may be legally entitled to government services in Chinese, but only because those services are also provided to other Chinese speakers, a benefit bestowed only after lengthy and arduous legal battles. Government services to the many over the few, sometimes compelled, is manifested over and over again in civil rights law and legislation.

Judicial tension from a legal or quasi-legal recognition of language rights, reaches beyond legal strategies that advance an individual or group rights approach. In fact, an argument can be made, and scholars have made it, that language rights *qua* rights do not exist (and never have existed). Schiffman (1996) for example, writes that 'language *rights* are nowhere guaranteed in Anglo-American tradition' and that the US linguistic culture 'glosses over and/or ignores any notion of specific language rights' (216, emphasis in original). González, Vasquez and Bichsel

(1988) claim that the debate about language rights, at least for Mexican Americans, is 'much ado about nothing', and that the discourse about language rights has conflated language rights with access rights. They argue that civil rights gains from the 1960s and 1970s, like the Voting Rights Act of 1965, the Bilingual Education Act of 1968, the Equal Employment Opportunity Act of 1972, and Court Interpreters Act of 1978, were meant to ensure political, educational, employment and legal access to entitlements traditionally foreclosed from powerless minority groups:

> Unfortunately, because these acts identify language as a tool for promoting equal access, they have been misconstrued as 'language rights' policies. Conflating access rights with 'language rights' obscures the original intent and ultimate goal of this body of legislation, making it appear that Mexican Americans and other minority groups possess something that they do not. The clarification of these terms is essential to the intelligent resolution of the language rights controversy. We argue, therefore, that the debate on 'language rights' for Mexican Americans is much ado about nothing: Mexican Americans have no language rights. What they do have is the right of equal access to specific American institutions, rights now jeopardized by widespread acceptance of an argument founded on illogic. (González, Vasquez and Bichsel 1988: 2)

Currently in US jurisprudence, there is still no legal right to language per se, and language rights law as a separate legal field does not yet exist (Del Valle 2003). Instead, courts have tended to construe discrimination on the basis of language as a civil rights violation. Because civil rights are guaranteed by federal statute and the US Constitution, attorneys have had to argue language discrimination claims as national origin discrimination (Valdés 2001).

Federal courts have considered many cases implicating language rights, although typically these cases involve the right to access government programmes and services through language, particularly the right of language minority students to education. Perhaps the best known of these cases is *Lau v. Nichols*, decided by the US Supreme Court in 1974. The case concerned approximately 1,800 Chinese-speaking children in the San Francisco Unified School District (SFSUD) who were failing academically because they did not understand English. Because instruction in SFUSD was provided in English only, the students had little meaningful access to academic content. In a unanimous ruling, the Court declared that the students had been denied an equal education (the high court's standard in *Brown v. Board of Education*) because of their limited English skills. Writing for the Court, Justice William O. Douglas declared: '[T]here is no equality of treatment merely by providing students with the same facilities, textbooks, teachers, and curriculum; for students who do not understand English are effectively foreclosed from any meaningful education' (*Lau v. Nichols*, 414 US 563–1974). The Court's decision stopped short of determining what a

meaningful education was, asserting instead what it was not: submersion or 'sink or swim' education in which language minority students were routinely placed in English medium classrooms without any additional academic or linguistic assistance: 'Teaching English to the students of Chinese ancestry who do not speak the language is one choice. Giving instructions to this group in Chinese is another. There may be others' (*Lau v. Nichols*, 414 US 563–1974). Nevertheless, the *Lau* decision was widely interpreted as a judicial mandate for school districts to implement meaningful educational programmes for their language minority students.

Lau v. Nichols is arguably the most studied and analysed education rights case in the United States. First, it fundamentally changed the way in which school districts nationwide served English language learners. Second, the case challenged conventional notions of inequality. Prior to *Lau*, racial segregation and discrimination cases dominated consideration by federal courts. That is, courts tended to define inequality as a practice in which people who are the same are treated differently. Paradoxically, the Chinese plaintiffs in this case were linguistically different, but treated the same (Steinman 1994).[3]

It is important to point out that this case was a direct result of activism on the part of parents and members of the Chinese-American community in San Francisco. The case itself was brought only after other efforts to improve education had failed. In fact, going to federal court was 'the avenue of last resort after all others had been tried and exhausted', according to Ling-Chi Wang, a local community leader. Wang reports that for three years prior to the lawsuit, Chinese American parents held meetings with school administrators, conducted studies on the educational needs of Chinese-speaking children, staged demonstrations, packed school board meetings, and developed alternative programmes. Even after the Supreme Court's ruling, community members had to marshal the political and legal capitol they had gained to force the school district to implement a bilingual/bicultural education model, rather than a once-a-day English as a second language class (Wang 1994: 3–5).

In cases like *Lau v. Nichols*, the top-down policies of the dominant group affect minority groups and individuals on a large scale. What about language policy and language activism at the grassroots level? Many of these larger policy issues had their roots and impetus growing out of the efforts of local activists. Let's turn to how activism and policy relate to each other in community contexts.

Language activism from the bottom up: community perspectives

We have seen remarkable changes in language policy resulting from the efforts of small groups or often single individuals who have dramatically

affected policy changes for endangered or minority languages in supportive ways. Spolsky (2009: 198) reminds us of '… Hebrew and other nationalist cases where language activism was part of a movement toward autonomy and eventual independence'. The Hawaiian language has made a remarkable comeback through efforts initiated by a small group of parents who wanted their children to have the equal advantage of education in both Hawaiian and English (Hinton and Hale 2000). At the time, the Hawaiian language was highly threatened with extinction. The resulting policy changes related to Hawaiian moved from local activism through political channels at the state level. The result is that today both Hawaiian and English are the recognized first languages of the state of Hawaii and public education supports schools where the language of instruction is exclusively in Hawaiian.

In many US indigenous communities, individuals have made an effort to have the language(s) recognized locally by tribal governments as the 'first' languages of the reservation community. Such an example where four separate tribes are officially recognized in one community is that of the Colorado River Indian Tribes in Arizona where tribal membership includes Mohave, Chemehuevi, Hopi and Navajo tribes. By resolution in 2009, the tribes declared the indigenous languages of this community to be the 'first' languages, creating policy which may eventually impact education reform in that community (Amelia Flores, Colorado River Indian Tribes Librarian, personal communication, 2009).

Language activism at the community level, while representing both bottom-up and grassroots efforts, still brings issues of language policy into focus, often right at the crosshairs of community tensions. For example, consider the contentious issues that might arise after an indigenous community established language policies through its tribal council or other governing body. Would all community members be subject to those policies at all times? Suppose the same community decided that the heritage language should not be written, but preserved and practised only orally. What if one individual from that community disagreed with the new policy and decided to publish some of the language in written form on a personal website? Whose rights are then at issue? Where does language policy begin and end?

We also need to consider who has the authority to enforce the language policy. How does the definition of language rights apply in these cases? What is the role of activism in response to this case – for or against the community or individual? This is a hypothetical scenario, but there are many real possibilities of language use and rights being at the centre of community tensions. Further, no two cases are alike. Community dynamics, histories, practices and politics vary greatly – blanket policies related to language are hard to actualize and harder to enforce.

One reason we have posited the above definition of language activism is to draw attention to thinking about the role of language activism in

relation to language policy particularly in the context of minority and endangered language work. Of the world's almost 7,000 languages, one is lost roughly every two weeks (www.elf.org). In the speaking communities for endangered languages, which are most often small, indigenous and unwritten, activism is needed. These communities also need advocates and activists in the world arena. We advocate for a more organized approach to raising awareness of the effectiveness and need for increased activism aimed at providing support for languages which become victims of rampant globalization and/or social or political oppression.

We want to reveal the strong connection between language activism and language policy by first understanding just who takes responsibility for being a language activist. Part of the effort to raise awareness about the role of language activism in relation to the smaller non-state supported languages is to consider how the term is used and understood within the current literature and how we can build upon or change the existing understanding to increase the numbers of activists and begin to shape public perceptions. Florey, Penfield and Tucker in recent work discuss the conflation of the term 'language activist' with 'indigenous community member' (2009: 2):

> In the literature [on endangered languages], *language activist* appears to be distinguished from *linguist* in relation to a number of features: 1) activities: advocacy, revitalization and maintenance are in the realm of language activism whilst documentation and description are linguistic activities; 2) indigeneity: the term *language activist* is applied almost exclusively to Indigenous peoples. It is frequently modified with 'indigenous', 'local' or '(members of x language) community' to specify this restrictive usage. *Linguist*, on the other hand, most often appears to mean external to a language community or with no heritage link to a community; 3) training: we also argue that a distinction in skill level or training is embedded in our current usage of 'language activist'. While linguists are taken to be formally trained in linguistics in a university setting (often to a graduate level), language activists are commonly taken to be untrained in linguistics or trained at certificate level or in an ancillary discipline (e.g. education).

Florey (2008: 120) studied this usage and noted a number of examples (Woodbury 2003; Rau, Yang and Dong 2009; Genetti and Siemans, 2009). The effect of this distinction is to absolve the linguist (or other academics or professionals) from taking on the mantle of 'language activist'. Likewise, it places the whole responsibility for being an activist on members of the speaking community. This discrepancy is eluded to elsewhere in the literature. For instance, Nettle and Romaine insightfully claim that, '…linguists and others will have to become activists…' (2009: 200). It is critically important to realize that the casual use of this term may directly affect who takes responsibility for language activism. Those

who take responsibility are ultimately those who will most affect policy, locally and beyond.

One of our central points is to call on stakeholders to raise their own stake in activism – to recognize that they can, from where they stand, explore ways to promote language rights and argue for the retention of linguistic diversity and the protection of minority languages. Academic researchers, local educators and administrators, members of the speaking communities all have a vested interest in preserving linguistic diversity and, therefore, count as the central stakeholders in endangered language work. We assert that all of these individuals, as stakeholders, need to think of themselves as 'language activists'.

Broadening the responsibility for language activism

Language activism can be realized on many levels and by many different people in many different contexts. Approaches to further defining the range of activism vary. We will look briefly that three overlapping views and explanations of language activism.

In their book, *Vanishing Voices*, Nettle and Romaine (2000) discuss 'bottom-up' and 'top-down' approaches to sustaining linguistic diversity. They note that bottom-up strategies relate revitalization activities at the level of the speaking community. On the other end of the spectrum, top-down strategies are largely focused on activism that sways language policies. They suggest that the first top-down strategy is, '…to make the preservation of languages part of the general activism on behalf of the environment.' (ibid.: 200) This links language activism to the broader range of activism on behalf of the environment as represented by such groups as Greenpeace, Cultural Survival and the Sierra Club.

Also mentioned is the linking of language activism to language rights in the larger context of human rights as we discussed earlier (Nettle and Romaine 2000: 200). Commenting on the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, accepted by the United Nations, they note that, 'Such legislation should guarantee that everyone has the right to identify with his or her mother tongue and have this identification accepted and respected by others and have the opportunity to learn the mother tongue orally and in writing.'

The second top-down strategy is to establish language policies on a local, regional and international level as part of overall political planning and resource management (Nettle and Romaine 2000: 200). Every nation should have a language policy that embodies linguistic human rights in the same way that it has a basic energy policy. The enactment of language policies results from language activism at the local, regional and international levels. Well known examples that support this framework include political and social changes influencing laws relating to

the use of Hebrew, Maori and Hawaiian. In each case, local and regional activism pushed national reform. We have seen in the preceding section of this chapter how federal and/or state policy has resulted from language activism in a top-down fashion.

Another way of discussing language activism and its place in relation to language policy is offered by Spolsky (2009: 204), who sees language activism as part of the fabric of language management:

> Language activists are significant participants in language management. They constitute individuals and groups whose ideology is clearest in support of the maintenance or revival or spread of a threatened target language. Working at a grassroots level, they attempt to influence existing, former, or potential speakers of the language to continue its use and to persuade government to support their plans. Lacking authority, they depend on acceptance of their ideology by those they try to influence … they are now commonly encouraged by supranational organizations and by the growing acceptance of views associated with language rights. They attempt to influence two groups – speakers of a language (or ethnic groups associated with the language), and governments who might undertake management favoring language.

In this context, language activists are in the middle, spreading their efforts both to the speaking communities and to governmental sources. This assumes an identity for language activists that might be separate from members of the speaking community. This perspective represents a considerable departure in perception of who language activists are in most literature on endangered language revitalization where they are consistently identified as community members. To further expand this stance, Spolsky adds

> Language activists, then, are potentially important participants in ethnic and in national language management; their linguicentrism enables them to concentrate their mobilizing efforts on a single goal, the status of a language. This means also that they can act as a safety valve for separatist pressures: it is cheaper to provide linguistic recognition and even autonomy than independence. Language activists interact with the supra-governmental organization which have become the main proponents of rights for linguistic minorities… (ibid.: 205)

A slightly different, but still overlapping attempt to further understand language activism is represented by Florey, Penfield and Tucker's efforts towards establishing a theoretical framework for language activism. This research team concludes that such a framework is needed in order to understand the place and purpose of different levels of activism. The core of this framework

> 1) acknowledges that language documentation and revitalization bear a commitment to the maintenance of linguistic diversity; 2) recognizes

> that language activism is a necessary and intrinsic component of language documentation and revitalization, and 3) locates activism as the first step, the very cornerstone, of building efforts towards documentation and revitalization in support of linguistic diversity. (Florey, Penfield and Tucker, 2009: 2)

In this approach, language activism is a continuation of enacted efforts to raise awareness and thus change policy toward a given language at many levels, beginning with the speaking community most often and growing to ever increasing circles of influence. This approach looks at activism as a responsibility of all the stakeholders in a given language and then categorizes the type of activism which might be engaged in depending on any given stakeholder's relation to the community of speakers and the language. Spheres of influence need to be identified by all interested parties before activism can be engaged in. This approach argues for the responsibility of all stakeholders to take stock of where they are in order to garner support for a particular language or languages, what their personal sphere of influence might be, and what strategies can be employed to raise awareness, given that sphere of influence. For example, a member of the speaking community may be able to do a great deal within that community but may not have ouside contacts in the larger global setting. A linguist, by contrast, might have many contacts outside of the community, might be able to reach national or international media, for example, but may not be as influential at the local level. Still, stakeholders are seen as activists if they choose to use their position to raise awareness and call for policy changes.

Contained within these statements is our belief that the responsibility to confront the language endangerment crisis actively is shared across the disciplines of linguistics and language policy and between all stakeholders or partners. This belief derives both from our observation that all efforts and causes which promote linguistic diversity follow from the development of an active base consisting of either a single individual or a group, and from the conviction that taking action is at the core of all efforts to raise awareness about maintaining linguistic diversity.

Training and language activism

For a long while, language activism was an understood side effect of being involved in language advocacy of any type. As a consequence, the phrase 'language activists' invariably has been attached to community members engaged in revitalization activities. To create a paradigm shift, which would apply the 'language activists' label to a wider base of stakeholders, a small movement has arisen aimed at providing targeted training in language activism. The first such training took place at InField (The Institute for Field Linguistics and Language Documentation) in the

summer of 2008 when it was held at the University of Santa Barbara, in California. A course entitled 'Language Activism' taught by Margaret Florey and Susan Penfield was offered to all participants. InField offered the course again at the second InField (University of Oregon, summer 2010) but this time the list of instructors included community-based researchers Philip CashCash (member of the Nez Perce tribe in the US), Jack 'Kanya' Buckskin (Kaurna and Narrunga from Australia) and Kennedy Bosire (an Ekegusii language activist from Kenya). Course topics included:

- the collaborative development of projects and teams
- the inclusion of activism in both documentation and revitalization activities
- methods for raising awareness of Indigenous language issues amongst the wider public, utilizing media and lobbying
- training for language activism
- ways of reaching out to youth and children to engage them in language advocacy and language learning
- the wider aspects of activism, such as belonging, recognition, financial, measurable deliverables etc., and
- how activism can work in settings which require government, community or institutional approval, recognition and or support for activities. (see http://logos.uoregon.edu/infield2010/workshops/language-activism/index.php for a complete course description)

The first course on language activism was offered at the 2009 American Indian Language Development Institute (AILDI) in Tucson, Arizona by Mary Carol Combs; it explored language revitalization efforts within larger political and ideological contexts and considered macro- and micro-aggressions (Romero 2008; Solorzano 1998) that inhibit tribal language and educational sovereignty as well as creative – and creatively subversive – responses from individuals, communities and schools to resist those aggressions. Students in the course focused on activism as a theoretical construct and committed 'praxis' (Freire 1970). They analysed activism as both a Western political model and an indigenous framework of ethics and politics, exploring ways in which linguistic, cultural and ethnic groups historically have challenged colonization and acculturation movements. Throughout the course, students reflected upon the role of activism in their own lives. They had different ideas about what activism looked like in their home communities, but they agreed that being active on behalf of language was critical. The sentiment expressed by Michael Carpentier (Anashnabe) was typical among class members:

> I have engaged members in my community and others to get them to critically assess the situation [of language loss]. In doing so, my hope has been that the community would decide if action is necessary, and

> if so, what that action should be. For us this is not activism, this is survival.

Florey has continued her exploration of language activism through her work on advocacy with CILLDI (The Canadian Indigenous Language and Literacy Development Institute). Her efforts continue to be profiled in relation to other work aimed at sustaining linguistic diversity (see the Resource Network for Linguistic Diversity website at www.rnld.org/).

Less formal examples of the focus on activism occur almost daily, often unnoticed, but they represent the building blocks for larger policy changes in the long run. For example, at the Coushatta reservation in Louisiana, the community language project publishes a newsletter for the community in the native language even though literacy in the native Koasati language is a new phenomenon. In Oklahoma, there is a Native American Youth Language Fair; more than 600 students from more than 70 schools and language programmes took part in the 9th annual event in 2011. Activities included a Language Advocacy Essay Contest for students in Grades 6–12, performances by youths in the indigenous language(s), a poster art competition, and more. Most recently, the Alaska Federation of Natives (the state's largest Native Alaskan organization) passed a resolution calling for the creation of an Alaska Native Languages Commission. Strong wording in the resolution authorizes the Commission to

> politically advocate on behalf of Alaska Native languages, facilitate and promote greater cooperation between Alaska Native language stakeholders, conduct and share research and corpus concerning Alaska Native and other indigenous languages, and to research the availability of and potentially provide financial resources for Alaska Native language revitalization efforts. (Alaska Native Language Commission 2010)

Discussion

The relationship between activism and language policy *should* be obvious. After all, large scale and high profile language policy efforts occasionally take place in legal arenas and may be just as readily championed or demonized by large or powerful interest groups and organizations. Our position, however, is that the relationship is not always obvious. While language activism exists in many forms and makes possible major changes in language policy, it is an often unrecognized element in the policy-making process and has generally been alluded to rather than clearly defined or examined. Our effort to provide a definition is just a beginning; the next step is to encourage a greater understanding of how one's identity as a language activist might be enacted. There is a need

to examine the avenues language activists might take to expand their efforts. There also is a need to provide training in language activism and support for language activists, particularly for those whose tribal and heritage languages are at risk.

The road from language rights to language policy is paved with language activism, but this journey is still poorly understood in terms of legalities, rights, responsibilities and politics. While we endorse Gitlin's comment that activism requires noise because without it there is no improvement, we nonetheless wonder what an activist risks by being noisy. How is a language activist most effective in different arenas? What is the role of media in language activism? What is the role of speakers, linguists, educators and others who consider themselves stakeholders in language minority issues?

In this chapter, we have raised more questions than we have answered, but we hope we have offered a workable definition of language activism and a sense of the issues language activism encompasses. We invite readers to become stakeholders; to transform our perhaps passive roles related to language issues into more active efforts to promote and participate in language activism and the process of making and influencing language policies.

24

English in language policy and management

Gibson Ferguson

Introduction

Hardly a month passes without additions to the voluminous literature on the global spread of English and the resulting linguistic variation within what McArthur (1998: xv) calls this 'vast language complex'. Recent years, for example, have seen publications documenting the role of English in places as various as Jordan, Cameroon, Uzbekistan, Germany, China, Japan, Turkey, Finland, South Africa, South Korea and Spain, to name but a few.[1] English functions somewhat differently in these various societies but the underlying trend is similar: the number of users of English is expanding and English is intruding into more domains more intensively than hitherto, particularly those associated with education, media, advertising and business, and youth culture. Concerns are, therefore, bound to arise regarding the sociolinguistic, socio-economic and cultural effects. And the ubiquity of English also means that it has become 'a factor that needs to be taken into account in its language policy by any nation state' (Spolsky 2004: 91). The business of this chapter is to consider what precisely it is about the global spread of English that language policy-makers need to take into account.

We start with a brief analysis of causation and agency in the on-going diffusion of English

Globalization and the diffusion of English: matters of cause and agency

Standard explanations of the emergence of global English (e.g. Crystal 2003; Graddol 1997) emphasize the dual role of the British colonial empire[2] and the economic, military and political dominance of the United States in the second half of the twentieth century as creating

the appropriate historical conditions. A further factor invoked by several writers (e.g. Bamgbose 2006; Yano 2009) is globalization, of which there is as yet no settled characterization, nor even any consensus as to whether it is a new phenomenon.[3] It tends, nonetheless, to be portrayed as a cluster of related processes – derritorialization, time-space compression, increased mobility of people and capital, interdependence and integration (Held and McGrew 2003: 13). Central is the economic dimension manifested most obviously in the growing influence of transnational corporations whose products are marketed world-wide and who, under a regime of free movement of capital, tend to locate their factories wherever labour costs are lower. Underpinning their operations is a financial architecture, largely designed by the United States, whose considerable voting influence in the major institutions of global financial governance (e.g. the IMF, World Bank) has allowed it, until recently, to establish as orthodoxy a neo-liberal economic agenda of deregulation, privatization and market liberalization. Thus, it is possible, say, for mortgage debt on a house in St Louis, Missouri to be repackaged by an investment house in New York and sold on to a bank in Newcastle whose 'back-office' work is itself outsourced to Bangalore, India.

The interconnections extend to the political sphere. Increasingly, with a very few exceptions (perhaps the United States and China), states find that coordinated intergovernmental action is necessary for the management of their economic affairs (e.g. for implementing new banking regulation) and for addressing issues of global dimensions – climate change, security, poverty. And this has tended to give greater influence to supranational (or intergovernmental) organizations such as the EU, ASEAN, NAFTA, the G20 grouping. Needless to say, many of these have taken the easiest route of adopting the world's dominant lingua franca as a working language.

Moving downscale, meanwhile, to the individual level there is also ample evidence of the increased mobility that is a hallmark of globalization. A significant aspect to this is tourism, with an estimated 715 million people travelling world-wide in 2002 generating some $422 billion in earnings (Theobald 2005; statistics from the World Tourism Organization). But even in the far smaller world of academia there are internationalizing forces: an example would be the EU-initiated Bologna process, which aims, among other things, to increase student/staff mobility across Europe (see Erling and Hilgendorf 2006).[4]

How these developments relate to the spread of English is relatively straightforward. In the economic sphere transnational corporations – even those headquartered outside the United States (e.g. Daimler-Benz, Nissan–Renault, Shell, Nokia) – have elected to use English, the language of the world's largest economy, as a working language to link their various subsidiary divisions. In the political sphere, again dominated by the United States, many international organizations find English a

convenient choice of working language. In the fields of science, tourism and academia, English – by virtue of its association with powerful economies and states – seems to be the most expedient way of reaching a global audience or of establishing and sustaining global relationships. The dominant presence of English in these domains enhances the labour market value of English skills, and this, in combination with the cultural attractions (e.g. see. Erling 2007: 118), helps explain why so many seek competence in the language.

The causal story so far may be familiar and unexceptional but as one pushes beyond the historical antecedents and the abstractions of power into actual decisions to acquire English and the precise agencies of spread one enters a more contested terrain of competing explanations.

One of these, and not a very plausible one, is that associated with Phillipson (1992, 1997a, 2000, 2003), who appears to suggest that the diffusion of English has been, and still is, substantially orchestrated top-down by agencies of the United States and Britain (e.g. the British Council, the United States Information Agency, etc). It would seem unrealistic, however, to suppose (to take but one example) that millions of Chinese learners are learning English guided by as many as 500,000 secondary school teachers (Bolton 2008) in response to external pressures exerted by imperialist powers. More convincing would be to posit a complex of internal and external factors, which would be broadly consistent with the conclusion to Fishman *et al.*'s (1996) volume surveying the penetration of English in former British and American colonies:

> the socioeconomic factors that are behind the spread of English are now indigenous in most countries of the world and part and parcel of indigenous daily life and social stratification. (Fishman 1996b: 639)

It is true, of course, and unsurprising, that US and British agencies promote the learning of English world-wide because it is in their diplomatic and commercial interest to do so. But so do a host of other major nations – Germany, France, Japan, China, Spain, all of whom invest considerable sums in exporting their national languages: Japan through the Japan Language Foundation, Germany through the Goethe Institut, China through its Confucius Institutes[5] (see, for example, Kaiser 2003; Maclean 1999). Clearly, the ambition to export national languages is not limited to the major English-speaking nations.

A more important point, however, is that promotion does not entail uptake, as the Soviet Union's limited success in implanting Russian in the former Eastern Bloc countries suggests. For that to occur a reciprocal is needed – acceptance, and acceptance would seem to require (1) an absence of ideological resistance to that which is promoted, and (2) a belief that there is some personal advantage to be gained from adoption.

Absence of ideological resistance can, of course, be explained by invoking hegemonic processes of a Gramscian kind (Gramsci 1971), that is,

processes by which the mass of the population, their consciousness saturated with dominant taken-for-granted discourses, consent to, and thus become complicit with, their own domination and exploitation. Similar processes operate, so it is suggested, in the spread of English (see Phillipson 1992, 2007b; Pennycook 1995, 2001): English is accepted – even by those whom it disadvantages – because people are seduced by dominant discourses that portray English as a beneficial language of modernization, opportunity and economic competitiveness (Pennycook 1994).

This view is not implausible. Such discourses are prevalent. In Malaysia, for example, the leadership justified the decision to reintroduce English as a medium of science and maths instruction in secondary schools (2003) by claiming that English was necessary 'for Malaysia to remain competitive at an international level and…to prevent the efficiency and capability of our people from being lower than those in other countries' (Gill 2004: 144[6]; Gill 2005). In other Asian Pacific countries similar discourses, playing on fears of a loss of economic competitiveness, have been employed to support the ever earlier introduction of English as a curricular subject (see Nunan 2003: 594). And when one considers how parents in countries such as South Africa, Tanzania, Zambia or Hong Kong demand education in English for their children, even though this often hinders rather than facilitates learning (see Williams 2006), one is tempted to postulate a hegemonic process.

But there are problems with the concept of hegemony as a casual explanation. One is that it is difficult to falsify. How does one demonstrate empirically that decisions to adopt English are not the result of hegemony but of rational choice, however ill-informed? Another is that the concept downplays the role of critical reasoning capacities thereby undercutting the agency of learners. A third is that some accounts, influenced by Foucault (e.g. Pennycook 1994), tend to exaggerate the influence of discourse thereby underrating, as Holborow (1999) suggests, the material conditions of power as an influence on individuals' decisions to acquire English. If critics of global English are right to problematize the notion of choice in the spread of English, as does Clayton (2008) with respect to Cambodia and Bamgbose (2006) with respect to Africa, they also err conceptually if they suppose that choice to be choice must be unconstrained. Most choices, down to the most banal, are constrained but can still contain those elements of deliberation and selection that are criterial for agency.[7]

This leads us to de Swaan's (1998, 2001) alternative explanatory framework, one that highlights choice and bottom-up processes in opposition to the top-down theories discussed earlier. This has three key theoretical elements: the notion of a hierarchical global language system with English, the world's 'hypercentral' language, at the apex of the hierarchy; the notion of Q-value – an indicator of a language's communicative value in a particular language constellation; and finally the economic notion

of hypercollectivity. The factors determining Q-value (prevalence and centrality) are not very dissimilar to those identified by Coulmas (1992) as making languages more or less attractive to acquirers – communicative range (the number of persons one can communicate with in the language) and functional potential (what one can do with the language). Meanwhile, a key feature of a 'hypercollective good', such as language, is that it gains utility with use – the more speakers, the more potential interlocutors there are, and the greater is the incentive to learn the language.

Together, these three elements provide a rather neat explanation of the spread of English. Hypercollectivity helps explains how spread, once initiated, has a self-accelerating propensity. Q-value, in this case the high Q-value of English, helps explain what makes English attractive to would-be acquirers, and the position of English in the global language system helps explain why English has a high Q-value. The framework allows for agency at the micro-level of individual decisions and shows how these, when aggregated, can produce outcomes that are unforeseen, perhaps even undesirable, for these same individuals.

It does, however, have limitations, of which we can mention three. First, while usefully highlighting the role of individual preference, it tends to overlook the decision-making interventions of higher level actors – governments, ministries of education and transnational corporations – such as the car-manufacturing giant Nissan-Renault, which decided to make English its working language despite a mainly Japanese and French workforce. Second, the framework under-rates the variability of a language's Q-value, or alternatively its 'market value' (Bourdieu 1991), between different social sectors of a single country. Finally, it seems better suited to explaining the spread of lingua francas, like English, that are adopted mainly for practical, instrumental advantages than to explaining the condition of national languages where identity considerations presumably weigh more heavily.

The emerging picture, then, is one of complex causation and diffuse agency. De Swaan's (2001) work has the merit of bringing in individual agency and of showing, through the notion of hypercollectivity, how individual decisions are mutually reinforcing, giving the spread of English as lingua franca a self-propelling propensity. At the same time, however, individual choices, while not determined, are constrained by an existing socio-economic environment constructed by British colonialism, twentieth-century US dominance and contemporary forces of globalization. There appears, then, to be an interaction between structure and agency along the lines of that outlined in Giddens' (1984) structuration theory.

From the language policy perspective, this diffuse agency means, as Wright (2004: 134) argues, that there is little language policy on its own can do to halt a spreading lingua franca. As the ambassador said, 'Language is like water it flows where it wants' (Oakes 2001: 137).[8] But not

quite. Language policies have been implemented, with varying degrees of success, to moderate what are seen as some of the adverse effects of global English and it to these we turn next.

The effects of global English: critiques and language policy responses

A survey of the literature critiquing the effects of global English suggests three principal criticisms:

(a) The spread of English is a threat to global linguistic diversity. It disrupts linguistic ecologies, directly endangering some languages and marginalizing others – principally by dislodging them from important public domains such as higher education and business (see e.g. Phillipson 1992, 2003; Phillipson and Skutnabb-Kangas 1996, 1997, 1999; Mühlhäusler 1996).
(b) English contributes to, and consolidates, socio-economic inequalities within and between countries, leading to inequity. Its spread is implicated in manifest and growing global inequality (see e.g. Pennycook 1995, 2000; Tollefson 1991, 2002; Ricento 2000; Phillipson 2000).
(c) English is implicated in processes of cultural homogenization. Specifically, it is a vector of cultural 'Americanization' (see e.g. Phillipson and Skutnabb-Kangas 1996, 1997, 1999; Pennycook 1995)

We consider each of these in turn along with associated language policy responses.

(a) English as threat to linguistic diversity

In assessing the impact of English on linguistic ecologies around the world it is helpful, Mufwene (2002, 2008) argues, to examine closely the nature of the language contact situation. Useful here is Mufwene's distinction between settlement and exploitation colonies as it is predominantly in the former (e.g. in North America, Australasia, Latin America, Ireland etc.) that European colonial languages (Spanish, Portuguese, English), or rather their speakers, have posed a direct threat to other languages. Mufwene (2002) attributes this to the socio-economic characteristics of settlement colonies; viz., large-scale in-migration of settlers leading eventually to demographic preponderance, the geographic displacement of indigenous peoples and the imposition of a new socio-economic order to which indigenous peoples were obliged to accommodate economically and linguistically, this leading to the gradual adoption of the colonizer's language as an everyday vernacular.

In the exploitation colonies (e.g. Nigeria, Uganda, Malaya), by contrast, the European colonizers constituted a relatively small, self-contained

proportion of the population and a two-level economic system evolved: one in which the mass of the population continued to function in indigenous lingua francas or ethnic vernaculars and another in which a small indigenous elite acquired English in their role as intermediaries between the masses and the colonial rulers (Mufwene 2002; Brutt-Griffler 2002). Thus, English remained, as it is today in much of Africa, an elite language never threatening to displace the vernaculars of the mass of the population.

It is true, of course, that there has been on-going language loss in Africa, the Pacific, etc. (see e.g. Nettle and Romaine 2000) but here the shift is not toward English but to regional lingua francas (e.g. Lingala, Wolof, Swahili, Malay), or, in the case of an urbanizing Africa, to increasingly widely used urban vernaculars of mixed linguistic origin (see Batibo 2005; Bokamba 2008; Makoni *et al.* 2007). The conclusion, then, is that claims that English is endangering indigenous languages need to be carefully qualified: it can, and has, but only in rather restricted circumstances, where it becomes a vernacular for a substantial segment of the population, as in former settlement colonies. Where, however, it functions not as a vernacular but mainly as a lingua franca, as in much of Africa and Europe, there is little threat to national or ethnic languages, for, as Mufwene (2002: 24) points out, 'Languages that have separate communicative or social functions can co-exist quite happily.'

This argument, however, will not satisfy most critics, who argue that even if English does not 'kill' other languages, it relegates them to a lesser role in an incipient global diglossia (Phillipson and Skutnabb-Kangas 1996: 446; Pennycook 2001: 58) with English in control of high status domains (e.g. higher education, scientific communication, transnational business) and national languages serving informal domains as 'static markers of identity' (Pennycook 2001: 57). These concerns, that domains are being lost to English with potential impoverishment of the languages' lexical and stylistic resources, have been voiced most strongly – not in Asia, where governments have tended to promote English for reasons of economic competitiveness – but in north-west Europe, notably in Scandinavia (see e.g. Gunnarsson 2000; Berg, Hult and King 2001; Hult 2005; Oakes 2005) – probably because English has made more inroads here than elsewhere.

A consequence has been an increased level of language policy intervention. In Sweden, for example, a parliamentary committee published a report (2002) titled *Mål i Mun*, many of whose recommendations were incorporated into a bill presented to parliament under the name 'Best language: A concerted language policy for Sweden' and duly passed in December 2005 (Linn and Oakes 2007). In Norway, the reorganized Language Council published proposals in 2005 for Norwegian under the title '*Norsk i hundre*!', this almost coinciding with the appearance of a University of Oslo language policy document addressing the

encroachment of English into academic research and higher education (University of Oslo 2006). In Iceland, too, there have been various initiatives to maintain Icelandic in domains where English is intruding: for example, through a language technology project for Icelandic in the IT domain, through an agreement with Microsoft to support Icelandic software and through Icelandic terminology production (Hilmarsson-Dunn 2006).

These various measures vary in their specifics but the underlying thrust is the same: to maintain Swedish, Norwegian, Danish, Icelandic as 'complete' languages, one of the key instruments for which is the implementation of a policy of parallel-lingualism, the dual use of Swedish (or Norwegian, etc.) in research and higher education.

It is difficult, as yet, to assess the effectiveness of these policies, and neither is it easy to gauge the real extent of the danger posed by a dominant English. Certainly, statistics showing, for example, the preponderance of English in doctoral dissertations (Berg, Hult and King 2001) suggest the possibility of domain loss with its attendant linguistic consequences. It is also the case, however, that some of the rhetoric has been unduly alarmist[9], for none of the Scandinavian languages can, on most criteria, be considered endangered, and, as Linn and Oakes (2007:16) point out, outside the peer-reviewed international journal genre, Norwegian still has a presence in other forms of scientific communication. Finally, if English is a threat, it also affords, in the eyes of some commentators (e.g. Haarman and Holman 2001), opportunities for transcending the limitations of a small national community and participating on a wider stage:

> Finland's decision to favour English as its primary vehicle for scientific research has enabled the country, perhaps unexpectedly, to assume a major role, both active and passive, in the process of globalization. (Haarman and Holman 2001: 256)

There are, of course, other settings beyond Scandinavia where concern at the impact of English on the national language has precipitated policy intervention, perhaps the most notable example being France, where in 1975 the Bas-Lauriol law was passed making French compulsory in employment contracts, certain commercial/advertising contexts, and in consumer information (Judge 2000, 2007). Further protectionist measures were introduced by the 1994 Toubon law imposing French in state contracts, media contexts, publicity materials, and materials relating to the sale of goods and services, though again, as with its predecessor, many of the measures had to be diluted to bring them into line with European law. A further aspect of intervention has been the imposition of terminologies devised by terminology commissions and by the Académie française, the aim being to replace English terms with French ones. The effect has been mixed, however. Wright (2004: 125), for example, reports that many of the Toubon measures are regularly flouted,[10] and there is little

sign, meanwhile, of an end to the use of lexical borrowings from English, many of which the French public considers 'useful' (Judge 2000: 78).

The greater challenge to French, however, has been in the international rather than the national arena since here, where it competes directly with English for the same lingua franca functions, loss of influence has been particularly evident (Judge 2000). The French government's response has been to work with the Francophone movement, and specifically the *Haut conseil de la francophonie* established in 1984, to maintain the international status and prestige of the French language. The website of *la francophonie* (Organisation Internationale de la Francophonie) declares, for example, that a major aim is to 'promovoir l'usage du française dans la vie diplomatique et internationale' [promote the use of French in diplomatic and international affairs] (www.francophonie.org/-Francais-et-langues-partenaires-.html). In this it appears to have enjoyed a degree of success (see Wright 2004: 135 on the recent promotion of French in Vietnam), but it has not succeeded in rolling back the increasing influence of English even in French ex-colonial states. Speaking of the Maghreb, for example, Boukous (2008: 137) reports the growing incursion of English into domains previously dominated by French, notably the media and higher education. Such trends tend to support Wright's (2004: 134) argument that in a globalizing world there is little state agencies can do to check a spreading lingua franca. In the national sphere and in vernacular functions, on the other hand, there is, as Mufwene (2008: 243) suggests, little evidence as yet that English is threatening, far less endangering, national languages.

And internationally there is at least one domain where English has not quite attained the degree of hegemony once predicted, this being the domain most closely associated with globalization: the internet. True, it remains dominant with a 2002 survey showing 56 per cent of all web pages to be in English and further 2002 survey showing roughly a third (35.5 per cent) of the online population to be using English (see Danet and Herring 2007: 3; Block 2004: 34). But these figures derive from a period when internet penetration in countries such as India or China was still relatively low; more recent statistics indicate a falling proportion of English language websites and English language users (Graddol 2006: 45; Internet World Stats 2009[11]). Meanwhile, following its October 2009 meeting in Seoul, ICANN[12] has announced a new IDN fast track process allowing internet users – for the first time – to access websites using non-Latin based scripts, a development that seems likely to further contribute to the linguistic diversification of the internet and its users.

(b) English and socio-economic inequality

An early articulation of the view that English reinforces socio-economic inequalities can be found in Tollefson (1991: 7), where he argues that English is not the neutral instrument it is sometimes portrayed as being

but a mechanism 'for creating and sustaining social and economic divisions' (see also Pennycook 1995: 54). One of the key mechanisms for producing inequality, so it is argued, is the continued use of English as a medium of education in many post-colonial countries, a practice that is not only educationally ineffective if the language is poorly understood (see Williams 2006; Williams and Cooke 2002) but also inequitable in that it privileges the relatively well-off urban elites and further marginalizes the rural poor.

Many of these claims do have substance. There is evidence that English, or more exactly literacy skills in standard English, are indeed a necessary, if not sufficient, resource for gaining access to better-paid employment, to higher education, to prestigious 'middle class' identities. This, after all, is why English is in such demand and why English skills can be regarded, in Pennycook's (1995: 54) terminology, as a gatekeeper to social advancement. But there is also evidence that it is a resource that is unequally distributed. Elite groups typically find it easier to accumulate the capital English represents either because their way of life (books, TV, travel) affords greater exposure or because they can more easily access education that prioritizes English acquisition.

This is the situation in Tanzania, for example, where – following the imposition of an IMF structural adjustment programme in the 1980s – there has been a rapid growth of private fee-paying English-medium schools (Vavrus 2002: 337). India too has seen a surge in the number of private English-medium schools catering primarily to the children of wealthier middle-class parents (Annamalai 2004: 187). And Annamalai's view of the socially divisive character of two parallel media of education – English-medium for the middle class, vernacular medium for the masses – substantially echoes Ramanathan's (2005; 2007) commentary on what she calls the 'English–Vernacular divide'. Reporting on the situation in Gujarat, Ramanathan (2007: 53) points out how regional educational policies tend to privilege English-medium (EM) students over those educated in vernacular language medium, one reason being that the predominance of English in higher education, particularly in science and technology subjects, gives the EM educated students a head start. Ramanathan (ibid.: 55) adds that curricular practices and materials also reinforce vernacular vs. English medium divisions. In Bangladesh, meanwhile, a very similar situation is observed: English is linked, Hossein and Tollefson (2007: 256) argue, with socio-economic class and 'the medium of education – Bengali or English – distinguishes the well-educated and economically advantaged urban dwellers from the under-educated and economically distressed rural population'.

It is not difficult, given these accounts, to see English, and more especially English-medium education, as having class-stratifying properties, of assisting the reproduction of the elite's privileged position (see Myers-Scotton 1990 on 'elite closure'). However, the policy remedies sometimes proposed carry less conviction.

Replacing English as a medium of education with some local or regional language is one of the more obvious, but it is problematic for a range of reasons, the most important of which is that it is opposed not only by powerful groups whose privileges are partly sustained by English (Annamalai 2004: 190) but also, paradoxically, by those who collectively lose most from the perpetuation of a foreign language medium of education. Such behaviour is not irrational. Most parents want their children to receive the education that best enhances their employment opportunities, and, with national economies increasingly enmeshed with transnational corporations and with globalizing industries like tourism, this all too often means an education that emphasizes English. They may well realize that English skills alone do not guarantee a good job and that the chances of school failure are high but they also understand that without English one is definitively excluded from certain sectors of the labour market. Thus, while rational at the individual level, these preferences can, when aggregated, serve to maintain educational arrangements that disadvantage the majority.

Another possible remedy would be to intervene directly into the local linguistic economy with coercive measures that have the effect of limiting the local market value of English. This can, and has, been done as Canagarajah (2005a: 425) shows for the former Tamil separatist statelet in Sri Lanka, where the LTTE regime (Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam) enforced Tamil use throughout the community, as a consequence curtailing the role of English. This is, however, is unattractive in its coerciveness and probably economically disadvantageous.

Meanwhile, Bruthiaux (2002: 203), commenting on issues of language and development, argues that local language literacy has greater utility for the majority of the population and that English language education should therefore be targeted at those specific groups who 'have a realistic hope of participating in international exchanges'. But again, while technocratically rational, this solution raises some discomfiting political questions: who is to do the targeting? On what acceptable basis are particular groups to be targeted? How are those excluded going to be reconciled to their exclusion? In what ways will such targeting reduce socio-economic inequality?

If English cannot easily be curtailed, then there is an argument for democratizing access, for making it more widely available, since the more widely distributed English skills are, the less likely they are to command a premium in the labour market (Grin 2001), or to serve as an instrument for 'elite closure'. Democratizing access, however, can take a variety of forms, some of which are evidently undesirable. One, pursued in some East Asian countries to apparently little effect (Nunan 2003), is the ever earlier introduction of English into the curriculum. Another would be to extend English medium primary education, but this would only have the effect of further marginalizing local languages, languages with their

own value and utility. More sensible would be to embrace complementarity as a policy principle, recognizing that English and local languages are both valuable for different reasons.[13] For education, this might imply bilingual media of instruction operating in a framework of additive bilingualism, where literacy in a familiar language is consolidated prior to the introduction of English. And democratization in this policy context would mean improving access to English for disadvantaged groups where the language is viewed as necessary for socio-economic mobility. Illustrative here are the criteria set out by Voluntary Service Overseas (VSO), a British aid agency, to guide support for English language teaching (ELT) worldwide, which state that:

> It is crucial to distinguish between the provision of English to those who already have access to it and to those for whom it is relatively inaccessible. So, it would not be appropriate to support ELT simply for 'national development' purposes, where English is accessed only by the more educated 'middle classes' on the assumption they will contribute to increasing economic growth, some benefits of which may 'trickle down' to the poorest people. Experience shows this does not necessarily happen. (VSO 2002: 5)

This has meant that in China, for example, VSO support for ELT has been targeted to the less developed provinces (Gansu and Shaanxi) rather than to the more affluent coastal regions, and to middle schools and teacher training rather than to high schools and universities.

Of course, such suggestions can only be tentative. Given the great variability between economies, labour markets and education systems, and the shortage of detailed empirical studies of how English performs economically for different individuals, it would be presumptuous to suppose that there is any one best solution for reconciling efficiency, opportunity and equity in matters of language and education.

A final point, though, can be made rather less tentatively, which is that socio-economic inequality usually has a complex multifactorial causation in which language probably plays a relatively minor role alongside unequal economic and political relations. It would be unrealistic, therefore, to believe that language policy alone, involving, say, the empowerment of local African languages or the curtailment of English, could by itself empower the speakers of those languages or eliminate inequality, of which there are many causes including, as Blommaert (2001b: 136) observes, variable access to the power varieties of indigenous languages.

(c) English as threat to cultural diversity

Another major criticism of global English, most directly articulated by Phillipson and Skutnabb-Kangas (1996), is that the language is implicated in processes of cultural homogenization and Americanization.

> The projection of English as the 'world language' par excellence is symptomatic of globalization processes. We live in a world characterized by ideological globalization (E), transnationalization (F), and Americanization and the homogenization of world culture, … spearheaded by films, pop culture, and fast-food chains. (Phillipson and Skutnabb-Kangas 1996: 439)

In this view globalization is the globalization of capitalism, which in its cultural aspect encroaches on and undermines local identities through the imposition of a market-driven, homogenizing, Americanized consumer culture.

This portrait has, one can accept, a prima facie plausibility as in many countries American cultural (and capitalist) products (e.g. Starbucks, McDonalds, Hollywood films) have a very evident visibility. And, as data assembled by Phillipson (2003: 72) suggest, there is a certain asymmetry to cultural flows with, for example, US films accounting for as much as 80 per cent of European box-office takings. The corresponding market share of EU-originated films in the United States is of the order of 3 per cent. Similarly for television: the United States sells far more material abroad than it imports (Thompson 2003: 254), such asymmetries prompting the French government to impose quotas on the distribution of Hollywood products to protect the domestic film industry.

That said, there are numerous problems with the homogenization/cultural imperialism thesis, even if one accepts that transnational companies and global media corporations (e.g. Time-Warner, Viacom, Disney, etc.) are leading a certain uniformization of popular entertainment tastes. One is that global media markets, to take one example, are more complex and pluralized than sometimes supposed (Tomlinson 1997: 180): Brazilian TV Globo, for instance, not only dominates its domestic market but is a major exporter to other Latin American countries; Korean soap operas have an enthusiastic following in China, and so on. Also, the pursuit of profit is a more central concern for transnational corporations (e.g. McDonalds) than linguistic or cultural diffusion, as is evidenced by their nimbleness in customizing their products, and the languages in which they are marketed, to the tastes of national markets – even if, as Machin and Van Leeuwen (2003) show, with regard to the magazine *Cosmopolitan*, there is an underling sameness at the level of value and 'discourse schema'.[14]

The key problem, however, with the homogenization thesis is that it tends to represent cultural influence as a unidirectional flow from the centre to the periphery and to portray the recipients of 'Western' cultural goods as passive, unreflecting consumers. But this, as Tomlinson (1997) has persuasively argued, misconceives the nature of cultural flows, which can more profitably be understood as a complex interplay between external influence and local cultural forms, often producing mutation and hybridity.

Such processes of appropriation and reworking, so characteristic of globalization, have both sociolinguistic and cultural manifestations. Thus, it is now widely accepted that English is not a singular, clearly bounded entity that indexes a specific, determinant identity (see Bhatt 2008). Instead, with spread has come appropriation by many different users, producing the various national standardizing varieties (e.g. Nigerian English, Singapore English, Indian English etc.) so well documented in the World Englishes literature (see e.g. Kachru, Kachru and Nelson 2006), not to mention (non-national) localized Englishes, multilingual talk drawing on Englishized elements and emergent lingua franca Englishes produced in 'moment-to-moment negotiation' (Pennycook (2007, 2009: 200).

Turning to the cultural plane, similar processes of appropriation, mixing and localization can be discerned. Tomlinson (1997: 185) observes, for instance, that hip-hop music is not straightforwardly a Black American form, as some assume, but actually 'a hybrid mix of African-American and Caribbean musical cultures' (see also Gilroy 1993). Exploring the same cultural territory, but this time linking the sociolinguistic and the cultural, Pennycook (2003: 527) argues that the rap/hip-hop music of groups such as Rip Slyme with its mixing of Japanese and English lyrics involves 'semiotic reconstruction', bringing into play new identities that straddle the borders between the global and the local.

These themes are revisited in Pennycook's (2007) more extended treatment of global hip-hop, which is shown to partake in more complex and intricate cultural flows than a unidirectional flow from North America to the rest of the world. What this global musical culture illustrates, Pennycook (ibid.: 6) argues, is not a process of Americanization but rather processes of appropriation, borrowing and blending that either create new identities or refurbish existing ones.

The wider point here, then, is that globalization, rather than homogenizing, may be bringing into existence new hybrid cultural forms, new identities and cosmopolitan sensibilities, adding a further layer of complexity to the multiplicity of identities already available. We need, then, to reach out for a more complex analytic framework than one in which a supposedly cohesive 'West' imposes its cultural forms on a weak periphery.

Language management and variation within English

With the global diffusion of English has come an inevitable linguistic diversification, signalled by the widely accepted pluralization of 'English' in such phrases as 'World Englishes'[15] or 'New Englishes', the latter being widely understood to denote varieties of English from postcolonial societies (e.g. India, Malaysia, Ghana, Kenya) whose formal

properties – phonological, lexical, grammatical, discoursal – show divergence from British or American standard English. These are distinguishable, Kachru (1992) argues, from 'performance varieties', spoken in expanding circle countries[16] such as Japan, by virtue of having long-standing and extended intranational functions (Kachru 1992: 55).

English in such societies is, of course, usually only one of the languages in individuals' plurilingual speech repertoires, and as a result, beside style-shifting between indigenized sub-varieties,[17] there is frequent code-switching – so common in some settings that that mixed speech drawing on elements from different languages (e.g. Malay-English) is the normal unmarked code of many everyday encounters. Such phenomena deserve attention because they not only highlight the complexity of language practices in intensely multilingual societies but also challenge the assumptions of some policy-makers that multilingualism is no more than the co-existence of diverse but clearly bounded language entities.

Meanwhile, alongside the post-colonial New Englishes, there is a further area of English use attracting increasing scholarly attention (see e.g. Jenkins 2000, 2006; Seidlhofer 2001, 2004). This is the use of English as an international lingua franca (ELF), which, according to Jenkins (2000: 95), is the most frequent use of spoken English around the world, and the focus of a growing body of research probing its phonological, lexico-grammatical, and socio-pragmatic properties,[18] and raising questions as to whether it is possible to speak of emergent ELF varieties such as Euro-English (see Jenkins *et al*. 2003).

Our focus, however, is not on the linguistic characteristics of the New Englishes but on the language management implications of diversification, key amongst which is the issue of which models of English, and which norms, should apply in teaching English around the world. And central here is the question of whether British or American standard varieties can, and should, remain the most appropriate models for teaching, and the ultimate source of authoritative norms of usage.

This debate is a long-standing one surfacing first in Halliday, MacIntosh and Strevens' (1964: 283) questioning of the continued dominance of British or American models in a post-colonial world, and Prator's (1968a) riposte titled 'The British heresy in TESL', in which he argued that it was prudent for reasons of continued international intelligibility to recognize only a British or American standard English model for teaching. Some twenty years later a very similar debate was joined by Quirk and Kachru. Unsettled by what he considered a diminished respect for Standard English, Quirk (1985: 6) argued that 'a single monochrome standard form', exemplified by the BBC World Service or the Japan Times of Tokyo, would be the most suitable teaching model. Kachru (1985, 1991), on the other hand, appealed for a greater sociolinguistic realism that would recognize that if English is to serve as an international language then native speakers need to accept that they have 'lost the exclusive prerogative

to control its standardization' (Kachru 1985: 30). The New Englishes, he argues, are relatively stable, indigenized varieties indexing local identities and learnt mainly for use with other L2 users intranationally and internationally. As such, they deserve greater recognition in outer circle teaching contexts.

In academic circles it would appear that the Kachruvian perspective is ascendant over that of Quirk, as Seidlhofer and Jenkins (2003: 142) confidently assert:

> The naive notion of a monolithic … linguistic medium owned by its original speakers … has been recognized as simply contrary to the facts, and has therefore given way to the realization that indigenized varieties of English are legitimate Englishes in their own right, accordingly emancipating themselves vis-à-vis British and American Standard English … Outer circle linguistic independence has, on the whole, been given the linguistic seal of approval.

But, as Bolton (2004: 388) notes, official attitudes to the educational recognition of local norms of usage are far more ambivalent. Indira Gandhi, the late Indian prime minister, is, for example, reported as having expressed horror at 'the idea of India establishing its own standard' (Quirk 1988: 236). In Singapore, meanwhile, a government-led 'Speak Good English' campaign was launched in 2000, aimed at checking the diffusion of Singlish (Singapore Colloquial English – SCE), and at inculcating greater use of, and attachment to, an implicitly exonormative standard English (Rubdy 2001).

There appear to be two main obstacles to the implementation of local norms in education, one of which is the relative dearth of codification lamented by Bamgbose (1998). While progress has certainly been made in developing authoritative descriptions of the New Englishes, it is unclear whether the necessary associated educational changes have yet been made: textbook and examination reform, and change in teacher education so that teachers are sensitized to the differences between divergence and error. A still more difficult obstacle, perhaps, is that of acceptability, not among applied linguists but the educated public and ELT teachers (see Wright 2004: 176; Timmis 2002: 243), who tend to be conservative in matters of norms for reasons that are not difficult to understand: the latter are constrained to teach a variety that is socially prestigious and career advancing, and the former remain attached to the deeply rooted notion that native-like competence is the surest benchmark of learning achievement.

Turning to the more recent domain of English as a lingua franca (ELF), one finds rather similar arguments advanced for the legitimacy of a new set of norms, lingua franca norms distinct from British or American standard English: many learn English not to interact with native speakers but other lingua franca users, and these bilingual users deserve to be

identified not as deficient users of British/American standard English but as competent users of their own self-sufficient variety (see e.g. Jenkins 2006, Seidlhofer 2004).

Inspired by this goal, empirical research on features of ELF speech has made considerable progress in recent years. In phonology, for example, Jenkins (2000) has identified a set of phonological features, a so-called lingua franca core, which is essential for international intelligibility but not identical with anyone L1 or L2. In lexico-grammar, research based on the VOICE corpus has identified frequently occurring features of ELF interaction that pose no difficulties in communication even while ungrammatical in L1 standard English, an example being the regularization involving the deletion of the third person singular present tense 's' morpheme (see e.g. Seidlhofer, Breiteneder and Pitzl 2006; Breiteneder 2005).

Much more contentious, however, is how this research should be exploited, and whether, in particular, the norms of an ELF variety should be codified to offer a normative model for teaching. While some appear to favour early codification, others are more circumspect – and with good reason. ELF research is still at an early stage, and there are, besides, some scholars (e.g. Firth 2009), who see ELF as an emergent, fluid phenomenon characterized by considerable heterogeneity, one in which users negotiate form on an encounter by encounter basis. From this perspective codification would be premature, and risk short-circuiting processes of stabilization, putting in place an artificial construct that failed, like other previous constructions (e.g. 'Basic English'), to engage the loyalty of those it was designed to serve. In place of an attractive fluidity (Pennycook 2009) the new norms might have the same potential to exclude as L1 Standard English. Finally, codification is no guarantee of acceptance and institutionalization. For that political and public support is also necessary; but attitudinal data from Timmis (2002), Jenkins (2007) and others indicate that this remains uncertain.

If the future of a codified ELF is problematic, ELF research can certainly be said to have had a considerable impact on teaching/learning, helping to break down monolithic and outdated conceptions of what is correct, drawing attention to an important constituency of lingua franca learners and suggesting new pedagogic priorities focused on intelligibility and pragmatic accommodation. The debate on codification, meanwhile, remains open.

Language management and English in particular domains of use: science, business and transport

(a) Science

The dominance of English as the international language of academic publication, particularly in the natural sciences, has been so amply

documented (see e.g. Ammon 2001a, 2003; Swales 2004; Graddol 1997; Benfield and Howard 2000; Sano 2002) that it would be wasteful to dwell on the statistics here.[19] Worthy of note, however, is that English, increasingly, is extending its presence beyond journal publication to the field of graduate study. Ammon and McConnell (2002) report, for example, that at the time of their survey forty-three higher education institutions in Germany were offering English-medium postgraduate courses, a situation not very different from that obtaining in a range of European countries – France, the Netherlands, and, more markedly still, Scandinavia.[20] At Ph.D. level, meanwhile, one finds an increasing tendency to write in English; a 2006 University of Oslo report, for example, records that 100 per cent of medical faculty theses were being written in English, a very far from unparalleled phenomenon (see Berg, Hult and King 2001 on Stockholm University).

The historical causes for this dominance (inclusive of the decline of German as an international language of science) are of interest but for our present limited purpose must remain subsidiary to present effects and concerns, principal among which are fears of domain loss, and perceptions that English as an academic lingua franca disadvantages non-Anglophones.

Domain loss has previously been discussed, so it suffices here to mention that university policies to address this concern, such as those enacted at the universities of Oslo, Iceland, Aarhus and Åbo Akademi in Finland, have a difficult balance to strike. On the one hand they strive not to impair the university's international research standing, and, still less, inhibit scholars from publishing in the language that will bring the widest readership; on the other, there is a desire to maintain the presence of the national language in the higher education and research domain. A favoured solution, at least in the Scandinavian context (Linn and Oakes 2007), has been the adoption of the principle of 'parallel-lingualism', which, as implemented in the University of Oslo's language policy (University of Oslo 2006: 6–7), allows individuals to publish in the language of their choice but requires, among other things, that thesis summaries are produced in Norwegian, that subject specialists take responsibility for developing/preserving specialist terminology, that Norwegian be used for research dissemination, and that Norwegian be the regular language of use in introductory level textbooks.

The second issue, one that has been attracting increased scholarly interest (see e.g. Ammon 2000; Carli and Ammon 2007; Canagarajah 2002; Flowerdew 2000, 2001), is that of linguistic disadvantage, the presumption being that non-Anglophone scientists are at a disadvantage relative to their English native-speaking peers in publishing their work. There are, of course, grounds for questioning this assumption: bibliometrics[21] indicate that the proportion of published outputs from non-Anglophone sources is on the rise (see also Swales 2004; Benfield and Feak 2006; Wood

2001); the 'native' and 'non-native' dichotomy is an extremely coarse and problematic one – especially in the field of academic writing; there is evidence that native 'novices' have similar problems in drafting academic papers to their 'non-native' peers (see e.g. Mišak *et al.* 2005), and so on.

By and large, however, evidence deriving from textual and ethnographic studies (see e.g. Curry and Lillis 2004; Lillis and Curry 2006; Flowerdew 1999, 2000, 2001, 2007; Burrough-Boenisch 2003; Kaplan and Baldauf 2005; Kurilova 1998, etc.) suggests, at the very least, that some non-Anglophone academics of lower English language proficiency do indeed encounter significant linguistic difficulties in composing their papers, that the process is often very laborious, and that a proportion incur considerable costs – for example, in hiring 'language brokers' to edit and revise their papers, and that in this sense there is linguistic disadvantage. The question then arises as to what can be done about it.

Proposals here range from the radical to the more modest and ameliorative. Addressing the 'free rider' problem – that English native-speaker communities enjoy a 'good', English as a lingua franca, while incurring few of the costs of its production, Van Parijs (2007: 78) proposes a linguistic tax levied on native-speaker communities with the proceeds transferred to non-Anglophone communities. But this is flawed on a number of counts: the extent of the advantage conferred by native speakerhood is miscalibrated; there are, as de Swaan (2007) argues, many kinds of comparative advantage that some states have relative to others (e.g. oil reserves), yet nobody in these cases raises issues of compensation; and finally it is politically unfeasible. Another proposal is for a return to scientific multilingualism with regionally-based journals publishing in regional languages (see e.g. Salager-Meyer 2008: 129), but aside from the cost,[22] this too faces considerable challenges. Surveys (e.g. Ferguson *et al.* 2010) indicate that scientists tend to like the singularity of one lingua franca, and because English is already established in that role, many researchers prefer to publish in the language, especially when they have invested heavily in learning it to a high level.

Not dissimilar difficulties attach to the search for an alternative more egalitarian global lingua franca than English, one of which, of course, is Esperanto, the most successful of over a thousand efforts to invent an international language (see e.g. Blanke 2009: 252).[23] Though this has a substantial community of users, it has not, since the first Congress of 1905, actually established itself as a preferred lingua franca in science or other domains, one of the major reasons for which is that there are motivational problems in acquiring an artificial language in a situation where English has already attained 'critical mass' as a lingua franca among L2 users.[24] This is not to say that the dominance of English, in science as elsewhere, is unassailable, only that it will probably take a major shift in economic and political power to undo that dominance just as it

will take, as Mufwene (2008: 243) argues, a change in the market ecology to make it advantageous to publish in languages other than English.

Perhaps more realistic, then, than an alternative lingua franca are calls by commentators such as Ammon (2006, 2007) for a codified, deanglicized English, or 'Globalish, a variety distinct from US/British English and one that places L2 users on a more equal footing with anglophones. This, though, can only be seen as a longer term project, and, given the difficulties of the more radical proposals above, one has to return to more modest interventions to alleviate linguistic disadvantage. Of these there is no shortage, and Ammon (2007: 131) provides a useful summary of the more realistic measures: for example, more editorial support from journals for non-anglophone authors, better interpretation/translation facilities at conferences, greater tolerance on the part of editors and reviewers for intelligible deviations from US/British standard English, the sensitization of native presenters/editors/reviewers to the linguistic challenges faced by non-anglophones, and, perhaps more important than anything else, more comprehensive training in academic writing.[25]

(b) Business

As with science, there is substantial evidence that English – across the world – occupies an increasingly important role in business communication both within corporations and externally with shareholders and customers. For example, Erling and Walton's (2007: 39) survey of seven Berlin-based subsidiaries of multinational corporations (MNCs) found that English was widely used alongside German in a wide variety of settings and has evolved into 'a necessary basic qualification' not just for top management as previously but also for lower levels of the corporate hierarchy. Kingsley (2009: 160) reports how two international banks in Luxembourg have not only adopted English as corporate working language, but require English language skills in new recruits. From Malaysia Nair-Venugopal (2001: 47) describes how local varieties of English are widely used in private sector corporations, thus making the useful point that the variety(s) of English used in international business contexts is very often different from the standard British or US English modelled in Business English instructional materials. Louhiala-Salminen *et al.* (2005) observe that pan-Nordic corporations, including the two that are their particular object of study – PaperGiant and Skandibank,[26] increasingly use English as corporate languages in place of what they call 'Scandinavian.' Beyond Scandinavia, the adoption of English as a corporate language by such well-known MNCs as Olivetti, Siemens, Daimler-Chrysler, Avensis is one of the more striking, if problematic, emblems of the dominance of English in the business world.[27]

It is important, however, to qualify this picture of a seemingly ubiquitous English. There remain numerous companies where English is little

used either internally or externally. Vandermeeren's (1999: 280) study of written corporate communication, for example, reveals that French and German companies '…do not primarily correspond in English' and that German companies tend to use German in communication with Dutch companies. Loos (2007: 49) studies a Dutch company operating holiday centres in Germany and outlines a complex set of micro-level management practices, none of which involve English. Dutch receptionists accommodate to German guests by speaking German and to Dutch guests by switching to Dutch. But, in interactions between less bilingually competent German receptionists and Dutch guests both parties sometimes continue speaking their respective languages[28] and sometimes the Dutch guests switch to German.

Two wider points can be adduced here: one is that, whatever the company's official language policy, language choices are often locally managed on a pragmatic basis (to get the task-in-hand accomplished); another is that the well-documented preference for addressing customers in their own language is often compromized in practice, not least in UK companies, by a lack of plurilingual competence on the part of the seller.

External communication extends, of course, beyond the customer/consumer to the shareholder/potential investor for whom the annual report is a key document, and in this connection Jeanjean *et al.*'s (2008) large-scale survey of the use of English in external financial reporting holds particular interest. Surveying 3,994 firms in 27 non-Anglophone countries they found that 50.8 per cent of the sample issued an English language version of the annual report, and that company size, degree of internationalization of sales, diffusion of ownership were among the factors predicting English language publication – with ownership concentration, the size of the local capital market, language distance between English and the local language negatively related. What we see here again is that there are limits to the use of English in external business communication, with size of company and degree of internationalization being particularly predictive of greater use of the language.

Yet even in MNCs that have adopted English as a corporate language one cannot assume widespread use for the straightforward reason that MNCs – with their many subsidiaries – are de facto multilingual organizations with English not uncommonly confined to particular personnel, interactions or genres. Kingsley's (2009:164) study of banks in Luxembourg shows, for example, that English is particularly common in written reports and emails, while other languages – French, German, Swedish – are frequently utilized alongside English in spoken communication (e.g. meetings and telephone calls) and especially for informal talk. Thus, there is a degree of mismatch between company policy and de facto practices. Nickerson's (1999: 48) case study of the emails of six managers in the Dutch division of an MNC also indicates a degree

of linguistic diversity in that email communication outside the division tends to be in English as required by corporate policy but in Dutch within the division. Meanwhile, Nekvapil and Nekula's (2006: 320) study of a Siemens subsidiary in the Czech Republic makes clear that, though English is the official corporate language, a variety of languages is used within the subsidiary: Czech among the blue-collar workers, German or English between white-collar Czech workers and foreign employees, and between subsidiary and headquarters. A generalization here might be that English tends to be more frequently used in formal communications, in writing, and at top management levels while other languages have greater use in informal spoken interactions and further down the corporate hierarchy.

Whatever actual practice may be, there is no doubt that multilingualism within MNCs is often perceived as problematic, as a 'language barrier', the mitigation of which is a topic frequently addressed in the business management literature (see e.g. Feely and Harzing 2003; Harzing and Feely 2007; Harzing *et al.* 2010; Charles and Marschan-Piekkari 2002; Marschan *et al.* 1999a; Marschan-Piekkari *et al.* 1999b; Fredriksson *et al.* 2006). Among the more interesting of these is Harzing *et al.* (2010), which – drawing on interview data from eight German and Japanese corporations – identifies no less than twelve language management practices. These range from ad hoc, individual level coping strategies (e.g. switching from telephone to email communication, code-switching, adopting a facilitative communicative style that incorporates repetition, summary and exemplification) to more structured solutions. Common among the latter is the adoption of a corporate language, usually English, to facilitate formal reporting and build a corporate identity. But, as several commentators (e.g. Charles and Marschan-Piekkari 2002: 17) observe, this is far from a panacea: many employees lack the requisite English skills and they may have difficulties understanding each others' Englishes, including that of English native speakers. In response many companies (e.g. Kone, Siemens) make substantial investments in language training, combining this with recruitment policies that emphasize language skills (see e.g. Marschan-Piekkari *et al.* 1999a).

Another strategy, mentioned in several studies (e.g. Harzing *et al.* 2010), is the resort to 'bridge individuals', individuals with the requisite language skills who become 'language nodes' through which communication between subsidiaries and with headquarters is funnelled. Such people are sometimes expatriates working in a subsidiary, sometimes 'inpatriates' (persons seconded from a subsidiary to corporate HQ) and sometimes locally hired non-native managers. But the main difficulty in relying on such intermediaries is that power tends to concentrate in their hands to an extent not warranted by their formal status in the corporate hierarchy, and in certain cases the outcome may be a 'shadow structure' (Marschan-Piekkari *et al.* 1999b: 433) subverting the formal

corporate organization. Conversely individuals with limited English proficiency come to feel isolated, marginalized, disempowered.

Other responses to the 'language barrier' worthy of brief mention include (a) the employment of externally hired interpreters/translators, the principal snags here being the expense and the interpeter's lack of specialized content knowledge, and (b) machine translation, though the vast majority of respondents in Harzing *et al.*'s (2010) survey reported this to be of very limited use.

From this brief account two general conclusions can be drawn. The first is that the adoption of a corporate language, even when accompanied by language training, is rarely a fully effective solution, and thus is often supplemented by micro-level management practices whereby employees accommodate to each other through modifying their communication style, or otherwise fall back on 'bridge individuals'. The second is that the corporate world, with its inherent multilingualism, is a fertile, though somewhat under-researched, field for language policy/management studies, one that illustrates as well as any other the complexities of English world-wide as a language that empowers some while simultaneously disempowering/marginalizing others.

(c) Transport

A further domain in which English plays an important role is transportation at sea and in the air. Efficient communication here is obviously crucial for safety, with miscommunication implicated in several air disasters (see Tajima 2004).[29] A partial solution has been the development of highly restricted, standardized varieties of English along the lines of Ogden's Basic English (Ogden 1932): Seaspeak in the case of international maritime communication (see Weeks and Strevens 1984) and 'standard phraseology' for air to ground radiotelephony supplemented by 'plain English' when the standard phraseology is inadequate. Not surprisingly these restricted codes do not eliminate all difficulties especially when unanticipated events occur, and consequently the ICAO[30] has since 2008 required pilots and air-traffic controllers to provide certification of English language proficiency (Alderson 2009). Alderson (2010) reviews various tests of aviation English, the majority of which are found to be unsatisfactory.

Conclusion

As we have seen, the dominance of English in many domains elicits frequent language policy intervention. Policies pull in different directions, however. Some governments (e.g. in East Asia) promote English learning in the belief that this enhances economic competitiveness. Others – fearful

that English is encroaching on domains hitherto the preserve of national languages – seek to restrict the language, very often with less than complete success, the principal reason for which is that world market forces, allied to individual aspiration, tend to favour English. As Mufwene (2008: 47) has convincingly argued, curtailing the influence of English may well require altering the market ecology that makes the use of English advantageous, and this, in turn, will necessitate socio-economic and political interventions well beyond the normal scope of language policy.

Whether the spread of English is the aggregate outcome of many individual decisions or of government promotion, the effects are very mixed. Many individuals do appear to benefit from acquiring the symbolic and economic capital that English represents. But, because English is often a gatekeeper to economic and educational opportunity, it can also function to exclude, or marginalize many others, consolidating existing socio-economic inequalities. And while English serves as a useful lingua franca in a globalizing world, its presence in the domain of national education or in scientific communication can in certain circumstances have adverse effects, for example depressing levels of educational attainment or impeding the intellectualization of some languages.

If the complex effects of English elude easy summary, it seems more certain that English will remain a dominant lingua franca in the next several decades and that more individuals will develop bilingual skills in English alongside national/local languages and in so doing continue to refashion the language, perhaps alleviating some of its more adverse effects. All this means that English will continue to demand the attention of language managers and policy-makers.

Part V

Regional and thematic issues

25

National language revival movements: reflections from India, Israel, Indonesia and Ireland

Joseph Lo Bianco

Introduction

The present chapter discusses four radically different socio-political and historical contexts of nation-state making in which language planning in general, and language revival in particular, have been central features. It uses terms originating in discussions about endangered Australian Indigenous languages. All renewal activity is called *language revival*, divided into three kinds of activity: revitalization, renewal and reclamation (SSABSA 1996). These terms provide a useful overarching framework encompassing the diverse circumstances of the four national case stories: India, Israel, Indonesia and Ireland.

Programmes of *language revitalization* aim to extend the use of a threatened language among younger generations by drawing on the proficiency of the remaining speakers of a language; *language renewal* involves activity aiming to increase the usage and knowledge of a language no longer spoken in its full form and *language reclamation* promotes the relearning of a language on the basis of historical documentation and archival material.

There are other ways of conceptualizing and dividing the field of language revival, and terms such as retrieval, revival, restoration, reclamation and recovery are used in the academic literature and in the documentation of practice. What is immediately apparent from all these terms is the prevalence of the prefix re-. English prefixes are essentially bound morphemes that supply lexical meaning, and in the case of 're-' that meaning refers to 'getting something back'. In the present discussion national revival movements seek to 'get back' particular languages, those associated with national identities. The need for intervention to cause their return implies that history has intervened, often brutally, in

the process of national formation to thwart what might otherwise be an uninterrupted process of development.

Nations are invariably implicated in language revival movements even if the revival activity is not directed towards a 'national language' as such, because all languages exist within a web of communicative ecologies in which speakers have available to them a range of linguistic resources (styles, registers and dialects *within* languages, and styles, registers and dialects *across* languages). The communicative choices they make depend on both immediate exigencies and attitudinal–ideological frameworks.

Languages and nations

National language revival movements are as different from each other as are nations, languages and political or cultural mobilization. There are fewer than 200 political states in the world as counted by membership of the United Nations, many of which share the same official and officially designated 'national' language. Arabic, English, French, Spanish and Portuguese alone account for more than half the total. This leaves a vast disparity with the more than 6,700 spoken human languages conventionally identified (Lewis 2009). Many of these languages are spoken by groups whose self-definition includes an incipient or mature sense of nationality, or at least of separate ethno-cultural existence, some of which actively seek cultural autonomy or separate political statehood.

Four national cases are described briefly here, all discussed within their particular historical trajectories of nationhood, of bounded independent and autonomous polities. All serve a wider socio-cultural and political purpose expressed by Ghosh (2004) as 'fixing the language, fixing the national'

We are prone to imagine today that the nation is an almost natural or inevitable form of organization of geo-political space. However, until relatively recently the great landmass of Central and Eastern Europe, to take only one example, was under the political control of only three polities, the imperial dynasties of Habsburgs, Romanovs and Ottomans (House of Osman). Despite sometimes conceding local levels of autonomy, these three dynastic realms controlled the destinies of large territories, including vassal states. Their power broke down in the face of nationalist uprising and later Nazi and Soviet territorial annexations, and ultimately the emergence of the independent nationality-based states revealed by contemporary maps. These three empires were 'loosely interpreted, polyethnic, polyreligious, and polylinguistic realms' (Brubaker 1996: 3) which controlled the lives of many peoples who didn't necessarily imagine themselves to be a single community, and whose rulers did not aspire to 'reflect' or have their ruled populations mirror them in

ethno-cultural characteristics. The map of the landmass once ruled by only three dynastic houses now is a mosaic of small, self-governing and mostly ethno-culturally defined states.

For Brubaker there are various kinds of nationalism and different relations between states and underlying nationalities. A powerful culture-language focused kind involves recently independent states seeking to 'nation' their populations on behalf of a core ethno-culturally defined identity which 'owns' the state and whose advancement or defence the state is dedicated to because it is seen to be overcoming a legacy of discriminatory practices. This remedial or compensatory project of the state is contrasted to homeland, or 'trans-border' nationalism, in which excluded minorities seek to come to the cultural and political assistance of 'ethno-national' kin. A third kind involves subjugated minorities advocating for separation. The classic division in nationalist thinking has been between ethnicity based nationality and claims for statehood, contrasted with a civic basis for nationality and statehood, such as in the difference between the United States' conception of its statehood in shared citizenship despite ethno-cultural differences and the Japanese or Greek ethnicity based nationality (Anderson [1983] 1991; Gellner 1983; 1994; 1997; Hobsbawm 1992; Smith 1995).

Few modern states are exclusively of one or the other type and political entities that could resemble modern nation states have long existed, prototypically represented by the centralized and culturally–linguistically assimilating civic-based France.

In discussions of nationalism and its relation with language, the question of elites and masses often arises. In one view (Fishman 1972a; 2001b), elites 'organize' uneducated and non-politicized masses. National languages supply three kinds of raw material for the process of nationing that ethno-cultural states engage in: messages of cultural authenticity, instruments of efficient administration and tools for unification across class, region and ethnic divides. Miroslav Hroch (1996) has examined small national movements in central and eastern Europe and locates similar functions to Fishman's authenticity, efficiency and unification on a continuum. He identifies three recurring elements that seem to underlie the press to nationalism in political movements. The first is a shared 'memory' of a common past functioning as a kind of 'destiny' of the group or of its core constituents. The second is a 'density of linguistic or cultural ties' that enables the group to attain a higher degree of internal cohesion via communication than exists beyond its boundaries. Finally nationalist conception requires claims to the equality of all its members, organized as a civil society (ibid.; also Connor 1994).

Hroch's comparative analysis of nationalist movements also recognizes uneven development of 'national consciousness' among various social groupings and regions and argues that this unevenness is arranged in a predictable set of phases. The initial phase consists of

cultural, literary or folkloric activity that may often be conducted with little nationalist purpose. The outcomes of such archival, recording or documentary work on folk forms of marked languages, and also high literary culture, persuade mobilizers and nationalists that a distinctive entity exists and that if this distinctive cultural entity lacks political independence its existence warrants struggle to this end. A successive phase to this 'collecting' activity commences when the cultural information gathered by folklorists, scholars and cultural or literary figures is utilized as evidence of the national entity's existence and status by 'pioneers and militants' committed to the national idea. Political campaigning to make congruent the existing but stateless 'nation' with a unique administrative and distributive hierarchy (a national state) enters a third phase when it gains mass support for nationalist programmes. In these schemas from Fishman and Hroch we can see elements of the functions of national language revival movements, communicative and mobilizing functions, to solidify in-groups and direct them towards agitation for recognition. This activity is not inevitable but it is often divisive because group definition establishes boundaries with out-groups and language borders, marking language boundaries serves to constitute 'non-belongers'.

In *Language and Nationalism*, Fishman (1972a: 5) defines nationalism as the 'organizationally heightened and elaborated beliefs, attitudes and behaviors of societies acting on behalf of their avowed ethnocultural self interest', actions which the nationalist seeks in 'the lower classes and the distant past' (8) because it seeks uncontaminated or pure representations of the marked language. Authenticity therefore functions in a complex way as both 'evidence' of continuation from the past and, as Hroch shows, a claim to a needed persistence into the future, both 'science' and 'political program'.

Symbolic functions of languages within nationalist reasoning are bolstered by functional communication needs, such as when Fishman points out that 'The functional dependence of new proto-elites on the vernaculars was a reflection of the need of these elites to communicate with, organize, and activate recently urbanized but still predominantly illiterate populations' (Fishman 1972a: 41). A marked language can, in the sense used by Bhabha (1990) 'narrate' the nation to itself. In this sense it is both the content of the language (its literary and folk forms) that initially constitutes distinctiveness and then in the hands of modernist nation making policies can form the raw material for high literary culture and 'intellectualization' of the code.

In a later hypothesis Fishman points out that 'nationalism is ethnicity rendered conscious and mobilized' (Fishman 2001b: 455), retaining his ethnicity-conscious framework, whose connection to the practical exigencies of state administration through standardized literate activities entrench language choices invoked by national language movements

in pragmatic functions of governance, defence, education and civil administration.

Differences in historical context mark each national language revival movement in particular ways, so that the specific tasks undertaken for language revival and its accompanying ideologies can be widely different, such as the central importance of 'reducing' Pacific languages to writing (Mülhäusler 1990) or Dorian's (1977) discussion of the role and problem of the 'semi-speaker' in processes of imminent language death. Acknowledging the role of differences of context and history does not preclude comparisons which can reveal shared processes and new ways to categorize activity. This is clear from Spolsky (1996) whose analysis of the ordinary linguistic choices made by Israeli Hebrew speakers and New Zealand Maori speakers shows how a myriad of seemingly unrelated private decisions actually converge around or stimulate what, viewed from a wider perspective, is a policy of practice determined by small decisions of communication. Similarly, Ó Laoire (1996) contrasts and compares the situation of Irish and Hebrew at the beginning of the twentieth century, underscoring the unreliability of intergenerational transmission as the key mechanism for language revival. Ultimately such comparisons serve to highlight that languages are not independent variables free-floating above social arrangements. Instead communication choices are embedded in historically specific settings whose local circumstances implicate issues of power in economic, political and cultural relations among groups of speakers in multilingual environments. These comparisons reveal that language choices are highly situated and influenced by local histories of relations between groups, facts which impact on the kind of revival activity that is possible and appropriate in different settings.

However, the comparisons by Spolsky and Ó Laoire also show how similar policies can produce different outcomes and different policies occasionally produce similar outcomes. Convergence of outcomes from different policies and divergence from similar policies, does not suggest that there is anything portable across settings. Rather forecasting language outcomes from different settings is at the conjunction point of an inherited set of conditions and the desire, will and capability of mobilized action to change the direction established by inherited conditions. Both time (history and forecasted future) and place (local setting and its political and cultural configurations) establish trajectories which national language revival movements differentially impact depending on how they can mobilize and manage language planning activity.

India

India is home not only to many languages but also to many language movements, for both revival and maintenance (CIIL 1978, Dua 1993).

Its linguistic diversity is among the greatest in the world with several major linguistic families represented among its myriad of spoken and written language forms. Among its 1.134 billion people, 76 per cent or 777,361,000 speak languages belonging to the Indo-Aryan family, while 216,635,000 or 21.6 per cent speak Dravidian languages. Other language families account for far fewer, so that Austro-Asiatic languages represent 1.2 per cent and Tibeto-Burman 1 per cent while others are below 1 per cent (Lewis, 2009). India is well known for recognizing multiple languages in its constitution. In addition to Hindi and English, twenty-two other languages are 'scheduled' achieving thereby official acknowledgement and a publicly recognized function (ibid.).

Unlike most equivalents the Constitution of India (Government of India 2007) provides an extensive section devoted to language. A section entitled Language of the Union, Chapter 1; 343 (1), declares: 'The official language of the Union shall be Hindi in Devanagari script. Followed by a specification of the form of numerals to be used for official purposes'; and then in clause (2) declares that English shall remain 'for a period of fifteen years from the commencement of this Constitution…'. (GoI 2007: 212).

Subsequent conditions of Part XVII Official Language stipulate that Parliament may extend the use of English beyond this fifteen years of both English language and the Devanagari form of numerals and supplies the mechanisms whereby such extensions will be effected. This is an exemplary case of the relations between language laws as public texts (Lo Bianco 2010), i.e. black letter law and language policy made in public debate. This underscores how constitutions operate as public texts, in effect acting as a solidified conversation, but remain open to further elaboration, interpretation or change through public debate. This relationship further depends on what individuals and institutions, especially powerful elites, actually do in their performative language use (ibid.), so the three mechanisms of language policy making, texts, talk and behaviour are linked in a cycle of activity. Texts are slow to change, discourse is iterative and dialogical and behaviours are speech acts located in the here and now that either reinforce, interrupt or modify what formal texts stipulate.

The continued extensions to English in Indian official life underscores this dynamic relationship between a public text and public discourse around language, and in turn their relation to what people actually do. The Constitution in its successive clauses attaches 'progressive use of the Hindi language' to 'restrictions on the use of the English language' epitomizing the tension between desire and pragmatic realities. In a series of clauses from 344–351 in which English is circumscribed in time and function, Hindi and English are designated 'official' but these are ranked so that Hindi enjoys the standing of principal or first-named official language, speaking to its association with nationality, and English is

the second-named, or secondary, official language. The Indian polity is a Union, whose constitution stipulates not simply these official designations but also describes its first official language as 'Hindi in Devanagari script'.

How this particular Indian way to organize the legal and official standing of its languages has arisen reflects India's historic encounter with foreign languages. This is a multiple and ancient encounter, more than three millennia of language contact within which two interactions predominate. These are external language contact experiences, with Persian and English, which have had significant and enduring influence not only on the linguistics of language contact but also on attitudes, ideologies and policies and it has been in reaction to this history of colonially imposed languages that the bulk of national language revitalization efforts have been directed. According to Singh (1996), the narrative of colonial relations inscribed in Indian public discussion persists despite the overcoming of the actual conditions of colonial subjugation. Since many debates are framed in a continuation of the categories and concepts of domination and dialogue that colonialism bequeaths he sees a 'continuing validity of the colonial paradigm' shaping Indian thinking from the seventeenth century onwards. In his analysis Singh exposes a flow of continuing references organized by the discourse of colonization, from early modern encounters to the Raj and their continuing presence in the Indian nationalist state (ibid.).

The establishment of a communication order for India is a question of profound interest for sociolinguistics, partly because of the deep complexity that characterizes the Indian setting but also because of the turbulent and contested history of its language planning. While it is warranted to celebrate and recognize the naturalized multilingualism of ordinary life in India its diverse linguistic ecology has not inured the country from bitter political rivalry among language groups. Despite the scale and depth of the linguistic issues involved there are still pools of homogeneity, so the presence of elites sharing a relatively homogeneous variety of English has been a tool of integration and aggregation around shared ideas, especially the modernizing discourses forged within India's long dominant Congress Party during the independence struggle and the early years of political mobilization.

Contrasted with this relatively stable and uniform linguistic order at the peak of the Indian political structure there are also 'on the ground' politics of industrial and agrarian competition in which language differences compound poverty, marginalization and exclusion (Friedrich 1962).

Giving this theme a linguistic character is the analysis by Ghosh (2004) which holds that in the context of local separatist movements that were prevalent in India during the 1980s, the country found itself in the paradoxical situation of having constitutionally planned for the dislodging of

English from public life but needing continually to extend its presence. Each extension has tended to entrench its ultimate and now probably permanent hold. No single indigenously Indian language was capable of dislodging English, and the parameters of efficiency of administration which govern how contemporary states are conceived favours a monolingual solution to public administration, or at least a solution predicated on only a small number of languages sharing the total communicative load. As a result as growing numbers of Indians speak English domestically its Indianization proceeds as does its indigenization (Kachru 1983). The political and economic liberalization which has taken root since the mid 1990s has produced a major spurt of economic growth and deepened the hold of English.

This hold of English is far from being the exclusive preserve of elites. A newspaper report entitled 'Tribals demand English medium', published in the Andhra Pradesh Chronicle of 18 August 2009 in Adilabad, reads in part: 'Tribals in the district are against their children being taught in the MT and have demanded that English be the medium of instruction in the newly introduced "MT tribal schools". They opine that their children will not get a competitive edge without English…' The article goes on to claim that Adivasi (tribal) languages Gondi and Kolami were introduced into schools in 2009 and cites Adilabad member of parliament, Mr Ramesh Rathod as a strong opponent of this move. It cites his description of mother tongue schools as 'a conspiracy against' the Adivasi.

Fishman's three criteria for the role of languages in national movements, authenticity, efficiency and unification, play out in often contradictory ways. English is denied the former, claims the second and contributes to the latter, but Hindi in south India struggles in some areas with the former, and shares the latter two with English. Despite its characterization as inauthentic for the Indian context, the extended roles of English in Indian life suggest a wider discourse is required to explain its continuing presence in Indian public life and increasingly beyond the domains of commerce, education and technology.

In search of these alternative accounts Ghosh (2004) studies writing, both novels and 'journalistic prose', during the 1980s to uncover the characterizations of English, concluding that its association and functional role as 'tool of modernization' and tool of technology have bolstered its hold, in addition to its adoption and maintenance as a language of power and opportunity by middle-class interests. However, this analysis is incomplete since in some domains both Hindi and Bengali emerge as 'hegemonic' within a diverse range of usage domains unavailable to English. Ghosh's analysis shows that the promotion of Hindi has been 'deleterious' to the status and social functions of Urdu, and that 'Bengali and other regional standards' are imposed on local dialects and therefore tend to function in these settings as a force achieving power and position for those who identify with each standard form.

As a result India's national leadership has made recourse to a 'three-language' compromise. The multilingualism of the population has therefore meant reliance on translations, and the direction of translations from official function languages to regional or state standards has tended to 'stabilize' English, Hindi and state or regional standards (Ghosh 2004). The result is that the mechanism of constitutional extension of English is continually activated to respond to 'on the ground' realities of communicative roles, entrenching what was intended to be a temporary expediency.

This compelling analysis of the heteroglossic situation of Indian communication, private and public, personal and institutional, shows how national language revival movements are always positioned within complex local language ecologies and are constrained by them as much as they try to alter them.

This linguistic ecology has within it the residues of the Gandhian moment in Indian language discussions (Trivedi 2003). During the beginning phases of nationalist agitation in India, when it moved from an elite to a mass phenomenon across colonial South Asia the *swadeshi* (indigenous goods) movement was installed in public debate by Mohandas Gandhi as the stimulus for 'home rule', *swaraj*. Gandhi predicated this on economic self-sufficiency since its opposite, economic dependency, had been a critical feature of colonial subjugation. The image and the metaphor of Gandhi's swadeshi politics were located around *khadi*, hand-made cloth produced locally and used in preference to imported goods (ibid.). National language choice drew power from the swadeshi movement, a sort of selection, propagation and acceptance of the language version of khadi, but one which both in the early days of nationalist mobilization, and still today, has produced both conversation and contestation. The political sociology involved in national language mobilization, reaches far beyond the three language formulation of Hindi–English–state/other language (Dua 1993), to raise questions of local and cultural identities. As a result the number of movements identified by linguists, census takers and linguists in which particular languages are put forward for recognition number hundreds, traced to well before independence. This longstanding and turbulent history of language mobilization has been a recurring feature of politics in the subcontinent producing conflict and sometimes violence, but also compromise and cohabitation. The compromise arrangements for organizing local communication among various alternatives which are arranged hierarchically and functionally, have deep consequences for the social standing and opportunities of speakers (Brass 2004).

Many of India's numerous language movements do not strictly belong under the tag of 'national' since they do not aspire to independent statehood in a more or less political sense; however, recalling Hroch's sequencing of national language movements, Dua (1993) points out that

movements which commence with one set of aims often acquire additional or different ones as they mature. Dua stresses that these language mobilizations have mostly been competitive, a common premise being to demand not only linguistic recognition but preference, with the concomitant displacement of actual or potential rival languages.

Two overarching factors conditioning language policy during the twentieth century have been the standing of the Congress party and the relative power and aims of Hindu nationalism. How Hindu nationalism has characterized the role of English is especially critical for its rebounding effects on other languages, and has been a critical and at times explosive theme in Indian politics. Hindu nationalist activists have varied in their choices and views of English, Hindi, and state or regional languages. In research focusing on a range of diverse historical sources in Uttar Pradesh in the final stages of Britain's colonial power in India during the lead-up and choice for Partition, Gould (2004) shows how Hindu nationalism impacted on the ostensible secularism of the Congress Party. The north Indian Muslims are the population most directly affected by the relations between Congress which avowedly championed their status, and Hindu Nationalism which had to decide among alternative options to pursue a re-emphasis of traditional Indian Hindu ideologies, including language, post-independence.

In these disputes language revivalism was shaped by the legacy of the older Persian and more recent British language policies. During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries these were distilled into two overarching discourses, Orientalist and Anglicist, and administration, education and justice oscillating between them. Although they disagreed about methods and action they shared a common ambition or presupposition that British dominion over India would remain. A key point of dispute between these orientations concerned the interpretation of the impact of Perso-Muslim influence in Indian life.

Both of these views, the ultimate cultural regard for India, and the role of the system of languages and structure of administration inherited from the Muslim rulers, were tempered by the pragmatic needs of running India. The choices available to the British were to pursue or reinstate vernacular communication with their new subjects, or accept the vehicular role of inherited languages and systems used by the Muslim rulers, and what these choices would imply for the shared desire to implant English as the auxiliary, and ultimately dominant language of the subcontinent. In pre-Partition India large territories and civil administrative structures were Muslim in character and history. Education and local administration of governance and especially of the lower courts were the key sites of these language management choices where Rahman (1996) identifies three phases: an initial Persian, Hindustani and Sanskrit based policy in the 1780s shifting to an intermediate phase in which local languages were preferred in lower courts and local administration

to a more full-blown adoption of English from the 1830s. In this analysis the Orientalist–Anglicist controversy acts as the manifestation in language policy terms of an underlying British attitude and understanding of India and the sub-continent more widely in the early nineteenth century.

The historical recycling of inherited communicative choices, and the new circumstances of a globalizing economy in a secure and independent Union of India, show that national language revival movements are an enduring feature of public life since new communicative demands and circumstances arise continually.

Indonesia

Among broadly comparable Asian countries in Southeast Asia, such as Malaysia, Singapore or the Philippines, Indonesia has achieved comparative success in the development, public acceptance and diffusion of its national language (Alisjahbana 1971a; Dardjowidjojo, 1998; Guan and Suryadinata 2007). One account has it as 'perhaps even the most spectacular linguistic phenomenon of our age' (Alisjahbana 1962: 1).

No national language revival movement begins its efforts in the absence of raw materials of language, nation and the means for agitation and organization for revival, but perhaps Indonesia's case was better supplied with an accepted local lingua franca in parts of the Indonesian archipelago, Malay. In Dardjowidjojo's view however, this felicitous beginning masks the real reasons for the success, which lie instead in socio-political factors, particularly the language policies of the colonial countries, the responses by early nationalists, the rivalry between the national language and either the vernaculars or the colonial language, especially English, and the successful cultivation of the national language after its adoption. These factors supply relatively favourable conditions for the penetration and development of modern Indonesian into society, conditions analysed as a series of solvable problems attributed to competent agencies involved in standardization and language spread (Rubin 1977). Early writing on the success of Indonesia's national language movement often relies on this pragmatic, problem solving approach, such as language planning as a series of engineering steps in response to identified communication obstacles hindering national unification (Alisjahbana 1971b). Indonesia experienced a rather concentrated process of decolonization, despite an intervening and brief Japanese re-colonization (regarded by Alisjabhana 1962 as decisive), which links the making of Indonesia (Lev and McVey 1996) to the making of Indonesian. The close sequence of events, more recent and more public than in the case of other national language revival movements, have seen a close connection between enacting language

decisions and observing their effects. The Indonesian state, whose philosophical foundation is expressed in the Sanskrit derived term *pancasila*, or five national principles, is built in various ways on the inevitability of having to reconcile immense linguistic, ethnic, geographic and religious diversity, in uniquely Indonesian ways.

The functions and 'systems' of Malay in its form of **Bahasa** Malaysia is tied also to Malaysia's independence from Britain in 1957 and its expansion from vernacular, to national, official and state language, to a language of commerce and science (Omar 1983). The main preoccupation has been corpus and specifically terminological expansion and the formulation of a standardized spelling system. In this process the overarching rules have been jointly negotiated between Malaysia and **Indonesia**, but alongside this shared intervention to manage a shared language resource have been diversifying tendencies that have come largely from unplanned development of the language due to borrowing arising from culture contact arising from Hindu-Sanskrit, Muslim-Arabic and Anglo-European sources.

However, Indonesia is a much larger country than Malaysia, the fourth most populous nation in the world, the world's largest Islamic society and more linguistically diverse, with *Ethnologue* listing well over 726 languages (Lewis 2009) across a range of language families. Of Fishman's (1972a) three language in nationalism factors – authenticity, efficiency and unification – Indonesia has derived most benefit from the latter by its successful adoption, cultivation and propagation of the language.

The origins of Indonesian in the pre-colonial period, and the emergence of Classical Malay from the fourteenth century (Nugroho 1957; Sneddon 2003) are a necessary backdrop for the more intense connection between communication and political community in the concentrated pre-independence period. This long process is traced along five stages by Daud (1996), who concurs with other scholars that adoption of Malay was facilitated by its existing informal and lingua franca function throughout Malaysia, a role stemming in large part from its use in the propagation of Islam. This felicitous status combined with a declaration by the Dutch colonial administration that Malay would function as co-official with Dutch in the Volksraad, a 'proto-Parliament' (established 1916 but convened in 1918), containing fifteen native-born Indonesian representatives among its thirty-nine members.

This formal acknowledgement of the wider function of the language lays the ground for its later acceptance. Anticipating and helping to create its eventual adoption was a crucial act of terminology change, the *Sumpah Pemuda* or 28 October 1928 Youth Pledge by nationalists, proclaiming 'one motherland, one nation' and naming *'bahasa Indonesia'* as the 'language of unity'. This public text and renaming of Malay established its unique function. The *Sumpah Pemuda* is emblematic of the goal of national language revival movements to name languages after

peoplehood, connoting sentimental attachment between one and the other, even when, as in this case, the bonds were to be created as much as assumed. The *Sumpah Pemuda* converted BI into a symbol of nationalism and resistance to the colonial Dutch (Alisjahbana 1966). Daud's fourth state is the indirect endorsement of Bahasa Indonesia by the occupying Japanese during the Second World War. Embracing Bahasa Indonesia and the prohibition of the use of Dutch served both pragmatic and ideological functions, intended to detach native Indonesians from their European colonial masters. That this move was enacted by a colonizing Asian master does not alter its ultimate symbolic power and underscores the growing internal identification of Indonesian nationalist elites with Bahasa Indonesia. The final stage in Daud's schema relates to 1945 when Indonesian national leaders seized power in the wake of Japan's defeat and the temporary absence of Dutch colonial administration and in this breach declared Bahasa Indonesia the national language. These moves establish a sequence of symbolic and then practical functions for Bahasa Indonesia, its renaming signifying a desire to naturalize its association of serving as a unifying common language.

The subsequent process of diffusion across the archipelago in its official roles as a 'national language', i.e. a code of identity for the diverse ethnicities and peoples of the new state, and as a state language, i.e. as a language of public administration, but also as a language of convenience in general for communications and commerce, comes about through a protracted process of deliberate language planning (Alisjahbana 1971a, 1971b; Rubin 1977). A key instrument in the achievement of these aims was the elevation of literacy standards and literature (Alisjahbana 1962) enshrining BI as the principal reading language for most Indonesians. A consequence of its often exclusive use as medium of instruction for the national school curriculum, Bahasa Indonesia emerges as the pre-eminent literary language of Indonesia, the language of common writing as well as reading (Diah 1982).

The effect of this extended process of officialization and nationalization meant that by 1986 60 per cent of the population had some competence in Bahasa Indonesia, a substantial increase over 1971 (Nababan 1991). The 1945 constitutional declaration of Bahasa Indonesia as state language combined with reformed spelling norms of 1972, supplied the legal and educational remit for its spread. For most of the national independence period it has served as sole medium of instruction, exceptions were permitted in only nine regions for local vernaculars for three elementary school grades. Despite minimal leniency, the pragmatic needs of communication in classrooms have meant much more use of languages known by children, if they share a language with a public school teacher. Vernaculars are often taught as subjects including in the nine regions that permit them as teaching media for initial literacy.

As a result of this process of diffusion Indonesian language-in-education planning has produced a spreading bilingualism throughout its many islands resulting in multiple language competencies, with a three and four language knowledge combination, BI with one or more vernaculars. Rapid expansion of English in recent years, dislodging the extra-national communication functions previously held by Dutch (Groeneboer 1993), further extend the multilingual repertoire to encompass sub-national plus national plus extra-national language competencies: Indonesia's formulation of local and regional vernaculars, Bahasa Indonesia and English. Competence in English remains geographically and socially stratified, being mostly among the young, educated and urban.

An important feature of Indonesian national language propagation has been a widespread diglossia. Bahasa Indonesia is reserved for official purposes at every level of public administration but domain separation with personal, local commercial and cultural life means that vernaculars are rarely endangered by expansion of Bahasa Indonesia, although this is not true in all cases. The language diversity extends well beyond what is named as different languages, so that within towns and regions speech styles reflect notions of community and hierarchy that are locally applicable and relevant. Public authority and public language are only one dimension of the lives of people. Interactional forms arise in contact situations where public authority representatives are themselves second language Bahasa Indonesia users, giving rise to complex interactional speech styles across Indonesian life.

In close examination of the largest example of this, Java, Errington (1998) reveals choices of code, switches and patterns are dictated as often by micro-interactional relationships as by large picture national patterns in which identity is negotiated and displayed in continuously dynamic ways. Also working in the Javanese–Bahasa Indonesia framework is Smith-Hefner (2009) who notes a shift away from formal styles of Javanese to the use of Bahasa Indonesia among youth schooled in the national language, responding to new educational and social opportunities, and how these reflect and help produce gender differences in language. The dynamic nature of interactions revealed in this work underscores that even within the widely accepted depiction of Indonesia as having successfully spread BI across its geo-political space, and the regularly made claim that this has not endangered vernacular languages, for even very large languages like Javanese, extensive language change does occur as new possibilities, combinations and arrangements arise that alter language use patterns. The officials ruling local people in the 'scattered settlements of Sumba, Roti, Timor, and other parts of eastern Indonesia' (Keane 1997) have by turns been Portuguese, Dutch and Indonesians, representing and acting as centre elites and interests interacting with 'locals' whose adaptation and responses have always utilized a sense of the irreplaceable role of the 'local' and of 'knowing one's place' (ibid.).

At a macro level, however, it remains true that a generalized hierarchical diglossia has arisen, with H functions allocated to the state language and L functions reserved for local languages, since their spheres of operation are more and more restricted. In Nabadan's (1991) analysis Bahasa Indonesia fulfils cognitive, instrumental, integrative and cultural functions, while vernaculars are reserved for only integrative and cultural purposes. While this schema masks considerable overlap between these functions, Nabadan claims that the centrally prescribed national curriculum is essentially 'pragmatic' or 'communicative', meaning essentially that it is expressed in a standard syllabus for course books. In the extensive analysis of the curriculum of the 1980s offered by the author, the syllabus organization reflects expected social roles and functions, according to the four-part division into cognitive, intellectual, integrative and cultural areas. The system of education of course is too multifarious to allow simple classifications for the entire nation, and hence both non-formal education, and the basic education and literacy programmes delivered nationally, utilize only Bahasa Indonesia while there is extensive deployment of foreign languages to teach content in vocational courses for commercial ends.

Israel

While fixing language and fixing nation are central mobilizing forces in national language revival, supremely true of Hebrew and its national home of Israel with the emergence of political Zionism in the nineteenth century, the language's establishment preceded the founding of the nation. In the context Hebrew had to overcome its rivals (Safran 2005) to emerge as the compromise between Eastern European immigrant Yiddish and the Arabic or Ladino spoken by Middle Eastern Jews, and later still by educational roles accorded to French and German. The re-emergence of Yiddish with the mass admission of the remnants of East European Yiddish-speaking Jews elevated the question of language choice again. The status primacy of Hebrew had by this stage not been secured and the threat posed in Yiddish was systematically confronted by the national leadership (Safran 2005).

Essentially then, two phases have characterized the revival of Hebrew in Israel's nation-building: the first famously occurred in the latter half of the nineteenth and early part of the twentieth centuries and consists essentially of what Fishman (1991) has called re-vernacularization, extending to speaking a language that had long been used in reading and writing, and functionally from religious and literary domains to everyday functions. The second phase 'after 1920 when there were already fluent native speakers…was *revitalization*' (Spolsky 1991) – 'the re-establishment of natural intergenerational transmission as new

parents who had learned the language in school began to speak it to their babies' (also Spolsky 2009).

This 'renaissance' of modern Hebrew (Blau 1981) is an exemplary case of institutionalized language planning (Saulson 1979). Texts and institutions were inspired and extended by individual language champions, most deeply by Eliezer Ben-Yehuda (1858–1922) lexicographer, newspaper editor and critical force behind many revival initiatives (Fellman 1973) such as the creation of the precursor for the Academy of the Hebrew Language, the *Va'ad HaLashon* or Committee of the Hebrew Language.

Long depicted as practically miraculous the revival of Hebrew as a living language and the product of Ben-Yehuda's driving spirit and dedicated planning, particularly in domain extensions typified by a corpus planning based on confronting practical problems of communication which impeded full use of Hebrew followed by codification activities (Nahir 2002, Harshav 2009).

Recently Zuckermann (2006), perhaps celebrating the remarkable achievement of both phases, collectively constituting full revival (re-vernacularization plus revitalization), celebrates this success in a humorous but still serious way and calls for Hebrew to undergo perhaps the final phase of full normalization, being itself renamed 'Israeli'.

The full revival of Hebrew gave the language the two complete and self-contained intergenerational transmission systems that healthy languages enjoy: intimacy (i.e. raising children in the language) and instruction (formal teaching). These work in tandem so that primary and secondary socialization, families and institutions, collaborate to supply a full spectrum communicative medium for new Hebrew speakers. The nation, always an impelling force for language revival, was for Hebrew within the Diaspora, a nation lacking a state, but made complete with Israel's declaration of national independence on 14 May 1948. A declaration is also a language act, a public text, making real what is emerging in concrete terms, so that the Hebrew language achieved a political administration to add to its millennial nation of affiliation and identity.

In this act of national creation there was also the eclipse of European Yiddish as cultural politics and Jewish writing paved the way for modern Israeli culture, while de-legitimizing the alternative flourishing literature. This alternative 'persisted for many years – in conversation, in newspapers, and in songs' (Chaver 2004) in the multifarious 'cultures of the Jews' (Biale 2002). This eclipsed Yiddish however (Bliss 1997) is itself today object of re-invention in the Diaspora, especially within some Hasidic sects and in the US, through Yiddish theatre, literature and klezmer music (Bliss 1997) and serves to problematize the idealized nation-state speaking a single and exclusive language. In this process not only Israel is construed as a place of many tongues but multilingualism is extended to Jews everywhere (Gold 1989).

The resolution of a clear status of Hebrew became extended in acquisition and usage planning for new arrivals in the provision of Hebrew study for adult immigrants in the ulpanim. This intensive instruction system was created in 1949 to provide for the massive influx of new arrivals and refugees, later catering for new communities from Africa and elsewhere across the Middle East.

Among these disparate and multinational arrivals the ulpanim provided cultural inculcation which continues today, though their effectiveness and longevity have come under question (Sanbatu 2007). Over its life ulpanim have graduated more than 1.3 million people in a process of more or less ordered integration into modern Israeli cultural, social and economic life, a process now projected outward transnationally reenergizing Diaspora communities and networks of language study (Ben-Rafael and Sternberg 2009).

This now-revived language extends beyond its ancestral associations to incorporate all citizens of Israel, including Arabs, with new sociolinguistic possibilities arising from migration, urbanization and language spread. Hebrew also enters new relationships of sharing the communicative load of the modern citizens of an increasingly multilingual polity exemplified by the complex cases of Israeli cities and the patterns of domestic use of Arabic, the nation's other official language (Amara 2005) as well as Palestinian villages with histories of dislocation, conflict and divided loyalties (Amara and Spolsky 2001).

Like all modern societies Israel struggles with claims on its public resources for educational and citizenship services and administration arising from migration and concessions to non-Hebrew speakers (Herzog and Ben-Rafael 2001) in which the politics of language and identity reflect shifts of tension and co-habitation, sometimes 'words' and sometimes 'stones' (Lefkowitz 2004). The collective identities of minorities within Israel, non-Israeli Palestinians and Israeli Arab speakers and immigrants proceed as in all states with the added quality of being negotiated under conditions of persisting tension and conflict.

Ireland

The Constitution of Ireland (*Bunreacht na hÉireann*) came into force in December 1937 after a national plebiscite in July 1937, to replace the original founding document of the Irish Free State, through which the independent Irish state first emerged.

The 1937 Constitution was inspired and is characterized by the nationalist impulses of the Fianna Fáil government of Éamon de Valera and signifies and symbolizes the full replacement of the UK government-imposed 1922 constitution. The *Bunreacht* was drafted in both English and Irish by Micheál Ó Gríobhtha and in English by John Hearne, with

prevalence allocated to the Irish version. Recalling the Indian case the Constitution discusses names and naming; the English name of the state is Ireland but *Éire* in Irish, with the expression *Republic of Ireland* decreed the official description, rather than the *name* of the State. The languages are also named and functionally allocated:

> Article 8.1 The Irish language as the national language is the first official language.
>
> 8.2 The English language is recognized as a second official language.
>
> 8.3 Provision may, however, be made by law for the exclusive use of either of the said languages for any one or more official purposes, either throughout the State or in any part thereof.

Official naming extends into Irish words used in English, so that *Taoiseach* is the preferred description for the head of government (DoT 2004).

Beyond the Constitution, special status is accorded to Irish through the Official Language Act (OLA) of 2003, Education Act of 1998, Planning and Development Act of 2000 and the Broadcasting Act of 2001. The Official Language Act is particularly important because it accords the right of public use to Irish in state dealings, extended from 13 June 2005 to be a working and official language of the European Union. In light of these legislative remits in 2006 the Irish government released a *Statement on the Irish Language* and commissioned a twenty-year Strategy for language revival (Ó Flatharta, Nic Pháidín, Williams, Grin and Lo Bianco 2009).

Ireland represents a case of failure and success, conquering all areas of formal legal recognition but marked by relative neglect of domain normalization. Markedly absent for Irish are commerce and daily public interaction, so that today usage of Irish is still marked by the ordinary needs of marginal populations and regions and sustained by the advocacy of the committed. Irish has always had a central symbolic place in the contested but powerful ideas of Irish nationhood (Kearney 2007). Predictable symbolic markers of faith, language, territory and shared history recur throughout Ireland's long struggle to secure an autonomous political separation from the United Kingdom and its historic policies of negation and oppression of Ireland's unique character, even if the symbolic markers were not always aligned and mutually reinforcing. A key challenge has been that overarching British, as distinct from English, identity has long been constituted as a civic norm permitting an ethnicity basis for the constituent homelands of Wales, Scotland and particularly Ireland. Separating from this has required the independent republic to add elements of its own civic nationality to its originating ethnic dimension (Sutherland 2000).

The notion of unique tongue and nation animating language revival activity is distributed across the cultural geography of place (Graham 1997). In Ireland's case this is both physical and ideological, regionalized

geographically and marked by preservation thinking which supports the Gaeltacht Policy (the west and islands) and conflicts of territory with and about Ulster (the north and northeast) of the island, but also extra-nationally within the Irish diaspora and especially within Britain. The physical proximity to England and its expansionist trajectory have made of Ireland a primary world experience of ceding geographical space and conceptual domains to English, as conquest of its territory and cultural subjugation were partner notions in the project of colonization (Palmer 2001).

The texts on language from the earliest anti-Irish laws, e.g. the 1366 Statute of Kilkenny to the Belfast Agreement of 1997, all involve the overarching theme of the division of geographic space, the territory of the island. Because of this even ancient acts of language restriction resonate today (Crowley 2000, 2005) as they enact new chapters of a continuing political story, punctuated by the Reformation and Counter Reformation, modernization, grievance, the great famine and struggles for political emancipation. Despite long duration and struggle the overall trend has been constant. Irish language capabilities and daily usage have steadily retreated geographically and contracted communicatively, to ever more marginal territory, fewer numbers and smaller domains. Mapping the space tells a deeper story of conceptual, ideological and cultural movement westwards, inwards and downwards: to promontories, rural and isolated zones and remote islands. Both aspiration and agitation for national language revival in Ireland have therefore always made central the idea of conservation of zones of exclusivity for Irish, often interpreting bilingual policy as fatally predictive of erosion. In the post-independence period the spatial and geographic pattern has been buttressed by pragmatic considerations such as public administration delivery (Ó Riagain and Gliasain 1984) and predicated on the right of access to state services and entitlements.

Gaeltacht zones therefore have been imagined as beachheads for revival and bulkheads against attrition. Compounding Irish language policy have been persisting correlations of English with higher social class and occupational and educational opportunity (Ó Riagain 1997), an often fatal connection of development with English.

The past five years have seen reinvigorated planning for Irish, with an awareness that a disproportionate effort has been devoted in the past to politico-legal activity and acquisition planning and too little to use planning. While top-level activity continues, most dramatically the decision to include Irish as an EU official and working language (O'Riain 2009) increased effort is now devoted to its practical functions in daily life. Continuing decline in its use by young people in the Gaeltacht has inspired a shift to identifying a role across all social life in the country, buttressed by provisions of the Official Language Act and now enshrined in an ambitious usage-centred twenty-year strategic plan. Electronic

media, education, commerce and employment as well as public culture feature in the measures adopted through the twenty-year strategic plan (Ó Flatharta *et al.* 2009).

The survival of the nations and national languages?

The predicted demise of national states (Ohmae 1995) in the face of mass global culture and the networked trans-national capitalism of the 'new economy' (Castells 2000a) or the immense pluralizing effects of the Age of Migration (Castles and Miller 2009) is logically extendable to national languages. The growing civic basis of many states founded on ethnic and nationality principles are accelerated by their transformation into advanced capitalist economies and liberal democracies.

True of both Ireland and Israel, in the latter case it raises a perplexity connected to citizenship and belonging because of the ambiguous status of foreign labour (Kemp 2007). In common with other affluent nations Israel imports foreign labourers from developing countries, such as Romanian construction workers, Thai agricultural labourers and Filipino caregivers, ostensibly for fixed term employment in jobs shunned by mainstream citizens but also sidestepping the politically complicating option of hiring Palestinians (Drori 2009) so that citizenship is now managed and distributed within an already defined and stable Hebrew speaking and institutionally secure context. It isn't just adults who arrive, and usually remain despite the supposedly temporary basis of their admission, but also children and so Hebrew acquires new modes of transmission and new forms of expression, as an additional acquisition for bilinguals with clear but usually subtractive mother tongues.

In response to these perplexities it is wise to be mindful of Alpher's caution regarding the 'four institutions that, despite the best efforts of radical revolutionaries for over a century, never seem to go away: state, nation, language and religion' (1986: 1). Both nations and national identities offer continuity within the growing linguistic mosaics of contemporary states, and nation and national feeling adapt and persist even under conditions of globalization, tourism, mobility and world English (Wright 2004; Young, Zuelow and Sturm 2007). New challenges to citizenship have revealed the adaptability of national states as much as they have exposed their fragility in the face of the need to import labour and trade globally.

The globalizing context affects India and Indonesia in particular ways too, less through immigration-based diversity and more through globally exposed requirements for English. In India's case, since English had long been the other against which national language mobilization operated, English is now construed as a basic skill facilitating its economic success of recent years, and in call centres, IT and other 'new economy' sectors

as a critical asset. National language revival movements are still vibrant across India's mosaic of language contexts but their assertion serves to enshrine the three language formula.

Bahasa Indonesia is secure as Indonesia's revived language of national identity, unification and administrative–educational efficiency, and has extensive regional functionality within South East Asia, despite institutional ties, mostly the Association of Southeast Asian Nations, and other political and economic realities being dominated by English. Despite occasional claims of extensive 'attitudinal resistance of Muslims towards English' believing that it is 'rooted in the Judeo-Christian culture' and an instrument conveying 'Western' values (Ratnawati 2005) it functions as the metalect for Indonesia's global interactions beyond its national and immediate regional connections.

National language revival movements, in all the cases identified, have aimed to retrieve lost natural communication patterns. They have often had to assist in constructing the nations the language was supposed to reflect and exemplify. In all cases other than Ireland the institutional security of the marked languages, Hebrew, Hindi and Indonesian, is matched by naturalistic transmission and daily interaction.

In contemporary thinking identity is more often considered not as a stable, enduring given, but rather a constructed entity, subject to continual change and ongoing construction and located in historically particular circumstances. It must follow, as national language revival movements suggest, that if the wider identities are constructed and not in any way natural, then so too are local identities, so that no identities may be taken as primordial and essential. However, their continuing existence must suggest that despite being objects of construction or manufacture they are no less real than if they were as natural as many nationalist advocates believe.

The four national language stories discussed all show palpable success in national language revival to some degree, but in no case absolutely, in the case of Irish marginally, in the case of Hindi strongly and in the case of Hebrew and Indonesian emphatically. However, neither spatial location, nor shared history, were sufficient to persuade all potential members of the four national language community that they belonged together naturally. In all cases contemporary globalization, mobility and economic forces are imposing new solutions of pooling the communicative load of the languages from below and beyond the national level.

The contemporary world poses new and particular threats to the underlying national state on which national language revival has been premised and also to the national language, or at least restraint on its spread and distribution. The threat imposes on national language movements pressure for protection, from below and from beyond. The pressure from below is for internal coherence as the increasing assertion

of the local and rapid diversification through immigration, threaten fragmentation. The pressure from beyond is represented by the increasing presence of world English and regional languages within national boundaries through locally present communities linked horizontally beyond the national domain.

National language movements are under pressure to abandon their old claims for communicative homogeneity and exclusivity and plurilingual alternatives respond better to the pragmatic realities of contemporary life. Both geographic space (territory) and institutional discourses (domains) admit increasing diversity through population mobility and economic integration. As yet this does not appear to presage the loss of national languages but the loosening of their exclusive claims on the communication repertories of their native users. Instead national language movements which in the past mobilized against the colonization of national space and institutional domains by imposed foreign languages, or the absence of political sovereignty, now negotiate new roles in the lives of non-native users and expanded lingual capabilities among natives. Expanding to admit multilingual possibilities and differentiated forms of communication is a challenge for the creation of a new version of the national language story rather than its termination.

Old notions of community imagined the national language forged in the prism of the proximity of local interaction, through the re-iterated encounter of living together and forging denser relations with co-citizens and therefore greater identification with them. This notion has undergone extensive revision in light of Benedict Anderson's (1991) influential depiction of community as existing in the active 'imaginings' of its members. The national language movements recounted here do not support either extreme of the possible interpretations, that elites impose forms of belonging and language on unwilling masses, or that the masses demand from below the construction or restoration of old forms of communication in new national and institutional entities.

We see instead a much more complex picture, in which borders, between languages as between political entities, of economies and of cultural forms, are often about scale of reference, about combinations of local and extra-local and are usually incomplete and sometimes contested.

26

Colonial and post-colonial language policies in Africa: historical and emerging landscapes

Sinfree Makoni, Busi Makoni, Ashraf Abdelhay and Pedzisai Mashiri

> … ethnic identities and thus the significance of language practices are being shaped continuously, … language use never ceases to undergo change, and … the past is always a present concern – in short history will not stop to allow legislators respite.
>
> (Fardon and Furniss 1994: 24)

Introduction

The primary objective of this chapter is to evaluate the success or otherwise of Africa's colonial and post-colonial language policies, since, as the epigraph suggests, language policies are a continuous work in progress.

Scholarship on colonialism: implications for language policy in Africa

There are three stages in the scholarship on colonialism in Africa. The earliest stage, in the 1970s, was dominated by the work of Wallerstein (1986). It was framed through political and economic lenses, which focused on the 'structural constraints' of colonial capitalism and how colonialism shaped indigenous economies and reconstructed social class. Constructs such as centre and periphery were important to reflections on what constituted colonialism. In language planning scholarship,

'linguistic imperialism' fits into the early phases of scholarship in colonial studies in which the centre was framed as a unified entity seeking to promote its interests at the expense of the periphery. It is ironical that although the idea of a centre/periphery and linguistic imperialism are discredited, the expansive involvement of China in Africa and the spread of Mandarin Chinese render the framework relevant and suitable as ways of thinking about language planning.

The second stage is concentrated on European perspectives of Africans and the creation of the African as the 'Other' and conversely how the 'Other' (Said 1978; Todorov 1993; Behadad 1994) paradoxically constructed Europe. In this line of research the interaction and exchange between the 'Other' and Europe was analysed in terms of 'hybridity'. Yet hybridity is one-sided in that it only accounts for how Africans combined their social and linguistic practices with those of the Europeans, and in terms of language, producing Africanized varieties of English. It does not, therefore, account for the Europeanized varieties of African languages that were produced by Europeans such as Tjolotjo for Tsholotsho and Gwelo for Gweru in countries such as Zimbabwe. In this regard, language policy initiatives have to be assessed against actual language practices as opposed to abstract entities. Furthermore, hybridity has limitations as a way of framing language policies in Africa. It assumes that there are 'pure' African languages and European linguistic codes that are subsequently combined albeit in varying degrees to form hybrid forms. As an analytical template of African language practices, hybridity is strongly a monolingual ideology, which it seeks to distance itself from.

In some instances, colonial policies were compromised by the indeterminacy of who the colonizer or colonized was, as demonstrated by the case of Egypt in its relationship with the Sudan. The Egyptians were ambivalent about their status during the Condominium (the period when the Sudan was ruled jointly by the Egyptians and the British from 1899 to 1956). During the Condominium, Egyptians were uncertain whether they were colonizers of the Sudan, or whether, like the Sudanese, they were colonized by Britain, an ambivalence which still affects the nature of the Sudan–Egyptian relationship today (Powell 2003). The ambivalence in the colonial status was not unique to Egypt even though the Egyptian case dramatized the issue. Distinctions between colonized and colonizer need to be explained rather than taken for granted (ibid.).

Another category, which has been used frequently in post-colonial Africa, is the nation-state. Unfortunately in spite of the importance of the nation-state as an analytical heuristic, its significance to language policies has not been rigorously analysed in language planning policies. The nation-state serves as a fulcrum on which language policies are described. For example, policies are now understood in terms of a Nigerian language policy, Eritrean language policy, Tanzanian etc. Even though the analysis of the nation-state is important, its conceptualization

and the evaluation of language policies in Africa will therefore be complicated by the extent to which language planning policies are partially implemented. The extent to which the policies may be successfully implemented is complicated because nation-states vary in size, complexity, resources and the degree to which they are politically stable.

Because nation-states differ, what constitutes a successful policy should therefore be evaluated against the background of the complexity of the nation-state and its political history, turbulent or otherwise. For example, the trajectory of language policies in countries as peaceful as Ghana and Togo may be different from that in conflict ridden countries such as the Sudan, the Congo, Rwanda and Burundi. It is reasonable to assume that what would constitute a successful language policy for relatively linguistically less complex or ethnically less complex nation-states, such as Swaziland, and Eritrea, would be different from more multi-ethnic/multi-language countries such as Nigeria, and Egypt, and politically explosive nation-states such as the Sudan. The relatively large number of ethno-linguistic groups that cross political boundaries, i.e., dyads, for example, the Kalanga in Botswana and Zimbabwe, the Shona in Mozambique and Zimbabwe, the Tonga in Zimbabwe, Mozambique and South Africa, Ewe in Togo and Kenya, Acholi in the Sudan and Uganda, has created opportunities for successful language practices which are a result of cross-border collaboration.

In fact, non-governmental organizations (NGOs) such as the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL International), Project for Alternative Education in South Africa (PRAESA), and the Centre for the Advanced Studies of African Society (CASAS) in Africa based in Cape Town, have also contributed significantly to language planning in Africa. However, while NGOs have played an important role in facilitating the development and implementation of language policies in Africa, they are criticized because they are rarely accountable to the communities they seek to serve. This should not be viewed as a suggestion that NGOs are only accountable to their funders. Strong NGOs funded from many sources are at times not only more or less independent of their funders, but arbitrarily formulate and implement language policies without substantial input from the local communities they are serving. The arbitrariness with which the policies are framed by NGOs is masked under the rubric of local engagement.

Challenges of some sociolinguistics terminology

In describing contemporary Africa, an array of terminology has been used. The terms *Anglophone*, *Francophone* and *Lusophone* are discourses used to describe the geographical areas associated with British, French and Portuguese rule respectively. In essence these descriptive terms do not

in any way capture the linguistic tapestry of Africa. Instead, the use of these terms underscores the prevalence of former colonial languages at the expense of the complex multilingualism that exists in these regions. *Arabophone*, on the other hand, is applied to an area referred to as North Africa including the Sudan. The inclusion of the Sudan under the category Arabophone is highly contested. The contestation revolves around the fact that only about 38 per cent of the population of the Sudan is Arab speaking and therefore its inclusion in the Arabophone category is a misnomer. This descriptor captures the linguistic realities of the Northern Sudan rather than the whole of the Sudan, which then raises the question of whether or not the sociolinguistic landscape of the Sudan has to be understood in terms of one part of the country or another.

Even though terms such as Francophone, Lusophone and Anglophone reflect the nature of political rule, they constitute ways of perceiving the African sociolinguistic landscape from an official perspective. The use of such terminology suggests discrepancies between top- and ground-level practices. In all these countries, multilingualism exists although the official discourse encapsulated in these terms suggests that the language policies are primarily monolingual. It is not surprising that orthodox views about language planning often decry the discrepancy between top-down and bottom-up language practices. This is mainly for two reasons. The first is a practical one. In spite of concerted lobbying of most African governments by language activists, it is unlikely that African governments will change their policies to align them with those proposed by the language activists. Second, there may not be a uniform and consistent stance towards what approach to adopt. Conceptually, even though the discrepancy is a product of an interplay of financial resources and ideological commitments, it provides opportunities for civic engagement and thus acts as an important space for language 'entrepreneurs', local community language activists, to engage actively in local domains where they have influence more readily than at national level, a process which would have been rendered difficult, if not impossible, if there was perfect synchrony between top-down and bottom-up processes. Furthermore, in order for ground-level policies to succeed at local levels they should not be promoted to national language policies. This is because they would thus be delegitimized, in all probability, because of the complexity of colonial, post-colonial and international geopolitics and conflicts, which are perhaps more intense at community levels than at national levels.

Paradoxically, ground-level language practices are likely to be successful if they are restricted to local contexts. Even though the 'local' will thus be important in a model in which there is a discrepancy between top-down and ground-level practices, the term has to be used circumspectly. The use of this term may reproduce a state-ideological understanding of language as a 'bounded codified community code' (Abdelhay

2010). The relationship between top-down and bottom-up processes is further complicated by the tendency for bottom-up processes at times to subvert national priorities. For example, while the British colonial government proscribed the use of Arabic in Southern Sudan (as part of its southern policy) it inadvertently facilitated its spread because Arabic was a lingua franca and most southerners were literate in an Arabic script (*Ajami*) and the Roman script had not successfully replaced the Arabic script. Thus, colonial language policies did not shape local practices and, even in situations in which they had considerable impact, they were not passively accepted but were resisted and appropriated in ways that shaped how they were to be articulated.

Another more recent example is the Zimbabwean government, which recognizes English as one of the official languages of the nation (Makoni *et al*. 2007). The policy has, however, been too successful to the extent that national policies have been subverted from the bottom, because what is spreading widely is not standard English but non-standard local varieties of English, based on endocentric rather than exocentric norms. This is evident in the use of personal names, which are clearly not standard in other English-speaking countries, such as *Sinfree, Godfree, Lordwin* (Makoni *et al*. 2007; 2010) even amongst the highly educated. A comparable process of 'localization' of European languages is also reported in Cameroon, where both local variants of English and French are more widely spread than the official variety promoted through language-in-education policies (Esch 2010). While official language policies may aim to promote English, African speakers of English with a version of African accent approximating Standard English are mocked, and referred to disparagingly as 'coconut' or 'oreo' – black on the outside and white in the inside – and are described as 'biting their tongues' (Dlamini 2006) when they speak English. It is indeed possible that the popularity of Mandarin Chinese in Africa is a consequence of the feeling that English is so local that it is no longer 'hip' or 'cool' to use, unlike Chinese that still has a foreign touch to it.

By and large, the use of terms like Anglophone, Francophone, Lusophone is replete with contestations with regard to their efficacy in describing Africa's linguistic tapestry. These categories are nominal and are not accurate descriptors of language practices in each area because of the diversity within and across each one of them. For instance, areas referred to as Anglophone not only make use of local varieties of English but also a multitude of other African languages. In addition, the extensive similarities of language across all the different areas compromise the integrity of each category.

The relevance of each category is also undercut by inconsistencies in language policy, as demonstrated by the case of the British language policy. For example, British colonial language policy in the Sudan promoted Arabic in Eritrea, while in Southern Sudan (Sharkey 2003; Miller 2007;

Abdelhay *et al.* 2010) it actively proscribed its usage and promoted the triumvirate – i.e., the use of English and African languages and Christianity. During the British–Egyptian Condominium the role and status of Arabic, English and African languages varied between the north and the south of the Sudan (Abdelhay *et al.* forthcoming). In the north, Arabic and Islam were encouraged. In the south, English, African languages and Christianity and animism were the key subjects (Sharkey 2003). The British discouraged the use of Arabic in the south, where Arabic was only used in situations in which it served as a lingua franca. Efforts were also made to compel the police and the army to use English and Arabic. Nonetheless, efforts by the British to discourage the use of Arabic in the south failed with the widespread use of an Arabic/African Creole, Juba Arabic, which was to become a marker of Southern Sudanese identity in the north. Even though English was the official language and Christianity the official religion, there was intense conflict between British colonial officers about the desirability of such an approach. Similarly, even though the British encouraged the use of English, individual missionaries made decisions depending on the exigencies of their own context and personal tastes as a justification to revise the language project of their predecessors (Meeuwis 2009). In some contexts, such as the Sudan, the British institutionalized Arabic and Islam as official policies for the northern part as a way of separating it from its southern counterpart (Sharkey 2003; Miller 2003b; Abdelhay 2010). The British mode of colonization attempted to weaken Classical/Modern Standard Arabic by promoting indigenous/local vernaculars.

In some situations, too, the British viewed Arabic script as a dangerous nationalist force, hence, they romanized it. In other cases, the script was pluralistic, mixing Arabic and Roman script, which is indicative of the relationship between the languages and the script, and is not iconic. For example, Wolof, Pular and Manyika are written in either Arabic or Roman scripts or a combination of the two. At times Arabic phrases are written in a Roman script or French phrases in an Arabic script. Public language in some African cities draws upon many scripts (e.g. in Tunisia), while in formal contexts one language has a single script, with the majority of African languages being written in the Roman alphabet. Technical shifts from one script to another are significant. For example, in the Sudan the British wrote Arabic in Roman script to reflect symbolically their control of Arabic. After 1957, the Sudanese government as part of its Arabization process adopted the rewriting of indigenous African languages from Roman to Arabic script.

In terms of orthography the shift from pre-colonial Africa to colonial and indeed post-colonial Africa was marked by a shift from an Arabic (*Ajami*) to Roman script. These were symbolic changes that led to a perception of African languages as more European than African and writing as an alien project, even though there are ancient written scripts in the

horn of Africa and Vai in Liberia, which predate colonialism; Ethiopic/Ge'ez and Tifinagh, N'ko, Mende and KiKakui. The shift from one orthographical system to another has not always been complete, to the extent that some African languages have multiple scripts, and the orthographies are in flux, rendering the acquisition of written literacy in local languages more difficult than it should be. Orthography has been a source of controversy because it is both technical and symbolic.

From a critical historical perspective (Cooper and Stoler 1992), policy inconsistencies challenge the view that British or indeed other colonial regimes were uniform and philosophically pre-assembled. Decisions about details of the policies of colonial governments were not always based on clear strategies; there was no 'panopticon imperial project' (ibid.). Colonial language policies were a bricolage, a mix of multiple philosophical orientations such as the Turkish, the French, and the Mahdist imperial experiences. There was also no consensus among the British and the French about the desirability of colonial imperial ventures. In France for example, there was disagreement between the French Assembly and the Republican Party because the latter strongly felt that imperial projects could not be reconciled with the equal rights of men upon which the French Republic was founded.

The implementation of colonial policies was difficult because the policies were partially formulated and inconsistently interpreted. The partial formulation of policies was also accentuated by the ambivalence in the allegiance of middle-level African colonial administrators and the internal dynamics of local communities to colonialism. Colonialism was therefore much messier than is usually recognized, and the effects of these policies varied depending upon whether the affected group was a newly formed community that was relatively homogeneous, or whether it was a well settled one, and upon its diversity and capability to appropriate or resist the policies. Determining the effects of colonial policy is further complicated by the ambivalence of countries such as Egypt, which was not certain whether it was the colonizer of the Sudan or part of the region colonized by the British. Because our knowledge of the colonial past is incomplete, we should be wary of claiming that contemporary post-colonial language policies are necessarily a legacy of the past. It is possible that they might be a legacy of the past but are not necessarily overwhelmed by it. The present cannot be a robust consequence and legacy of the past if our knowledge of the past is partial. Nonetheless, this should not be construed as a denial of the robustness of analytical colonial categories, particularly in epistemological notions such as identifying what constituted languages, dialects, etc. (Errington 2007). This is apparent in the description of African languages, particularly in grammars and dictionaries that were all based on formats which originated from Latin and reached Africa via European rule.

Writing of African grammars: pluralizing singularity and singularizing plurality

The writing of grammars draws attention to a number of issues in language planning. Their writing, a form of corpus planning, was politically motivated. The construction of the grammars was part of colonial rule as European rulers sought to develop a command of language for the purpose of commanding Africans (Cohn 1996).

What constitutes 'colonial languages' refers not to English or French or Portuguese but to missionary variants of African languages (Mufwene 2005; Makoni *et al.* 2007; Meeuwis 2009). What were initially dubbed colonial languages by African elites were standardized varieties of African languages and not English, French, etc. (Errington 2007). The case of colonial language as a construct shows how the meaning attached to a concept varies across geographical and political space and in contemporary international geopolitics. For example, African languages are regarded and defined as local in Africa, but as international in European cultural and musical worlds. Furthermore distinctions that are important officially in some cases are erased in other contexts. Take, for instance, the case of South Africa as an example of language planning discourses. There is an institutional enforcement of the distinction between Xhosa and Zulu as distinct languages each with its dictionary and orthography, yet that distinction is lost in the US census (García 2009).

Colonialism was also important epistemologically as is apparent in the treatment of African ethnic groups as homogeneous and static, while in reality they were always changing and dynamic. This homogeneity and stasis in ethnic groups was also transferred to language. Thus although seeking to influence the future, language planning policies in contemporary Africa draw upon categories of the past. The constructed ethnic groups were mobilized as sites of struggle. For example, the creation of self-contained ethnic and linguistic units such as the Nuba in Sudan or the Xhosa, Zulu and Swazi in South Africa were the basis on which national language policies are framed in post-colonial Africa. Politically, even though the categories did not constitute an integral part of African identity, they were appropriated as natural, masking their historical and cultural contingency. Their validity was taken for granted, thus overlooking the extent to which the construction of the so-called indigenous languages was on the basis of a European template, a process facilitated by two conflicting processes; 'singularization of plurality' and 'pluralization of singularity' (Makoni and Pennycook 2011).

In pluralization of singularity, for instance, Zulu, Xhosa and Swazi were taken to be different languages yet these languages, as is evident from the cultural practices of their speakers, reflect common origins or ancestry. Similarly, the Dinka and Nuer in the Sudan were once one single ethnic group. During the Rejav Language Conference held in the Sudan in

the mid-1930s, however, the Dinka and Nuer were separated into two different ethnic groups, reflecting yet again the process of pluralizing singularity. Colonial missionaries standardized the interconnected dialects of Dinka as discrete languages. The Dinka and the Nuer did not exist previously as ethnic identities whose description was language based. Their identity as separate ethnic groups is a colonial construction, as Southall shows:

> Nuer and Dinka were convenient fictions for the early explorers, administrators, missionaries, and, alas, linguists and anthropologists, and so they are still with us, having acquired sufficient vested interests during the colonial period to perpetuate them. (Southall 1976: 464)

The distinction of the ethnic groups as well as the differentiation of the languages has endured in contemporary Africa. Language planning does not need to seek to pluralize singularity, however, but to singularize plurality, by creating a metalanguage which captures singularity while still suggestive of plurality thereby rendering the distinction between monolingualism and multilingualism unnecessary.

Given the colonial lens through which indigenous languages were constructed, contemporary language polices are a continuation of colonial policies. While in colonial language policies languages, in the sense of linguistic codes, were a product of colonial intervention, postcolonial policies work on the assumption that the languages existed prior to colonial rule, while the form they take is a product of colonial interventions. The policies lead us to assume that language existed prior to planning, while language as we know it in colonial and post-colonial Africa was a product of social intervention. Of course this should not be construed to mean that Africans did not communicate prior to the promulgation and implementation of colonial policies, but that language as we understand it did not constitute a key component of communication (Makoni and Pennycook 2011) or, for that matter, play a central role as an identity marker. In order to overcome such problematic issues relating to the ontology of language in Africa, a different orientation is called for in which communication is central and language a secondary variable (Harris 2009). Language planning should therefore seek to facilitate communication more than the promotion of language, which enhances the status of languages more than the users of language.

More interesting is harmonization by Prah (2003), who argues that Africa has fifteen 'core' languages. Prah and his associates have created uniform orthographies for the core languages across Africa. The success of the language policies in terms of harmonization would thus have to be determined not at a national level, but in terms of the degrees to which different national governments adopt common orthographies and implement them as part of their national curriculum. The success of harmonization as a language policy initiative is founded on a different principle

from that which would form the basis of notions about language in the encyclopedic reference work *Ethnologue* produced and compiled by SIL International, an American-funded Christian organization.

In *Ethnologue*, the success of language policies is assessed against the extent to which the promotion of languages facilitates SIL's proselytization. In this regard, what constitutes a successful language policy is assessed against the discourses in which it is situated. The major difference between *Ethnologue* and Prah's majestic project is that the former seeks to pluralize singularity, while Prah aims to reverse the pluralization of singularity by integrating linguistic resources, thus rendering a comparison between the two as language planning projects difficult to make.

Elite schools' language policies

Language-in-education planning in Africa continues to be a site of contestation because educational reform and change in language usage in turn is more than an educational issue (Benrabah 2005; 2007). It is an expression of political ideology (Baker 2003: 101) as is evident in Arabization, Amharicization and Swahilization. The central players in all these processes are the elite.

The emergence of African elites can be traced back to the establishment of colonial schools. The establishment of elite schools such as Gordon College in Sudan, Achimota in Ghana and Lycée Descartes in the Maghreb created Africans articulate in 'foreign' languages. The objective of such schools was to produce African elites subservient and loyal to Europeans. Inadvertently, these schools produced a cadre of nationalists competent enough to challenge European rule but at the same time caught up in two worlds; that of the colonial master and their African ancestry. This was contrary to the intentions of the original founders of the schools. All of Sudan's prime ministers, including military leaders such as Mohamed Ahmed Mahjoob, Ibrahim and Abood were products of Gordon College. Gordon College was subsequently closed after being integrated with the Kitchener Medical School, which formed the basis of Khartoum University (Sharkey 2003). Similarly, most nationalist African leaders were products of these schools. For instance, Nkwame Nkrumah of Ghana was a product of Achimota and Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe was a product of Kutama College in Zimbabwe.

Across Africa, members of the political, military and educational leadership practise 'elite closure' (Myers-Scotton 1993: 199). For instance, in the Maghreb, they promoted Arabization, which they used as a strategy to disenfranchize the majority of the population and by so doing reduce any potential competition for their own children, who were sent to French-only schools or educated overseas (Thomas 1999: 26). This

ensured that their children received education in French, essential for careers in business and technology. This practice is also evident in Sub-Saharan Africa, where elite leaders call for the promotion of indigenous African languages and their use as part of the mother tongue education project but at the same time send their children to private schools where English, French and Portuguese are used as languages of instruction.

In contemporary Africa, the prestige of English, French and Portuguese has waned. Urbanization has proceeded at a fast and haphazard pace (Makoni and Pennycook 2010) giving rise to a multitude of African lingua francas (Mufwene 2005; Makoni *et al.* 2007), or urban vernaculars. The spread of urban vernaculars challenges the social value of European languages as well as the theoretical views about language and, by implication, language planning, since the framing of language planning is dependent upon theoretical views of language such as multilingualism. Multilingualism is so deeply embedded in western scholarship that its assumptions are not vigorously challenged, nor is the need to move beyond it explored.

Furthermore, Makoni and colleagues (2010) point out that it is not the status and spread of English, French or Portuguese which constitutes a threat to indigenous African languages, but urban vernaculars. The value of English, French and Portuguese is severely weakened because of the rapidly dwindling social value of European languages as a result of the limited formal employment opportunities these languages provide. The collapse of African economies has lowered the social value of former colonial languages. Thus, while Esch's argument (Esch 2010) that the formal status and prominence of English and French rendered the knowledge they were associated with as highly valued, the importance of knowledge associated with European languages is currently undercut by the restricted opportunities for formal employment. In addition, due to their disillusionment with the West, most African governments have established a 'look to the East policy', which has led to the introduction of Mandarin Chinese. The increase in the number of Confucius Institutes suggests that the interest in and value of Chinese is comparable to that of English and other European languages (although the decline in the use of indigenous languages is not uniform in the Maghreb, they still retain a considerable viability through anaphorization). Even though the degree and extent of threat varies across different parts of Africa it is reasonable to ask:

> … why do we hold onto the ideas about language and identity which emerged from modernity? Rather than assuming we must save languages, perhaps we should be asking instead who benefits and who loses from understanding languages the way we do, what is at stake for whom, and how and why languages serve as a terrain for competition. (Duchêne and Heller 2007: 11).

Although urban vernaculars are mainly spoken, recently there have been cases of urban vernaculars used in comics and other popular literature, a form of unsystematic standardization. For instance, in Kenya advertisements for brand products are in Sheng, an urban vernacular (Mutonya 2008). Similarly, books are also published in Sheng, suggesting that, to some extent, English and other standard African languages have been relegated to the margins. Ultimately, however, language planning has to adopt a plurilanguaging or polylingual (Miller 2003b) approach, which captures the dynamic and evolving relationships between English, French, Arabic, urban vernaculars, indigenous African languages and multiple semiotic systems, contrary to multilingualism which seems to imply a static relationship between different languages.

Language policy implementation

Language policies in Africa have been formulated and implemented through a number of instruments, the most important of which are schools. There is a lot of literature on mother tongues as medium of instruction. The results are inconclusive because of the following: (1) rarely have follow-up studies demonstrated the benefits of mother tongue instruction,[1] (2) the lack of clarity of what is being referred to as 'mother tongues', (3) the tendency for some students to be taught in what from an official perspective might be categorized as a mother tongue but which is not congruent with their everyday language practices, given the limited relevance of schools in their so-called mother tongues. Mother tongue education creates spatial boundaries around languages 'through its border creating method in which each language is separated and segregated into its own discrete space and time and not permitted to mix with others' (Hadi-Tabassum 2006: 5). Even if education in mother tongues could be successfully carried out, this does not necessarily prevent a sense of epistemic injustice in which knowledge is only legitimate if it flows from the West to Africa. The teaching of African languages is therefore both a linguistic exercise and a subtle way of developing a specific view of language (Harris 2009) and the role of the speaker therein.

Another important instrument in the implementation of language policy is language conferences. Language conferences are important venues at which policies have been formulated, and decisions made about orthographies and languages to be taught and used as medium of instruction. Language conferences were particularly popular during the colonial era for instance, the Rejaf Language Conference in the Sudan and the 1933 conference in Southern Rhodesia, to name just two. Even though the conferences addressed issues relating to African languages and Africans, they excluded people affected by such policies, thus creating the impression that the African languages produced were European artifacts.

Language academies have also been extremely powerful and widely used as instruments in the formulation and implementation of language policies. For example, the 'Arabic language Academy in Khartoum', which was established in 1993, is one such example. In the Sudan, Arabization of university education is also carried out by the Arabic language academy, but most responsibility is delegated to the Supreme Authority of Arabization, which is a governmental body under the auspices of the Ministry of Education. It was established by Ministerial order (21) of 1990 to address issues about curricula, reference books, authoring, and word coinage of scientific terms.[2] Another well-known language academy, which has played a critical role in the promotion of language in South Africa, is the Afrikaans Language Academy. The Afrikaans language academy has been successful in so far as it has contributed substantially to the development of Afrikaans to such an extent that Afrikaans is one of the few non-European languages used as a medium of instruction at tertiary level in South Africa. The success of the Afrikaans language academy also has to be attributed to the massive investment the apartheid government put into the project for the development of the Afrikaans language. It is not clear that contemporary South Africa will find it necessary to make similar investments in either the development of African languages or their promotion because of limited resources. Independent South Africa has a large number of organs of the state that focus on development of national official languages. The Pan-South African Languages Board (PANSALB) focuses on the development of African languages in order to create conditions for their use. It is unclear, at the moment, whether the newly formed Language Research and Development Centres attached to universities will perform this same function or whether they will be independent of the developmental function of PANSALB.

PANSALB also has a language rights mediation function which overlaps with that of the Commission for the Promotion and Protection of Cultural, Religious and Linguistic Community Rights (CRL Commission). PANSALB deals with complaints regarding violations of individual language rights, whereas the CRL Commission deals with complaints from groups. However, PANSALB has been described as a 'toothless watchdog' (Perry 2004: 501) because it can only *recommend* to violators of language rights and not *instruct* them to undertake actions to comply with its recommendations.

If language committees are a subgenre of language academies, then there are large numbers of 'language academies', which have recently developed in Africa, such as the Tonga language association in Zimbabwe. Trudell (2007) identifies associations that have played roles in the promotion of minority languages and acted as effective lobbyists for the upgrading of minority languages but have reinforced the ideas of African languages as discrete linguistic objects amenable to linguistic description.

To some extent the language academies/associations have been successful, but the status acquired has not been worth the efforts and material investments put into the projects. The promotion of the minority languages has not gone hand in hand with an improvement in the status of speakers of those minority languages. Paradoxically, in some cases efforts to try to upgrade their status using exactly the same philosophical framework as the dominant languages have had negative effects. For example, the insistence by minority languages in Zimbabwe to be referred to as indigenous on an equivalent footing with Shona and Ndebele, has deprived them of special opportunities for resources because they are framing themselves on the same analytical template (macro-nationalism), which deprived them of their status in the first instance.

Arabization as language policy

We now turn to Arabic-speaking Africa. In the Maghreb, the Sudan and Egypt, the language situations are characterized by Arabic diglossia. Diglossia in the Maghreb refers to the coexistence of Arabic colloquial/vernaculars (*Darija* or *āmmiyya*) and (written) Classical/Modern Standard Arabic (*Fus'ha*), which is functionally distributed. Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) is assigned formal domains such as parliamentary speeches, literature, mosque sermons, etc. Varieties of colloquial Arabic are spoken as mother tongues in intimate and informal interactions. For example, in the Sudan, President Omar al-Basher frequently uses Sudanese Colloquial Arabic (Khartoum Arabic) in his political speeches to establish solidarity with the masses and galvanize them into supporting his actions. The majority, if not the totality, of Arabic-speaking groups in these countries believe in the superiority and sacredness of MSA and conversely the inferiority of colloquial Arabic and other languages (Suleiman 2003). Non-Muslims identify Arabic in nationalistic terms, whereas Muslims identify it with Arabic not only in nationalistic terms but also religiously. Ideologically Arab/Arabized groups believe that the *fus'ha* is the sole language of the Qur'an and the Arab literary heritage, influenced by civil conflicts, religion, nationalism, and the need to consolidate transnational alliances in the Arab world.

In the Maghreb Egypt, Tunisia and Morocco, Arabic is the sole official language. The Sudan, unlike the Maghreb countries, has recognized English as an official language since 2005, in addition to Arabic. Language policies in the Maghreb are driven by Arabization. Arabization in the Sudan has been resisted not because Africans had any objection to Arabs being Arabs, but they objected to being compelled to be made into Arabs thus generating African nationalism (Prah 2008).

There are three main meanings of 'Arabization' (*ta'rib*) (Bentahila 1983; Nyombe 1997; Miller 2003; Shaaban 2006). First, Arabization is a

linguistic process in which borrowed words are phonologically and morphologically adopted, and the corpus planning process was carried out by linguists and language nationalists working in language academies (Sawaie 2006). Linguistics in such cases is a state project (William 1998; Biswas 2002). The relationship between corpus planning and language status is circular. The planning and introduction of new words increases the status of Arabic, the status of Arabic renders it necessary to introduce new words. The processes are not sequential, but function in tandem, in which the objective of Arabization is to consolidate the status of Arabic as the only official language of the country. Arabization attributes higher status to native speakers of Arabic than to those who learn Arabic as an additional language.

As part of a process of Arabization, enhanced by language academies, a 'tradition of linguistic complaint' (Milroy and Milroy 1985b: 36) or 'verbal hygiene' (Cameron 1995) was created. The language academies served as guardians of language purity and aim to maintain the public consciousness of MSA as a predominantly codified language. The history of this genre of complaint is significant because there is only one correct way of using Arabic in the standard ideology of the Arab world. In this sense Arabic standardization is justified under the discourse of language endangerment. MSA grammar is a rallying point for Arab unity and anti-colonial discourse. Thus, Arabic discourses of language endangerment are proxies for the reproduction of political unity and difference through MSA textual safeguarding. What is being purified in one context is acceptable in another. For example, while in some Arabic speaking countries it is argued that 'pure' Arabic languages should form the basis of the development of an Arabic corpus, in Egypt the use of a colloquial Egyptian variety is officially encouraged because it is felt Egypt will be able to imagine itself through a colloquial variety of Arabic, thus the need for a locally specific language planning.

In addition to language academies, in Algeria religious thinkers (*'ulama*) influence language policies. They conceptualize Arabization in religious terms and as indivisible from Islamization (Benrabah 2005, 2007; Grand'Henry 2006). The juxtaposition of Arabic with Islam is also evident in the Sudan. At the beginning of the 1990s in Sudan the National Congress Party (the current ruling party) framed Arabic as the appropriate expressive domain of its ideological scheme *al-mashru' al-hadari* (Civilization Project). The main objective of this Islamic nationalist project is to rework the national identity along Islamic and Arabist lines. In this sense Arabic has become a genre of power in and through which political relations of domination and subordination are constructed. It is this strategic juxtaposition of Arabic with Islam that led to a hierarchical stratification of linguistic resources in the Sudan. Arabization consists of a religious and socio-cultural imposition of Arab identity on non-Arab ethnic groups. The policy of Arabization 'erases' linguistic diversity

because it does not recognize the status of other languages. Following the independence of the Maghreb countries Arabization became a state project implemented through the educational system with the objective of creating a 'monolingual nation' (Marley 2004: 25). If one of the primary objectives of Arabization was to produce a monolingual nation, its objective has so far not been realized.

The connection of Arabic, Islam and Arabism has been resisted by non-Arab or/and other Arabized groups, including southerners in the Sudan, Berbers in Morocco and Algeria, and some academics. For example, Yokwe (1984: 155) views Arabization in the Sudan as a 'process of racial, religious and cultural assimilation of indigenous ethnic groups'. Deng (1995), commenting on the northern Sudanese elite's Arabist project of constructing a monocultural identity as a form of 'internal colonialism' argues that;

> Virtually all ethnic groups in the country have their primary roots in the black African tribes. Evidence of this fact is still visible in all the tribes, including those in the north who identify themselves as Arabs. Their identification with Arabism is, however, the result of a process in which races and religions were ranked, with Arabs and Muslims respected as free, superior, and a race of slave masters, while Negroes, blacks, and heathens were viewed as a legitimate target of slavery, if they were not in fact already slaves. Given a situation where non-Arabs were allowed to alter their lot dramatically by converting to Islam, learning to speak the Arabic language, intermarrying with the Arabs, and identifying genealogically with the master race, the move to assimilation was irresistible. (Deng 1995: 4–5)

Ironically, even though Arabization is resisted, it emerged as a form of cultural and linguistic resistance to the colonial policies of Turkification and the Western tactics of divide and rule. Arabization in Algeria was developed as a strategy to reverse the language policy and legacy of French colonial rule in Algeria. Algeria was under French occupation for 132 years (1830–1930), and worked to undo the effects of the French colonial policies by replacing French with MSA. Similarly, the French colonial system in Morocco (1912–1956) aimed at widening the gulf between the Berbers and Arabs through legislation – *le Dahir Berbere* (the Berber Decree) of 1930 – intended to divide Morocco linguistically, religiously and educationally into two self-sufficient parts; the Arab part and the Berber part. Only French and Berber were taught in the Berber region. Bentahila (1983: 8–9) points out that the aim of this separatist policy was to 'prepare a new generation of Berbers integrated into the French Christian culture instead of the Arabic Islamic one, and thereby to break down the cultural and linguistic solidarity existing between Arabs and Berbers'. Hence, for Moroccan nationalists, 'Arabization represents liberation from colonialism' (ibid.: 123). Although Arabization was

not a source of political tension in Tunisia (controlled by the French for seventy-five years from 1881–1956), since 1999 it has started a process of Arabization of its educational and administrative system. With the exception of Tunisia, where the Berbers constituted a numerical minority, it was the Berbers who challenged the post-independent official policies of Arabization in North Africa.

The intransigence of modern Arab states towards their 'minorities' (whether Arab or non-Arabic) has to be understood as a reaction to former colonial powers' policies which often resorted to the famous 'divide and rule' and which were always keen on 'manipulating their different communities according to their own interests'. (Miller 2003b: 8). Although we have linked Arabization and Islam, there are two important caveats. Miller (2006) points out that Islamization in the Sudan was not the primary force behind the monolithic policy of Arabization. In Morocco, following the Islamic conquest of Morocco, Arabization was only in central urban centres or big cities, while Berber or a Romance language dominated the country (Aguade 2008: 288).

South Africa provides another interesting situation with respect to the discursive means through which Islam spread relevant to language planning. Islam spread to South Africa not through Arabic but through Malay and later Afrikaans. The first generation of Muslims to arrive in the Cape Colony were brought by the Dutch (Hoedemaekers and Versteegh 2009). The Cape Colony, founded in 1652, was a place of exile for political opponents and slaves from the Dutch East Indies and India. This generation of Muslims used Malay as a lingua franca, and later was forced to shift to Afrikaans. Most importantly, it is this group of Muslims who were the first to contribute to the textual creation of Afrikaans in Arabic script. Hoedemaekers and Versteegh (2009: 291) write: 'It is fairly certain that the new Muslims were the first to write Afrikaans down, using the Arabic script, just as they had done for Malay in Southeast Asia'. The writers also note that these Muslims from the East Indies played an essential role along with the Khoisan population in the creolization process that produced Afrikaans, since the first generation of Muslims started to speak Afrikaans as their mother tongue.

The second caveat is that politically peripheralized groups in the Arab world of Africa are not against Arabic (the majority of them are polylingual in Arabic). Rather, they are opposed to the symbolic capital (Bourdieu 1991) of Arabic which shapes and determines the structure of political power. They are antagonistic to the broad political trends that orientate their countries towards pan-Arabism or exclusively towards pan-Africanism. Wai (1979: 74) argues that 'the southern Sudanese have no crisis of identity: they know they are African and feel so racially and culturally. They have no objection to the Northern Sudanese identifying themselves as Arabs, but they resent being included in this category'. Secular southern Sudanese parties and movements such as the SPLA/M

(Sudan People's Liberation Army/Movement) call for a practical inscription of the socio-cultural diversity in the political unity. That is, they endorse a Sudan with a multiplicity of cultural nationalisms within a single civic-territorial state (i.e., cultural federalism). Non-Arabized bilingual speakers have no conflict with Arabic as an instrument of mediated communication of information, devoid of any particularizing cultural symbolism. Some mediated services of public communication located in southern Sudan feature Arabic (both fus'ha and ammiyah) in the list of its languages. For example, the Sudan Radio Service (SRS) operating from Nairobi and Kenya with branches in Juba and Khartoum, broadcasts in ten languages; English, Arabic, simple (Juba) Arabic, Dinka, Zande, Moru, Nuer, Bari, Shilluk and Toposa.[3] Further, Arabic in its connotational dimension is not the monopoly of Arabized/Arab groups; non-Arabized groups can use it to mark their own identity. Miller (2003) found that Equatorial southern Sudanese mobilize Juba Arabic as an identification marker.

The symbolic meaning of the Arabic language in Eritrea is different from that of the Sudan, and language planning has to be sensitive to both the instrumental and symbolic meanings of the language. The British converted the Eritrean *Rashāyida* into a nationality as part of their language policy. For example, between 1941 and 1952 they robustly promoted Tigrinya and Arabic as languages of instruction. Contrary to the policy they adopted in the southern Sudan, the British felt Tigrinya would serve the Christians as a language of culture while Arabic would serve the Muslims. Amharic subsequently replaced Tigrinya and Arabic as the medium of instruction. The imposition of Amharic was part of a process of Amharicization, a process analogous to Swahilization, and to some degree Arabization. The use of Arabic as a medium of instruction for children with limited proficiency adversely affected the academic performance of native speakers of Tigrinya or Tigre. In 1991, the Eritrean nationalist responses to Ethiopian policies were the immediate causes of the war between Eriteria and Ethiopia. As part of its army language policy the Eritrean Liberation Front taught its combatants to be literate in Tigrinya. In order to consolidate their language policies, they promoted Arabic and Tigrinya as working languages in education and journalism, but not 'official' languages. Arabic was recognized as the language of literature, used by native speakers of Afar, Nara, Bilin, etc.

Chinese language policy in Africa

The African landscape is continuously changing, for instance, with the introduction of Mandarin Chinese as a foreign language in schools and universities. Chinese is playing a prominent role in Africa's sociolinguistic landscape; a role that used to be previously played by English, French

and Portuguese speakers. This raises the question of the impact of Chinese on language policy in Africa. Specifically, will Chinese be Africa's next lingua franca? The introduction of Chinese has to be understood in the context of its economic role in Africa. China's engagement with Africa is extensive as it relies heavily on the importation of oil and minerals from countries such as Angola, Gabon, Equitorial Guinea, Nigeria and the Sudan (Prah 2007). About 10 per cent of China's oil comes from the Muglad regions of the Sudan. Politically, China has diplomatic relations with forty-eight African countries.

China's international language policy on Africa is inextricably intertwined with its economic and political role. Chinese has been introduced across political regions in a milieu shaped by the former colonial powers. At the same time, it is also carving its own niche as a prestigious language in the twenty-first century. Confucius Institutes are a powerful instrument used in the promotion of Chinese interests and the development of its international language policy. While the Chinese government's programme of promoting Chinese language and culture is global, the West generally views its adoption in Africa with anxiety and scepticism, as it is viewed as 'China's venturing into the traditional sphere of influence on the dominant powers…' (Ampiah and Naidu 2008: 3).

The Chinese government has invested heavily in the teaching of Chinese as a foreign language globally. In a standard Memorandum of Agreement with African countries through Confucius Institutes, the Chinese Language Council International (Hanban) commits itself to three obligations attractive to Africa: the provision of start-up funds for the setting up of new Confucius Institutes, the training and deployment of Chinese teachers and/or volunteers to Confucius Institutes, the payment of teachers' salaries and allowances and the provision of language teaching materials. The production of language teaching materials is centralized with very little adaptation to local contexts.

The Confucius Headquarters is involved in the training of Chinese teachers and volunteers, the development of computer-aided programmes and audio-visual materials. In order to ensure the sustainability of the teaching of Chinese in Africa, as in other regions, Hanban established a manpower development plan through the provision of Chinese language teaching scholarships for foreigners in 2009.

Another objective of the Chinese international language policy is to build a critical mass of local Africans to train as teachers of Chinese. In its ten-year development plan (2010–2020), the Confucius Institute Headquarters plans to cooperate with educational institutions overseas in setting up institutes for training Chinese language teachers. Confucius Institutes also prioritize regional and international exchange. Thus, Confucius conferences are arranged to promote exchange of ideas, and a sharing of best practices.

In Africa, as in other parts of the world, Confucius Institutes are established through cooperation between individual universities. There are Confucius Institutes in Benin, Botswana, Cameroon, Egypt, Ethiopia, Kenya, Liberia, Madagascar, Mali, Morocco, Nigeria, Rwanda, South Africa, the Sudan, Togo, Tunisia and Zimbabwe. Notably, all the countries have no *de jure* national policy on the teaching and learning of Chinese language and culture, suggesting that a formal language policy including Chinese may very well be developed as part of the bilateral relationship between China and the respective countries.

Chinese is popular in African universities. For example, college level courses in Chinese are offered at the Universities of Zimbabwe, Nairobi, Stellenbosch Yaoundé II and Khartoum. The University of Zimbabwe offers Chinese up to degree level. In Zimbabwe, Chinese has been introduced as a foreign language in secondary schools. For example, Chinese has been introduced in two elite former white secondary schools among students who may have English as a mother tongue with limited if any demonstrable proficiency in an African language. Chinese teachers are recruited on a short-term contract basis and not for the long term because, in order for the recruitment of Chinese teachers on a long-term basis, it would be necessary to have a bilateral relationship between Zimbabwe and China, which explicitly included the teaching of Chinese. In turn, Zimbabwe would also need to expand its language policy to include the teaching of Chinese.

In Zimbabwe, young children from local Chinese communities are also attending language courses in Chinese. Chinese children, unlike their African counterparts, have some knowledge of Chinese, albeit elementary, and are thus able to draw upon their parents' knowledge of Chinese in learning the language. If most Africans are learning Chinese for instrumental purposes, ethnic Chinese students are doing so in order to enhance their sense of self-identity as they play with their identities exploiting linguistic resources available to them.

Conclusion

An assessment of the success of colonial and post-colonial language policies is elusive because, as stated in the epigraph, the analysis is carried out *media res*, as the case of Ethiopia and Eritrea aptly demonstrates. Yet, in spite of the differences between the various language policies most of them conceptualize language and language learning, and bilingualism in similar ways. Language policies are faced with such diversity between individuals that, in complex multilingual communities, systematicity across individuals is an illusion. Language policy, particularly when it is top down, assumes that ethnic groups are monolithic and static and that variation across individuals is systematic. Furthermore, the complex

multilingual situations in Africa have merged some of the African languages to such an extent that it is plausible to argue that separating them is not easy. The neat situation in which the goal of language management is transitional, and bilingualism involves learning one language after another, has to give way to a more complex situation in which its objective is to enhance language learning in which language users constantly adapt their languages and exploit the affordances with which they are provided to articulate and express meaning.

Even if it is assumed that languages in Africa are separable, and discrete terms such as additive bilingualism and transitional bilingualism are expressed literally as adding one language to another, this requires time and is a development complicated by the unpredictability of history, and the recalcitrant nature of the past. Language planning in Africa is impatient with history and expects immediate results. The success or otherwise of language planning in Africa therefore is assessed against unrealistic time frames. Nicolai (2008: 377) illustrates the problematic nature of overcoming contemporary situations in order to realize expected outcomes when commenting thus: '[t]he present is not a pure isolated instant, a place of transit. It preserves the participation of the past and introduces our immediate future in projection'.

27

Indigenous language planning and policy in the Americas

Teresa L. McCarty

> Indigenous peoples have the right to revitalize, use, develop and transmit to future generations their histories, languages, oral traditions, philosophies, writing systems and literatures…[and] to establish and control their educational systems and institutions providing education in their own languages…
>
> (United Nations General Assembly 2007, Articles 13(1) and 14(1, 3))

With this statement, the United Nations General Assembly, after twenty-two years of debate, officially recognized the universal linguistic human rights of the world's 370 million Indigenous peoples. As the Assembly wrote in introducing the *Declaration*, it is 'celebrated globally as a symbol of triumph and hope' (2007: 3). Yet two of the Assembly's most powerful member states, Canada and the United States – both with abysmal records of treatment of Indigenous peoples – rejected the *Declaration*. Another eleven member states, including Colombia, abstained.[1]

The fight for passage of the UN *Declaration* mirrors a larger history of struggles for Indigenous self-determination in which language policy, particularly in education, has been symbolically and materially preeminent. This chapter examines these language policy issues as they have played out in the geopolitical and lingua-cultural landscape of the Americas. The scope of the chapter is admittedly broad. Encompassing two continents, a landmass of 42.5 million square kilometers, a population of 900 million, and some 50 nation states and dependencies (exclusive of Indigenous sovereignties), the Americas are characterized by immense linguistic, cultural and ecological diversity. Indigenous speech communities extend from the edge of Siberia to Greenland and to the southernmost reaches of the world. Although no consensus exists on the numbers of contemporary linguistic groups – with estimates ranging from several hundred to several thousand – multiple scholars suggest

there may be 'greater typological diversity in the Americas than in the rest of the world combined' (Campbell 1997: 4).

Given this diversity, this chapter aims to strike a balance between breadth and depth. I begin with an overview of the demographic, sociolinguistic and socio-historical context for language planning and policy in Indigenous America. I then examine language policy issues in Latin America, the US and Canada,[2] illustrating these issues with selected cases and using as a conceptual anchor Spolsky's (2004, 2009) definition of language policy as language practices, ideologies or beliefs, and interventions or management. The overall approach is a critical socio-cultural one in which policy is viewed as both implicit and explicit, de facto and *de jure* – a dynamic process of cultural (re)production mediated by relations of power (McCarty 2004, 2011; see also Schiffman 1996; Shohamy 2006; Sutton and Levinson 2001). I conclude with a synthetic discussion of language policy issues and themes, and their implications for future research and praxis.

Demolinguistic and sociohistorical context

Western hemisphere population estimates for when Christopher Columbus made landfall in the Bahamas on 12 October 1492 are hotly debated, ranging from a low of 8.4 million proposed by Kroeber in 1939 to a high of 112.5 million posited by Dobyns in 1966 (Thornton 1987: 22–3). Demographic anthropologist Russell Thornton places the pre-Columbian estimate at over 72 million (1987: 25). 'Counting' languages is equally problematic, not only because the sources are suspect (see Krauss (1998) on problems with census enumeration), but also because the project of enumeration itself is an ideological one. As Hill (2002: 127) points out, 'To census is an important gesture of power.' I use the numbers with caution, then, in the interest of providing a sense of the cultural and linguistic heterogeneity that characterizes Indigenous America.

Recent population estimates place the number of Indigenous peoples in Latin America at 40 to 50 million (10 per cent of the total population), with 1.2 million First Nations, Métis, and Inuit people in Canada (4 per cent of the population), 4.5 million American Indians and Alaska Natives in the US (1.5 per cent of the population), and approximately 50,000 Indigenous Greenlanders (90 per cent of the population) (DeVoe, Darling-Churchill and Snyder 2008: 8; International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs n.d.; King 2006: 453; López and Sichra 2008: 295; Statistics Canada 2009a, 2009b). These numbers disguise great inter- and intra-group variability, however. For example, in some Latin American countries such as Costa Rica and Brazil, the proportion of Indigenous people in the population is equivalent to that in the US and Canada. In other parts of the region, such as Bolivia and Guatemala, Indigenous peoples constitute

demographic majorities. In the case of Bolivia, Indigenous peoples represent the political majority as well (López 2006: 239).

Opinion is divided on the number of Native American languages still spoken. Campbell (1997: 3) reports 400 to 2,500 for the hemisphere as a whole. Some scholars count as many as 700 for Latin America alone (López and Sichra 2008; King 2008), observing that in some modern polities, 'there is no general consensus concerning the number of speakers of different languages…or even the location of some of the groups' (King and Haboud 2007: 43). For Campbell, *Ethnologue's* count of 938 for North and South America is 'a comfortable, if somewhat generous, figure' (1997: 3). These figures reflect more than 100 language families and scores of linguistic isolates (Archive of the Indigenous Languages of Latin America (AILLA) 2010; Goddard 1996). Tables 27.1 and 27.2 list some of the more widely spoken Native American languages today.

Adding to this diversity are the pidgins and creoles that emerged prior to and following the European invasion, including trade languages such as Chinook Jargon in the Pacific Northwest and Mobilian Jargon along the Gulf of Mexico. The intermingling of Native Americans, enslaved Africans, and Europeans produced other varieties such as Carib Pidgin-Arawak in the Caribbean and Garifuna in Central America. Throughout the Americas longstanding Indigenous sign languages also exist.

Although there is widespread agreement that oral tradition has been (and is) a primary carrier of Indigenous knowledges, a 'serious misconception' is that Native American languages lack a tradition of the printed word (Campbell 1997: 8). Well before Europeans arrived in the hemisphere, complex autochthonous writing systems thrived. Mayan scripts consisting of glyphs (pictures) and phonetic systems date from the second century BCE and produced 'an enormous literature', much of which was subsequently destroyed by the Spanish (England 1998: 101). Zapotec writing from present-day Mexico dates to the seventh century CE; other pre-Columbian Mesoamerican glyphic systems include Aztec (Nahuatl), Mixtec and Mayan (Campbell 2007; King and Benson 2008; Marcus 1980). In what is now the US and Canada, winter counts, wampum and pictographs used 'ideographic symbolization of concepts and ideas…to record and store valuable knowledge…on available natural materials such as birch bark, rocks and shells' (Battiste 1986: 25).

With the coming of European missionaries, Indigenous literacies took on new forms. Literacy in Nahuatl, the official language of the Aztec empire (Heath 1972), produced 'a generation of Nahuatl writers…[and] native language literacy as a social practice spread swiftly through the Spanish colonies' (Hamel 2008a: 313–14). During the same period, grammars were developed for P'urepecha, Zapotec, and Mixtec (Terborg, García and Moore 2007: 140).[3] A well-known example of Indigenous print literacy is the Popol Vuh, a corpus of historical narratives and creation stories

Table 27.1 *Linguistic diversity in North America: some examples of Indigenous languages, locations and speakers north of Mexico*

Language(s)	Language family	Primary location(s) of speakers	Estimated number of speakers
Central Yup'ik	Eskimo-Aleut	*US*: Alaska	10,000
Cherokee	Iroquoian	*US*: Oklahoma, southeastern US	11,905
Western Apache	Na-Dene (Athabaskan)	*US*: Arizona, New Mexico	12,693
Choctaw	Muskogean	*US*: Mississippi, Oklahoma	17,890
Dakota/Lakota	Siouan	*Canada*: Southern Manitoba, Saskatchewan *US*: Minnesota, Montana, Nebraska, North Dakota	20,355
Inuktitut	Eskimo-Aleut	*Canada*: Labrador, Northeastern Manitoba, Newfoundland, Northwest Territories, Nunavut, Arctic Quebec, Yukon	35,690
Greenlandic (Kalaallisut)	Eskimo-Aleut	Greenland (also Denmark)	57,000
Ojibwe (Anishinaabemowin)	Algonquian	*Canada*: Quebec, Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta, British Columbia *US*: Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota, North Dakota, Montana	75,460
Cree	Algonquian	*Canada*: Alberta, British Columbia, Labrador, Manitoba, Newfoundland, Northwest Territories, Ontario, Quebec, Saskatchewan	99,950
Navajo (Diné)	Na-Dene (Athabaskan)	*US*: Arizona, New Mexico, Utah	178,000

Source: NCELA 2002; Statistics Canada 2006

written in the mid-1500s in K'iché (a Mayan language) using the Spanish alphabet. In the US and Canada, writing systems for Massachusett-Wampanoag, Mahican and Micmac date to the 1600s, including the first Native American Bible translated by the Puritan missionary John Eliot in 1663. Northern Iroquoian languages were written from the time of Jacques Cartier's first voyage to the area in 1534, and centuries-old syllabaries exist for Cherokee, Great Lakes Algonquian, Winnebago, Cree-Montagnais, Ojibwe, Athapaskan and West Greenlandic (Walker 1996). Today, virtually all Native American languages have writing systems, although the forms they take are quite disparate.

Table 27.2 *Linguistic diversity in Latin America: some examples of Indigenous languages, locations and speakers*

Language	Language family	Primary locations of speakers	Estimated number of speakers
Ticuna	Juri-Ticuna	Peru, Colombia, Brazil	21,000
Emberá	Chocó	Panama, Colombia	40,000
Kuna	Chibchan	Panama	50,000
Jívaro	Jívaro-Cahuapanano	Ecuador, Peru	50,000
Miskitu	Misumalpan	Nicaragua, Honduras	200,000
Totonaco	Totonacan	Mexico (Hidalgo, Puebla, Veracruz)	215,000
Otomí (Ñahñu)	Oto-Manguean	Mexico (Guanajuato, Hidalgo, Mexico DF, Michoacán, Puebla, Querétaro, Tlaxcala)	261,000
Mixtec	Oto-Manguean	Mexico (primarily Oaxaca; also transnational communities in US–Mexico border states)	446,236
Zapotec	Oto-Manguean	Mexico (Guerrera, Oaxaca, Puebla)	452,887
K'iché	Mayan	Guatemala	1 million
Nahuatl (Mexicano)	Uto-Aztecan	Mexico (Guerrero, Puebla, Morelos, Veracruz, Michoacán, Hidalgo, Nayarít)	1.3–1.5 million
Aymara	Aymaran	Argentina, Bolivia, Chile, Peru	2.2 million
Guaraní	Tupí-Guaraní	Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Paraguay	3–5 million
Quechua/Quichua	Quechuan	Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru	8–12 million

Sources: Archive of Indigenous Languages of Latin America [AILLA] 2010; Baldauf and Kaplan 2007

It is not surprising, then, that prior to European contact both explicit and implicit language policies were in place throughout the Americas. As an informal activity, language policy 'is as old as language itself', says Wright, and is integral 'in the distribution of power and resources in all societies' (2004: 1). In the Caribbean, Arawakan (Taino) enjoyed high status for centuries prior to European contact, expanding its influence 'into areas where other languages had previously been established' (Highfield 1997: 157). Formal policies also existed. In her classic examination of language policy in Mexico, Heath explains that well before the arrival of Hernán Cortés in 1519, 'political facts and linguistic diversity…called for a standard language' and that Nahuatl was widely recognized 'as the

standard idiom of commerce, law, and economics' (1972: 1–2). In Texcoco, the Council of Arts and Sciences served as a language academy 'promoting the linguistic arts and exemplifying the "purest" form of Nahuatl' (Terborg *et al.* 2007: 115).

The European arrival irrevocably altered this human landscape, as Western-introduced diseases and the colonial project produced massive demographic collapse. From a complex of 100 villages and tens of thousands of Arakawakan speakers in the Caribbean, the Taino population was almost completely eradicated within a few decades of Spanish contact (Wilson 1997: 7). In Mexico, from an Indigenous population estimated at more than 25 million in 1519, only one million people remained by 1605 (Terborg *et al.* 2007: 119). And from a 1492 population of more than five million north of the coterminous United States, the number of American Indian peoples declined to 600,000 by 1800 and 125,000 by the start of the twentieth century (Thornton 1987: 41–2). Within this time frame, Spanish in Latin America 'had gone from being the minority language of the powerful elite to the vehicular language for much of the population' (García *et al.* 2010: 358), and English in North America had displaced other colonial languages and many Indigenous tongues. Today, all Native American languages are threatened, making language revival, revitalization and maintenance *the* primary language planning and policy goals. As we will see, this goal is integrally tied to Indigenous self-determination and concomitant rights to traditional homelands, education and ethnocultural identities. The next sections examine these issues in greater depth.

Native languages and language policy in Latin America

'[F]ar from a homogeneous and monolithic landscape of social, cultural, and linguistic practices', Latin America encompasses twenty nation states, nine dependencies, and a population of 568 million spread out across South, Central, and parts of North America (García *et al.* 2010: 353–4). With the exception of Uruguay and some Caribbean polities whose original populations were decimated by colonization, Indigenous peoples reside in every Latin American country in significant numbers (López and Sichra 2008: 295; King 2008: 453). In addition to the primary colonial languages (Spanish, Portuguese, French and Dutch), hundreds of Indigenous languages are spoken – as many as 170 in Brazil alone (King 2006: 453). García *et al.* (2010) describe Latin America as a constellation of nations-within-nations, emphasizing the region's politico-linguistic hybridity. Everywhere in the region racial discrimination and economic and educational disparities are deep and profound. López (2006: 240) reports that in Guatemala, for example, 79 per cent of Indigenous women living in rural areas do not have the means to acquire print literacy; the

average school completion rate among Indigenous Guatemalans is 2.6 years . 'To this day', López writes, 'all Amerindian societies live as subaltern communities…, even in those countries where they constitute the majority of the population' (2006: 239).

When Europeans arrived in Middle and South America they encountered three major civilizations: the Mayans of what is now southern Mexico, Guatemala and Belize; the Aztecs (Mexicas) of the central Mexican valley; and the Incas of the Andean region from northern Ecuador to southern Chile (Baldauf and Kaplan 2007b). Each group imposed its language – Yucatec Mayan, Nahuatl and Quechua, respectively – on the peoples within the regions they controlled. This was no small feat, as there were at the time as many as 2,000 Indigenous languages spoken by ten to forty-five million people (García *et al*. 2010: 357). Nevertheless, the Spanish Crown quickly instituted a policy of Castilianization. Although it was resisted by the friars as impractical for evangelization (a de facto language policy adopted by Christian sects throughout the Americas), 'Spanish became the administrative lingua franca and was increasingly used as a powerful tool' for Christianization (Baldauf and Kaplan 2007a: 7). By the end of the seventeenth century, 'much of the Indigenous population could understand Castilian' (Baldauf and Kaplan 2007a: 7). Coupled with the impacts of European-introduced diseases and programmes of de-territorialization and de-ethnification, this resulted in the loss of more than 100 Native American tongues (Terborg *et al*. 2007: 119).

Throughout the region, education in the colonial language (primarily Spanish) has been 'the primary channel for implementing national language policy' and the principal means of linguistic and cultural assimilation (King 2006: 453). In Brazil, where 196 Native languages are spoken by 300,000 Indigenous people, Portuguese is the official language. It was not until 1988 that Indigenous peoples in Brazil were granted the right to use their languages in primary schooling. In Argentina, with as many as 1.5 million Indigenous people (the major groups being Aymara, Guaraní and Quechua), the country's official language is Spanish. A 1994 constitutional amendment recognized Indigenous children's right to bilingual–intercultural education (IBE) during the first three years of schooling, but 'only in 2004 was a bilingual education program created in the national ministry' (Rockwell and Gomes 2009: 102). According to Hamel, 'these reforms have not changed the collective Argentine identity, which leaves no door open for the Indigenous population' (2003: 9).

These tensions in language practices, ideologies and management (Spolsky 2004) weave throughout Latin America's recent policy history. The crux of the tensions, to use Hornberger's (2000) term, is the 'ideological paradox' (and the lived reality) of intercultural bilingual education as a tool for Indigenous self-determination as it confronts a history of racial and linguistic oppression and ongoing social and economic injustice. In this space of tension and possibility, the gaps between

official policy and local practice run deep and wide, as official recognition of Indigenous rights has come late[4] and policy implementation has been hampered by limited resources, the stigmatization of Indigenous languages as 'backward' and of limited utility in the wider linguistic market, and the fact that the reforms are centred within the contentious arena of schools. At the same time, there is widespread agreement that the past two decades have constituted a turning point in the 'Indigenous conquest' of linguistic and educational rights (Rockwell and Gomes 2009: 106). The next subsections analyse these dynamics more fully in specific contexts.

Language endangerment and bilingual intercultural education in the Andes

Stretching from southern Colombia through Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia, and parts of Argentina and Chile, the Andean region is home to 80 per cent of the Indigenous peoples in Latin America (Sachdev, Arnold and Yapita 2006: 108). The two dominant Indigenous languages are Quechua, with eight to twelve million speakers, and Aymara, with three to four million. As Hornberger and Coronel-Molina (2004: 13) describe, many other Indigenous languages with smaller numbers of speakers are used in the Andes as well. Despite the large numbers of speakers of Quechua and Aymara, these languages, along with other Andean languages, are endangered. This is due to the legacy of 500 years of linguistic repression but also to the unique linguistic structure of Quechua, which includes many mutually unintelligible varieties; thus, each speech community faces a distinctive set of language planning challenges (Coronel-Molina and McCarty 2011). Hornberger and Coronel-Molina (2004: 15) further point out that in some social sectors, 'Quechua is overtly devalued by both the dominant society and by Quechua speakers themselves' who have internalized its stigmatized status.

Hornberger (1988) was the first to publish a book-length ethnographic investigation of these issues, a study of Quechua bilingual education in Puno, Pero. With the goal of understanding the relationship between official policy and local language practices, the study asked: (1) Can language maintenance be planned?, and (2) Can schools be effective agents for language maintenance (ibid.: 19)? The answers implicate a complex of factors: local language ideologies that position Quechua as the extra-school *ayllu* or home-community language and Spanish as the language of schooling;[5] decreasing isolation and low social status of Quechua speakers, which mitigates against micro-level *(ayllu)* language transmission; and problems of local programme implementation and government instability that undermine macro-level policies. Hornberger concludes that for bilingual education to contribute to Quechua language maintenance, it should be an enrichment or two-way model that 'reflects a

valuing of Quechua by society not only for Quechua speakers but also for non-Quechua speakers' (ibid.: 236).

This latter theme runs throughout the language policy literature on Latin America. In a subsequent ethnographic study of Quichua in Ecuador,[6] King (2001) showed that despite the fact that Ecuador has an official policy of intercultural education, 'Quichua remains on the periphery of [the local speech community's] daily lives' (ibid.: 185). The school affords 'an important foothold' for Quichua maintenance, but is insufficient to overcome the extreme economic and social pressures favoring Spanish and conflicting ideologies that simultaneously link Quichua to a distinctive ethnic identity and position Spanish as the language of the *buena gente* or 'decent people' (ibid.: 39; see also King 1999, 2000).

The language situation in Bolivia provides an opportunity to examine these issues in a country in which a large majority (70 per cent) of the population is Indigenous, with thirty-three ethnolinguistic groups, and where a significant proportion of the Indigenous population is monolingual in an Indigenous language or speaks multiple Indigenous languages and/or Spanish (King and Benson 2004; López 2006; Sachdev *et al.* 2006).[7] The year 1982 marked the end of a long line of military dictatorships, ushering in a number of bilingual education reforms. In 1994, the new constitution 'recognized for the first time the multicultural and pluriethnic nature of Bolivian society' (Sachdev *et al.* 2006: 112). In 2001, following an Aymara resurgence, a presidential decree conferred official status on all thirty-three Indigenous languages; according to López, this was largely rhetorical (2006: 247). Nonetheless, many scholars describe a constellation of significant recent policy reforms, including a Linguistic Rights and Politics Law to declare all languages in Bolivia as the patrimony of the state (Godenzzi 2008); a mulitifaceted region-wide bilingual teacher preparation programme, PROEIB Andes[8] (Hornberger and Johnson 2007); and a host of corpus and acquisition planning initiatives, including weekly newspaper supplements in Quechua, Aymara and Guaraní (see King and Benson 2004 and López 2006 for examples). Together, these activities signal 'a strengthened national identity based on respect among all Bolivians' (Hornberger 2000: 182). It remains to be seen how effective these measures will be in reversing language shift[9] or in promoting the larger project called for in Hornberger's original (1988) study, for intercultural bilingual education to become recognized as a 'model capable of contributing to the enrichment of every member of society' (López 2006: 253).[10]

Guatemala and Mexico

In Guatemala, twenty-three Indigenous languages are spoken (twenty-one in the Mayan family) and half the population is Indigenous. However, there was no provision for mother tongue schooling until the late 1960s,

when an experimental preschool was established for children who speak Kaqchikel, K'iche', Mam and Q'eqchi' (the largest Mayan-speaking groups in the world) (López 2006: 240; García *et al.* 2010). It would be another two decades before the national Ministry of Education established the Programa Nacional de Educación Bilingüe (PRONEBI), tasked with providing bilingual education for rural Indigenous children.

With ten to twelve million Indigenous people and an estimated 62 Indigenous languages, the language situation in Mexico has been described as 'a highly heterogeneous panorama with many contrasts and contradictions' (Baldauf and Kaplan 2007b: 26). These contradictions are evident in historic policies of unidirectional linguistic and cultural incorporation (ibid.: 20–1; Terborg *et al.* 2007: 139). Although there were important interruptions in this policy narrative – notably the Tarascan Project in the late 1930s and 1940s by Mexican and US anthropologists working with P'urhepecha teachers to implement an integrated bilingual–bicultural–biliteracy programme (Hamel 2008a: 314) – the overriding themes in Mexican language policy until very recently have been assimilation, language shift, and lack of recognition for Indigenous rights (Hamel 2008a: 312, 314; 2008b: 306–7).

In both Guatemala and Mexico, recent policy reforms have been propelled by an Indigenous self-determination movement that emerged in the 1980s and 1990s. On 1 January 1994, the day that the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) took effect,[11] the Zapatista Army of National Liberation (EZLN), led by Mayan Tzotzils and Tzeltals, took over municipalities in southern Chiapas, Mexico. The event drew international attention, launching extended negotiations that resulted in the 1996 San Andres Accord. The Accord had a 'profound effect' on subsequent constitutional reforms that recognize Mexico's plurilingualism and pluriculturalism (Baldauf and Kaplan 2007ab: 17), including 'constitutional recognition of Indigenous cultural rights' (Hamel 2008b: 307; see also García *et al.* 2010). In 2003, the General Law for the Linguistic Rights of Indigenous Peoples was passed, officially recognizing those rights and promoting the use and development of Indigenous mother tongues. Some scholars describe this law as 'the single most significant language policy in the recent history of Mexico' (Terborg *et al.* 2007: 143).

During this same period in Guatemala, a Mayan school movement (*Escuelas Mayas*) took root; this was followed by national education reforms proposing IBE for all (García *et al.* 2010; López 2006). The Academy of Mayan Languages, established in 1991 as a Mayan-run state institution, signalled the political positioning of Mayans as the decision-makers in Mayan language planning (England 1998: 106). In 2005, fifty-six Mayan schools were operating under the direction of the Mayan National Educational Council, reflective of a move from a top-down to a bottom-up approach (López 2006: 246; López and Sichra 2008: 296).

Although these grassroots initiatives face many challenges, not the least of which is that neither the state system nor the Mayan schools can guarantee primary school completion for Indigenous children, the reforms have increased Indigenous ownership over education and heightened national awareness of the urgency to improve Indigenous schooling (López 2006: 246, 249).

The special case of Guaraní in Paraguay

The case of Guaraní in Paraguay is both complex and unique (Hamel 2003). Paraguayan Guaraní belongs to the Tupí-Guaraní language family. The major Indigenous language in Paraguay,[12] Guaraní has shared co-official status with Spanish since 1992; the 1992 constitution is written in both Spanish and Guaraní. Spanish, however, is the 'de facto language of government', the primary official language, and the 'language of literacy' (Gynan 2007a: 218, 227). Nonetheless, over 3.6 million Paraguayans (88 per cent of the population) speak Guaraní, and of the 2.3 million Paraguayans who speak Spanish, 90 per cent live in households where Guaraní also is spoken (Gynan 2001: 54, 56). Yet only 1.2 per cent of the population identifies as Indigenous. Thus, the majority of Guaraní speakers do not identify as Indigenous.

The stated goal of Paraguay's language policy is 'universal coordinate bilingualism' and Guaraní instruction is available in a majority of Paraguayan public schools (Gynan 2001, 2007a, 2007b). On the surface, this language education policy seems quite responsive to concerns for interculturalization; indeed, given Guaraní's history in Paraguay (it was broadly promulgated by the Jesuits and subsequently by the national government), Guaraní has been constructed as integral to national identity (Gynan 2001; Hamel 2003). At the same time, vast educational disparities exist. Until recently, elementary education was almost exclusively in Spanish, and there is still a huge rural–urban divide in access to mother tongue education, with Guaraní literacy instruction unavailable in the rural areas where it is needed most (Gynan 2001: 69, 76). Further, there is only token official support for instruction in Indigenous languages other than Guaraní. These educational disparities reflect and reproduce profound economic inequities.

More recently, Gynan (2007b: 285, 301) states that there has been a 'shift away from Guaraní to Spanish' as national bilingual education policy has moved from coordinate bilingualism to 'a unitary, flexible approach'. Nonetheless, López and Sichra (2008: 302) cite Paraguay as a 'bilingual country par excellence', noting the recent extension of bilingual education reforms to the country's Indigenous minorities. Further, '[t]here is…every indication' that Paraguay 'will not abandon the language that has come to symbolize [its] uniqueness as a nation' (Baldauf and Kaplan 2007b: 31).

Indigenous language policy in Latin America: advances and challenges

Latin American republics were founded on an exogenous ideology of a monolingual/monocultural national identity as a precursor to citizenship and equality for all. There has been little equality, though, as this model of citizenship has excluded women, the poor, and Indigenous peoples. Colonial schooling has been a primary vehicle for effecting this ideology in practice.

Recent reforms have been borne out of these longstanding injustices; as López (2006: 238) writes, they have been 'the result of Indigenous suffering, in constant struggle against racism and discrimination'. The last three decades have seen major advances in language planning and policy by and for Indigenous peoples, most centred on IBE. Hornberger (1996, 2008) provides numerous examples of corpus and acquisition planning by Indigenous peoples in Mexico, Guatemala, Peru, Ecuador and Bolivia. Coronel-Molina and McCarty (2011) and Hornberger and Coronel-Molina (2004) describe new multimedia resources, including digital literacies, for the promotion of Quechua. These corpus and acquisition planning efforts elevate the status of Indigenous languages, opening new 'ideological and implementational spaces' (Hornberger 2006ab) for IBE.

The academic benefits of IBE are well documented. As examples, López and Sichra (2008: 297, 300) cite Modiano's (1973) study of bilingual education in Chiapas that produced higher scores on Spanish-language tests by second grade, Hornberger's (1988) study of bilingually educated Quechua children 'who develop a more complex use of their [first language] than their peers in Spanish-only schools', and a Bolivian longitudinal study in which children in IBE programmes develop 'significantly higher levels of self-esteem'. They also note substantial increases in Indigenous parent and community involvement associated with IBE. Similarly, Hamel (2008a: 320) describes findings from a P'urhepecha study that 'showed very clearly that pupils who had acquired literacy in their [first language] achieved significantly higher scores in both languages than those who were taught…in Spanish'. Hamel also notes the elevation in language status associated with these reforms: 'P'urhepecha had become the legitimate, unmarked language of all interaction at the school, a sociolinguistic achievement still quite exceptional in indigenous education' (2008a: 320). These findings are consistent with a wide body of research on Indigenous/minoritized education around the world (May 2008; May, Hill and Tiakiwai 2006; McCarty 2003; Thomas and Collier 1997; see also Chapter 15 in this volume).

At the same time, however, serious problems remain. There is still a gap between official policy and local-level implementation related to a lack of qualified bilingual teachers and curriculum materials (King 2006), questions surrounding language standardization (Hornberger and King 1998; King 2001; Luykx 2004), and pedagogies adapted from

Western models that emphasize rote learning and decontextualized language skills (Hamel 2006, 2008a; Hornberger 1988; King 2001, 2006; López and Sichra 2008). The root cause of these problems lies in fundamental structural inequalities, the ideologies of linguistic and cultural deficit they reflect and reproduce, and the resultant remedial framing of IBE as directed solely toward Indigenous peoples rather than the population as a whole. As López and Sichra (2008: 306) sum up these issues: It is 'urgent and mandatory to abandon once and for all the compensatory understanding of IBE and to regard it as an approach for better educational quality in general' (see also García *et al.* 2010; Hamel 2008a, 2008b; Hornberger 1988; López 2008; Sachdev *et al.* 2006).

Native languages and language policy in the United States

In the US, the term Native American encompasses diverse American Indians, Alaska Natives, and Native Hawaiians.[13] Native Americans reside in every US state and territory, representing more than 560 federally recognized tribes, 619 reservations and Alaska Native villages, and 62 Native Hawaiian home lands (Snipp 2002; US Census Bureau 2001: 9). Numerically, the largest Native American nation is Cherokee, with a population of more than 700,000 (16 per cent of the American Indian/Alaska Native population). Navajo, with a population of 298,000, is the second most populous tribe and has the largest land base, with a reservation the size of Ireland spread across three southwestern states (US Census Bureau 2002: 8). Most American Indian and Alaska Native groups are smaller geographically and numerically. As elsewhere in the Americas, economic and educational disparities are profound. More than a quarter of American Indians and Alaska Natives live in poverty, a figure double that of the US population as a whole. American Indian and Alaska Native students are as much as 237 per cent more likely to drop out of school than their White counterparts (National Caucus of Native American State Legislators 2008: 14). Similar disparities are evident across virtually all measures of education attainment (DeVoe *et al.* 2008).

Of an estimated 300 languages indigenous to what is now the United States, 175 are still spoken, almost 90 per cent of them only by the parent generation and older (Krauss 1998). In the 2000 census, 72 per cent of American Indians and Alaska Natives five years of age or older reported speaking only English at home (Ogunwole 2006: 7). Most Native-language speakers reside in Alaska and the western states, with Navajo claiming more heritage language speakers (178,000) than all other American Indian and Alaska Native speech communities combined (Benally and Viri 2005; Krauss 1998).

Understanding language policy by and for Indigenous peoples in the US requires understanding their singular relationship with the federal government. From the first encounters between American Indians and Euro-Americans, the two groups operated on a government-to-government basis. Underpinning the tribal–federal relationship is the principle of tribal sovereignty: the 'right of a people to self-government, self-determination, and self-education…[including]…linguistic and cultural expression according to local languages and norms' (Lomawaima and McCarty 2006: 9). Tribal sovereignty predates the US constitution but is also recognized by it and has been codified in federal legislation, judicial rulings, and the various agencies charged with administering 'Indian affairs'. No other US ethnolinguistic group has such a legally defined status.[14]

Between 1779 and 1871, the US government signed more than 400 treaties with American Indian tribes, of which 120 had education provisions. Informed by an 'ideology of contempt' for Indigenous languages (Dorian 1998), the goal of federal Indian education was to '[r]eplace heritage languages with English; replace "paganism" with Christianity; replace economic, political, social, legal, and aesthetic institutions' (Lomawaima and McCarty 2006: 4; see also Reyhner and Eder 2004). By the late nineteenth century, the primary instruments for this were federal boarding schools, minutely 'controlled environment[s] where behavior and belief would be shaped by example and instruction' (Lomawaima 1994: 112). Whereas earlier mission schools, with their overweening aim of Christianization by whatever means possible, often instructed in the Indigenous language, prohibitions against speaking Native languages in the boarding schools were harshly enforced. Accounts abound of children being ridiculed, beaten, locked in closets, and having their mouths 'washed' with soap for speaking their mother tongue (McCarty 2002; Reyhner and Eder 2004). These experiences left a residue of linguistic shame, leading many parents to socialize their children in English. 'All of us now inherit the legacy of this…genocidal history', Dauenhauer and Dauenhauer write, 'one component of which is that the Native languages…are on the verge of extinction' (1998: 60).

A seminal report by Lewis Meriam and his associates in 1928 brought the boarding school abuses to the public eye, setting the stage for policy reform (Meriam *et al.* 1928). Under Commissioner of Indian Affairs John Collier (1933–1945), the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) published the first secular literacy materials in Navajo, Lakota and Hopi. According to Lakota anthropologist Beatrice Medicine, these materials represented 'the initial impact of bilingual and bicultural education for…the Native population' (2001: 50).

These gains atrophied under a subsequent federal policy of termination, which resulted in the elimination of federal services to many tribes and the confiscation of (more) Native lands. In 1969, the US Senate

released a sweeping condemnation of federal Indian education policy, citing school dropout rates twice the national average and describing the federal treatment of American Indians as a 'national tragedy' perpetrated through racial intolerance and the desire 'to divest the Indian of his [sic] land and resources' (US Senate Special Subcommittee on Indian Education 1969: 9, 21). The contemporaneous National Study of Indian Education reported similar findings, noting that a majority of Native American parents supported instruction in Indigenous tongues (Fuchs and Havighurst 1972).

One unintended consequence of the boarding school system was the forging of an alliance of Native peoples from diverse tribal groups, who grew up together in the schools and who, in the context of the 1960s Civil Rights Movement and the 1970s American Indian Movement,[15] joined with tribal leaders and activists to press the federal government for self-determination. Change had been precipitated by the Supreme Court's 1954 *Brown v. Topeka, Kansas Board of Education* ruling, which outlawed racial segregation in schools. In response, the Johnson administration launched a constellation of 'War on Poverty' reforms, including the 1964 Civil Rights Act and Economic Opportunity Act, which, respectively, provided legal protection from racial discrimination and authorized community development programmes for the poor; the 1965 Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA), authorizing programmes to meet the 'special needs' of poor children and children of colour; and the 1968 Bilingual Education Act (BEA), providing programmes that used children's mother tongue while they learned English. Under the Nixon administration, the 1972 Indian Education Act and 1975 Indian Self-determination and Education Assistance Act were passed, authorizing Indigenous bilingual–bicultural education and enabling tribes to operate their own schools. Together, these laws laid the macro-policy framework for local-level language planning in which community-controlled bilingual–bicultural schooling was a centrepiece (McCarty 1993a, 2008: 241). To illustrate these policy processes, the case of Navajo is instructive.

Community-controlled schooling and self-determination: the case of Navajo

With approximately 300,000 enrolled members, the Navajo Nation (*Diné*, The People) comprises 7 per cent of the American Indian/Alaska Native population. Navajo is an Athabaskan language, a family of languages spoken from the circumpolar north to the US border with Mexico. In the mid-1960s, much of the Navajo Nation remained largely Navajo speaking, with Spolsky's (1975) Navajo Reading Study reporting 90 per cent of 3,500 six-year-olds to be Navajo–English bilinguals or monolingual speakers of Navajo. As Spolsky summarized the findings: 'our survey showed that

over two-thirds of the children would be in serious trouble faced, as nearly all were, with a monolingual English teacher' (1975: 348).

In this context, the Navajo Nation emerged as the epicentre of the late-twentieth-century American Indian community-controlled school movement. In an ethnographic account of these processes, McCarty (2002) analyses their beginnings in the small (population 1,300), rural community of Rough Rock, Arizona, situated in the interior of the 27,000 square-mile Navajo reservation. An outgrowth of War on Poverty programmes, the Rough Rock Demonstration School (*Tsé Chi'zhí Diné Bi'ólta'*, Rough Rock The People's (Navajos') School) was founded in 1966 through a unique contract between a local Navajo governing board, a Navajo board of trustees, the BIA, and the US Office of Economic Opportunity. From its inception, the school was positioned as an agent of community empowerment, sponsoring local economic development projects and an innovative Navajo language and culture programme (Johnson 1968; McCarty 2002; Roessel 1977).

Within a few years, and in tandem with the national reforms described above, there were six Navajo community-controlled schools. As Spolsky (1974: 62) wrote at the time, their immediate needs were 'material and curriculum development and the use and training of…native speakers'. When Spolsky's Navajo Reading Study concluded in 1975, it had trained dozens of bilingual teachers and produced fifty children's books and twenty-four technical reports on Navajo and Native American education. At Rough Rock, the Navajo Curriculum Center, established in 1967, became the first American Indian publishing house. A consortium of Navajo community-controlled schools founded the Native American Materials Development Center, which produced hundreds of Navajo teaching materials. With the goal of graduating 1,000 Navajo bilingual teachers, the newly created Navajo Division of Education delivered university-accredited courses at reservation schools and provided graduate training for Navajo school administrators (Read *et al.* 1975: 5). As the number of Navajo bilingual–bicultural programmes grew, evidence mounted of their academic benefits, with two longitudinal studies showing that Navajo-speaking children who learned to read first in Navajo outperformed comparable students in English-only programmes and surpassed their own annual growth rates (Holm 2006; Holm and Holm 1990, 1995; McCarty 1993b, 2003; Rosier and Farella 1976).

There are currently 122 Native American community-controlled schools, of which twenty-six are Navajo. All offer bilingual–bicultural instruction. The schools have not been without their problems, however; as McCarty (2002: 123) describes, insufficient and inconsistent federal funding and contradictory bureaucratic requirements have 'constrained, even throttled' the local opportunities for language and culture maintenance these schools have sought to exploit. Nonetheless, the American Indian community-controlled school movement led to 'basic changes,

not just of philosophy but of teachers and [education] control' (Spolsky 1974: 52). As one prominent bilingual educator described these changes, 'never again could educators justify why they were not attempting to have community-based curriculum' in Native American schools (Holm, cited in McCarty 2002: xvi).

The language situation today: endangerment and revitalization

While the community-controlled school movement has been central to Indigenous self-determination, it is not in itself sufficient to arrest language shift. In response to increasing language endangerment, a host of grass roots language revitalization efforts, tailored to local sociolinguistic ecologies, are under way.[16] In California, the Master Apprentice Language Learning Program (MALLP) has yielded promising results for severely endangered languages. Fifty Indigenous languages are spoken in California, none as a first language by children. Unlike Navajo, Native California tribes do not have a single identity or language into which human and financial resources can be invested, nor is there a large corpus of written materials (Hinton 2001b: 218). Instead, the MALLP, organized through a network of tribal, nongovernmental and university partners, is a 'mentored learning approach…for people who may not have accesses to classes but, instead, have access to a speaker' (Hinton, Vera and Steele 2002: xiii). Master speakers and language apprentices work together for months and years at a time, engaging in everyday activities (e.g., gardening, cooking, going to the store) in the heritage language. A cardinal rule is 'no English!' (Hinton *et al.* 2002: 3). According to Hinton (2001b), many apprentices have become conversationally proficient and the MALLP continues to grow.

Hawaiian immersion has been a model for combined school-, community- and family-based language revitalization throughout the US. Once a thriving Polynesian language, by the 1970s Hawaiian had fewer than fifty child speakers (Wilson, Kamanā and Rawlins 2006: 42). In the 1970s a 'Hawaiian renaissance' took root with a strong language revitalization component, resulting in recognition of Hawaiian as co-official with English in the State of Hawai'i and in the non-profit 'Aha Pünana Leo' or Hawaiian 'language nest gathering' (William H. Wilson personal communication January 2007; see also Warner 1999, 2001; Wilson and Kamanā 2001, 2006). The family-run Pūnana Leo preschools laid the foundation for Hawaiian-medium education in the state's public school system. The goal of these programmes is to produce students who 'psychologically identify Hawaiian as their dominant language and the one they will speak with peers and their own children' (Wilson and Kawai'ae'a 2007: 39). Hawaiian immersion has 'developed a whole generation of new speakers', Hinton (2001a: 8) states, and has been an exemplar for other speech communities, including Blackfeet (Kehoe 2001; Kipp 2000), Cherokee (Peter 2007),

Navajo (Johnson and Legatz 2006), Ojibwe (Hermes 2007), and the New Mexico Pueblos (Romero-Little 2010; Romero-Little and McCarty 2006).

For 'sleeping' languages – those lacking native speakers but with documentation and a living heritage language community (Hinton 2001c; Leonard 2008) – the goal is revival. Wōpanāak, an Algonquian language indigenous to the northeastern US, is one such language. Also called Wampanoag, Natick and Massachusett, Wōpanāak lost its last native speaker in 1908. Using historic Native-language diaries, correspondence, legal documents, and the 1663 Eliot Bible, the Wōpanāak Language Reclamation Project (2010: 2) 'aims to return fluency to the Wampanoag Nation as a principal means of expression'. The project has credentialled two Wampanoag linguists, developed a 10,000-word dictionary, and created a 'no English' curriculum for learners of all ages (Ash, Fermino and Hale 2001; Wōpanāak Language Reclamation Project 2010).

These micro-level efforts are coupled with a larger network of Indigenous language support, represented in such organizations as the Advocates for Indigenous California Language Survival (www.aicls.org), the American Indian Language Development Institute (www.u.arizona.edu/~aildi), the Indigenous Language Institute (www.ilinative.org), the National Alliance to Save Native Languages (www.savenativelanguages.org), and the Stabilizing Indigenous Languages Symposium (http://jan.ucc.nau.edu/~jar/History.html). Participants in these organizations were instrumental in the development and passage of the 1990/1992 Native American Languages Act (NALA). Reversing two centuries of federal language policy, NALA declares the federal responsibility to 'preserve, protect, and promote the rights and freedom of Native Americans to use, practice, and develop' Native languages, including in schools (NALA 1990, Sec. 104(1), (5); Warhol in press). In 2006, NALA was augmented by the Esther Martinez Native American Languages Preservation Act,[17] which provides funds for language nest preschools, Native language survival schools, teacher preparation, and materials development. As Warhol (2011) points out, these policies reaffirm 'the self-determination and sovereignty of Native communities as well as the connection between language, culture, and academic achievement' of Native American children.

Indigenous language planning and policy in the US: advances and challenges

The Indigenous language situation in the US is characterized by diverse sociolinguistic ecologies and mounting threats to that diversity. The coupling of micro- and macro-level language planning has opened policy-making windows of opportunity, leading to new generations of Native-language speakers and academic benefits for Indigenous students (Holm 2006; McCarty 2003, 2009a). The threats to these efforts reside in the

continued dominance of an 'ideology of contempt' toward Indigenous and other minoritized languages, reflected in twin movements to make English the nation's official language and high-stakes testing (in English) the de facto language policy (González and Melis 2000, 2001; Menken 2008). Less than a decade after NALA's passage, Congress reauthorized the ESEA as the No Child Left Behind (NCLB) Act of 2001. NCLB ushered in unprecedented levels of testing and has led to teaching to the test and the abandonment of low-stakes (untested) subject matter, including Native language and culture instruction (McCarty 2009b). This is underscored by two recent national studies showing that most Native American students receive all their instruction in English (Mead *et al.* 2010; Stancavage *et al.* 2006). Moreover, the same national studies show no post-NCLB achievement gains (Grigg, Moran and Kuang 2010; Moran *et al.* 2008). In a study of these policy impacts in 'previously strong Yup'ik-speaking villages' in Alaska, Wyman *et al.* (2009: 1, 6) show that NCLB 'is working as a de facto language policy, placing pressure on bilingual education programs and complicating language planning efforts', as Yup'ik is perceived as 'the "flaw" preventing students from succeeding' in school (see also Wyman *et al.* 2010).

With NCLB's pending reauthorization as 'Race to the Top', the pressures of English-only high-stakes testing are unlikely to abate. In response, some Native communities are resituating former school-based programmes in non-profit or autonomous community- and family-based organizations (Kipp 2000; Romero-Little *et al.* 2007). Others have designed Indigenous language and culture counter-standards for use in public schools (Alaska Assembly of Native Educators (AANE) 1998, 2001); yet others are conducting 'locally directed language investigation and language planning' (Wyman *et al.* 2009: 17). Tribal policies may also offer a buffering effect. In 2005, the Navajo Nation passed the Navajo Sovereignty in Education Act (NSIEA), establishing a Diné Department of Education, a Navajo Nation education board, and a Navajo superintendent of instruction with comparable authority to the states (NSIEA 2005, Sec. 10). These and related initiatives foreground the ongoing fight for Indigenous self-determination that has been the enduring leitmotif of official and unofficial policy in the US.

Native languages and language policy in Canada

Canada and the US are both former British colonies and in certain respects their language policies toward Native peoples have followed parallel trajectories. Geographically the second largest country in the world, Canada has a population of 33 million (Patrick 2010: 286). The country's two official languages – French, spoken by 21.5 per cent of the population, and English, spoken by 67.1 per cent – reflect a 'two-

founding people' ideology (ibid.) that has marginalized Indigenous peoples in their homelands and ignored the 50 to 60 Indigenous languages still spoken. The 2006 census counted 1.2 million First Nations, Métis and Inuit people (approximately 4 per cent of the population), known collectively as Aboriginal peoples (Statistics Canada 2009a, 2009b). The majority lives in Arctic Quebec and the Plains and western provinces. There are 196 'enumerated' First Nations reserves; 14 are not enumerated in the census, including some of the largest.

Fettes (1998: 120) characterizes the Indigenous language situation in Canada as one of 'small numbers and great diversity'. Representing eleven language families, all but a few Indigenous languages in Canada are highly endangered, with the most vital being Inuktitut (Canadian Eskimo), Dene (an Athapaskan language), Cree and Ojibwe (Algonquian languages) (Fettes 1998; Patrick 2010; see Table 27.1). Less than 1 per cent of Canadians (about 250,000 people, or 29 per cent of the Aboriginal population) speak an Indigenous language, about half of whom report using it on a daily basis (Statistics Canada 2008, 2009b: Table 23). The stronghold of Aboriginal languages is eastern Canada, where 'virtually all Inuit still learn an Eskimo-Aleut language from birth and continue speaking it throughout their life' (Allen 2007: 515).

As Patrick (2007: 40) describes the pre-colonial human landscape, the region 'was populated by hundreds of distinct Indigenous groups, differing greatly not only in the languages they spoke, but in their political, economic and social organization, which ranged from autonomous, rather isolated groups to vast confederacies'. As elsewhere in the Americas, multilingualism was common, required by 'trade, intermarriage and travel' (Gardner and Jimmie 1989: 4). Through much of the early European contact period, trade languages thrived alongside Indigenous and colonial languages, and well into the nineteenth century, Aboriginal people constituted the demographic majority (Sachdev *et al.* 2006).

In 1867, the British North American Act established the Canadian confederation, granting the new federal government authority over Indigenous 'affairs'. Much like the removal policy in the US, the Indian Act of 1876 began a deliberate course of genocide and linguicide through the removal of Aboriginal peoples to reserves, the restriction of their personal movement, denial of legal representation, and creation of a segregated residential school system. These new residential schools,[18] underwritten by deep-seated attitudes of racial superiority and evangelic fervour, combined 'basic learning' with training in agriculture and 'large doses of religion' (Miller 1996: 83, 155). As the Canadian government took control over former mission schools, it adopted the industrial school model employed in the US whereby students' labour in the fields, kitchens and boiler rooms enabled the schools to operate at minimal financial cost. Also like Indian boarding schools in the US, the medium of instruction was solely English (in some places, French), 'accompanied

by a derogation of, and often severe punishment for even the minimal use of indigenous languages' (Sachdev *et al*. 2006: 118). The human costs of the residential schools were grievous: inadequate food, clothing and health care for Indigenous students, the exploitation of their labour, and acts of physical, emotional, and sexual abuse by school officials (Grant 1996; Haig-Brown 1988; Miller 1996). This has led to recent political and legal action 'to expose and redress the abuses and injustices for which [the Indian Act] was directly or indirectly responsible' (Patrick 2007: 41).

As in the US, during the post-Second World War years the Department of Indian Affairs began to integrate Aboriginal students into the provincial education system as part of a larger plan to relinquish federal responsibility for Aboriginal affairs (Gardner and Jimmie 1989; Perley 1999). English-only schooling continued as children were moved into provincial schools. At the same time, an Indigenous resurgence aligned with international Indigenous social movements 'set into motion efforts to restore Aboriginal rights' (Patrick 2007: 41).

Under the Trudeau government (1968–1972), a policy of multiculturalism within a bilingual French–English framework was instituted and formalized with the Official Languages Act of 1969. Indigenous groups were excluded from the policymaking process, as were Aboriginal languages from the policy itself (Patrick 2010: 297; Sachdev *et al*. 2006: 120). Coterminous with this, the Canadian government proposed phasing out federal responsibility for Aboriginal affairs. Indigenous resistance came to a head in a historic policy brief, *Indian Control of Indian Education*, published by the National Indian Brotherhood in 1972. A 'clear and moving call for an education system based on Aboriginal values and priorities', this position paper represented a turning point in Indigenous self-determination (Fettes 1998: 122).

In subsequent years, and concurrent with the American Indian community-controlled school movement in the US, Indigenous communities asserted greater control over local school systems, experimenting 'with various forms of bilingual–bicultural education, both within and outside the formal school system' (Fettes 1998: 122). As in the US, these efforts were hampered by inadequate funding and the federal and provincial bureaucracies that oversaw them: 'Bands were operating programs under the supervision of the Department of Indian Affairs rather than having direct control', Gardner and Jimmie (1989: 14) state.

In 1982 a new constitution affirmed French and English language rights, noting only parenthetically that this policy should not be construed as abrogating any Indigenous rights (Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms 1982: Sec. 25). In 1987 the Canadian Multiculturalism Act was passed and the Heritage Languages Institute established to promote cultural, linguistic and racial diversity. Multiculturalism, Williams (1998: 17) writes, represented the federal government's 'new national myth and

program…[to unite] the country and [give] it a renewed sense of purpose.' Again excluded from this multicultural national identity was the Indigenous voice.

In the late 1980s, as Native Americans in the US drafted NALA and IBE gained a foothold in Latin America, the first Aboriginal Language Policy Conference convened to create a national policy on First Nations languages (Gardner and Jimmie 1989: 21–2). In the Northwest Territories, an Indigenous majority in the legislative assembly approved an official languages act recognizing all six Indigenous languages of the Territories as co-official with English and French (Fettes 1998: 126). Nevertheless, as late as 1990, a survey of 593 communities found that instruction through Indigenous languages was almost exclusively based on reserves and amounted to only a few hours per week, primarily in the lower elementary grades (Sachdev *et al.* 2006: 119).

These policies began to shift with the Canadian government's 7 January, 1998 *Statement of Reconciliation*, acknowledging the abuses of the residential schools that 'prevented [Indigenous children] from speaking their own languages and from learning about their heritage and cultures' (Stewart 1998: n.p.). At the same time, the Assembly of First Nations, a national organization representing First Nations interests, 'declared a state of language emergency' (Task Force on Aboriginal Languages and Cultures 2005: iii). In 2005, the government established the Aboriginal Language Task Force to survey Indigenous language use, vitality, attitudes and practices. The Task Force's 2005 report lays out a comprehensive strategy for the revitalization of Indigenous languages and cultural traditions, including legislative recognition and promotion of First Languages, government-to-government agreements on land and natural resources as a means of language protection, equitable funding for language support, language teacher training, immersion programs for youth, and creation of an Aboriginal Languages and Culture Council (Task Force on Aboriginal Languages and Cultures 2005).

Inuktitut in Nunavik and Nunavut

Of all Indigenous languages in Canada, Inuktitut is widely believed to have the strongest chance of surviving into the next century. An Eskimo-Aleut language, Inuktitut is estimated to have 29,000 to 36,000 speakers in Canada – approximately 21 per cent of all Eskimo-Aleut speakers worldwide (Allen 2007: 516; Statistics Canada 2007). Most speakers reside in Nunavut ('Our Land' in Inuktitut), a largely Inuit northern territory officially recognized by the Canadian government in 1999, and Nunavik ('Big Land'), the northern-third Inuit-majority region of Quebec (Allen 2007; Maurais 1996; Patrick 2003). According to Dorais (1990: 193), the rate of Inuktitut retention varies among dialects and generally 'increases

in an easterly direction', with 97 per cent of all Arctic Quebec Inuit using their own dialect (see also Dorais 1996).

Inuktitut means 'the Inuit way' (Dorais 1990: 193). In two studies undertaken in Nunavut and Nunavik in the 1990s, Dorais (1995, 1997) illuminates how the Inuit way is lived in social practice and the role of Inuktitut in fashioning identities that are simultaneously 'modern' and 'traditional'. In these linguistic ecologies, Inuktitut, English and French play distinct roles, with the colonial languages valued for their extra-community utility and Inuktitut indispensable as both a practical language and a marker of ethno-cultural identity. These language ideologies shape implicit and explicit language policies, with oral and written English preferred by youth for communication with the outside world and to some extent, among themselves, and Inuktitut reserved for speaking to elders and expressing local identities. Written Inuktitut, Dorais states, is almost solely reserved for the school. In contrast to Hornberger's (1988) Quechua study, schooling in Inuktitut is seen as fulfilling the dual functions of extra-community instruction alongside the 'transmission of Inuit matters' (Dorais 1995: 201).

Patrick's (2003) ethnographic study of Inuit language practices, ideologies and persistence in Nunavik extends these earlier findings. Focusing on the quadrilingual (Inuktitut, Cree, French, English) Inuit community of Kuujjuarapik, Patrick examines the persistence of Inuktitut 'despite increasing pressure from English and French' (2003: 205). In this linguistic ecology, English, French and Inuktitut compete within the regional linguistic market. Yet Inuktitut is the language used most frequently within the home and workplace, and is the language of political life and Inuit cultural identity. Patrick thus offers an optimistic assessment (as does Dorais (1997)), 'because politics, identity, and language learning have become linked to both traditional and modern economic pursuits' (2003: 215).

Allen (2007) and Tulloch (2004) provide more cautious assessments. Noting that Inuktitut-medium schooling in Nunavik ends after Grade 2, after which instruction is in English or French, Allen states that many Inuit parents 'report a progressive decline in their children's Inuktitut' once they transition to second-language instruction, and that 'children are losing interest in Inuktitut language and culture' (2007: 525). The general trend, Allen maintains, is the decreasing use of 'only or mostly Inuktitut' with age (2007: 531).

Tulloch (2004) examines Inuit youth language attitudes in three (Nunavut) Baffin Island communities where Inuktitut is the first official language and enjoys explicit government promotion. There, Inuktitut is the mother tongue of the majority of youth, who not only speak and understand the language well, but read and write it. Yet Inuit youth express insecurity in speaking their mother tongue; 'they recognize language loss in their own lives and attribute it to the encroaching presence

of English' (2004: 5). Arguing that language attitudes are key to understanding language choices (and hence to language planning and policy), Tulloch documents the complex interaction of youth's perceived linguistic competence, language use and language attitudes. As Patrick finds for Kuujjuarapik, Inuktitut in these Baffin Island communities is the language of access to family, community, Inuit history, elders and jobs. At the same time, English is perceived by youth as both 'cool' and necessary for life opportunities in Nunavut and beyond. The future of Inuktitut 'is hopeful, but uncertain', Tulloch concludes, as youth 'witness language loss first-hand in their own lives as they transfer to English as their dominant language' (p. 415).

Indigenous language planning and policy in Canada: advances and challenges

The post-colonial history of official language policy in Canada has been shaped by a 'two founding people' ideology in which Indigenous languages have been both ignored and targeted for eradication (Patrick 2010). Beginning in the 1970s, Indigenous resistance led to policy breakthroughs in language, education and land rights. 'The most important relationship embodied by First Nation, Inuit and Métis languages is with the land', the Task Force on Aboriginal Languages states, which in turn embodies a people's history and spirituality (2005: ii). '[L]and, spirituality, [community] healing and language are all interconnected', Patrick (2007: 45) emphasizes.

Recent years have witnessed additional language protections at the territorial level. In Nunavut, Bill 6, the 2007 Nunavut Official Languages Act, recognizes Inuktitut and Inuinnaqtun as co-official with French and English. Bill 7, the Inuit Language Protection Act, 'seeks to protect and promote Inuit languages' by creating requirements for their use in public and private settings (Patrick 2010: 298). Yet there is no national policy recognizing Indigenous language rights comparable to NALA in the US or to official language policies in Latin America. 'Canada has no positive linguistic rights for indigenous peoples', Bear Nicholas asserts (2009: 224).

As elsewhere in the Americas, a variety of bottom-up language reclamation projects are under way. Blair and Holland (2006), for instance, report on status, corpus and acquisition planning in the Dene-speaking community of Black Lake, Saskatchewan, where a Dene immersion programme sparked the development of a practical orthography and curricula in language arts, mathematics and science. Elders have been central to these language planning efforts (Alphonse 2006). The major constraints on projects such as these are lack of funding, qualified teachers and curriculum materials (Bear Nicholas 2006). In response, some institutions of higher education offer teacher preparation programmes

tailored to revitalization efforts. The Canadian Indigenous Language and Literacy Development Institute at the University of Alberta, modelled after the American Indian Language Development Institute in the US, seeks to preserve and maintain Aboriginal languages 'by developing research skills and teaching resources in the speakers of these languages themselves' (www.uofaweb.ualberta.ca/cilldi). In support of Maliseet and Mi'kmaq in the Maritimes, the Native Language Immersion Teacher Training Program at St Thomas University offers an immersion certificate program, the first of its kind (Bear Nicholas 2006; www.nativestudies.org/native_pdf/pamphlet.pdf).

One promising new development is growing language activism by Indigenous youth. In 2005, the Inuit Circumpolar Youth Council – an arm of the Inuit Circumpolar Council, a multinational non-governmental organization founded in 1977 to promote Inuit rights (www.inuitcircumpolar.com/index.php?ID=1&Lang=En) – convened the first Inuit Circumpolar Youth Symposium on the Inuit language. Bringing together youth delegates from Alaska, Canada and Greenland, the symposium explored past policies of linguistic and cultural oppression, best practices in language retention, and Inuit empowerment and linguistic human rights (Tulloch 2005).

The goals of Indigenous language planning and policy in Canada are clearly distinct from those designed to promote French and immigrant or heritage languages (Duff and Li 2009).[19] For Indigenous speech communities, the project of reclamation is intimately tied to social justice, healing from the past, and the restoration of homelands and cultural autonomy (Patrick 2007: 45).

Summary and future directions for research and praxis

This chapter has examined language planning and policy by and for Indigenous peoples in diverse settings across the Americas. Using Spolsky's three-pronged model of policy as language practice, ideology and management, we have seen how colonial 'ideologies of contempt' (Dorian 1998) have materialized in systematic campaigns of removal, containment and forced assimilation. Colonial schooling has been a fulcrum of these campaigns.

We have also seen examples of Indigenous pushback that have opened new possibilities for language reclamation within and outside of schools. These 'counterpoised' top-down and bottom-up initiatives (López 2008) are reclaiming Indigenous mother tongues simultaneously with cultural, educational, and land rights. But the conquest is by no means complete; throughout the Americas, linguistic repression, racial discrimination and economic injustice are lived realities and ever-present policy themes.

In this political environment, critical policy research can challenge dominant policy paradigms and illuminate anti-hegemonic alternatives. There remains a need for situated examinations of the multifarious ways in which language ideologies are transformed into policy and practice. One increasingly popular tool for this is critical ethnography, which permits in-depth, up-close and systemic understandings of these sociolinguistic processes as they manifest in the everyday 'here and now' (see, e.g., Hornberger and Johnson 2007; Johnson 2009; McCarty 2011). Equally important are ethnological studies that place local accounts in a larger consideration of transnational shifts and social–economic divides (Collins 2011; Gilmore 2011). How are sociolinguistic resources stratified across time, space and place in Indigenous sociolinguistic ecologies? How are globalizing processes taken up and (re)configured in local language practices and ideologies? How can globalization 'from the bottom up' create new ideological and implementational spaces (Hornberger 2006b) that promote human agency in the reclamation of language rights?

One encouraging new research direction centres on Indigenous youth negotiations of these local and global processes. As Szulc (2009: 144) argues in her ethnographic study of Mapuche language and culture instruction in Argentina, youth are not simply the object of identity struggles around language and culture, 'they also act as agents, resignifying and articulating the different and conflicting messages' they receive from their learning experiences. In this regard, an emerging literature on Indigenous youth bi/multilingualism is worthy of note (Lee 2007, 2009; McCarty *et al*. 2009; Messing 2009; Nicholas 2009, 2011; Tulloch 2004; Wyman *et al*. 2009; Wyman 2009). Despite youth experiences with competing language ideologies, this research suggests they may choose to speak their heritage languages as an act of identity and belonging. A key aspect of this research is its praxis potential, as nuanced understandings of youth language ideologies and practices suggest new strategies for 'inviting youth into' language planning and policymaking (McCarty and Wyman 2009: 286–7; Tulloch 2004, 2005).

Finally, the sustainability of a language entails the empowerment of the people who speak it. The activation of Indigenous voice (Hornberger 2006c) in language policy research and praxis is essential to both. As I have written elsewhere (McCarty 2006), voice exists in dialogic tension with Indigenous choice – 'the very core of language policy' (Spolsky 2004: 42). Moving forward into the twenty-first century, research that promotes the co-activation of Indigenous voice and choice is a prerequisite for policies of Indigenous self-empowerment.

28

Language policy in the European Union (EU)

Ulrich Ammon

Introduction

Language policy is understood here in the narrower sense of comprising any attempt at regulating or influencing choice of language, but not attempts at influencing people's actions or attitudes through language. We also use the term however, following widespread usage, for the scholarly or scientific field which studies those attempts. These studies should be aware of the basic components of such attempts like, especially, (a) the agents or rulers (individuals, groups or institutions) who regulate choice of language and whose study includes their (expressed) reasons and (latent) motives for doing it, (b) the subjects (individuals, groups or institutions) at which regulations are aimed, whose study includes how they deal with regulations and (c) the objectives or contents of regulations, especially the involved languages or language forms and their assigned and actual functions. These basic components, to which many studies of language policy refer more or less explicitly (e.g. Spolsky 2004; Ricento 2006), can be analysed and specified further in numerous ways.

This chapter deals primarily with the language policy of the European Union (EU) government and, secondarily, of the governments of EU member states as far as it relates to the former; therefore the title 'language policy *in* the EU' (not 'of the EU'), though there is much more language policy in the EU than can be dealt with here. For both kinds of government, the EU and the member states, the power relationship between rulers and subjects is partially circular, as generally holds for democratically structured political units. The citizens of EU member states, who are at the same time EU citizens, are on the one hand the sovereign, who elects governments, but are on the other hand subjected to the policy the elected governments plan and put in force. Keeping this circularity in mind, we focus on the governments or their institutions as the immediate agents of EU language policy. As to those regulations made

by government institutions which are aimed at themselves or other government institutions, these institutions are also subjects of this policy. The contents of policy being studied are entire languages and their formation into language regimes, but we are ignoring linguistic variants, discourse features or types of text. We are also not dealing with terminology modernization or standardization, though it is part of EU language policy.

The language policy of the EU and its member states (with respect to the EU) is a function of the purposes which the founding and acceding states have attributed to the EU and which is sketched at the beginning of the next section. That section also provides an overview of the government of the EU with its institutions and of the member states and their language policy competences. The next section 'Legacies of history' glimpses back at nation and empire building in Europe and its effects on languages and attitudes towards languages as they are still noticeable today. The following section pictures the 'linguistic composition of the EU' and its member states in terms of the status and function of languages and their formation into institutional language regimes, but only touches languages' structural affiliation. The functional typology of languages (actually related to status and function; cf. Ammon 1989) corresponds to the hierarchy of their speakers' power and privileges, with the working languages of the EU government on top and the minority languages of EU member states at the bottom. It serves as a framework for presenting in the following two sections the language regimes of EU institutions and the policies towards national languages and language minorities. The second-to-last section deals with the policy of language studies in the EU. The 'Conclusion' attempts an overall evaluation of the language policy in the EU. This policy is rife with conflicts. Some of them are analysed, in the various sections, as to diverging interests between member states and language communities and related to values encapsulated in EU treaties or declarations, such as the furtherance of democracy, maintenance of languages and cultures, guarantee of communication and observation of fairness towards all the involved groups.

Basic political structure, main purposes, and major language policy goals of the EU

The EU is a union of European states which is politically and economically less coherent and integrated than a federation of states (like the USA), but more than a mere organization of cooperating states (like the United Nations). One of its hallmarks is its linguistic diversity, which is reflected in the multilingualism of its government with twenty-three official languages and – varying between institutions – up to five working languages (see also Chapter 8 in this volume). The following are the most important

institutions, with their main tasks, locations and working languages (see Gazzola 2006: 397) added in brackets. (Data in this article, including consultation of websites, relate to April 2010, if not specified otherwise.)

- The *European Council*, the assembly of heads of governments of EU member states (develops the guidelines of EU policy, located in Brussels: all twenty-three official languages).
- The *Council (of Ministers)*, the assembly of ministers of EU member states, convening as required (one of the two legislative branches of the EU, located in Brussels: all twenty-three official languages).
- The *European Parliament*, representing the EU citizens, while the two previous institutions represent the governments of the member states. Numbers of its members are roughly proportional to the populations of the states though over-proportional for the smaller states (shares legislative power with the Council and has a major role in developing the public political sphere of the EU, located in Brussels, but convening also in Strasbourg: all twenty-three official languages).
- The *European Commission*, with one Commissioner per member state (the executive power of the EU, located in Brussels: English, French and German).

The EU has still more organizations for special tasks, of which one or the other will be mentioned later, as well as 'functionally autonomous bodies' like:

- The *Court of Justice*, with one judge per member state (interprets EU law ensuring equal application across EU member states and thus works towards legal unification, located in Luxembourg: French).
- The *European Central Bank* (administrates the monetary policy of the sixteen EU member states (of the total of twenty-seven) taking part in the Euro-zone, located in Frankfurt: English).

The EU was founded in the wake of the Second World War with the essential goal of preventing future wars between member states, together with other related goals like stabilizing and furthering democracy in all member states (and if possible beyond). It started under the name of the *European Economic Community* with six founding states, established by the Treaty of Rome, which came into force on 1 January 1958, following various preceding forms of interstate co-operation, and was gradually expanded, finally modifying its name to the *European Union* in 1993, with the Treaty of Maastricht. Since 2007 it has comprised twenty-seven member states, with negotiations for accession going on with Iceland, Croatia, Macedonia and Turkey and more states in limbo in Western Europe, former Yugoslavia and western parts of the former Soviet Union. All member states were previously autonomous but ceded part of their autonomy upon accession. The state functions of the EU gradually increased, especially with the recent Treaty of Lisbon, which

entered into force on 1 December 2009 and which – with the additional functions of the President of the Council and the 'High Representative for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy', for which a fully fledged diplomatic service is being developed – makes the eventual transformation to a federation appear feasible, though not in the foreseeable future.

So far the member states have retained essential rights and state functions including cultural autonomy. This limits the power of the EU government or its institutions especially in language policy, since language is seen as an essential part of culture, a view which calls for the particular protection of national and other indigenous languages. In addition, democratic rules require communication with the linguistically diverse member states and citizens. Therefore the 'principle of multilingualism' (Labrie 1993: 59) has governed EU language policy. It entails keeping in place a multilingual regime for the EU government, to which Article 217 of the founding Treaty 'provides that the rules governing the languages of the institutions of the Community shall … be determined by the Council, acting unanimously', which means that changes can be vetoed by any single member state. Various regulations oblige the EU to 'respect … linguistic diversity', as *The Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union* (2000) words it. This entered into force with the Lisbon Treaty in 2009 (Article 22).[1] Protection of multilingualism, however, needs to be balanced with other principles such as guaranteeing communication. For the overall goal, the label 'integrated multilingualism' (Ross 2003: 10) has been suggested.

Legacies of history: language–nation–empire and national, transnational and sub-national languages

A deeper reason why member states treasure their languages and thus put limits on the EU government's language policy is the symbolic value languages have acquired through their role in the formation of 'nation-states'. The founding states of the EU count among the epitomes of this type of state, for whose definition and collective identity languages have been essential. Various states developed from opposite ends, but arrived at essentially the same result of one state – one nation – one (national) language. While France, for example, started out from a single state comprising linguistically divergent populations on which a common language was imposed, Germany or Italy began from a single language extending over several states which were then united. France, accordingly, appears to be founded on its state constitution (*civic state*), and Germany or Italy on their national language, taken as symbolic of ethnic commonality (*ethnic state*). The originally missing components – same language in the case of France or, respectively, same state in the case of Germany and Italy – were added, though less perfectly than envisioned, in the course

of time, so that they now likewise perceive themselves as nation-states based on both their constitution and their national language, which has come to be widely perceived as the symbol of ethnic commonality. It would, however, contribute to clarity to speak only of the commonality of citizens (a common *demos*) which is compatible with ethnic variety. Most of the other member states of the EU followed roughly the same lines of development with their national language expressing national identity (cf. e.g. Coulmas 1991; Wright 2000) (see also Chapter 4 in this volume). The classical nation-state idea of the co-incidence of language, nation (often mistaken as a single ethnic group) and state is still alive in Europe. It has been among the causes of language conflicts such as – though with significant differences – in Belgium or Spain and of language division following the break-up of states like former Czechoslovakia (into the Czech Republic and Slovakia) or Yugoslavia.

But even such break-ups could at best approximate the classical nation-state idea, which has nowhere been fully realized, let alone ethnic commonality of all speakers of the same language or all citizens of a state. Post-national and modernist thinking (e.g. Habermas 1998/2001) have highlighted the shortcomings of the nation-state idea and criticized the ensuing repressive language policies. Such criticism has drawn attention to the minority languages in the EU, which have – inspired by the Council of Europe – received special protection. Not so, however, dialects whose neglect or even suppression is largely seen as the unavoidable side-effect of nation building.

Neither has the classical nation-state idea been fully successful in creating linguistic conformity within a state (of native speakers, whom nation-state ideologists had in mind) nor in collecting all the speakers of a language within one single state. Power plays between nations broke up language communities or prevented unification in a single state, which is one of the reasons why some languages are transnational and extend over several states. However, speakers of the same language often feel ethnically related or perceive common language interests, even with language minorities of remote settlements. In addition, languages with numerical and economic strength of speakers have become international by being studied as a foreign language (cf. Ammon 2010a). Their spread has also, in addition to the interests of learners, been supported by expansionist language diffusion policies as nation building turned into nationalism and imperialism (cf. Phillipson 1992, for English).

Critical reconstruction of history certainly helps put language policy in perspective and give it orientation. It seems, however, hopeless to try to reverse history, except for perhaps minor corrections. Rather the present state of affairs needs to be heeded, since speakers or their politicians loathe losses in status or function of their language. This seems particularly valid for a language policy for a voluntary union of states like the EU, to avoid disruptive consequences. EU politicians seem

to have always been sensitized to this danger. Eulogies about linguistic diversity accompanied by the mantra of the intricate relationship of linguistic diversity with cultural wealth have, however, gained momentum after the accession of Britain and Ireland (1973) and the Scandinavian countries (Denmark 1973; Sweden and Finland 1995), English-speaking and the English-favouring member states. France seems to be a driving force behind diversity, supported by Germany, hoping thus to save the standing of their own languages against the expansion of English and, in the course of time, perhaps developing a genuine inclination to multilingualism. Views from other member states, especially unofficial ones, have however been less enthusiastic, and sceptical observers have even deemed linguistic diversity to be the EU's 'predicament' (de Swaan 2007). Whether wealth or predicament, linguistic diversity is one of the EU's hallmarks and makes language policy as unavoidable as it is difficult.

The linguistic composition and the language regimes of the EU

It seems impossible to give an overview of the language policy in the EU without first drawing at least a rough picture of the EU's linguistic composition. It needs to be based on a functional typology of languages, conceived with respect to language regimes and policy, rather than a structural typology at which we only hint briefly towards the end of this section. The functional language types are not disjunctive with regard to single languages, but intersect heavily, in that the same language can belong to several types at the same time. Also, the allocation of languages to types sometimes remains questionable because of the fuzziness of definitions, lack of clarity in regulations or missing data. The following functional typology forms a (though not always strict) hierarchy of superset relationships ($\supseteq$) from more to less powerful functions or comprehensive language rights of speakers or, respectively, subset relationships ($\subseteq$) between language types. On top are the

(1) 'Working languages of the EU institutions'. They number up to five, varying according to EU institutions, with their delimitation not always exactly clear-cut (see Table 28.1 for a list of the languages concerned in this, and the next two language groups). The working languages of the EU institutions are a subset of the

(2) 'Official languages of the EU'. While the EU working languages serve internal institutional communication (therefore our terminological reference to the 'institutions'), the twenty-three official EU languages are used for communication between the EU government or EU institutions and member states. They are also used for the authentic version of the act of accession, i.e. the treaty between an acceding member state and the EU together with all the binding EU laws (*Acquis communautaire*) (cf.

Table 28.1 *EU member states and their national-official languages (first column in alphabetical order, and second column related to it), and EU official and EU working languages (third and fourth column both in alphabetical order)*

EU member states	National-official languages of EU member states	EU official languages	EU working languages
Austria	German	Bulgarian	English
Belgium	Dutch, French	Czech	French
Britain	English	Danish	German
Bulgaria	Bulgarian	Dutch	Italian
Cyprus (Greek part)	Greek	English	Spanish
Czech Republic	Czech	Estonian	
Denmark	Danish	Finnish	
Estonia	Estonian	French	
Finland	Finnish, Swedish	German	
France	French	Greek	
Germany	German	Hungarian	
Greece	Greek	Irish	
Hungary	Hungarian	Italian	
Ireland	English, Irish	Latvian	
Italy	Italian	Lithuanian	
Latvia	Latvian	Maltese	
Lithuania	Lithuanian	Polish	
Luxembourg	French, German, Luxembourgish	Portuguese	
Malta	Maltese	Rumanian	
Netherlands	Dutch	Slovakian	
Poland	Polish	Slovenian	
Portugal	Portuguese	Spanish	
Rumania	Rumanian	Swedish	
Slovakia	Slovakian		
Slovenia	Slovenian		
Spain	Spanish		
Sweden	Swedish		

Labrie 1993: 60–7). For some institutions the official languages are at the same time the working languages, so that the above 'working languages' are defined with respect to only those institutions with a limited language regime. The number of official languages of the EU is smaller than that of the member states (i.e. twenty-three versus twenty-seven), because, firstly, six of these languages serve a total of twelve states, namely – in alphabetic order: Dutch (Belgium, The Netherlands), English (Britain, Ireland), French (France, Belgium, Luxembourg), German (Germany, Austria, Luxembourg), Greek (Greece, Cyprus) and Swedish (Sweden, Finland), and, secondly, two of these states have additional, specific languages: Ireland (Irish) and Finland (Swedish). There are therefore eight languages for twelve states plus fifteen languages for fifteen states adding up to twenty-three languages for twenty-seven states. The official languages of the EU are, again, a subset of the

(3) 'National-official languages of EU member states'. Of the national-official languages there is one without official EU status: Luxembourgish

(*Lëtzebuergesch*) of Luxembourg. There are therefore altogether twenty-four national-official languages for the twenty-seven EU member states. Every member state has at least one national-official language with a few having more than one (e.g. Ireland: Irish and English), and some languages having national-official status in more than one state (e.g. French in France, Belgium and Luxembourg). Some national-official languages are, at the same time,

(4) 'Regional-official languages (of EU member states)' in other EU member states (e.g. German in Belgium and Italy – being national-official e.g. in Germany). There are, however, some languages which have regional-official status in an EU member state, but nowhere national-official status like Catalan (though in Andorra, outside the EU), Basque and Galician in Spain, Welsh and – depending on definitions – Scots in Britain, West Frisian in The Netherlands or Sorbian in Germany. It is difficult to count the total number of regional-official languages in the EU, since definitions are not always clear, especially not for delimitation from the next type down our hierarchy, of which the regional-official languages are, again, a subset, the

(5) 'Indigenous (or autochthonous) minority languages of EU member states under the protection of the *European Charter of Regional or Minority Languages*'. It seems reasonable to specify the indigenous minority languages *under the protection of the Charter* as a separate type which ranks above the next below, under (6). The Charter protects the regional-official languages too, yet there are also 'indigenous minority languages under the protection of the Charter in EU member states', which do not have official language status anywhere. A language is under the protection of the Charter, if its member state has ratified the Charter and, in addition, listed it as meeting the Charter's criteria, e.g. Kashub, Yiddish, Karaim, Lemko, Romani and Tatar in Poland, or Romani and Low German in Germany. The total number of these languages is hard to determine with any precision, because neither is there a comprehensive list of them nor have all member states which ratified the Charter explicitly listed the languages they acknowledge.

The next type down the hierarchy is that of the

(6) 'Indigenous minority languages in EU member states *not* under the protection of the *European Charter of Regional or Minority Languages*.' It comprises only those languages which meet the criteria for protection of the Charter, but whose state has not ratified the Charter or has otherwise decided against protection. The numbers of such languages are particularly difficult to pin down because of the vagueness of the Charter's criteria, especially 'indigenousness' but also 'size', which unavoidably play a role and which can change over time – not to speak of the lack of reliable data (see for 'indigenousness', in the case of German in Finland, Gawrisch 2009). For languages without a territory (i.e. of nomads), which the Charter explicitly includes, relevant data can be particularly evasive. The type at the bottom of our hierarchy is, finally, the

(7) 'Exogenous (or allochthonous) minority languages.' They have no protection under any covenant of the EU. Nevertheless, the EU government has issued recommendations to EU member states to provide opportunities for native speakers to learn and use them. Language numbers have been estimated to run into the hundreds in some member states, but are impossible to pin down because of fluctuation of speakers, especially if they are divided further into languages of immigrants, migrants and asylum seekers.

Other types of language, at which EU language policy has aimed, are the 'sign languages' for communication with mute people, classical languages like Latin, classical Greek or classical Arabic, and modern foreign languages (foreign in the respective member state) like French in Sweden, German in Greece or Chinese or Japanese in all EU member states. Only the latter are dealt with in this article, in the final section.

As mentioned above, there is considerable overlap of these types with respect to single languages, some of which belong to several or even all types listed above. A case in point is German, which is (1) a working language of EU institutions, (2) an official EU language, (3) a national-official language of EU member states (Germany, Austria and Luxembourg), (4) a regional-official language of EU member states (Italy and Belgium), (5) an indigenous minority language protected under the *European Charter of Regional or Minority Languages* (in the Czech Republic, Denmark, Hungary, Poland, Romania and Slovakia), (6) an indigenous minority language *not* protected under the Charter (in France and perhaps elsewhere) and even, as could be argued, (7) an exogenous minority language (e.g. in Spain).

As to the structural linguistic picture, it seems reasonable to keep it rough and limit it to the national and the clear cases of regional-official languages of the EU member states, since it has been of little importance for EU language policy. Most of the official languages of the EU member states belong to the Indo-European phylum, more specifically to the following language families: Romance (Catalan, French, Galician, Italian, Portuguese, Romanian and Spanish), Germanic (Danish, Dutch, English, German, Luxembourgish and Swedish), Slavic (Bulgarian, Czech, Polish, Slovakian and Slovenian), Baltic (Latvian and Lithuanian), Celtic (Irish) and Greek (an isolate in the Indo-European phylum). The other phyla of these languages are Finno-Ugric (Estonian, Finnish and Hungarian), Semitic (Maltese) and Basque (an absolute isolate).

The working and the official languages of the EU and the national and regional-official languages of EU member states

Though the EU government's power to enforce language policy remains limited, it has naturally most authority and competence with respect

to its own language regime, which is ruled by *Council Regulation No 1*. When it initially went into force in 1958, there were four official languages for the then *European Economic Community*, namely Dutch, French, German and Italian, for the six founding states Belgium, France, Italy, Luxembourg, The Netherlands and West-Germany (in alphabetical order). Numbers increased with the accession of new members to twenty-three official EU languages for the twenty-seven member states (as of 1 January 2007). Each member state could count on getting official EU status for its own national-official language and in the case of several such languages, for any of them, if it so requested. This at least seems to have been the understanding of the somewhat cryptic, relevant Article 8 of Regulation No 1: 'If a Member State has more than one official language, the language to be used shall, at the request of such State, be governed by the general rules of its laws.' This understanding also seems to imply that only national but not regional-official languages of member states are eligible, since only they should be known by all citizens, or citizens should know at least one of them if there are several.

The status of official EU language entails, among other privileges, that 'a Member State or a person subject to the jurisdiction of a member state' can choose any of these languages for sending documents to 'institutions of the Community' and that '[t]he reply shall be drafted in the same language' (*Council Regulation No. 1* : Article 2), that documents which an EU institution 'sends to a Member State or a person subject to the jurisdiction of a Member State shall be drafted in the language of such State', i.e. the official EU language the state has requested for itself (Article 3), that all EU '[r]egulations and other documents of general application shall be drafted in the official languages' (Article 4), and that '[t]he *Official Journal of the European Union* shall be published in the official languages' (Article 5), i.e., for Articles 4 and 5, in *all* official EU languages. What is not stated in Regulation No. 1, but follows from it rather logically and is spelled out in the Rules of Procedure of the respective institutions, is that any of these languages may also be used in the debates of the EU Parliament and in the formal proceedings of the European Council and the Council of Ministers, with interpretation into all other official EU languages financed from the EU budget. Interpretation is also provided for less formal meetings and for other institutions, but financed there only up to a limited amount for each member state from the EU budget; for additional costs the requesting member state has to pay from their own coffers (for details see below). All official EU languages thus have, at the same time, institutional working function, and *Regulation No. 1* does indeed refer to all of them as 'the official languages and the working languages of the institutions of the Union' and lists all of them (Article 1).

The idea is widespread that all these languages are equal in status and function with respect to the EU institutions, yet in reality they never have been. Regulation No. 1 itself provides the legal basis for inequality

through Article 6, which states: 'The institutions of the Community may stipulate in their rules of procedure which of the languages are to be used in specific cases.' Most institutions, especially their preparatory committees, use only a small subset of the official EU languages regularly, which in practice always includes English and French, sometimes German, and occasionally Italian and Spanish, though other languages are not rigorously excluded. In some cases, the working language status has been declared, e.g. English, French and German for the Commission – though, it seems, only in a declaration by the then President of the Commission, Jacques Delors, published only in German (*EG-Nachrichten* 34, 6 September 1993: 4). In other cases their use is based solely on convention established through continuing practice. These languages, whether with their status declared or only based on convention, have come to be referred to as the 'procedural languages' or, simply, the 'working languages' of the EU institutions, which implies classification of the remaining majority of the official EU languages as *merely official languages*. Though this term is avoided officially, it can be useful for stressing the difference. It is, however, important to keep in mind that the distinction is not always clear-cut and that, especially, there is a hierarchy of the working languages as to frequency and 'taken-for-grantedness' of use with English clearly preferred, followed by French and – at a considerable distance – German and then Italian and Spanish. Nevertheless, the difference between the working languages and the (merely) official languages has become more conspicuous with the expansion of the EU and raised concern.

The official EU languages are meant to guarantee full linguistic access of EU citizens and member states to EU institutions, in line with democratic ideals, while working languages selected from them should guarantee efficiency within the institutions. The great number of official languages requires a vast system of translation and interpretation. The EU government employs more translators and interpreters than any other political body or organization in the world. The Commission alone has around 1,500 translators.[2] The European Parliament and the European Court of Justice, whose interpreting services are combined, employ 500 permanent and 2,700 freelance interpreters, from the latter of which 300–400 are engaged every day. Total translation and interpretation costs for the EU institutions rose to over 1,123 billion Euro in the budget of 2005, i.e. with then still only twenty-one official EU languages.[3] In spite of such expenditures, uninhibited access to the institutions cannot be fully achieved. The working languages function best in that respect since the institutional staff is most familiar with them, while for the merely official languages there is often a shortage of translators or interpreters. Nevertheless, costs for translating and interpreting have been criticized from various quarters and, in reply, been belittled from the side of the EU government, especially by measuring them against the

number of roughly 500 million EU citizens ('Annual costs for language services per citizen amount to no more than for a cup of coffee').

Besides the access of citizens and member states to institutions, the creation of an EU-wide public sphere as an essential feature of a functioning democracy (Habermas 1962/1989) has become an issue of EU language policy (Kraus 2004). For it, too, the language services are seen as playing an important role, especially through interpretation of the debates of the EU Parliament. For them, as also for formal meetings of the Council and the European Council, full interpretation is provided. This means that participants or members of parliament can use any of the official EU languages with all of them being interpreted into all others. This amounts to altogether 506 combinations of languages ($n \times n-1$, presently 23×22, i.e. 23 connected to all others), which made reduction absolutely necessary to keep numbers of cabins and staff manageable and put a lid on costs. Therefore, interpreting has been extended from being only into native languages to also having foreign languages as the target (*reverse interpretation*) and, over and above, to *relay interpretation*. The latter takes place in two steps. In order, for example, to connect Greek with Finnish, Greek is first connected to a *relay language* (e.g. English) and from there to Finnish. Relay interpretation is common between the smaller languages, which increases feelings of being disadvantaged among their speakers, underlined by jokes like 'The Finns (or speakers of other smaller languages) are the last to laugh at a joke or don't laugh at all because they don't get it." Naturally, the quality of interpretation suffers from such economizing measures (Gazzola 2006: 404–5). The members of parliament seem to be especially sensitive to shortcomings in language communication, probably because of their role for the public sphere of the EU, which shows in their numerous complaints to the Commission or the Council about language problems (Labrie 1993: 126–7).

There are still other reasons, beyond the quality of interpretation, why for some observers the public sphere of the EU remains unsatisfactory. An obvious one is that for some public situations, like the press conferences of the Commission, interpretation is available only in the working languages, mainly English, some French and a smattering of German. Requests for more interpretation are however rare, because potential protesters know about the costs. Also, in the case of the press conferences, abstention from interpretation can be justified because the journalists to whom they are addressed can report on them in the languages of the member states.

A more fundamental criticism, also linked to the unsatisfactory public sphere, calls into question the very possibility of a functioning *democracy* for a political unit of so much linguistic diversity as the EU (e.g. Grimm 1995b: 44–8). Some of this discussion tends to equalize *demos* (citizens) with *ethnos* (ethnic group), following the ambiguity in major languages of words like *people, peuple, popolo, pueblo* or *Volk*, and mistakes the variety of

ethnic groups for the missing common *demos* of a real '*demo*'*cracy*. Inspired by the nation-state idea, this criticism seems unaware of the fact that not even nation-states have achieved ethnic uniformity but only commonality of citizenship and often also remain linguistically diversified, with their national-official language functioning as a sort of lingua franca. The assumption that linguistic uniformity is a prerequisite of democracy can be refuted in the face of democratic multilingual states, such as – to take quite diverse examples – Switzerland and India. Vivian Manz (2002), referring to Switzerland, considers it more essential that issues of general importance are made public to all citizens, even if in different languages, and sees this increasingly happening in the EU. David Laitin (1997) suggested for the EU to follow India's language policy, whose 3±1 language formula would guarantee communication on all relevant social and political levels (international with English, national with the national-official languages) as well as express the diverse identities (national with the national-official languages and sub-national with the regional-official or minority languages). While native speakers of national-official languages would have to learn only English for communication (i.e. master two languages), speakers of a regional-official language would also have to learn the national-official language (master three languages) and minority-language speakers perhaps even the regional-official language (+ the national language + English, i.e. master four languages). However, Laitin seems to have overlooked that the native speakers of English do not need to learn any additional language. His language formula obviously discounts them for India, which would hardly be possible for the EU, with Britain and Ireland as its member states, who would be dispensed from foreign-language learning altogether – an issue to which we return presently.

If we look at the internal instead of the public domains of EU institutions, language regulations are also less than ideal. For some of these, especially preparatory committees, strict limitation to the working languages is not feasible, so that interpretation is necessary. To curb costs, interpreting 'upon request' has been introduced for the Council committees (Gazzola 2006: 349). For each member state, costs for interpretation are met from the EU budget to a limited extent (slightly above two million Euro per year), which however is far below what is needed for complete coverage. The large states can afford to pay for complete interpretation, while the small ones cannot and, consequently, have to make do with foreign languages, which sometimes causes dismay. One solution which has been suggested would be the reduction of the language regime to English as the sole working language (van Els 2005).

This takes us to the already adumbrated, perhaps main bone of contention of EU language policy: the question of English as the, perhaps even only, lingua franca of the EU (favourably, van Parijs 2004b; critically, Phillipson 2003). Establishing English in this function would solve a

great deal of the problems mentioned above. If every EU citizen acquired a solid command of the language, communication would no longer be impeded. Costs or quality of interpretation or translation would cause no more pains, and the growth of the public sphere would no longer be barred linguistically. One actually wonders about the obsession of EU language policy with linguistic diversity, which is so obviously at odds with smooth communication. Philippe van Parijs (2004c) assumes that the EU (and the entire world) are virtually unavoidably heading towards a single 'lingua franca', which undoubtedly would be English, and argues soundly that this would not only be the most efficient, but also the fairest solution for overcoming existing language barriers, especially if various compensatory measures could be enacted.

Are EU politicians blindfolded or do they have respectable reasons not to be convinced of the unavoidability and superior fairness of the English-only perspective? They seem to be especially concerned about English falling short of a real lingua franca, which would be a non-native language for everyone. This would only make the shared burden of language learning and struggling with a foreign tongue somewhat fair (though still not entirely because of differences in linguistic distance from native tongues). English, however, is the native tongue of a substantial part of the EU citizens, the British and Irish, to whom its status as the sole 'link language' (a more adequate term than lingua franca) would bestow superior communicative skills as well as a 'free ride' in language learning (van Parijs 2001; 2004c). Also, asymmetrical diffusion of their culture into the other language communities could hardly be averted, as learning a language makes acquaintance with its countries' culture and its preferred acquisition nearly unavoidable. The English-speaking countries enjoy these advantages already today to a considerable extent, which however would be magnified, as would, vice-versa, the corresponding disadvantages of the other language communities, by a policy of promoting English as the sole EU link language. Though several link languages put an even heavier burden of language learning on the remaining language communities (van Parijs 2004c: 122–4), the picture appears altogether more balanced. This at least seems to be the view of those EU politicians and citizens who oppose the single-link-language solution.

English as the only internal working language of the institutions seems less problematic, as long as communication would not involve the public. Theo van Els (2005: 276) is of the opinion that in the case of 'only a single working language … the language handicap of non-natives, as opposed to … a number of working languages, is significantly reduced'. They then 'only need to develop competence in one foreign language', and 'this one foreign language will also become – and to an increasing extent – the property of the non-natives'. This 'appropriation of the working language by non-natives does not take place when there are two or more working

languages, and in that case, native speakers would not need to give up the ownership of their language'. The non-natives' 'ownership' of the single working language, English, would come with its increased mastery as well as with the fact that, in the EU institutions, they would form a clear majority vis-à-vis the natives if there were one instead of several working languages.

The problem is, however, that reduction to English could most likely not be contained within the institutions. The requirement for job applicants to the EU institutions to know English, but no other language, for about 40,000 posts[4] for which the number of applicants has risen to well over 150,000 annually (over 50,000 for each of three cycles per year[5]), and the added prestige would certainly give English an extra boost throughout the EU. There also looms the long-term perspective that the EU might eventually change into a federation of states, of which English would then unavoidably be the absolutely dominant if not only governmental and official language. This could be detrimental especially to any other languages' attraction of being studied as a foreign language, i.e. retaining some international standing. Even now their stakeholders fear negative effects from the prevalence of English in the EU on top of global factors. As the EU gained political and economic weight, the outside world would focus less and less on the individual member states and their languages. For contacts with the EU, which would become paramount, English would be the sole option, with a smothering impact on learning other languages. German and Italian would perhaps suffer most, because the EU is their main base (cf. Ammon 2006). Therefore, from the side of their communities at least, but also from the French side, an English monopoly can hardly be welcome, not even within the institutions.

Pressure in its favour will however continue. It cannot be denied that van Els' reasoning is plausible and in line with the interest of the member states of languages which have neither institutional working nor international status. However, in particular, those states with languages close in rank to working status without enjoying it tend to favour a single working language. The Netherlands is a case in point, having fought bitterly for Dutch to be added to the five working languages (English, French, German, Italian and Spanish) of the Office for Harmonization in the Internal Market in Alicante, Spain, represented by the Dutch female lawyer Christina Kik, but having failed in the end (Kürten 2004: 103–19). No wonder that they now raise objections against a plurality of working languages. Spain and Italy have notoriously challenged German for its slightly preferred status, and Germany and Austria have threatened to quit supporting French if German should be excluded. Generally, cooperation among the states of those working languages which rank behind English has been feeble and pretty much limited to France and Germany who signed an agreement of cooperation in the defence of their languages' status and indeed fought off an attempt by the British deputy

president of the Commission, Neil Kinnock, to have future papers for the Commission drawn up only in English (Ammon 2010b: 1). The resistance of the member states with working languages other than English might very well be insufficient to prevent, in the long run, what EU language policy has been trying to avert.

Of lesser consequences seem to be occasional qualms about discrepancies of numerical or economic strength with rank order of working languages. Thus, English and French rank way above German as working languages but have fewer native speakers within the EU and contribute less to the EU economy and budget (see for conflicts, Ammon 2006a). English has, however, more second or foreign-language speakers and, consequently a higher total number (altogether 51 per cent, German 32 per cent and French 26 per cent of the adult EU population; *Eurobarometer* February 2006: 8, 13). French though ranks clearly behind German regarding total number of speakers in the EU. Italian also has about as many native speakers within the EU as English or French (13 per cent, English 13 per cent, French 12 per cent – German 18 per cent; *Eurobarometer* February 2006: 8), but is marginal as a working language. For Spanish the insignificant rank as a working language has been challenged, not because of number of speakers or their economic strength within the EU, but its global range, which has also been used for legitimizing the primacy of English and French over German and Italian.

The *European External Action Service*, as the foreign service of the EU is called, that is presently being created based on the Lisbon Treaty, seems to have become another source of conflict. English and French have been adumbrated as the preferred if not exclusive working languages, but Germany's foreign minister, Guido Westerwelle, has protested against the exclusion of German. He has however not received applause from the head of the new service, British Baroness Catherine M. Ashton.[6] Germany wants the new service to be integrated into the Commission and then also have its three working languages (English, French and German), while Ms Ashton has proposed it to be a 'functionally autonomous body of the Union' which would allow for its own language regime with probably only English and French.[7] For the functionally autonomous bodies, it seems to be generally easier to establish reduced language regimes. Thus, the European Court of Justice has only French as the internal working language of the judges, and the European Central Bank only English as its working language, in spite of its location in Germany (in Frankfurt), notwithstanding the prevalent rule that the local language is among the working languages (except for the generally merely official languages).

Accession to the second tier of the functional hierarchy, the (merely) official EU languages, which is granted to any national-official language if its member state wishes so, has been less fraught with conflicts. The only national-official language which is not an official EU language is Luxembourgish. Trilingual Luxembourg contents itself with official EU

status for its other two national-official languages, French and German, which have that status anyway through other member states. Such abstinence appears logical, but is still exceptional, especially if one considers that Luxembourgish is the country's sole 'national language', in addition to being a national-official language to which status French and German are limited. Ireland had followed the same course until recently, contenting itself with official EU status for its national-official language English and not also asked for this status for its national language Irish (*Gaeilge*), which however enjoyed – differently to Luxembourgish – the status of a 'language of a case' at the European Court of Justice like the official EU languages. Ireland has, however, recently changed course and also applied for official EU status for Irish, which it received in 2004, after having fared well with English for over thirty years. It was motivated, one must assume, by Malta, which insisted on official EU status of its national-official language, Maltese, upon accession to the EU, though it could have, most likely, communicated with the EU institutions in English, which virtually all its citizens master after Malta's long history as a British colony. English is, however, not a national-official language of Malta, as it is of Ireland. Still, Ireland seems to have been inspired by Malta, even though its citizens have a poorer command of Irish than of English. The urge to demonstrate national identity seems to have overruled communicative needs. The Irish request has reminded the EU once more that nation-state thinking still has to be reckoned with.

For a language to gain access to the status of official EU language it has to be the *national-official* language of an EU member state. The status of regional-official language does not suffice. Though this requirement seems to be nowhere clearly expressed, it has functioned as a strict rule so far. National-official languages serve for internal communication of the state's central government and administration as well as with citizens, while regional-official languages have similar functions only on the sub-national level, limited to parts of the state territory. Though the difference may sometimes lack clarity, it is clear enough for the EU member state where it is relevant for official EU language status, namely Spain. There, it has been a bone of contention since accession to the EU in 1986. Spain has only one national-official language, Spanish (Castilian), but in addition three or perhaps even four regional-official languages (Catalan, Basque, Galician, and perhaps Asturian depending, in the latter case, on recognition as a 'language' versus a 'dialect' and definition of 'official language'), which consequently cannot get official EU status. Their exclusion from this status sits uncomfortably with the fact that Catalan, in particular, has more native speakers than a large number of official EU languages which nevertheless have gained that status because they are the national-official language of some EU member state. This has been resented by Catalonians, the more so because the national-official languages have been preferred to the regional-official languages in

EU programs which support language studies (Siguan 2007: 123). With more than 6.6 million, Catalan surpasses in numbers of native speakers the following official EU languages: Danish, Finnish, Slovak, Lithuanian, Slovene, Latvian, Estonian, Maltese and Irish. The latter two are also surpassed by Basque and Galician (all figures according to *Ethnologue* 2005). One could, in face of this difference in number of speakers, ask whether speakers of these larger languages are worth less than those of the smaller ones. However, the limitation of EU official status to the national-official languages appears justified by the fact that the latter can be expected to be mastered by all state citizens, which is not the case for regional-official languages. Thus in our case, Spanish has to be learned in school by all citizens of Spain, which is not true for Spain's regional-official languages. The present Spanish government seemed inclined to grant national-official status to Catalan, upon pressure from Catalonian nationalists, when it took over, but backed away from it when it faced the probable consequence of all Spanish citizens having to learn Catalan, with considerable financial and organizational consequences, or of Spanish being squeezed out of Catalonia by putting in place the 'regional principle' for the two national languages (as in Belgium) which is not to be confused with the status of regional-official language. There has been a related conflict between Catalonian nationalists and the central Spanish government about the status of a 'nation' (*nación*) for Catalonia, which the Constitutional Law Court of Spain has so far denied, and is tied up with the question of national-official language status for Catalan. To soothe tempers, various privileges have been granted to Catalan on the EU level early on (Barrera I Vidal 1991), but below the level of official EU language status, to which recently, interpretation upon demand has been added for various situations, for which however costs are covered by Spain and not the EU.

The minority languages of EU member states

For minority languages, the frame of reference is also the individual EU member state, as for national and regional-official languages, not the entire EU, where any language would be a minority language in the sense that its native speakers add up to less than 50 per cent of the population (in terms of EU citizens). Such language minorities are further away 'from the arm' of the EU government than the above language types, as they are under the exclusive legal control of the member states and out of the question for the status of official EU language. The latter is at least true for those of them which are not, at the same time, regional-official languages of an EU member state. It is on these languages that this section focuses. The crucial treaty which legally protects minority languages in the EU is the *European Charter of Regional or Minority Languages*

(referred to in the following as the 'Charter'). It was originally developed by the Council of Europe, but adopted by the EU government in 1992, which has recommended it for application to all the EU member states, which however are free to follow or ignore this recommendation. The Council of Europe has generally had considerable influence on EU language policy. It is a more loosely knit organization of states than the EU, based on a cultural concept of Europe, and extends geographically – including the whole of Russia – to the Sea of Japan. It comprises the twenty-seven EU member states plus twenty more, i.e. altogether forty-seven states. Its main objectives are the protection and development of human rights, which have come to comprise linguistic and cultural diversity and identity. This is noticeable in the Charter's characterization of the languages it covers, 'some of which are in danger of eventual extinction, [and whose protection] contributes to the maintenance and development of Europe's cultural wealth and traditions' (Preamble[8]). The EU has subscribed to such a protective language policy in other documents, like the *European Charter of Fundamental Rights* (cf. section 'Basic political structure …' above). It has also commissioned various studies of the language communities to which the Charter refers (e.g. *Euromosaic* 1996).

The Charter defines the languages to which it applies as 'traditionally used within a given territory of a State by nationals of that State who form a group numerically smaller than the rest of the State's population; and different from the official language(s) of that State … but not dialects of the official language(s) of the State or the languages of migrants'. It explicitly includes 'non-territorial languages' which 'although traditionally used within the territory of the State, cannot be identified with a particular area thereof'. (Article 1) It lists a range of protective measures, of which states which ratify it must agree to undertake at least thirty-five. The two Non-Governmental Organizations of the *European Bureau for Lesser-Used Languages* (*EBLUL*), and the *Mercator European Research Centre on Multilingualism and Language Learning* (cf. Labrie 1993: 241–2), supported jointly by the European Council and the EU, and the short-lived *Commissariat for Multilingualism* of the EU (2007–2010), helped implement the Charter. However, the new EU government which started work in 2010 reduced the *Commissariat for Multilingualism* to only a part of the *Commissariat* for Education, Culture, Multilingualism and Youth and stopped financial support for EBLUL which, consequently, closed down.[9]

The Charter has so far been ratified by seventeen EU member states, with several whose course of action has been slowed down for procedural reasons.[10] There are, however, a few EU member states, which openly rejected the Charter, especially – first and most prominently – France, whose Constitutional law court has declared the Charter incompatible with the French Constitution. (*Conseil Constitutionnel*, 15 June 1999), after the French Constitution had been amended by an article which states that 'The language of the Republic is French' (*La langue de la République est*

le français), which apparently means that no other language can be recognized in France. Greece too has signalled its rejection of the Charter. In both cases, fears of strengthening neighbouring languages may have been among the motives of rejection, together with nation-state thinking, in the case of France, fear of strengthening German (by recognizing its existence in the Alsace) and in the case of Greece, fear of strengthening Macedonian, the language of the newly created neighbouring state of the same name. Greece has even rejected the name of that state, because it is identical with the name of its own adjacent province to which the new state is feared to eventually lay claim. It seems possible that more widespread concerns of this sort have contributed to the fall of EBLUL.

It is important to note that the Charter does not include exogenous minority languages (overviews in Extra and Gorter 2001; Extra 2008). For them, the EU has no detailed language policy. It has, however, in recent years – in tandem with the Council of Europe – issued general recommendations to EU member states to provide opportunities for native speakers to learn and use them as far as possible. Thus, the 'Action Plan 2004–2006' for 'Promoting Language Learning' and the 'New Framework Strategy for Multilingualism' explicitly include 'migrant languages' in their recommended language studies (Commission 2003: 9; 2005: 5).

The policy of language studies in the EU

Language studies are an essential pillar of linguistic diversity. Though schools are a core component of EU member states' cultural autonomy, the EU government has nevertheless recommended the general goal for them to equip every EU citizen with skills in at least two foreign languages and offered financial support. Thus, every EU citizen should, in future, be at least trilingual in her mother (native) tongue and two foreign (non-native) languages (MT + 2). Limitation to only one foreign language would obviously entail the danger of English as the only foreign language.

To reach this goal a plethora of activities and programmes to improve the quantity and the quality of language teaching in the EU have been developed and carried out, often together with the Council of Europe, of which only a selection can be mentioned here, like:

- The *Lingua* program for language learning, later integrated into the *Socrates* student-exchange programme and the *Leonardo da Vinci* program for vocational training.
- Plans and guidelines for life-long language learning of a wide range of languages (Commission 2003; 2005).
- Measures for improving language learning and gauging acquired skills like the *Common European Frame of Reference* for comparing skill

in different languages or the *European Language Portfolio* which comprises the *Europass Language Passport* for documentation of individual skills, cooperation with the Council of Europe's *European Centre for Modern Languages* (Graz) and organizing conferences or expert groups (e.g. the 'High Level Group on Multilingualism').[11]

- Incentives for language learning, like the *European Year of Languages* in 2001 with an abundance of events and the annual *European Day of Languages* celebrated on 26 September or the *European Language Label* for innovations in language teaching.[12]
- Research programmes for language teaching or scientifically underpinning individual and societal multilingualism, like DYLAN (*Language Dynamics and Management of Diversity*)[13] or ELAN (*Effects on the European Economy of Shortages of Foreign-language Skills in Enterprise*).[14]

Conclusion

Has this elaborate language policy achieved what it wanted? As to the maintenance of minority languages, an overall picture is hard to gain. In most member states, numbers of speakers still seem to be in decline. In Britain however, minority languages seem to have been stabilized with, for example, Welsh and Scottish Gaelic having been introduced as school subjects. This British success may have to do with the Anglophones' decreasing necessity or at least inclination to study foreign languages, which gives them leeway to turn to their own minority languages. Thus, the strengthening of minority languages in Britain may be the reverse of the failure of EU language policy regarding its – rarely clearly expressed – goal of containing English and maintaining the standing of competing languages. English has continuously gained ground against French, German and also Italian, though less against Spanish, especially in foreign-language studies (cf. the reports on twelve EU member states in *Sociolinguistica* 24, 2010). There must, therefore, be forces at work beyond the control of EU language policy. They apparently come from outside the EU: from the global context, in which the EU is tied up in its communication, i.e. the forces of 'globalization' to use a catchword.

The following facts, among others, bear evidence for the growth of English in foreign-language studies, notwithstanding EU language policy:

- Students of the EU academic exchange programmes flock to the English-speaking countries rather than to others, which is a major reason why non-Anglophone EU member states have introduced study programmes with English as the language of teaching (Ammon and McConnell 2002).

- English has been installed in all the EU member states as the first foreign language of schools or at least eligible as the first foreign language (from a group of languages) and is by far the first choice (*Sociolinguistica* 24, 2010). Therefore students know English better at the end of their schooling than any other foreign language.

No wonder, therefore, that English has also gained ground as a working language of the EU institutions (Truchot 2007: 143; see the section 'The working and the official languages …' above). In the EU institutions, informal contacts have always been of paramount importance (Ross 2003: 34). The language chosen for them is mostly English because more participants have better skills in it than in any other language. However, even in the face of all these adverse developments, it would still be rash to qualify the EU policy as a complete failure, for it could have stabilized minority languages, increased appreciation of multilingualism or linguistic tolerance and inspired language learning or even curbed the dominance of English and softened the demise of competing languages. Whether the further spread of English will, in the end, be advantageous for the community as a whole, notwithstanding its impact on the other languages, or not, is still open to debate.

29

Language policy management in the former Soviet sphere

Gabrielle Hogan-Brun and Svitlana Melnyk

Background: Language policy in the Soviet context

The Soviet Union was created in 1922 as a multiethnic and multicultural unity from different republics and peoples with their own national, cultural and economic peculiarities. Although the language question was not included in the Soviet constitution this issue in particular became a central focus in the building of the new union.

In the early years of the Soviet Union the policy of *korenizatsiia* (nativization, indigenization, rooting) was introduced, with two main vectors: the development of the titular nationalities and their languages in the republics as well as support for ethnic minorities and their languages. This policy presupposed the recruiting, training and promotion of members of the local nationalities, raising the status of non-Russian tongues, introducing local languages into the administrative and judicial systems, opening schools in which local languages were used as a means of instruction, translating world and Russian literatures into the local languages, creating alphabets for oral languages, and developing literacy among Soviet people (Pavlenko 2008; Alpatov 2000; Bilaniuk 2005; Fierman 1991; Masenko 2004). Although the policy of indigenization was introduced with the intention that various minority groups would better understand and accept the regime (Pavlenko 2008; Yefimenko 2002), it also made an impact on national development in general.

Work that was initially carried out under the new language management strategy focused mainly on language standardization, the creation of alphabets for oral languages, and script reform for some literary languages. Then, in the early 1930s the Turkic languages (Azeri, Tatar, Uzbek, Kazakh, Kyrgyz, Turkmen) were converted to the Latin script (for more detailed information see Alpatov 2000; Crisp 1989).

The late 1930s brought a language policy shift in the SU, with intensive work on language development and language management taking place as part of the policy of language building (*yazykovoe stroitelstvo*). The main trends in language management were: struggle with national elites and bourgeois nationalism, active implementation of Russian into all spheres of social life (as from 1938 Russian became a mandatory subject in the schools of all national republics and regions, Alpatov 2000), shifting the Latin alphabet to Cyrillic (the Latin script was preserved in Latvia, Estonia and Lithuania as well as among some minorities, e.g., German, Hungarian), Russification in corpus planning (this involved the development of language norms for literary languages according to the Russian grammar, word borrowing from Russian to other literary languages, changes in orthography), and reduction of national schools where the national language was the language of instruction.

These main language management trends continued in the late Soviet period. Although the development in different republics was uneven, there were some shared tendencies involving Russification in official life and the relatively free development of national languages in cultural domains (literature and theatre), the growing prestige of Russian, development of (in most cases asymmetrical) bilingualism, further reduction of national schools, most notably after the 1958 decree that regulated that the study of the Soviet Republics' national languages in schools was not obligatory. According to an educational reform in the following year parents had the right to select a school with a chosen language of instruction for their children.

The Soviet Constitution did not *de jure* define the status of the Russian language. In theory, all nationalities and languages were considered equal in the former Soviet Union; nevertheless Russian as the language of inter-ethnic communication enjoyed a favoured position for political, economical and ideological reasons (Alpatov 2000; Smagulova 2008 etc.). Russian hence functioned as a lingua franca throughout the Soviet republics, which was considered a positive phenomenon from the perspective of communication between nations (Alpatov 2000). This however impacted differentially on language development in some Soviet republics. In the Slavic republics, Russian ended up displacing the national language in many spheres and hence enjoyed a privileged position. Russification was especially intensive in Ukraine and Belarus with a concomitant shift toward Russian. In contrast to this there were generally high levels of national language maintenance in the Caucasus and in most Central Asian countries. In these republics the local languages were not replaced by Russian but underwent linguistic and cultural revival instead (Pavlenko 2008).

Language policy management in the post-Soviet context: a comparative overview

Main tendencies in language management

Since the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991, the language situation in all the independent successor states has changed. Many commonalities can be observed in the manner that national state (re-)building processes have been initiated, particularly in terms of the central focus on language development and approaches chosen to language management. Throughout the territory this concentrates on the following three main vectors: (1) reconsolidation of the status of the national languages of the former republics, (2) changed status of the Russian language (and de-Russification), and (3) support for the languages of national minorities.

The first step taken in all independent republics was to introduce official monolingualism with one national language functioning as the state language. An exception was Belarus where Russian officially became the second state language as the result of a referendum in 1995. In two other countries (Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan) Russian has official status. In these states the language situation is that of de facto bilingualism and even multilingualism and has arisen as a result of the existing multiethnic profile, the high status of Russian as a language of interethnic communication and the accelerating process of industrialization and globalization.

In terms of status planning, the main language management tendencies in the post-Soviet space have been de-Russification and strengthening of the position of the titular languages by introducing into language legislation the concept of 'state language' (see below), enhancing the social function of the titular language of the former republics, and protecting and developing minority languages and linguistic diversity through national and international language legislation. As has been pointed out (Pavlenko 2008), the four factors that have complicated the reversal of Russification through language shift policies in many post-Soviet countries are: (1) large populations of monolingual Russian speakers; (2) Russification of members of the titular population; (3) multiethnic populations using Russian as a lingua franca; (4) the functional limitation of some titular languages.

In the area of corpus planning the main trends that have been observed are language purification limiting the influence of Russian and also of foreign languages, the development of new orthography and linguistic norms, the return to national names and toponyms that correspond with the local linguistic tradition, and changes in alphabets from Cyrillic script to Latin (Turkmenistan, Azerbaijan, Uzbekistan and Tatarstan in the Russian Federation).

As pointed out above, the former Soviet countries had a long history of changing alphabets. A variety of rationales that arose in the 1930s for the implementation of the Cyrillic alphabet throughout the Soviet Union included the centralization of political power, of the economic and military systems and of social life within individual countries, the perceived low communicative and social functionality as well as the uneven development of some national languages and the need for mutual understanding and communication within the territory and as a result the development of a lingua franca and one script. This led to the widespread use of Russian and the Cyrillic alphabet throughout the Soviet Union (Alpatov 2000). Hence, whilst Cyrillic is commonly viewed as a common heritage of all Soviet (especially the Slavic) countries, the Latin script by contrast symbolizes the restoration of the heritage of Turkic-speaking people in the Turkic countries. Throughout the post-Soviet space, processes of Latinization are very topical and widely discussed in the mass media.[1] In Turkmenistan, Latinization fulfils a cultural and social dimension: on the one hand, it serves as a means to implement the phonetic method, and on the other hand it is representative of state-building and distancing the country from the Soviet past (Clement 2008). The possibility of changing the script has also been discussed recently in Khazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan.

The main arguments for converting to the Latin alphabet are that this is linguistically more suitable for Turkic languages, that its use allows for better access to the Western world and computers, and that it helps students learn English and other European languages more easily. Also, changing the alphabet is arguably a geopolitical issue: it is a fact that during the last decade Turkic post-Soviet countries (mostly Kyrgyzstan, Kazakhstan and Azerbaijan) have developed enhanced cooperation with Turkey (Mikhailov 2008; Orusbaev *et al.* 2008). Opposing arguments include that the large amounts of literature published in Cyrillic would be inaccessible to future generations, the economic and social difficulties of changing local currency, legal documents and signs, the separation of generations and the perception of such efforts as anti-Russian and anti-Moscow (Mikhailov 2008; Goble 2000).

Tatarstan is the only republic of the Russian Federation which attempted to introduce the Latin script for the Tatar language. In 1999 a special law of Tatarstan was introduced, which caused heated discussions. During the following academic year (2000/2001) some schools started teaching in the new alphabet. Opponents of Latinization perceived this as a step away from Russia, while supporters saw this as a tool of strengthening sovereignty.[2] In 2002, an amendment was introduced to the federal Law on the Languages of the Peoples of the Russian Federation stating that Cyrillic is the mandatory script for all state languages throughout the Russian federal territory, and in 2004 transition to the Latin alphabet

was prohibited by the Constitutional Court of the Russian Federation. In response, the Latin front of Tatarstan (with members drawn from sixty-three public and political organizations) filed a petition in the same year to the General Director of UNESCO to protect the linguistic rights of the Tatar people.[3] In 2008, the Milli Mejlis of the Tatar people submitted a petition to presidents, parliaments and the UN requesting that the sovereignty of the Republic of Tatarstan be recognized. One of the reasons for this appeal was that the Tatar language was being displaced from the public domains under the policy of Russification.[4]

Within a general movement towards Latinization the Crimean Tatars too initiated a transition to the Latin alphabet. The first step was taken in 1997 when the Supreme Council of Crimea adopted a resolution on the transference to the new script of the Crimean Tatar language. Then a special international committee was created for the development of the final version of the Latin alphabet to be used. This idea has found support among Crimean Tatars worldwide. The Ukrainian community use both the Cyrillic and Latin alphabets.[5]

In the domain of acquisition planning, language management concentrates on such aspects as shifting schooling toward instruction in the national languages and increasing the number of national schools, excluding Russian from school curricula as an obligatory subject (e.g. in Ukraine and the Baltic states), introducing the languages of national minorities as academic subjects into school curricula, attempting to broaden the study of national minority languages beyond the school environment and increasing study of foreign languages.

In the Russian Federation these tendencies have a distinctly regional character. Moves to expand schooling in the national languages and to pursue national language revitalization are very strong in its autonomous republics. This is especially the case where non-Russian peoples comprise a considerable part of the population. By contrast where several indigenous languages are used in the territory (see Table 29.1) the main thrust in language planning is to consolidate support of Russian as the state language. In 2005, the Government of the Russian Federation introduced a resolution concerning the adoption of the federal target programme 'Russian Language' for 2006–2010. Internally (i.e. within the Federation), the objectives included guaranteeing the effective functioning of Russian as a state language, strengthening the position of Russian as a means of interethnic communication among the peoples, creating proper conditions for the development of Russian as a national language of the Russian people. Externally (i.e. abroad) the objectives were to provide for the effective functioning of Russian as a basis for the development of the integration processes in the Confederation of Independent States (CIS, which includes Moldova), the spread and study of the Russian language and culture in foreign cultures, the most complete satisfaction of the linguistic and cultural needs of compatriots abroad.[6]

Table 29.1 *The subjects of the Russian Federation and state languages*

Subjects of the Russian Federation	State (national) languages, fixed in legislatively adopted Acts of the given subject	Percentage of the number of native speakers of the language to the total number of population of the given subject (in per cent)
Adyghe	Russian	68
	Adyghian	22.11
Altai	Russian	60.4
	Altaic	31
Bashkortostan	Russian	39.3
	Bashkirian	21.9
Buryatia	Russian	70
	Buryatian	24
Daghestan	Avar	27.5
	Dargwa	15.6
	Kumyk	12.9
	Lezgin	11.3
	Russian	9.2
	Lak	5.1
	Tabassaran	4.3
	Azerbaijan	4.2
	Chechen	3.2
	Nogay	1.6
	Augul	0.8
	Rutul	0.8
	Tat	0.7
	Tsakhurian	0.3
Kabardino-Balkaria	Kabardian-Chercassian	48.2
	Russian	32
	Karachay-Balkar	9.4
Kalmykia	Kalmyk	45.4
	Russian	37.7
Karachayevo-Circassia	Russian	42.4
	Karachai-Balkar	31.2
	Kabardian-Chercassian	9.7
	Abaza	6.6
	Nogay	3.2
Komi	Russian	57.7
	Komi-Zyryan	23.3
Mari El	Russian	47.5
	Mari Lugovoy, Mari Gorny	43.3
Mordvinian Republic	Russian	60.8
	Mordvin Moksha, Mordvin Erzya	32.5
Sakha-Yakutia	Russian	50.3
	Yakut	33.4
North Ossetia	Ossetian	53.0
	Russian	29.9
Tatarstan	Tatar	48.5
	Russian	43.3
Touva	Tuvin	64.3
	Russian	36.2
Udmurtia	Russian	58.9
	Udmurt	30.9
Khakassia	Russian	79.2
	Khakassian	11.1
Chuvashia	Chuvash	67.8
	Russian	26.7
Komi-Permyatski Autonomous Region	Komi-Permyak	60.2
	Russian	36.1

Note: Statistical data on the Chechen and Ingush languages are not represented in this Table.
Source: Mikhalchenko 2002: 4–6

Language legislation

Throughout the post-Soviet region, language continues to feature as a central means in the process of state (re-)building. Language legislation has been put in place to define the status and regulate the usage of languages in all spheres of social life and to protect the linguistic rights of citizens. This invariably tends to consist of a whole apparatus of laws on languages, separate articles in the state constitutions, special decrees and orders on language issues as well as other bilateral documents mutually signed or ratified between individual successor states. For example Lithuania has bilateral treaties with Poland and Russia as well as with Belarus and Ukraine guaranteeing the support and protection of the rights and freedoms of national minorities residing in cross-border territories. Georgia has bilateral documents with Armenia, Azerbaijan and the Russian Federation.[7] Ukraine has agreements with Hungary, the Slovak Republic, Poland, Germany, Romania, Belarus, the Russian Federation, Moldova (Third Report 2009: 57–8) and in the field of education with Latvia and Lithuania as well as with other members of the Confederation of Independent States. The Russian Federation has also signed other multiple agreements with all the post-Soviet states, and in 1994 a Convention was exchanged between all the post-Soviet states ensuring the rights of persons belonging to national minorities (Конвенция об обеспечении прав лиц, принадлежащих к национальным меньшинствам).

Following the collapse of the Soviet Union, the successor countries also adopted laws on state language/languages (e.g. the Law on the State Language in Azerbaijan, Tajikistan, Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan, Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania; see below[8] and Table 29.2). In some instances these laws had been passed already before independence. Thus the Law on Languages in the Ukrainian SSR, adopted in 1989, is still in force without any revision. In the Lithuanian SSR too a decree regulating the use of languages was issued in 1988. Numerous separate articles were subsequently introduced into the national constitutions regulating the status and function of languages as well as the linguistic rights of their speakers.

The concept 'state language', considered to be a synonym for 'official language', has since been introduced across the region and is featured in national political and sociolinguistic discourse. Whilst in many initial publications as well as in translations into English the term 'official language' is used as a synonym for 'state language' (Alpatov 2000: 221; Garipov and Faller 2003: 170; Korth 2001: 2–3[9]; see also State Language laws in References) in the post-Soviet context state language also carries a symbolic meaning, along with the flag and the anthem. This idea is for instance reflected in Kyrgyzstan's Language Law as follows: according to the Constitution, the state language of the Kyrgyz Republic is Kyrgyz, and the Kyrgyz language, 'as one of the main foundations of statehood, must function in all spheres of state activity and local government' (Article 1).

Table 29.2 *Status of languages in post-Soviet countries*

State	State language	Status of Russian
Armenia	Armenian (Law on Language, 1993; Constitution) Official language: standard Armenian (Law on Language, 1993)	The status of Russian is not determined in the official documents
Azerbaijan	Azerbaijani (Constitution, 1995; Law on State Language, 2002)	The status of Russian is not determined in official documents
Belarus	Belarusian (Law on Languages, 1990; new version in 1998)	Second state language (Constitution, 1996)
Estonia	Estonian (Law on the Estonian State Language, 1995; Constitution)	Foreign language
Georgia	Georgian (Constitution, 1995) Abkhazian in Abkhazia (Autonomous Republic)	Status of Russian is not determined in official documents
Kazakhstan	Kazakh (Law on Language, 1997; Constitution, 1995)	Official language
Kyrgyzstan	Kyrgyz (Constitution; Law on State Language, 1989)	Official language (Constitution; Law on State Language)
Latvia	Latvian (Law on the Latvian State Language, 1999; Constitution)	Foreign language
Lithuania	Lithuanian (Law on the State Language 1995; Constitution)	Foreign language
Russian Federation (RF)	Russian (Law on State Language of the Russian Federation, 2005; Constitution)	
Tajikistan	Tajik (Law on State Language, 2009; Constitution, 1994)	Language of interethnic communication (Constitution, 1994)
Turkmenistan	Turkmen (Law on Language, 1990; Constitution)	Language of interethnic communication (Law on Language)
Ukraine	Ukrainian (Law on Languages, 1989; Constitution, 1996)	Language of interethnic communication (Law on Languages, 1989); language of national minority (Constitution, 1996)
Uzbekistan	Uzbek (Law on State Language; Constitution, 1992)	The status of Russian is not determined in official documents

Table 29.2 provides information on the proclaimed state languages and the status of Russian in the post-Soviet countries.

In addition to domestic legislation, some countries have also opted to join international frameworks. In the Baltic, various international

covenants with the United Nations (e.g., the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, on the Elimination of all Forms of Racism) had in fact been drawn up already in Soviet times and came into effect upon independence. Seeking to prepare the ground for EU accession the three republics then quickly adopted the mass of UN and European agreements on various political and civil rights. More widely, other ratifications included the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages (Ukraine in 2003; Armenia in 2002) and the EU Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities (Ukraine in 1997, Georgia in 2005, Armenia in 1998, Azerbaijan in 2000, Estonia in 1997, Latvia in 2005 and Lithuania in 2000). The latter was signed by Estonia and Latvia with the provisos that the definition of a national minority be restricted to those who were citizens, who differed on the basis of ethnicity, religion, culture or language from the titular nation, who had a long-standing connection with the country and who are motivated to maintain their heritage.

Language legislation, then, has featured heavily during and after the restitution of independence across the region, where it has differed in terms of timelines and details. Some countries rejected a vision of themselves as being an official two-language community. These are the Baltic States, Ukraine, the Transcaucasian states, as well as Tajikistan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan. They have defined themselves as unitary states that are multilingual but in which the national language is used as the means though which essential social functions are to be conducted. In other countries (Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan), the laws could only attempt to bring about equality between Russian and the titular language and express a demand for competence in the titular language among personnel. In some cases (Belarus and some regions in the RF) a two official languages policy has been chosen as being a solution to ethnic problems (de Varennes 1996; Dobson 2001). Thus early language legislation in varying ways embodied a series of aims across the post-Soviet region, aiming at:

- legislating the official status of the titular language;
- ensuring that the titular language has at least an equal status with Russian in administration, education, broadcasting and other significant functional spheres;
- attempting to reverse asymmetric bilingualism by promoting bilingualism among those who did not know the titular language;
- ensuring that certain personnel (public officials, sometimes others in contact with the public) have capacity in the republican language; and
- changing aspects such as public signage, language of documentation, broadcasting schedules etc. in favour of the republican languages.

In many instances the language laws were subsequently strengthened. Following Western recommendations, revisions in Estonia and Latvia cut away the previous provisions of demanding both Russian and national language competence, relegating Russian to the status of a foreign language alongside other foreign languages, and stipulating a range of measures to ensure competence in the national languages. A similar development can be observed in the Transcaucasian states where Russian functions as a foreign language. At the same time attitudes towards Russian vary between the states. The position of Russian is strongest in Armenia. It is relatively stable in Azerbaijan and more marginal in Georgia (Pavlenko 2008). In Ukraine, Russian is referred to in the Law on Languages as a language of interethnic communication and in the national constitution also one of the national minority languages. The same situation exists in Tajikistan and Turkmenistan where Russian also has the status of language of interethnic communication.

At the same time there are counter-moves towards giving Russian a higher status. Thus Russian has been functioning as second state language since the referendum in 1995 in Belarus. In Kazakhstan, despite the fact that the state has a Kazakhization policy, the constitution elevated in 1995 the status of Russian to that of official language (Schlyter 2001; Smagulova 2008). In Kyrgyzstan too, Russian gained co-official status alongside Kyrgyz in 1996. Thus, although the state officially pursues Kyrgyzyfication (Orusbaev, Mustajoki and Protassova 2008) Kyrgyzstan has *de jure* accepted a bilingual language policy, and differentiation between the state language and the two-official languages situation is only symbolic 'with a slight plus for Kyrgyz'.[10]

Citizenship legislation

As a legacy of Soviet-time population transfer policies, citizenship issues have figured prominently in the newly independent context. The regulations that have been introduced across the region vary, and naturalization procedures tend to stipulate basic competence in the titular language as a major requirement.

In the Baltic states concerns over citizenship were tied to the view that these countries had been illegitimately occupied (in a secret act of the Molotov–Ribbentrop Pact in 1939). Hence Estonia and Latvia introduced restricted citizenship and were the only two post-Soviet countries to do so. Thus people who were not resident there before 1940 are subjected to a naturalization process. Lithuania on the other hand adopted what became widely known as the *zero option*: it declared all permanent legitimate residents as citizens, excluding military and other temporary units. In all the three countries language and cultural testing form a compulsory part of naturalization procedures. While the Baltic states

carried out some considerable revisions of their language and citizenship laws under Western monitoring to comply with EU and NATO accession conditions, this has not been the end of conflict over language issues with Russia continuing to exert its influence on such matters (Hogan-Brun *et al*. 2007).

According to the laws on citizenship which were introduced in the other successor states the main criteria for granting citizenship for foreigners or stateless persons in these countries are:

- continuous and lawful residence within the territory of a state for a certain period of time: three years (Armenia), five years (Ukraine, Russian Federation, Azerbaijan, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan), seven years (Belarus, Turkmenistan), ten years (Georgia);
- recognition of and respect for the national constitution and state laws;
- sufficient knowledge of a state language.

The last condition entails some peculiarities. Two countries (Uzbekistan and Tajikistan) have not included the language issue in their law on citizenship. While the other post-Soviet states have a clause on state language knowledge in their citizenship criteria, neither requirements nor examinations are specified for candidates. The Citizenship Law of the Republic of Azerbaijan determines that applicants have to submit a document certifying knowledge of the state language. The same provision was made in the Russian Federation where certified Russian language competence sufficient for communication is required.

Language in education

Due to the differing national demographic compositions across the post-Soviet region, education policies vary considerably. The main aims are to:

(1) teach the official state language as a compulsory subject;
(2) maintain other (minority) languages and cultures.

In general, these aims have been implemented everywhere since independence through the targeted use of the language of instruction in different types of secondary educational institutions. There are mainstream schools with the titular language as the means of instruction, national schools with the native language as the means of instruction and the state and foreign languages taught as a subject, schools with the state language as the means of instruction and the minority language taught as a subject, bilingual or monolingual schools, where education takes place in parallel classes that use either the minority or the state language

as the means of instruction and mainstream schools where minorities can study their native languages as an optional subject; Sunday schools where minorities can learn in their native languages. One such example are activities under the auspices of the Estonian Bureau of Lesser Used Languages (founded in 2004) that aim to promote the languages and cultures among the autochthonous groups. Its main impact in education was to set up Sunday schools and cultural events to revive the so-called 'third minorities'.

According to Khaleeva (2006)[11] bilingual education in the Russian Federation has five models: (1) national schools where the national language is a means of instruction in all grades with Russian taught as a subject (Tatarstan, Bashkiria, Sakha (Yakutia); (2) national schools where instruction is provided in the native language up to the seventh or ninth grades and where Russian is a separate subject with a transition to Russia-medium instruction in senior classes (e.g. in rural schools of Touva, Buryatia, Chuvashia, Kalmykia, etc.); (3) national schools where instruction is in the native tongue up to fourth grade with Russian first functioning as a subject and subsequently as a means of instruction (e.g. in the urban schools of Touva, Kalmykia, Adyghea, Kabardino-Balkaria, Mari-El, among others); (4) schools where instruction from the first to the eleventh grade is offered in Russian with a more profound study of the national languages and cultures (in Karelia, Mordovia and Komi there are schools where children study the languages of indigenous peoples of the Far North, Siberia and Far East); (5) schools where instruction from the first to the eleventh grade is offered in the native language with a subsequent transition to Russian as a means of instruction (mainly in travelling schools beyond the Polar Circle, schools of the Yamalo-Nenetski Administrative district). Minority schools where instruction is chiefly held in the community languages have often been retained alongside this new scheme but are seen to be dwindling in numbers (as is the case throughout the Baltic, in Ukraine, Armenia, Georgia and in Central Asian states regarding Russian schools). Persisting challenges are a chronic lack of necessary infrastructure, including textbooks and teacher training to update teaching methods. Certain problems with minority education occur due to the transition in some Turkic countries to the Latin script. In Tajikistan, books for minority schools and minority streams are being supplied by kin countries. At the same time, the textbooks sent from Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan are inappropriate for Tajik minority schools because they are published in the Latin script (Nagzibekova 2008).

Across the Baltic, students from the main minority and immigrant communities are offered schooling in the medium of their first language with the titular language as a compulsory subject. Estonia also practises immersion schooling. Whilst supporting first language instruction for children from those communities, all education models entail a

progressive change to the national language as the predominant one at university level. In each republic, pupils of non-mainstream schools are required to take an exam in the titular language when graduating. These tests have been integrated with general language proficiency certifications that are a requirement for job seekers and for those wishing to pursue further education.

In Estonia and Lithuania increasing numbers of Russian-speaking pupils are attending mainstream schools. Estonia's lawmakers are planning the gradual substitution of Russian-medium upper secondary education (from Year nine onwards) with Estonian-only schooling. In Latvia non-Latvian schools (amounting to 40 per cent in total) have to teach two to three subjects in the state language. A further move there in 2004 to teach 60 per cent of the core curriculum in all state upper secondary schools in Latvian proved to be challenging in areas where Russian is the dominant language.

Education in the national languages receives widespread support in post-Soviet states. Many national schools exist as well as streams and classes with instruction in the minority language. In Belarus, secondary education is offered in Russian, Belarusian, Polish and Lithuanian (Giger and Sloboda 2008). In Ukraine too, secondary education is provided in Russian, Romanian, Hungarian, Moldovan, Crimean Tatar, Polish, Bulgarian and the Slovak languages at present. According to the new order of the Minister of Education the text of all graduation exams, which also qualify for university entrance, will be published in the languages of Ukraine's national minorities. In Azerbaijan, the languages of instruction are Russian and Georgian. Armenia provides secondary education in Assyrian, Greek, Kurdish, Russian and Yezidi. In Georgia this is offered in Georgian, Russian, Azerbaijani, and Armenian (Kobaidze and Vamling 2004).

The same multilingual practices are supported in Central Asian states with Turkmenistan as an exception (see below). Tajikistan offers secondary education in Uzbek, Kyrgyz, Turkmen and Russian, Kazakhstan in Russian, German, Tajik, Tatar, Turkish, Ukrainian, Uyghur and Uzbek, and Kyrgyzstan in Uzbek, Russian and Tajik.

But hybrid school populations are not treated the same way everywhere. Educational reforms that were introduced in Turkmenistan in 1993 had the effect that children of national minorities were provided with fewer opportunities to study in their native languages. Former Uzbek, Kazakh and Russian schools now offer education in Turkmen. It is only in the big cities that some Russian classes have been retained in former Russian schools, with just one such school remaining in Ashgabat (Bairamova 2007).[12] This situation has led to ongoing discrimination against ethnic minorities in terms of their educational opportunities.[13]

Attitudes of parents from the minority and immigrant communities towards the choice of school for their offspring have changed gradually over the years (Hogan-Brun *et al.* 2007). Seeing their children's future

directly linked to success in the overall society, they have increasingly started to send their offspring to mainstream schools. In some countries this move is stronger (e.g. Lithuania) but it is also found elsewhere. This trend has necessitated the formulation of appropriate educational policies, particularly to address the need of teaching the national languages as second languages, or in mixed first language settings. Models of multilingual education are being introduced in many places as additional educational options at the primary and secondary levels.

In some post-Soviet countries (Armenia, Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan) the national minorities prefer Russian-medium instruction in order to be able to study in Russia or simply to get a better education. Often the rationale for choosing Russian is to develop native-like proficiency in the language. At the same time language management in Georgia presupposes the promotion of Georgian among the minority population. In prioritizing its teaching to the national minorities the government supports designing and publishing textbooks, free language courses, and translation services, especially in the Armenian and Azeri-populated Javakheti and Kvemo Kartli regions. To enhance Georgian language acquisition, a literacy campaign has been introduced in these regions whereby Georgian is taught not only in schools but also to the older population (Danelia and Bolkvadze 2008).

In terms of higher education the regulations vary across the region. In the Baltic states this is provided in the titular languages, except for foreign language degree programmes. In most countries higher education functions in many languages, usually with Russian as the most widespread second medium of instruction. The RF supports the educational process in the Russian-Armenian University, the Russian-Belarusian University, the Russian-Kyrgyz University, as well as in Russian-Tajik University.[14] Higher education is also offered through the medium of minority languages (Hungarian in Ukraine, Uzbek in Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan, Karakalpak in Uzbekistan), and through Turkish in Azerbaijan, Georgia and Kyrgyzstan.

Titular language assessment: schools, universities

Proficiency assessment systems for the titular language as a second language to be used both at schools and in adult teaching institutions have been developed and introduced in many post-Soviet countries. In numerous cases language assessment is implemented through a school exit language test which functions as an entrance exam to institutions of higher education. This is the case in the Baltic, where work on language attestation and language teaching benefited from substantial international assistance, including assistance from the UN Development Programme and from the PHARE program associated with entry into the EU.

In Belarus too, the graduation examination at secondary schools and entrance exams at universities include a compulsory exam of one of the state languages as per the applicant's choice (Giger and Sloboda 2008). Ukraine introduced in 2008 a standard test and the Ukrainian language became one of the main obligatory subjects in the graduation examination/university entrance examination. The exam requirements are the same for all Ukrainian graduates regardless of the type of school they attended. Hence their knowledge of Ukrainian is tested irrespective of the fact whether it is their first or the second language.

In Kazakhstan, a national standard test has been introduced in 2008 to examine second language competence. This is knowledge of Russian for graduates from Kazakh-language schools and vice versa proficiency in Kazakh for those from Russian-medium educational establishments.

Ukraine has taken steps to introduce university level titular language assessment. In order to improve proficiency in and strengthen the position of Ukrainian, obligatory Ukrainian language courses were introduced in all universities following independence. In 2009, Ukraine's Ministry of Education and Science adopted an order introducing a national final exam in the Ukrainian language for the bachelor degree in order to promote (motivation for) its study. However, after the subsequent presidential election the status of the exam was demoted under the new Minister.

The Ministry of Education of the Russian Federation in the performance of the Federal target program 'Russian Language' runs the Russian National State Testing System of Russian for Foreigners (TORFL). This consists of five components: vocabulary and grammar; reading; writing; listening comprehension; speaking. The system is set for elementary and intermediate schools and has four certification levels. Teaching Russian as a foreign language has a long history from the Soviet Union and the system is well developed throughout the state.

Regulations for occupational language use

In their determination to change their linguistic landscapes some governments introduced systematic language attestation for employment purposes. The procedures have a common core: all those persons who had not undergone an education in the respective national language and those who were employed in defined occupations need to demonstrate a level of knowledge of the national language appropriate to their level of employment. Across the Baltic, the language requirements are backed by law and are graded according to profession. Central State Language Offices oversee attestation procedures and certify language proficiency. In Lithuania, this procedure is targeted only at those in the public sector; in Estonia and Latvia it is extended to all personnel in employment,

public or private, who have contact with the public. If a person were not able to pass an attestation, this failure could constitute grounds for dismissal from a position, though in fact such measures are rarely invoked.

Across the Slavic states there are no special language proficiency tests for office workers or for other employees. In Ukraine, according to the constitution, knowledge of the state language is required for those who occupy a governmental position (e.g. the President of the state, members in the Constitutional Court, or judges). Similarly, Kazakhstan has the same criterion as a precondition for the positions of President and the Chairperson of the parliament. Recently the parliament of Kazakhstan approved principles for a proposed implementation of a unified system called KAZTEST to examine state language knowledge. According to this, all citizens regardless of their nationality will need to pass this test in order to be entitled for employment. The only exceptions are government employees approaching retirement age.[15]

Some steps towards regulating occupational language use were made in the Transcaucasian states. Thus, a good command of Georgian is required for employment in the public service or in local government (Popjanevski 2006). Recent reforms include professional testing for civil servants (Europe Report 2006).[16] In Armenia, measures have also been taken to strengthen the position of Armenian including testing the language proficiency of state employees, school teachers and professors (Karapetyan 2003).

Language institutions: remit and objectives

In some of the countries governmental institutions were set up in order to supervise the implementation and observance of language legislation. In Estonia this role fell to the State Language Board (in 1995 renamed the Language Board). Latvia's central body responsible for the legislative aspect and the implementation of the State Language Laws is the Latvian State Language Centre; in Lithuania the State Lithuanian Language Commission is responsible. A range of additional special commissions has also been created nationwide for the certification of the level of titular language skills of speakers of languages other than Estonian, Latvian or Lithuanian. Furthermore, State Language Inspectorates were established as national controlling agencies to oversee the extent and the means of how the national language laws and other legal acts regulating language use were being implemented and adhered to. Several institutions exist across the Baltic acting as national agents with municipal responsibilities in charge of the planning, modernisation, regulation, administration and supervision of the titular languages, and for the local inspection of their use in the public and semi-public spheres.

The remit of the national language institutions elsewhere is less explicit. In 1991, the Institute of the Ukrainian Language of the National Academy of Sciences was created. It is a research institution which studies all structural levels of Ukrainian, its functioning in society, and its terminology. It also works on the codification of its language norms.[17] Also in some countries, civil organizations, such as the Belarusian Language Society of the Ukrainian language, function and participate in different language events.

Two Central Asian states (Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan) have made efforts to strengthen the position of their state languages through language institutions. In order to intensify corpus planning some committees were created. Thus, in Kazakhstan the State Terminological Committee and the State Commission on Language Policy Improvement, chaired by the Prime Minister, were established. Kyrgyzstan has an Institute for the State Language and Culture as well as a National Commission on the State Language run under the auspices of the President. The main tendency in corpus planning is the creation of terminology for the Kyrgyz language (Orusbaev, Mustajoki and Protassova 2008: 210).

Language use – bilingual and multilingual language practices

The language management practices that have been initiated since independence vary in their effect throughout the region. In many places the range of language laws that were introduced during the transition years effectively redressed the Soviet-time language hierarchy, expanding the sociolinguistic function of the titular languages while at the same time providing protection for the languages and cultures of the national minorities. Other countries by contrast have been confronted with continuous struggles over language use in the public domain. Overviews of emerging language practices in each republic are presented below.

In the Baltic the titular languages have gradually regained their prestige, and hence have reconsolidated their place in the political and social life respectively. Their increasing use was largely propelled by legal requirements that demanded the deployment of the respective languages in the public sphere. Besides making state language learning compulsory for all in formal education other national programmes were set up too with the aim to provide the wider population with adequate language learning opportunities. As a result, levels of bilingualism with either Estonian, Latvian or Lithuanian amongst speakers of minority languages, particularly the younger generation, are steadily on the rise. In localities with greater, largely self-sufficient language communities habits are changing at a somewhat slower rate. On the whole, many minority representatives are motivated to learn their state language, either for

instrumental reasons to gain status and economic success or because they want to identify socially with their overall society (Hogan-Brun *et al*. 2007).

Across the greater part of Estonia the main linguistic environment is in Estonian. Exceptions are the major cities, the urban areas of Harjumaa and Ida-Virumaa and the western shore of Lake Peipsi, where a traditional Russian-speaking community is situated. In general, Estonian is used in all spheres of life. There has been a slight decrease in the number of native speakers of Estonian as the result of lower birth rates and emigration. The various language communities are distributed unevenly throughout the country, with largely segregated Estonian and Russian communities. The majority of persons who do not speak the titular language use Russian, with a shift towards bilingualism with Estonian.

Language attitudes and practices in Latvia present a complex picture. Here, the titular language is not necessarily the most widely spoken language as is the case in other post-Soviet regions too (see below). Overall, bilingualism with Latvian is on the increase among younger and middle-aged non-Latvians, in part for educational reasons (see above). The limits of language learning and of language policy more broadly may however have been reached among the older age group of Russophones due to the persistence of an extensive Russian-speaking working environment that allows a degree of self-sufficiency in that language. This is mainly the case in the larger cities (Riga, Daugavpils, Liepaja) and in the country's eastern region Latgale with its traditional Russian-speaking community.

The language situation is more homogenous in Lithuania, where the (mainly Russian and Polish) language communities amount to just 18 per cent. Attitudes towards Lithuanian are on the whole positive among this population, with over half of them declaring it to be their second language (2001 census data). In the major cities (Vilnius, Klaipėda, and also Visaginas) Russian is used more frequently, and there are also language environments with (local) Polish, Belarusian, as well as local vernaculars (called *Tuteišų*: 'language of locals' or *Po Prostu*: 'simple language') in the densely multilingual and multi-ethnic region in eastern and south-eastern Lithuania.

All three Slavic countries are very different in terms of language development and language practices. In the different regions of the Russian Federation, the position of the Russian language has become stronger despite the revitalization of the various national languages. Some of the reasons for this are that Russians do not like to study the other languages used on their territory, that Russian is considered to be more prestigious, that many of the other languages have limited functionality (there are numerous people who regard these as being a means of communication in the private domain), and that some representatives of national communities do not like to study their own native languages because of

their perceived low social prestige (Alpatov 2005).[18] In many ways these stereotypes reflect the real situation which the Russian Federation inherited from the former Soviet Union. At the same time in some regions (Bashkortostan, Yakutia, Tatarstan, Touva) the social functionality of the national languages is increasing (Mikhalchenko 2002; Alpatov 2005). Revival movements are widespread in autonomous republics with a considerable non-Russian population. In these polities efforts are being made to develop the terminology, vocabulary and functional style of the national languages.

In the Republic of Chechnya the social functionality of the Russian language has decreased due to the emigration of the Russian population. Sometimes language tensions between ethnic groups could be observed.[19] At the same time, Russian performs key functions in all spheres of public life. Chechen is the second state language of the republic. It is widely used in private communication and in the educational domain, where it is taught as an obligatory subject in secondary schools and also sometimes in vocational institutions and higher education institutions.[20] Recently an attempt was made to introduce the Chechen language into the official domain, but the overall low level language competence among officials has hampered implementation of this idea.[21]

In the two other Slavic countries Ukraine and Belarus, language planning has had different goals since independence to address the consequences of long-term Russification under the Russian Empire and the SU, and this has produced different consequences.

The main feature of the Ukrainian sociolinguistic situation is Ukrainian-Russian bilingualism (Masenko 2004; Bilaniuk and Melnyk 2008), which has a regional character: Ukrainian is widespread in the Western regions while Russian dominates in the East and South. Individual bilingualism is also quite common, albeit frequently in a non-accommodating manner, i.e. when one person uses Ukrainian and another Russian, with both retaining their own languages. A coherent language management programme has worked in the country to improve attitudes towards Ukrainian, which is widely used in legal and political practices. The top-down language management model has translated into bottom-up support of the population. Sociological surveys indicate that despite the fact that Russian prevails in communicative discourse in the East and South as well as in big cities, the current situation with Ukrainian as the sole state language of the country is being upheld (Vyshnyak 2008). On the other hand, the language issue is highly politicized in Ukraine and its future management heavily depends on the evolving political situation.

Unlike in Ukraine, the language behaviour in Belarus did not change in favour of Belarusian. According to experts, there are two main discourses on Belarusian: on the one hand, the language is considered to be rural and of low prestige (usually traditional countryside dialects), on the other hand it is regarded as a means of opposition to the regime and

an index of a so-called 'nationally conscious' person (Giger and Sloboda 2008). The low status of Belarusian is reflected in neighbouring Ukraine. Although the Belorussian minority is the second largest community in the country, its sense of identity is not language-centred, and Belarusian is not well represented on the linguistic map of Ukraine. An interesting phenomenon in the context of language status is the fact that language contacts within the Slavic language group have led to Ukrainian-Russian and Belarusian-Russian language mixing, called respectively *surzhyk* and *trasyanka*. In Ukraine, *surzhyk* is considered to be a low-status sub-language, and attitudes among linguists toward this variant tends to be negative (for a typology of *surzhyk* see Bilaniuk 2005), while in Belarus linguists and politicians are more tolerant of *trasyanka* (Zaprudski 2002; Goujon 1999: 668).

The Transcaucasian states have maintained the high status of their titular languages under the Soviet regime and following independence. At the same time bilingual and multilingual practices are supported in these states through the general management of multilingualism (especially in Armenia) as well as due to the existence of different minority groups (in Georgia). In Armenia, the present goal in education is trilingual competence in the titular language, Russian and one other foreign language (Pavlenko 2008). Positions concerning the official language vary, with national minorities (Greek, Kurds) having to learn Armenian in order not to be segregated, but not Russians. Bilingualism among children is the norm rather than exception, and parents support this, along with multilingualism.[22] A similar situation regarding minorities can be observed in Azerbaijan where representatives of the national minorities tend to have state language knowledge (Popjanevski 2006: 65). In Georgia on the other hand Russian, Armenian and Azeri are still widely used in national communities, and state language proficiency in some regions is very poor (ibid.: 39). In areas with a large portion of the minority population Georgian is often found to be a local minority language. Where the level of bilingualism is low Russian functions as a lingua franca (Popjanevski 2006; Kobaidze and Vamling 2004). Lack of knowledge of Georgian is found to be a major barrier to full Azeri and Armenian participation in political and social life, which is why they are offered extra support (see above).

Approaches in the Central Asian states vary in terms of language policy and language management and consequently different language practices have evolved too. Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan are working on the elevation on the status of the titular languages. Russian is still widely used by the political establishment there, in higher education and as a second language (Orozobekova 2005; Smagulova 2008). Russification of the titular ethnos has brought about a situation in which ethnic Kazakh and Kyrgyz do not tend to have proficiency in the native languages nor do they demonstrate a high level of state language competence. However, a

decrease in Russian language proficiency has been observed among the younger generations (Toursunof 2008).

In independent Tajikistan on the other hand, where official monolingualism has been instituted, interest in Russian is increasing among all strata of Tajik society. It is the only country in the post-Soviet space which has implemented a policy that requires all scientific academic degrees to be approved by the Higher Attestation Commission in Russia. As a requirement, dissertations have to be written in Russian and Russian is used in computer science, the internet, military activity and scientific literature (Nagzibekova 2008). There is also ongoing temporary, work-related migration to the RF. A special situation exists in the region of Badakhsan where a version of the Tajik language (Tajik of Badakhan) functions as a lingua franca for different local ethnic groups (Dodikhudoeva 2004).

Also in Uzbekistan there is growing interest in Russian, which functions as a language of interethnic communication. This is despite the fact that in the 1995 version of the law of the state language the special status of the Russian language was abolished (Bohr 1998). Consequently Uzbek–Russian bilingualism is on the increase in the country.[23] At the same time it is claimed in the mass media that as a result of the policy of de-Russification the Russian language has become a foreign language in the country and that proficiency in Russian is decreasing.[24]

The language situation in Turkmenistan can be described as official and real monolingualism. According to the media, the Russian language does not function as a language of interethnic communication there. In rural areas people do on the whole not tend to understand it. Also, discrimination against national minorities is taking place. The situation can change under future political leadership in the country[25].

Overall it can be noted that as a consequence of Soviet-time language policy management there is no direct connection between language preferences and ethnic affiliation amongst the so-called third ethnicities. Many non-Russians are competent in Russian or have Russian as their first language and a majority of titular nationals have competence in Russian. The nature of language loyalties thus remains complex throughout the entire region.

Scholarly treatment of language policy and its management in the region

Post-Soviet language policy attracted attention from numerous western scholars, with much interest in the use of language and culture as a means of state rebuilding across the region (Wright 1999; O'Reilly 2001; Plasseraud 2003). Considerable focus has also been on citizenship and language rights. Several authors lent their support to evolving language policies in the Baltic (Ozolins 1999); others criticized it (e.g. Dobson 2001).

In the run up of Baltic accession to the EU there were numerous commentaries on the impact upon (language) policy and (language) ideological debates in the Baltic states (Poleshchuk 2002; Pettai and Zielonka 2003; Ozolins 2003; Smith 2005; Hogan-Brun 2005b).

The issue of language rights is particularly contested in those post-Soviet countries left with a large Russian diaspora. In many contexts it is not clear whether what is at stake are the rights of previously marginalized national languages or of Russian-speaking minorities, speaking what used to be a majority language (Melvin 1995; Chinn and Kaiser 1996; Ozolins 2003). Until recently however, the focus of this discussion has been predominantly on the Baltic countries, though the situation in other post-Soviet states also deserves special attention. In the last decade there has been an increasing interest in the language rights of titular ethnicities as well as minority languages which were overshadowed in that sociolinguistic reality (Smolicz and Radzik 2004; Giger and Sloboda 2008; Marusyk and Koshova 2008). Sometimes scholars have described the matter not in terms of a clearly defined theory of language rights but with a focus on sociolinguistic issues such as language conflicts, language maintenance and shift and so on (Masenko 2004). At the same time, despite the growing body of sociolinguistic literature, the issue of language and minority rights seems to be underexplored in post-Soviet scholarship.

The post-Soviet language situation has been studied from different angles in most recent publications (Bilaniuk 2005; Clement 2008; Fierman 2006; Nagzibekova 2008; Smagulova 2008). Some studies provide a comparative overview of language policy and language management in the post-Soviet space (Alpatov 2000; Hogan-Brun 2005a; Pavlenko 2006; Pavlenko 2008). A positive fact is that language development attracted the attention of some joint projects: DILING (Dimension of the linguistic otherness: Prospects of maintenance and revitalization of minority languages within new Europe, with Ukraine and Moldova participating); the INTAS project 'Language Policy in Ukraine: anthropological, linguistic aspects and further perspectives', with scholars from Ukraine, Germany and Great Britain participating; Besters-Dilger 2008); the INTAS project 'New language identities in transforming societies: Kazakhztan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan and Uzbekistan' (Smagulova 2008; Orusbaev *et al.* 2008). Although the number of publications has increased there is space for further research in at least two main directions: comparative research of language development and empirical studies of the language situation of the post-Soviet countries.

Summary

The complex ethno-demographic situation, which the independent successor states inherited as a legacy of long-term Soviet-time immigration

has as illustrated above invariably produced a whole range of language and integration policies with constitutionally anchored legal backing. This chapter points to the distinctly regional character of means chosen in this management process as is summarized below.

Baltic states

Means to re-establish the official status and sociolinguistic functionality of the titular languages Estonian, Latvian and Lithuanian have been strikingly similar, emerging since the restitution of independence in the Baltic out of a centralist approach. As earlier versions of the State Language Laws were gradually refined, additional language knowledge demands were introduced, especially in the laws relating to education, employment and citizenship. Crucially in the Baltic states, the long-term aim of language policy management soon became to create social conditions that would ultimately ease accession to the European Union. This necessitated the provision of adequate facilities for the fostering of individual additional bilingual capabilities amongst the minority representatives. In turn it also involved modification of existing laws and regulations under Western recommendations. For a considerable number of people what is mandated now is a form of integration that involves both the acquisition of the state language as a second language and the preservation of their first language and culture. Overall, use of the titular languages and their prestige has increased in the Baltic region.

Slavic states

The three Slavic states have evolved different language practices and language management. In the RF the peculiarities of language management are determined by the multiethnic and multilingual composition of the country. Two main tendencies can be observed: (1) development and strengthening of the position of the Russian language as a tool for linguistic uniformity of the state, and (2) development and enhancement of national languages and cultures of the peoples of the federation. The first move has been implemented through the target programme 'Russian language', and the second is supported through increasing interest in national languages involving the broadening of their social functionality. In the autonomous republic Tatarstan however, some subjects consider means to strengthen the position of Russian as an act of linguistic discrimination. Efforts are therefore being made to develop the terminology, vocabulary and functional style of the national languages used there. Their attempt to introduce a Latin script however did not correspond to federal legislation.

Belarus introduced official Belarusian–Russian bilingualism. This state's titular language occupies the weakest position in the post-Soviet space. Despite the official equality of both state languages, current language management has a tendency to marginalize Belarusian and re-establish the dominant position of Russian which is associated with social advancement, political power, industrial development and higher cultural sophistication. This is reflected in both corpus and acquisition planning and involves use of the Russified version of Belarusian, tolerant attitudes towards Russian–Belarusian language mixing as well as the declining number of Belarusian-medium schools.

Ukraine too has proclaimed official monolingualism with Ukrainian as a sole state language. As a consequence the prestige of Ukrainian is growing. Officially Russian is considered to be a national minority language. It still enjoys a high status in society because of the past Russification of the titular population as well as of national minorities, especially in eastern and southern regions and cities. In corpus planning language management is directed toward eliminating the low prestige colloquial Ukrainian–Russian sub-language (*surzhyk*), use of the reformed Ukrainian orthography, and increasing Ukrainian-medium education whilst also retaining instruction in the minority languages.

Transcaucasian states

In the Transcaucasian states a high level of titular language maintenance can be observed due to the relatively dense monolingual composition of the population there and the positive status these titular languages enjoyed in the former Soviet Union. After independence, use of Russian as well as its competence decreased in this region. Russian is considered to be a foreign or second language and it is studied in educational establishments as a subject along with other foreign or minority languages. Attitudes towards Russian in the public domain are uneven across these countries. In Azerbaijan for example, the number of Russia-medium schools has not decreased after independence. In Georgia by contrast there is less interest in Russian whilst the language is widely used in the Autonomous Republic of Abkhazia, where it also functions as an official language. As elsewhere too, the popularity of English as a foreign language has increased after independence. Also in these countries, minority languages are undergoing a process of revitalization. These developments are supported through secondary school instruction in the native languages, their use in newspaper publishing and in religious and cultural domains. Activity in corpus planning is concentrated in the following directions: development of new terminology; creation of new dictionaries and standardization of spelling, purification of the titular languages from foreign and Russian terms. In Azerbaijan, the transition

to the Latin script symbolizes the restoration of the heritage of Turkic-speaking people.

Central Asian states

Between 1989 and 1990, five countries of Central Asia (Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan and Turkmenistan) passed laws proclaiming their national languages to be the state languages of the respective countries. Policies to strengthen the position of the titular languages have been continuing after the proclamation of independence. In these countries processes in language management and non-linguistic changes that have been taking place since then have produced different outcomes in language development. Thus, Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan elevated the status of Russian to that of official language due to the considerable Russian-speaking population there and the linguistic and cultural assimilation of the titular ethnos. By contrast de-Russification policies in Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan and Tajikistan have meanwhile led to decreasing Russian language competence there. However, more recently, there has been a resurgence of interest in Russian in both Uzbekistan and Tajikistan. All Central Asian countries support multilingualism in the educational domain except Turkmenistan, where the situation has led to ongoing discrimination of ethnic minorities as regards their educational opportunities. As in other post-Soviet countries the main trend in corpus planning is revitalization, standardization and modernization of the titular languages. Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan have also switched to the Latin alphabet.

As this chapter shows language policy management has taken on different shapes in the various post-Soviet regions and is likely to be deployed as a central vector for change in these reconfiguring socio-political constellations for some time to come.

30

Language policy in Asia and the Pacific

Richard B. Baldauf Jr and Hoa Thi Mai Nguyen

Introduction

Broadly speaking, the Asia and Pacific region as defined in this chapter consists of forty-two polities, seven from East Asia, ten from South East Asia, eight from South Asia, and seventeen from the Pacific basin.[1] Not included in this geographic definition are polities in the former Soviet Union's sphere of influence (see Chapter 29 in this volume). In addition there are eight polities that are French or American Territories or States. To facilitate the analysis of language policy in this region, each of these major grouping of polities is examined separately before some conclusions are drawn about the Asia Pacific region as a whole.

Initially a brief introduction to some of the background issues affecting language policy in the region is provided. Then, a survey of the language policy situation in the Asia and Pacific region drawing on two perspectives is presented. First, a summary of some of the key language-related characteristics of the polities is given to provide an overview of the language and policy diversity found therein. Then, we have drawn out a number of policy characteristics and commonalities for discussion, and have provided some brief examples of each. In the final section, we draw these findings together to provide some thematic language policy issues relevant to the polities discussed in this chapter.

Initial background issues affecting language policy

The Asia Pacific region is one of great linguistic contrasts, rich with many languages, some small, diverse and linguistically unexplored (e.g. some of those in Vanuatu – Crowley 2006), while others are large with long historical, literary and linguistic traditions (e.g. China – Zhao and Baldauf 2008). While a number of the polities in the region have deep historical

roots, their specific political contexts and linguistic shape has only come into being relatively recently, many since the end of the Second World War and the ending of colonialism (see, e.g. Pennycook 1998). This burst of nation building has led to the need for language policy making in these polities, in particular the selection of national languages and languages of wider communication. Some of the classical studies from which the discipline of language policy and planning has emerged were undertaken in this region at that time (see, e.g., Alisjahbana 1971 for Indonesia, Sibayan 1971 for the Philippines). For those interested in language policy, this richness has resulted in a number of policy-related studies including collections of work across some of the polities discussed in this chapter (e.g., Tsui and Tollefson 2007; Kaplan and Baldauf 2011a), with some focused primarily on East and South East Asia (e.g., Baldauf *et al.* 2008; Djité 2010; Ho and Wong 2000; 2003b; Kaplan and Baldauf 2003; 2008b), or on the Pacific (Baldauf and Djité 2003; Baldauf and Kaplan 2006; Baldauf and Luke 1980). Some studies also have been published that critically evaluate language policy successes and failures in the region (e.g., Annamalai 2011, Chew 2011, Hamid 2011, Kaplan and Baldauf 2011b; Zhao and Baldauf 2011). However, given the nation building character of much of the language policy work, a lot of the literature available relates to language-in-education policy and planning (e.g., Ho and Wong 2003a), and with the advent of globalization, the planning and teaching of English in educational settings has become a dominant theme (e.g., British Council 2009; Choi and Spolsky 2007; Hamid 2010; Johnston 2010). In this chapter we sketch out in a systematic manner some of the language policy issues of concern to this diverse range of polities by providing some basic data about, and examples of, the successful and more problematic language policy (i.e. statements of intent) and planning (i.e. policy implementation) decisions. From these examples we draw out for discussion the general issues that are raised.

If one looks beyond the large languages indigenous to the region (e.g., Bengali, Chinese, Hindi, Japanese, Javanese, Korean, and more recently Malay/Indonesian and Filipino) and the multitude of minority languages, we find that Arabic, European and other Asian languages have become established in the various polities in the region as additional languages adding to the natural multilingualism found in many of these societies. Baldauf *et al.* (2008: 82) have suggested a number of factors, some historical, and others of more recent origin, that have brought about this increase in language contact. These include:

- Trade internally within the region, from the Arabian peninsula, and later from Europe;
- Religious proselytisation conducted through Arabic and various European languages, as well as the spread of religious beliefs from within the region (Buddhism, Confucianism);

- Colonization, as conducted through various European (and Asian) languages;
- Languages learned to access overseas education and technology;
- Wars of aggression, some of which were linked to European, North American and Asian colonial development;
- The geopolitics of the 'Cold War', especially for the spread of Russian and English; and
- The rise of English as an economic world language or lingua franca.

Other important language factors to consider include:

- The historic use and spread of different alphabets and script forms;
- The diglossia created through differences between classic and modern forms of languages; and
- The centrality or not of literacy to language maintenance.

These factors have created language ecologies for polities in the region that are complex and vary widely depending on the polity and the combination of historical events which have shaped them (see, e.g. Kaplan and Baldauf 2008a). Wright (2002) has noted in relation to Vietnam – although it applies to many polities in the region – that language policies and language usage have been shaped by the various geopolitical situations in which polities have found themselves in different eras.

One outcome of this multilingualism is that in India and in many other parts of Asia there has been a symbolic policy focus on the classical European-style policy – a single national language for communication, while pragmatic language planning has taken a multilingual focus based on the '3 +/− 1' language solution for language planning (Kamwangamalu 2011; Laitin 1992). This three languages solution refers to individuals learning a state (regional), national and international language for different social and/or educational purposes within a polity. For example, in the Philippines these languages might be Cebuano (or another local language), Filipino and English. However, if a person were a Tagalog speaker, then they only need to learn two languages as Tagalog and Filipino are very similar, while a family of Bisaya speakers living in a Cebuano community would need to learn four languages. Polity-based educational planning means education is bilingual in Filipino and English, while local languages are still territorial within the Philippines (Gonzalez 2006). Thus, location and individual choice are very important in how language policy plays out within a particular polity. In addition, in an era of globalization, the diaspora of Filipino brides, maids and guest workers – based on their English language abilities, educational skills and desire for a better life – increasingly means that there are language policy implications for other polities in the region as well.

Another outcome of these geopolitical forces has been that English has increasingly become a focus of language policy in the region. While

colonialism, missionary work and the geopolitics of the Cold War in the past have played significant roles in making English the dominant foreign (second) language, globalization and the world economic system have made English the region's lingua franca and increasingly the de facto second national language in many polities. In these polities the debate is not about 'whether English', but about which English (or Englishes) are to be learned by whom for what purposes, and what other second foreign languages need to be mastered. Increasingly language policy is mandating English be introduced at an earlier age in schools in many polities in the region (see Baldauf, Kaplan and Kamwangamalu 2011), and this is having an impact on other language learning. However, other languages including Chinese are also increasing in popularity in schools (e.g., Chua 2010).

This introductory section provides a brief and hopefully not too stereotypic overview of some of the factors that underpin language policy decisions that are being undertaken in the Asia Pacific region. However, as indicated, the polities in this region have very different stories to tell about their language situations and the successes and failures of language policy to meet the needs of those in their polities. In the five sections which follow we briefly summarize and examine language policy for the each of the major geographical divisions within the Asia Pacific region.

East Asia

The key language-related characteristics for the seven polities located in East Asia are given in Table 30.1. These polities (except Mongolia) represent character using states and all have been involved in planning for character use and in the development of standards. There is currently a project to collaborate to create a unique set of Unicode characters for the purpose of encoding all characters and their variants so that mutual intelligibility can be achieved (Zhao and Baldauf 2008: 314ff). This is a painstaking process as the historical differences that developed in character use and presentation are important identity markers for each of the polities.

The focus of language planning in China has changed over the last century. One of the major themes has been character simplification with three major milestones: the first simplification scheme that lasting for a short period in 1935, the table of simplified characters adopted in 1956 which formed the basis for literacy campaigns in China after the communist revolution of 1950, and finally the second simplified scheme of 1977 was eventually abandoned in 1986 (Zhao and Baldauf 2011). While simplified characters are still the official script in China, both Hong Kong and Taiwan continue to use the traditional forms and these forms are

Table 30.1 *Key characteristics of seven East Asian polities*

Polity	Area in sq. km	Population (est. 2009)	Languages	Number	Role of English	Estimated usage*
China, PRC	9,806,391	1,338,612,968	Mandarin, Yue (Cantonese), Wu, Minbei, Xiang, Gan, Hakka, over 120 minority languages officially recognized	120+	first foreign	226,710,000 (primary, secondary and tertiary undergraduates)
Hong Kong, SAR	1,085	7,005,071	Cantonese, English, Mandarin		official language	L1 – 150,000 L2 – 2,200,000
Japan	377,812	127,078,679	Japanese (13 varieties); Ainu; Ryûkyûan dialects; Korean	3	first foreign	
Korea	122,768	22, 665,345	Korean (2 diversifying varieties North/South) (English)	2	foreign	
North						
South	99,268	48,508,972			first foreign	
Mongolia	1,560,160	3,041,142	Mongolian, Old Mongolian Script, Russian, English		foreign	
Taiwan	36,175	22,974,347	Mandarin, Tai yu, Hakka, 18 aboriginal languages	21	first foreign	

* See Crystal (2003: 62ff.). He does not provide estimated information on China, Japan, Korea (North and South), Mongolia and Taiwan. China (Wen and Hu, 2007: 4)

Source: Kaplan and Baldauf (2003: 5); China – Zhou (2003: 23); *CIA World Factbook* (2010)

beginning to reappear more frequently in China itself as the government aligns itself with traditional Chinese values. Since 1986, character standardization has become the main focus for language planners, trying to make characters more suitable for use with technology. Other planning goals have included the standardization and spread of Mandarin, both internally and more recently overseas through the Confucius Institute, and the development of an alphabetic writing system, pinyin, which is used to help learn Chinese and increasingly as a character input and internet communication system.

In both Hong Kong and Taiwan, the recent language planning focus has been on taking new realities into account. With the 1997 handover from the British to the Chinese in Hong Kong, there was a need to move from a focus on a school system based on an underlying system of Cantonese and English monolingualism, to a trilingual system catering for Cantonese, English and Putonghua (Poon 2010). In Taiwan, the Kuomintang had pursued a Mandarin only policy since 1945 with the result that an estimated 90 per cent of the population could speak the language by the end of the century. With the change in government in 2000 to the Democratic Progressive Party, the definition of the national language was changed to include not only Mandarin, but Southern Min, Hakka and the ten aboriginal Austronesian languages and provisions were made for teaching them in schools. In addition, in 2005 students from the 3rd Grade on were to be taught English in a bid to improve English standards (Tsao 2008a, 2008b).

While re-evaluations of language policy were occurring in Hong Kong and Taiwan, they were also occurring in Japan. During the last decade of the last century – the lost decade, Japanese society was undergoing a crisis of self-confidence (Hashimoto 2007). Japan was moving from a period of presumed monoethnicity and monolingualism to one where the ethnic communities and their languages, and the international language English were beginning to be given greater recognition. A major challenge for Japanese language planning will be how to deal with these new realities (Gottlieb 2008).

In the field of language planning, as in other areas, North Korea has gone it alone, driven by Kim Il Sung's top-down vision of a language that would serve the needs of the socialist state. To serve this political objective, the language needed to be developed – hence a lot of linguistic activity occurred – and cleansed of foreign influences, in particular Chinese characters, as these would obstruct the rapid development of national literacy, and usage needed to be created that would reflect the new socialist realities. These substantial changes now differentiate the two varieties of Korean (Kaplan and Baldauf 2011b). South Korea by way of contrast has embraced globalization and has had a strong interest in improving English language skills (Yim 2006). Many South Korean young people go overseas to study English and in recent years English language-based

villages have opened to provide Koreans with opportunities to experience English in 'real' contexts.

Mongolia has also seen vast changes in recent years moving from a socialist economy with a strong dependency on Russia and Russian (1930–1990) to a democratic system where other foreign languages and especially English are being cultivated (Zegiimaa 2008).

South East Asia

The key language related characteristics for the ten polities located in South East Asia are given in Table 30.2. The polities are all members of ASEAN, which uses English as a lingua franca, and several of the polities (Brunei, Malaysia, The Philippines and Singapore – Malaysia is undoing its bilingual programme starting in 2011) have bilingual education policies in place (Jones 2003). Brunei Darussalam has had the dwibahasa – Malay–English bilingualism – in place since the early 1980s (Kaplan and Baldauf 2003), The Philippines has an English–Filipino bilingual programme (Gonzalez 2006), Singapore uses English as the medium of instruction and requires students to study a mother-tongue language (Chinese, Malay or Tamil; see Chua 2010), while Malaysia has been teaching mathematics and science through English. However, in Malaysia these school-based policies have been quite variable and have not produced English-speaking users of the quality required (David and Govindasamy 2007), and it has been argued that these policies hurt minority languages which need to be strengthened through learning in institutional or community settings (David, Callavaro and Coluzzi 2009). However, in Malaysia, indigenous minority languages can be taught in schools when the materials to teach them are available, and three such languages are now being taught in schools to help develop students' cognitive abilities and maintain their local languages (Smith 2003). In Thailand, State involvement is increasing and more attention is being paid to local language literacy as a way of maintaining ethnolinguistic minority languages (Kosonen 2008). In Singapore, Malay – the national language – has moved from being the lingual franca at independence, to being the language of the Malay community as English has become more prominent (Chew 2011).

In other parts of South East Asia, English is clearly a foreign rather than a second language, but there is still a strong emphasis on learning it (e.g. for Vietnam, see Nguyen and Nguyen 2007; Wright 2002; for Indonesia, see Sadtono 2007). In the Vietnamese situation a certificate of English proficiency is require in some professions to register as a professional. In Cambodia (Clayton 2002) and Laos, English has challenged French for the role of language of wider communication, with the French government actively supporting the study of the language. In this context Clayton

Table 30.2 *Key characteristics of ten South Asian polities*

Polity	Area in sq. km	Population (est. 2009)	Languages	Number	Role of English	Estimated usage*
Brunei Darussalam	5,765	388,190	Malay, English, Chinese, Indigenous		national	L1 – 10,000 L2 – 134 ,000
Cambodia	181,035	14,494,293	Khmer, French, English, Vietnamese,		Second/ foreign	
Indonesia	1,904,443	240,271,522	Bahasa Indonesia, Javanese + 418–569 indigenous	419	first foreign	
Laos	236,800	6,834,345	Lao, French, Russian, English		foreign	
Malaysia	329,758	25,715,819	Bahasa Malaysia, (English), Tamil, Chinese varieties, Iban, Kadazan+80–138 indigenous	83	second	L1 – 380,000; L2 – 7,000,000
Myanmar	676,577	21,767,741	Burmese, Indigenous (Jingpho, Kayah, Karen, Chin, Mon, Rakhine, Shan), English		first foreign	
The Philippines	300,000	97,976,603	Filipino, (English), 120 indigenous	121	official	L1 – 20,000 L2 – 40,000,000
Singapore	682.7	4,553,009	(English), Mandarin, Hokkien, Cantonese, Teochew, 4 Malay varieties, Tamil, 8 Indian varieties	18	official	L1 – 350,000 L2 – 2,000,000
Thailand	513,115	65,998,436	Thai, English, Chinese,		foreign	
Vietnam	325,360	88, 576,758	Vietnamese, Chinese, French, English, Khmer, Hmong		first foreign	

* See Crystal (2003: 62ff.). He does not provide estimated information on Cambodia, Indonesia, Laos, Myanmar, Thailand or Vietnam.
Source: Kaplan and Baldauf (2003: 5); *CIA World Factbook* (2010)

(2008) points out that 'choice' of a language to learn, is not just an individual matter, but in the case of Cambodia is the result of the economic and political actions of a range of external agencies. He suggests that mass literacy programmes might have been a better choice for language development as they would not have just privileged a few. The relationship between language and development in Cambodia, Laos, Myanmar and Vietnam is discussed in detail in Djité (2010).

South Asia

The key language-related characteristics for the eight polities located in East Asia are given in Table 30.3. Language, religion and culture are key issues in South Asia. Bangladesh can claim to be the only polity which fought a war of independence to gain the right to use their own language – the right to use Bengali was being suppressed by the Pakistan government in the West. The recently ended long-running civil war in Sri Lanka between the majority Ceylonese and minority Tamils had language as a major causal issue (Canagarajah 1999; Coperahewa 2011). In addition, a number of languages in the subcontinent have ancient cultural and written heritages (e.g., Tamil), creating a diglossic situation between the classical language and texts and modern spoken varieties, making literacy learning more problematic (Schiffman 1996).

English is also a powerful language in South Asia (Mansoor *et al.* 2004), being one of three prescribed official languages of the Indian state (English, Hindi and a regional language). Indian language policy is based on the three-language formula. However, Annamalai (2005) points out that the formula is often applied very rigidly meaning that minorities in various states lack the opportunity to learn their own language. While it was envisioned that Hindi would become the nation's lingua franca, there has been resistance to this from the Dravidian south and so English has become the dominant lingua franca, at least among the educated classes.

In Bangladesh, where most individuals are Bengali speakers, English is taught from Grade 1 and occupies 20 per cent of the curriculum. Unfortunately, resources for educational provision are limited and this means that the quality of English teaching, whether locally funded (Hamid 2011; Hamid and Baldauf 2008), or through donor programmes (Hamid 2010) is inadequate, especially for students outside of the large urban areas. Many students depend on outside tutorial assistance to pass their examinations. The demand for English language education is also strong in Pakistan (Rahman 2006) and Nepal (Eagle 2008a, 2008b). However, in the later polity, after a long civil war, part of the peace process has been to provide more schooling in the local indigenous languages.

Table 30.3 *Key characteristics of eight South Asian polities*

Polity	Area in sq. km	Population (est. 2009)	Languages	Number	Role of English	Estimated usage*
Afghanistan	645,807	28,395,716	Pushtu, Dari		foreign	
Bangladesh	142,615	156,050,883	Bangla, English		second/foreign	L2 – 3,500,000
Bhutan	46,673	691,141	Dzongkha, Tshangla, Nepali, English		second/foreign	
India	3,166,944	1,156,897,766	Hindi, English +		official	L1 – 350,000 L2 – 200,000,000
Maldives	298	396,334	Dhivehi, English, Sinhala, Arab		foreign	
Nepal	147,181	28,563,337	Maithili, Nepal Bhasa, Bhojpuri, Tharu, Gurung, Tamang, Magar, Adahi, Sherpa, Kiranti, Limbu, + 100 indigenous languages, English		second/foreign language	L2 – 7.000,000
Pakistan	880,254	174,578,558	Urdu, English, Punj, Sind, Siraiki, Pashtu		official	L2 – 17,000,000
Sri Lanka	65,610	21,324,791	Singhalese, Tamil, English			L1 – 10,000 L2 – 1,900,000

* See Crystal (2003: 62ff.). He does not provide estimated information on Afghanistan, Bhutan or the Maldives
Source: Kaplan and Baldauf (2003: 5); *CIA World Factbook* (2010)

The Pacific Basin

The key language-related characteristics for the seventeen polities located in the Pacific basin are given in Table 30.4. Not a lot has changed since Baldauf and Djité's (2003) overview of the region was first produced. English which as Table 30.4 shows has official status in all the polities in the region – except Timor Leste – has become more dominant than it was previously, and indigenous plurilingualism continues to decline in countries like Australia, although it is more stable in others like Vanuatu (Crowley 2006). Migrant plurilingualism remains strong in Australia (Clyne 2005; Liddicoat and Scarino 2010) and there is an increasing interest in learning languages in New Zealand (Spence 2004). However, a major planning focus in most of the region is on English language development. Timor Leste is an exception to this, as Portuguese and Tetum have been chosen as official languages, while English and Indonesian – the most recent colonial language – are working languages (Taylor-Leech 2011). This choice demonstrates that historical and social identity can be powerful elements in language choice, even in a globalized English-dominant world.

Pidgins are also an important element in the language situation in the Pacific (Mühlhäusler 1996) and Mühlhäusler (1998) has hypothesized that their role has been to provide a buffer that has helped to retain the great local language diversity found in Melanesia as pidgins don't undermine local language functions or cultural capital. However, as pidgins creolize and gain speakers as varieties like Tok Pisin and Bislama have in Melanesia, they become another language competitor and a threat to local languages, just like other lingua francas.

Although the region is marked by significant linguistic heterogeneity in Australia and Melanesia, this is less the case in Polynesia and where there are fewer languages. In Fiji, for example, where Fijian, Hindustani and English are the dominant languages, the two former languages are marked by a number of varieties, leaving the question for language planners of which of the varieties to privilege. With no coherent language policy in place, vernacular literacy has been declining leaving portions of the local population without access to important texts as English literacy is not universal (Mangubhai and Mugler 2006). Thus, in a number of polities there has been a call to recognize the role of vernacular languages in meeting community needs. This concern about the decline in vernacular literacy is not new as Spolsky, Englebrecht and Ortiz (1983) discussed these concerns in relation to Tonga nearly forty years ago.

Territories and possessions

The key language-related characteristics of the eight territories or possessions of the United States and France located in the Pacific are given

Table 30.4 *Key characteristics of seventeen Pacific Basin polities*

Polity	Area in sq. km	Population (est. 2009)	Languages	Number	Role of English	Estimated usage*
Australia	7,682,557	21,262,641	English, immigrant and Indigenous languages		national language	L1 – 14,987,000 L2 – 3,500,000
Cook Islands	237	11,000	English, Cook Islands Maori, Pukapukan		official language	L1 – 1,000 L2 – 3,000
Fiji	18,274	944,720	English, Fijian and Fiji Hindi		official language	L1 – 6,000 L2 – 170,000
Kiribati	832	112,850	English, Gilbertese		official language	L2 – 23,000
Marshall Islands	81	64,522	Marshallese, English		official language	L2 – 60,000
Nauru	21	14,019	English, Nauruan		official language	L1 – 900 L2 – 10,700
New Zealand	270,534	4,213,418	English, Maori, NZ sign language, Pacific languages, immigrant languages		official language	L1 – 3,700,000 L2 – 150,000
Niue	259	1,598	Niuean, English		official language	
Palau	491	20.796	Official language(s): English, Palauan Recognised regional languages Japanese; Angaur (in Angaur); Sonsorolese (in Sonsoral); Tobian (in Hatohobei)		official language	L1 – 500 L2 – 18,000
Papua New Guinea	462,840	5,940,775	English, Tok Pisin, Hiri Motu		official	L1 – 150,000 L2 – 3,000,000
Samoa	2,785	219,998	Samoan, English		official	L1 – 1,000 L2 – 93,000
Solomon Islands	28,400	595,613	64 languages in the Solomon Islands, English and Pijin		official	L1 – 10,000 L2 – 165,000
Timor Leste	14,874	1,134,000	Tetum, Portuguese, Indonesian, English		working language	
Tokelau Islands	10	1,371	Tokelauan, English		official	
Tonga	651	120,989	Tongan, English		official	L2 – 30,000
Tuvalu	26	12,373	Tuvaluan, English		official	L2 – 800
Vanuatu	12,190	218,519	Bislama, English, French		official	L1 – 60,000 L2 – 120,000

* See Crystal (2003: 62ff.). He does not provide information on Timor Leste. Niue and the Tokelau islands are grouped under other dependencies with a total population of 35,000 with L1 – 20,000 and L1 – 15,000.
Source: Kaplan and Baldauf (2003: 5); *CIA World Factbook* (2010)

in Table 30.5. These are relatively small Pacific island polities – except for New Caledonia – that in general follow the language policies of France (French Polynesia, New Caledonia, Wallis and Futuna) or the United States (American Samoa, Guam, Hawai'i, Mariana Islands, Federated States of Micronesia). Perhaps for this reason, the language planning literature on these polities is small and quite dated. One of the major language planning discussions in many of the polities controlled by the United States involves the local language, and the extent to which it can be reinvigorated through language-in-education planning. American Samoa, for example, provides both an early example (1970s) of upgrading education through technology (television) with an emphasis on English (Schramm *et al.* 1981) and how that evolved to place more emphasis on Samoan in the curriculum (Baldauf 1990). The success of community-oriented revival programmes have also been discussed in the case of Hawaii (Kapono 1995). Traditionally the French polities have been Departments of France, and therefore no different – except geographically – in terms of language policy from other parts of France (see Lavondes 1974 for French Polynesia; Trann Ngoc 1996 for New Caledonia and Willis and Futuna).

Key language policy issues in Asia and the Pacific

An examination of the problems and challenges of language policy and planning in the Asian and Pacific polities covered by this chapter suggest some generalizations that can be made about language planning success and failure in the region. Nine general issues that emerged from the previous discussion are examined.

Script reform and standardization

Script reform and standardization are major language policy and planning items in the north Asian region. Character-based language have been challenged by the internet and electronic communication more generally, as script-based languages like English (or pinyin) are much easier to input, but also come with an assurance that the receiver will be likely to be able to decode and read the text (Kaiser 2003; Zhao and Baldauf 2008). There is also work being done across character-based languages to ensure that there are standard ways for presenting characters. It has been argued that the success of this work may be a key factor in whether these languages prosper, or whether alphabetic languages come to dominate.

European language teaching

When one looks beyond English teaching, languages of European origin are not widely taught or available through the public system in

Table 30.5 *Key characteristics of eight French possessions and United States states and territories*

Polity	Area in sq. km	Population (est. 2009)	Languages	Number	Role of English	Estimated usage*
French Polynesia	3,894	287,032	French		second/foreign language	
Guam	545	178,430	English, Chamorro		official	L1 – 58,000 L2 – 100,000
Hawai'i	28,311	1,295,178	English, Hawaiían, Japanese, Chinese, Filipino			
Mariana Islands	477	51,484	English, Chamorro			
Federated States of Micronesia	720	111,000	English, Trukese, Pohnpeian, Yapese, Kosraean		official	L1 – 4,000 L2 – 60,000
New Caledonia	7,172	227,436	Ajië, French		foreign/second	
Samoa, American	2,785	219,998	English, Samoan	2	official	
Wallis and Futuna	274	15,289	Wallisian, and Futunan, French	3	foreign/second	

* See Crystal (2003: 62ff.). He does not provide information on French Polynesia, Hawaií, Mariana Islands, New Caledonia, American Samoa or Wallis and Futuna

Source: Kaplan and Baldauf (2003: 5); *CIA World Factbook* (2010)

the Asia-Pacific region. In addition, they are not necessarily learned for their use in Europe, but for their use as world languages in Africa and Latin America. Much of the learning that occurs is through foreign government supported programmes, or through other private and/or ethnically sponsored groups (e.g., for Dutch, French, German, Russian, Portuguese, Esperanto). For example, French is taught in high schools from the lower secondary level in Laos as it is a member of the Francophone community. French also is used in Cambodia reflecting the fact that France is currently one of the polity's biggest aid donors. Portuguese is the national language in Timor Leste and is being taught in schools (Taylor-Leech 2011). However, beyond English, European languages do not have a strong foothold in the Asia-Pacific region (Kimura and Yoshida, 2008).

The increase in teaching of Asian languages

In North Asia in particular there seems to be an increase in the teaching of other Asian languages. Thus, while English may be a general lingua franca, there is growing evidence that to suggest that Asians are also increasingly learning each other's languages as foreign languages. As languages compete for space in the curriculum, there is need to consider the whole language teaching ecology. For instance, in Cambodia, Chinese is increasingly being learned for its use as a medium of communication in companies from China, Hong Kong, Singapore and Taiwan. Interest in Japanese is also increasing as Japan is the largest donor country to Cambodia. Chua (2010) points to Singapore's increasing emphasis on third language learning in schools. While in the past these programmes have focused on European languages (French, German) and Japanese, they are being expanded to include Arabic, Chinese and Indonesian, with a particular emphasis on Chinese.

The early introduction of English

Nunan's (2003) data about English and its impact on language planning in particular polities and our update of it indicate that English is being introduced at an early age, and that trend has intensified under the pressure of economic competition (see Table 30.6, also see Baldauf *et al.* 2011). This is despite the fact that such teaching requires massive commitments of funds, special early childhood teacher training, teachers with excellent language skills, and books and materials. As with much language 'planning', the decision appears to be predominantly political and against the small amount of research evidence available. Support for such teaching also appears to be inadequate (see e.g. Hamid 2010).

Vietnam provides a case in point. In response to demands from within the society, The Ministry of Education and Training has introduced

Table 30.6 *Policy and reasons for the introduction of English in various Asian and Pacific polities*

Polity	Grade level English is compulsory*	Frequency of instruction	Impact of English as a global language
Bangladesh	Grade 1, Age 6	Primary school 3–4 hours/week Secondary school 4–5 hours/week	English was introduced at Grade 1 in 1991 CLT replaced structural curriculum in the 1990s English introduced as a compulsory subject at the undergraduate level in the 1990s English medium private universities operating since 1992 English is dominating the private sector
Bhutan	At pre-primary level		English is the language of diplomacy English is one of the spoken and written languages of administration in southern Bhutan English as a medium is used to teach modern secular subjects
Brunei Darussalam	In upper primary grades	In lower primary class, English is taught as a subject for 10 periods per week. Some subjects at the secondary level are taught in English	Dual language system was introduced in 1984 English is the language of courts and predominantly of mass media
Cambodia	In upper primary grades	English / French are initially taught in Grades 5 and 6 for 3 hours per week. At the lower secondary level, English or French are taught for 5 hours per week. At the upper secondary level English or French are taught for 4 hours per week	English private schools and classes have increased Since 1998, private tertiary education institutions use English as a medium of instruction for some subjects
Fiji	English as a medium of instruction from Grade 4 English as a subject from Grade 1		English is a powerful language of choice as language of instruction in Fiji schools and as the language of public systems, bureaucracy, law courts and parliament

Hong Kong	Grade 1, Age 6	Primary school: 4–6 hours/week; secondary school: 7–9 hours week	Overwhelming concern in government and business sectors that Hong Kong will lose economic advantage if English language skills are not enhanced English now is more frequently used in the home than it was in the past
Indonesia	Grade 7, Age 12	Grade 7–9: 4 x 45 minutes/week; Grade 10–12: 3–5 x 45 minutes/week	From 1996, English was introduced to elementary schools at Grade 4, especially vocabulary and pronunciation From 2003, elementary schools from Grade 1 are increasingly exposed to English in respondse to local demands. English is increasingly becoming a significant university graduation requirement English enhancing prospects in the workplace
Japan	First year, Age 12	Junior high school: 3 x 50-minute lessons/week	From 2002, primary students increasingly exposed to English, especially listening and speaking
Korea, South	Grade 3, Age 9	Grades 3–4: 1 hour/week; Grades 5–6: 2 hours/week; Grades 7–8: 3 hours/week; Grade 9: 4 hours/week; Grades 10–12: 4 hours/week	Compulsory English lowered from age 13 to 9 Huge financial investment in teaching English Concern with negative effects on national identity due to early introduction of English
Laos	English or French, Grade 6, Age 11–12	4 hours/week at lower secondary level	From the year 2010 onwards, English can be of requirement for entry into civil service. Lao government regards English as one of the most important languages for the country's socio-economic development
Malaysia	Age 7	Primary school: 90 minutes/week; secondary school 4 hours/week	Concern with the decline in educational standards and economic competitive advantage Fear of impact on national language
Maldives	At primary level		English is increasingly used as a medium of instruction in government schools
Mongolia	Grade 4	655 hours for a period of six years at secondary level 300 hours for three years at tertiary level	English is taught at all levels of schooling
Myanmar	Since 1981, kindergarten		English has been taught as a compulsory subject from Kindergarten English is used as a medium of instruction at the upper secondary level for some subjects (science subject and economics) At the tertiary level, English is the medium of instruction for most disciplines Number of private language schools has increased

Table 30.6 *(cont.)*

Polity	Grade level English is compulsory*	Frequency of instruction	Impact of English as a global language
Nepal			English is used as a medium of instruction to teach some subjects in private schools
Pakistan			English has become a symbol of the upper class, sophistication and power.
Singapore	Grade 1	As an L1 for Grades 1 through tertiary (except for mother-tongue classes)	English is the first language of all Singaporeans It is compulsory for all Singaporeans to learn to speak and write in English proficiently. It is the medium of instruction used in all subjects in government schools except for Mother Tongue and third language classes
Thailand	Grade 1, Age 6 (since 1997)	5 x 25-minute period per week at primary level 4 x 50-minute period at the lower secondary level 8 x 50-minute periods at the upper secondary level	English is also used as a medium of instruction for 30–35 periods of 20–50 minutes each per week at all level of schooling Bilingual education and international programmes for Thai children has increased
Taiwan	Grade 1, Ages 6–7	1–2 hours a week	Compulsory English lowered from Grade 5 to Grade 1
Vietnam	Grade 3, Age 8	Grades 3–5: 140 periods for each Grade Grades 6–9: 105 periods for each Grade (3 periods/week) Grades 10–12: 105 periods for each Grade (3 periods/week)	In 2010, a pilot English curriculum English as an compulsory subject started from the second semester of Grade 3 at pilot primary schools English as an elective subject was taught from Grade 1 in some private primary schools There has been a great demand for quality primary English education English plays a central role in education and employment English proficiency now required for most professional employment

* Grade level and age at which English is introduced as a compulsory subject
Sources: Updated Table based on Nunan 2003: 594
Some details have been added or updated from Nunan's original data

English in primary schools. Yet, the conditions have not been adequate to implement it successfully. Problems include a lack of adequately trained teachers, and a lack of appropriate instructional materials without which the effectiveness of the policy is doubtful (Nguyen and Nguyen 2007). Unless programmes in various polities are properly resourced, one might predict massive failures and the unfortunate waste of resources.

Changes to the language ecology

As English has become increasingly important in Asian and Pacific education and societies, it has had an impact on other languages. For example, in Singapore it has increased as a mother tongue in Singaporean households, and this required a change in the way Mandarin (and Tamil) are taught in schools with Mandarin as a second language programmes being contemplated (Zhao, Liu and Hong 2007). Its increasing presence in the curriculum more generally may be reducing the space for other languages to be taught, including minority languages. Examples of this phenomenon can be seen in other polities for example with Urdu in India or Dzongkha in Bhutan (see also David, Callavaro and Coluzzi 2009). Policies which change the emphasis given to one language are likely to affect how other languages are taught, learned and used. Kaplan and Baldauf (2003: 138–40) provided an example of such policy-directed shift across time using Singapore as an example.

Indigenization and objections to English in Asia and the Pacific

An increasingly widespread phenomenon in Asia and the Pacific is the development of a cline of varieties of English ranging from 'standard' English through to substrate varieties at the other end which have become languages in their own right (e.g. Tok Pisin in Papua New Guinea or Bislama in Vanuatu; see Mühlhäusler 1996). These varieties represent both the indigenization of English and its use as an identity marker. For example, Singlish – which also operates along a cline – incorporates Hokkien and Malay words and usage (see www.talkingcock.com) and is widely used by young people in Singapore (Chua 2009). It can be argued that in many cases, individuals don't know the difference between their variety and the standard varieties. Other indigenized varieties that have been discussed in the literature include Brunei English, Chinglish (Qiang and Wolff 2003), Japlish and Manglish (Lee, 2005).

While there is a large literature on the indigenization and spread of English, examples of resistance to the spread of English or other foreign languages (e.g. Canagarajah 1999) are more difficult to cite, although this is clearly occurring in some sectors and may, for example, be causing increased social stratification as in Bangladesh (Hamid and Baldauf

2008), where English is accessible for the urban middle classes but less so for the rural poor. Furthermore, even when English is a required subject in a polity, e.g. Vietnam (for graduation, for professional qualifications), many students do not seem motivated to learn it. The question may be posed of whether this is resistance to a foreign language and culture, and/or is simply related to problems of instruction (Tran and Baldauf 2007).

Language and identity

The increased presence of English in the curriculum normally means that something else must go – curricula and schools only have a fixed amount of time. Most new introductions – except for programmes like the experiment to teach mathematics and science in English in Malaysia from Form 1, terminated in 2010 – do not make use of bilingual principles. Typically, such additions put pressures on third languages, whether they are minority languages or second foreign languages (Beckett and Macpherson 2005). India has dealt with this issue through the 3 +/− 1 language policy (Annamalai 2005; Laitin 1992), where education uses three languages: a local language, a state language and a national/international language. In Malaysia (or in Japan or Singapore) there is a clear tension between the national language (Malay, Japanese or the mother tongue) and English, resulting in hesitancy to use English for communicative purposes, especially between native speakers of those national languages.

English as a subject vs. English for Communication

The policy data discussed in this chapter suggests there is a fundamental problem with the way that language teaching is viewed in schools, and this is reinforced in some polities by the language and identity tensions previously discussed. While the most widely accepted version of language teaching methodology (i.e. communicative language teaching) views language teaching as a communicative activity where the ability to use it in real situations is paramount, most programmes and their assessment still focus on English as a subject, much like the others found. This is despite the fact that communicative methods are increasingly mandated in national curricular documents. However, most testing still focused on explicit knowledge (see, e.g. Shohamy 2001), leaving teachers to struggle with the dilemma of meeting either national curricular goals or those implicit in tests (see Li and Baldauf 2010 for a Chinese example). This lack of connection of language to reality has lead to a greater demand for overseas study programmes and the setting up of language experience villages in Korea.

Resource implications

Funding for language programmes is inherently expensive, and for some countries in Asia and the Pacific, that creates major problems. In Bangladesh and Indonesia, for example, funding for normal programmes, the training of teachers and money for textbooks is inadequate. As language teaching is resource-intensive, many polities do not have the resources to meet the requirements for teaching languages. For this reason, much second language teaching relies on funding from interested foreign donors (e.g. for studying French in Cambodia and Laos).

The British Council has initiated a major programme (Access English) which supports English language teaching and training programmes in various parts of Asia (see British Council 2009; Johnstone 2010). However, as Hamid (2010) points out for Bangladesh, such programmes are not necessarily cost-effective in policy terms nor effective in changing the broader circumstances required for good foreign language teaching in a particular polity. For this to happen, indigenous polity-wide solutions that have a broad impact are necessary. Given the lack of resources, foreign language teaching is unlikely to increase significantly, unless there are other social or economic reasons for this to occur.

Resource demands are also implicated in the materials needed for teaching of languages like English. As the previous paragraph suggests, effective language planning is a time-consuming and expensive business involving both 'push' and 'pull' factors. It can be argued that in many polities there is a genuine desire to learn language like Chinese, English or French – a 'pull' factor – and that publishers and bodies like the Confucius Institute, the British Council or the *Alliance Française* are merely trying to satisfy to support local demand. However, there is an extensive literature that argues that there are strong 'push' factors from these same institutions (e.g., Phillipson 1992; Clayton 2008). For widely spoken languages like English, where a large industry already exists that produces and markets language related materials, language development and change through the use of supporting texts is basically self funding. Large publishers often produce local editions of English materials with a short introduction written in the local language. While this may provide a convenient and affordable solution to some language needs, it is contrary to what is known about the importance of the micro or local for successful language policy and planning (Chua and Baldauf 2011).

Conclusion

Much of Asia and the Pacific has always been multilingual, but the underlying language learning strategy now seems to be shifting to an English knowing bilingualism as the underpinning value for these multilingual

societies. English is clearly becoming an Asian language and is being indigenized and used for local intercultural communication. In some polities where this process is more advanced, like Singapore, Malaysia and Korea, there are signs of concern about how English is affecting the national or mother tongue languages, as well as the growing development of local varieties. These globalization pressures are also putting pressure on minority languages and the resources available to teach them.

Notes

1 What is language policy?

1 'Nation-state', 'nation', 'state' and 'polity' are presumably synonymous, the first widely used by language policy scholars and the last preferred by Kaplan and Baldauf.

2 Of course there were anomalies, such as the way that German and Hungarian were spread across national borders. And France did not recognize any of its minority or regional varieties.

3 A term associated with Gumperz (1968), to be discussed a little later.

4 'Language' and 'variety' are generally synonymous, the latter term being used to include such types as 'dialects' and 'vernaculars' – see Stewart for early definitions.

5 In Chapter 2 of this volume, Jernudd and Nekvapil call this 'classic language planning'.

6 A term favoured, I am told, also by business management scholars.

7 The term *language engineering* was tried by some, but did not stick. However, you will find it in Chapter 19 of this volume, where it refers in particular to the activities of non-Deaf language managers who invented their own versions of signed languages.

8 One problem with this term is that while the field is named language policy, the countable word 'a policy' is a rule or set of rules established as part of language management.

9 In editing this volume, I have not insisted that contributors use my terminology.

10 It is a fundamental assumption of the language planner that there are problems to solve.

11 For the last decade or so, SIL International has carried out sociolinguistic surveys before deciding which varieties to support for bible translation; earlier models were the studies of Africa supported by the Ford Foundation.

12 More recent developments are described by Garcia in Chapter 5 and King and Rambow in Chapter 20 who discuss the implications for a theory of the simultaneity, polycentricity and hybridity that results from increasing migration.
13 E.g., Latvian in Latvia, Ukrainian in the Ukraine, Estonian in Estonia.
14 Chapter 13 is perhaps the exception, for it reads very much like a position paper addressed to the US Government.

2 History of the field: a sketch

1 It is useful to recall that the most well known representatives of structuralist phonology, N.S. Trubetzkoy and R. O. Jakobson, also came from the Russian territory.
2 Also applied to language planning discourse, see Shapiro and Jernudd 1989.
3 Jernudd elaborated the theory in a series of lectures in 1980 at an institute on language planning at the Central Institute of Indian languages, Mysore, at which Neustupný also participated (revised and published as Jernudd 1990; for the institute proceedings, see Annamalai *et al.* 1986).
4 Language management as described here must not be confused with the Canadian 'aménagement linguistique' concept (Corbeil 1980) which however is akin since it deals with language policy planning.
5 Note the terminological distinction between 'inadequacy' in on-line (simple) management and 'problem' in off-line (organized) management.
6 As in Sweden recently, *go to* www.sprakradet.se/.
7 Specialized journals on language policy, planning and management today, besides the more disciplinarily inclusive journals (such as *Language in Society*) for discussion and reports are, in alphabetic order, *Current Issues in Language Planning*, *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, *Language Policy*, *Language Problems and Language Planning*.

4 Language policy, the nation and nationalism

1 Habermas would claim that '[T]he form of national organization that emerged from the French and American revolutions has successfully spread over the entire world' (Habermas 2001: 62).
2 Considerations of space require a narrowing of focus and so this chapter will deal with the phenomenon in Europe, where the nation-state model was first developed and the language and nation-identity link established.

3 The Abbé Grégoire's findings are a little suspect. His respondents were friends and friends of friends. The questionnaire was also published in *Le patriote français* on 23 August 1790, as well as being sent out to the Sociétés des Amis de la Constitution. However, even if this is not a perfect sample, the one thing we can be sure of is widespread ignorance of the French language. If there is any untruthful reporting this is likely to err on the side of respondents exaggerating their competence in French, given the political climate.
4 All translations by author.
5 In 1793, the Convention voted to shut down the *Académie française*, the traditional compilers of the dictionary. The job of preparing a new Republican edition of the dictionary was given to the publishers, Smits and Marandon.
6 Joseph (2004) reminds us that Luther's translations were only one factor in the development of the written standard. The invention of movable type, the growth of the printing industry, the increase in the reading public wanting to follow the debates of the Reformation are all part of the process.
7 For a detailed analysis of art in the service of 'national awakening' see, for example, Niedzica Seminars (1991).
8 The 1790 census recorded the population of European descent as 3.9 million, amongst whom English speakers would have just constituted an absolute majority since 48 per cent were of English descent. 12 per cent were of Scots or Scots Irish descent and some of these would have been speakers of an English variety.
9 This was restricted by the *conseil constitutionnel's* Décision n° 94–345 DC 29/07/1994.
10 Jacques Julliard's weekly Chronique in the *Nouvel Observateur* for the period 1990 to 2010 provides an example of this discourse.
11 See, for example, Bernard Cassen, in particular his edited special edition of *Le Monde diplomatique* 97, février–mars 2008, entitled 'La bataille des langues'.
12 For an account of how uniformity was achieved see, for example, do Carmo Gregório (2006).
13 For a post-colonial account of this process see, for example, Daniels (2005)
14 Even in the states that are often cited as exceptions to the monolingual nation-state model, the general rule holds good. For example, Belgium and Switzerland are states where this congruence between language and territory exists at the sub-national level. The majority of Belgian and Swiss citizens are monolinguals; only a minority have high levels of competence in the other languages of the state.
15 For a discussion of the very many reasons of this, see Wright (2004).
16 For a discussion of this, see Phillipson (1992).

6 Diversity and language policy for endangered languages

1 The debate following the publication of UNESCO's *Atlas of World Languages in Danger*, which labelled Manx and Cornish 'extinct', led to its revision. One of my students has pointed out the that the 'learnmanx' website (www.learnmanx.com/index.html, accessed 26 May 2010), published by the officially funded Manx Heritage Foundation, does not mention the endangered status of Manx; the focus is on learning and using Manx as a living language. I am indebted to Rachel Watson for this insight.
2 www.alrrc.nsw.gov.au/default.aspx?nav_id=27, accessed 12 May 2010.
3 Synthesized from Nettle and Romaine 2000; Crystal 2000.
4 www.sil.org, accessed 12 May 2010.
5 See O'Regan 2009 for an example of a programme for a minority variety of Māori in New Zealand which took Fishman's advice; also a blog for Cornish language activists, http://kernewegva.org/forum/viewtopic.php?f=2&t=13, accessed 14 May 2010.
6 www.unesco.org/culture/ich/index.php?pg=00139, accessed 1 October 2009.
7 UNESCO 2003; Grenoble and Whaley 2006: 4.
8 At the time of writing UNESCO is in the process of revising the framework (Anahit Minasyan and Colette Grinevald, personal communications). The online Atlas has also been updated to include revived languages.
9 http://portal.unesco.org/culture/en/ev.php-URL_ID=34321&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html, accessed 1 October 2009.
10 http://portal.unesco.org/culture/en/ev.php-URL_ID=35097&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html, accessed 1 October 2009.
11 For example, www.terralingua.org/, accessed 9 October 2009.
12 Stated in a discussion panel on multilingualism at the British Museum in December 2008.
13 Kirsty Allen, 'The Tension Between Maintaining Basque and Needing Spanish in the Basque Country', Individual Study Project, SOAS, May 2010.
14 See www.twfcymru.com/, accessed 28 May 2010.
15 www.conselharan.org/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=166&Itemid=103, accessed 9 June 2010.
16 Major funders in this field such as the Hans Rausing Endangered Language Project (www.hrelp.org/, accessed 20 May 2010), DoBeS (Dokumentation Bedrohter Sprachen) sponsored by the Volkswagen Foundation (www.mpi.nl/DOBES/, accessed 28 May 2010), and in the US The National Endowment for the Humanities and National Science Foundation Documenting Endangered Languages initiative (http://www.nsf.gov/pubs/2006/nsf06577/nsf06577.htm#pgm_desc_txt, accessed 28 May 2010) all fund documentation projects only and explicitly exclude revitalization.

17 SUS.DIV 'Sustainable Development in a Diverse World' (2005–2010) Research Network co-ordinated by Fondazione Eni Enrico Mattei (FEEM) under the scientific lead of Katholieke Universiteit Leuven (K.U. Leuven). It is co-financed by the European Commission (FP6, Priority 7). See www.ebos.com.cy/susdiv/, accessed 28 May 2010.
18 Gorter *et al.*'s European-Union-funded research project aims to address this.
19 For example, www.youtube.com/watch?v=X_KKLkmIrDk&feature=related (accessed 1 December 2009).

7 Language is just a tool!

1 For a model of rational language acquisition, see Selten and Pool 1991.
2 Bill 101 in Québec is another example.
3 See for example Feld 1998.
4 Margalit and Raz are speaking here of 'encompassing groups', not merely of language.
5 For an important account of the link between dignity and group membership (and the esteem in which groups are held), see Margalit and Raz 1995, especially p. 87.
6 Even if it could be shown that some important knowledge would be lost to humanity with the disappearance of a language, it is still not clear that safeguarding the language as a *living* language would be the appropriate response. One could equally send linguists to analyse, translate and record the disappearing language and make it publicly available so that nothing of its knowledge would be lost. This museum-use of language forestalls the disappearance of a concept just as much as keeping the language alive.
7 All data from *Standard Eurobarometer 71 'Future of Europe', Spring 2009, TNS Opinion and Social*.
8 For a more critical view of English as a lingua franca, see Phillipson 2003.
9 Of course the difference in perceived threats to dignity between dialects and languages can be accounted for: it is typically the result of the success of linguistic nation-building.

8 Language policy at the supranational level

1 UN General Assembly Resolution A/RES/50/11, 15 November 1995. See also the *Report of the Secretary General on Multilingualism*, UN Doc A/56/656, 27 November 2001, and UN General Assembly Resolution A/RES/63/306, 30 September 2009.
2 UN General Assembly Resolution 2 (I), *Rules of Procedure Concerning Languages*, 1 February 1946.

3 UN General Assembly Resolution 173 (II), *Part III of the Report of the Committee on Procedures and Organization of the General Assembly*, 17 November 1947.
4 UN General Assembly Resolution 262 (III), 11 December 1948, Amendments to the Rules of Procedure of the General Assembly.
5 UN General Assembly Resolution 2479 (XXIII), *Inclusion of Russian among the Working Languages of the General Assembly (Amendment to Rule 51 of the Rules of Procedure of the General Assembly) and Question of Including Russian and Spanish among the Working Languages of the Security Council*, 21 December 1968.
6 UN General Assembly Resolution 3189 (XXVIII), *Inclusion of Chinese among the Working Languages of the General Assembly and the Security Council*, 18 December 1973.
7 UN General Assembly Resolution 3190 (XXVIII), *Inclusion of Arabic among the Official and the Working Languages of the General Assembly and its Main Committees*, 18 December 1973.
8 UN General Assembly Resolution 35/219, *Use of Arabic in the Subsidiary Organs of the General Assembly, in the Security Council and in the Economic and Social Council: Amendments to Rules 51, 52, 54 and 56 of the Rules of Procedure of the Assembly*, 17 December 1980.
9 World Health Organization Resolution WHA31.13, 18 May 1978.
10 UNESCO's General Conference actually has nine official languages: Arabic, Chinese, English, French, Hindi, Italian, Portuguese, Russian and Spanish.
11 *Implementation of Multilingualism in the United Nations System*, Joint Inspection Unit (2003) JIU/REP/2002/11, p. v.
12 UN General Assembly Resolution A/RES/50/11, 15 November 1995.
13 *Chuteaux v. The Secretary-General of the United Nations*, Judgment No. 1072, UN Administrative Tribunal, UN Doc. AT/Dec/1072, 26 July 2002.
14 *Regulation No. 1 Determining the Languages to be Used by the European Economic Community*, OJ No 17, 6.10.1958, p. 385/58.
15 Bulgarian, Czech, Danish, Dutch, English, Estonian, Finnish, French, German, Greek, Hungarian, Irish, Italian, Latvian, Lithuanian, Maltese, Polish, Portuguese, Romanian, Slovak, Slovene, Spanish and Swedish.
16 Article 25, *Constitutive Act of the African Union*, Organization of African Unity, 1 July 2000, 2158 U.N.T.S. 3.
17 See generally Ajulo 1997.
18 Translation and interpreting services for EU institutions cost in the vicinity of €1.1bn or under 2 per cent of the EU budget per year. See generally Phillipson 2003.
19 OJ B 17, 6.10.1958, p. 385.
20 Ironically, the choice of English as ASEAN's only language is recognized as creating barriers even in the participation of governments,

since 'The limited resources and the lack of technical expertise and English proficiency in government personnel of the new members have a direct bearing on how often ASEAN meetings will be convened, and how many new ASEAN bodies can be set up.' *ASEAN-10 Meeting the Challenges*, Asia-Pacific Roundtable, Kuala Lumpur, 1 June 1999.

21 A. Jenkins Peaslee and D. Peaslee Xydis, *International Governmental Organizations: Constitutional Documents* (Leiden: Brill, 1979).

22 See Appendix 1 of the treaty concluded with Israel in 2007 under which requests to customs officials must be in English. The treaty also indicates that if there are differences of interpretation between the Spanish, Portuguese, Hebrew and English versions of the treaty, the English version prevails. www.moital.gov.il/NR/rdonlyres/3492F883–5CD7–40AF-A168–90CF1D44866F/0/FTAinEnglish.pdf

23 Article 25, *Constitutive Act of the African Union*, Organization of African Unity, 1 July 2000, 2158 U.N.T.S. 3.

24 English translation of article by A. Leparmentier, 'L'élargissement renforce la domination de l'anglais au sein de l'Union', *Le Monde*, 18 April 2004, at http://no-pasaran.blogspot.com/2004/04/eus-enlargement-strengthens-domination.html

25 *Spain* v *Eurojust*, Case C-160/03 of 16 December 2004.

26 *UN and Multilingualism*, www.un.org/events/iyl/un.shtml

27 Kiswahili, Bahasa Indonesia, Bengali, Hindi, Japanese, Persian, Urdu, Armenian, Azerbaijani, Belarusian, Czech, Danish, Dutch, Finnish, German, Greek, Hungarian, Icelandic, Italian, Kazakh, Norwegian, Polish, Portuguese, Romanian, Slovak, Slovenian, Swedish, Turkish and Ukrainian.

28 While this information can be accessed in various ways, it seems that listeners in Africa and the Middle East with shortwave radio receivers can only tune in to Arabic, English and French broadcasts directly.

29 *Country Programme Document for Angola*, United Nations Population Fund, UN Doc. DP/FPA/CPD/AGO/5, 13 October 2004.

30 *Toward Greater Transparency through Access to Information: The World Bank's Disclosure Policy*, Operations Policy and Country Services, World Bank, November 2009.

31 *A Document Translation Framework for the World Bank*, 6 August 2003, http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INFODISCLOSURE/Resources/Translation.Framework.WBG.2003.pdf.

32 Contrary to the World Bank's official claims that Portuguese is in the same category as the other six international languages (including English) in which important documentation is provided, this is not the case. For example, whereas job opportunities with the World Bank are advertised on the Bank's website in the six other international languages, they are not given in Portuguese.

33 *Translation Framework for the World Bank: Progression in Implementation, Operations Policy and Country Services*, World Bank, 8 December 2006, p. 2.
34 *Spain* v *Eurojust*, Case C-160/03, 16 December 2004.
35 The Spanish and British governments entered into an agreement with the EU putting in place a concession of sorts for Catalan, Galician, Basque and Welsh. Individuals may write to the European Commission and receive an answer from it in their mother tongue, though it is Spain and the UK which assume the translation costs.
36 See also *Decision of the European Ombudsman on complaint 259/2005(PB) GG against the European Commission, Strasbourg*, 30 April 2008, at www.ombudsman.europa.eu/decision/en/050259.htm
37 Incorporación del Guaraní como idioma del MERCOSUR, Decisión CMC N° 35/06.
38 See for example Vietnam's ASEAN website and Vietnamese translations of press releases and other documentation at http://asean2010.vn/
39 See the *African Statistical Yearbook*, www.africa-union.org/root/ar/index/African%20Statistical%20Yearbook%202010%20%282%29.pdf
40 *Language Plan of Action for African Development*, African Union, Addis Ababa, 1986. http://www.acalan.org/eng/documents/pala.php
41 For a general examination of language policies of regional organizations in the Americas and economic integration, see generally *Language Issues in the Integration of the Americas*, Conseil de la langue française du Québec, March 2001, Québec, www.cslf.gouv.qc.ca/publications/avis125/a125ang.pdf. For the greater prominence of English and Spanish over French and Portuguese in public information and documentation, see for example www.oas.org/DIL/treaties_and_agreements.htm
42 *Model World Bank Policy on Disclosure of Information*, The Global Transparency Initiative, May 2009, p. 1.

9 Language policy, territorialism and regional autonomy

1 For evidence and discussions on the Finnish and Irish material I am grateful to fellow members of the From Act to Action and the FIONTAR teams. I am also grateful to John Walsh for his permission to quote from his University of California, Berkeley (2009) lecture and to my colleagues John Loughlin and Patrick Carlin for comments on a draft version.
2 The focus is on super-structural changes and meso-level responses rather than the details of language policy and planning as it applies in any particular case study.
3 The recent volume *The Territories and States of India* (2nd edn. 2011) provides an authoritative historical account and economic survey for each of the twenty-eight states and seven territories of India.

4 They are Assamese, Bengali, Bodo, Dogri, Gujarati, Hindi, Kannada, Kashmiri, Konkani, Maithili, Malayalam, Marathi, Meitei, Nepali, Oriya, Eastern Panjabi, Sanskrit, Santali, Sindhi, Tamil, Telugu and Urdu (*The Ethnologue Report*, 2010). Immigrant languages include Arabic, Chinese, Armenian (500), Burushaski, Judeo-Iraqi Arabic, Northern Pashto (15,000), Uyghur, Walungge, Western Farsi (18,000). According to the 2001 census the national literacy rate was 65 per cent overall, comprised of 75 per cent for males and 54 per cent for females (2001 census).

5 I have consciously restricted the range of examples to Western liberal democracies because more meaningful comparisons can be made within this framework.

6 Walsh argues that Shohamy makes another interesting contribution to the debate by distinguishing between explicit and implicit language policies. For elaboration in the Irish context see Walsh (2011: 130–1).

7 For intriguing and ultimately very sophisticated treatments of governance in different contexts see Paquet (2005), Cardinal and Andrew (2008).

8 These observations on language regimes are based on discussions held with Pierre Boyer and Linda Cardinal, University of Ottawa, August 16–25 2010.

9 The expansion of the European Union is a case in point for whilst in general some new member states have empowered their previously ethnically differentiated citizens, quite the opposite has occurred in other regions and member states. For a good account of the latter tendency see Kymlicka (2007) in relation to the 'European Experiment' and for a specific illustration see Bucsa (2009) in relation to the Hungarian minority in Romania.

10 Two contrasting examples of these 'arm's length' language planning and policy agencies are Foras na Gaelige and the Welsh Language Board, for a comparison see Williams (2010).

11 For details of the Catalan and Basque struggles with the central state see Hernàndez (2007), as they apply to language policy see Querol and Strubell (2009) and as they apply to parliamentary affairs and public administration the volume published by the Basque Parliament (2010).

12 For an interesting attempt to apply the principles of deliberative democracy to issues of language policy, see Sarah McMonagle, 'The Irish language in post-Agreement Northern Ireland: Moving out of conflict', Ph.D. thesis, The University of Ulster, Coleraine, 2010.

13 For Northern Ireland see de Bréadún (2008) and for Spain see Keating (2004).

14 For the manner in which the UK Home Office Department discharges its services in Wales by providing a suite of statutory Welsh medium services, see Williams (2010).

15 But see Cardinal 2007: 450.
16 On this see MacMillan (2003).
17 Extra and Gorter 2001: 7–16 note that the criteria used for the identification of population groups in multicultural Europe varies dependent upon whether one is dealing with Regional Minorities (RM) or Immigrant Minorities (IM).
18 See Census 2006 – Volume 9 – The Irish Language – Central Statistical Office, Cork, 2007. O Riagáin draws attention to the 14,773 Irish speakers aged 3–4 who acquired the language within Irish-speaking homes. Tellingly 1,226 or slightly over 8 per cent of these reside in the Gaeltacht.
19 Staidéar cuimsitheach teangeolaíoch ar úsáid na gaeilge sa Ghaeltacht: tuarascáil chríochnaitheach – Acadamh na hOllscolaíochta Gaeilge (NUIG) & National Institute for Regional & Spatial Planning (NUIM), 2007. www.pobail.ie/ie/AnGhaeltacht/AnStaidearTeangeolaioch/file, 8677,ie.pdf
20 The team was comprised of Peadar Ó Flatharta (Team Leader), Caoilfhionn Nic Pháidín and Adelaide Nic Chárthaigh, all of FIONTAR (the name translates as venture), Dublin City University; Francois Grin, University of Geneva; Joseph Lo Bianco, The University of Melbourne and Colin Williams, Cardiff University. See www.dcu.ie/fiontar.
21 I owe these details to Kjell Herberts, Åbo Akademi University.
22 The most significant pieces of legislation are the Canadian Constitution 1867, the Official Languages Act 1969, the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms 1982, the Official Languages Act 1985; Law 101, the Charter of the French Language (Quebec, 1977); the Official Languages Act 2008 (Nunavut), the Inuit Language Protection Act 2008 (Nunavut). This list may be supplemented by other relevant legislation and important case law.
23 Official-language minorities do not necessarily achieve equality with the majority by being treated identically to the majority (Rouleau 2008).
24 R.S.O. 1990, c. F.32, as amended.
25 R.S.O. c. E.2, as amended.
26 R.S.O. 1990, c. C.43, as amended.
27 For an account of federal fiscal policy, see Lecours and Béland 2010.
28 See Oakes and Warren 2007.
29 EUNoM brings together universities in Udine, Fryske Akademy, Queens, Belfast, Primorska, UOC and Erasmus Hogeschool, Brussels to pursue issues of multilingualism, a learning environment and applied public policy. See http://in3.uoc.edu/opencms_in3/opencms/webs/projectes/EUNOM/EN/activities/index.html

11 Language policy at the municipal level

1 I would like to thank Terrence Wiley (Arizona State University), Theo du Plessis and Chrismi Kotze (both University of the Free State) for their kind support with the sections on the US and South Africa, respectively.

12 Language policy and management in service domains

1 In many areas of the world there are still no degrees granted in community interpreting or interpreting in the social services. For further discussion on what constitutes professionalism and a professional interpreter the reader is directed to Angelelli 2005.

13 US language policy in defence and attack

1 For a treatment of military language management, see Spolsky (2009: Chapter 8).
2 See especially Parker (1962) for the history of the early efforts at providing federal support for Foreign Languages in the United States.
3 Brecht and Walton 1994; Brecht *et al.*, 1995; Brecht and Rivers 2000.
4 The National Language Service Corps is a pilot programme under the aegis of the Department of Defense, charged by the US Congress with creating a network of Americans willing to volunteer their language skills to meet crisis demands for interpreters, translators, cultural advisors, and other language-skilled personnel. One author (Rivers) serves as the Chief Linguist of the NLSC, and both authors are members. NLSC members are available as on-call volunteers, serving whichever US government agency requires emergency assistance in language. To date, the NLSC has more than 2,500 members with more than 80 languages, and has activated more than 50 members to serve nine US Government agencies during the pilot programme. The goals of the pilot programme are to test whether sufficient interest and capability exists in the US population for an entity such as the NLSC.
5 See Ong 2007, for a review of the current and near term operational uses of human language technology.
6 Existing ASTM language standards: F2089–01(2007) Standard Guide for Language Interpretation Services; F1562–95(2005) Standard Guide for Use-Oriented Foreign Language Instruction; ASTM F2575–06 Standard Guide for Quality Assurance in Translation; ASTM Main Committee on F43 Language Services; F2889–11 Standard Practice For Assessing Language Proficiency and Product, approved October 2010. Currently the International Organization for Standardization (ISO) Technical

Committee 232 Working Group 2 has begun an initiative on language training in non-formal environments. One author (Rivers) is chair of ASTM Main Committee, and Head of the US F43 Delegation to ISO TC232 Working Group 2. Brecht is a member of both committees.

7 It is noteworthy that industry is significantly involved in standards for the effective conduct of global business. Among the principal industry organizations working internationally in this area is the Globalization and Localization Association (GALA)

8 For the ILR scale, see govt.ilr.org.

14 Language policy and medium of instruction in formal education

1 The data on languages used in this paper were taken from the database used in the thirteenth edition of *Ethnologue* (Gordon 1996). More recent editions of *Ethnologue* including the online version report slightly variant numbers.

2 In this typology, there is a large gap between the languages of Levels 1–3 and those of Levels 4–6. The latter are all or mostly 'sub-national' in terms of status, political salience, and usage. Furthermore, they are in most cases markedly underdeveloped relative to those in Levels 1–3, and are much less likely to be used in education.

3 We use the term 'first language' to refer to the language a child or person speaks best or with a high degree of proficiency. This statement includes the implicit assumption that most children have one first language or one language which they speak better than any other language.

4 See http://conventions.coe.int/treaty/en/Treaties/Html/148.htm (accessed 9 April 2010) and http://conventions.coe.int/Treaty/Commun/ChercheSig.asp?NT=148andCM=8andDF=andCL=ENG (accessed 9 April 2010).

5 See www.unesco.org/cpp/uk/declarations/linguistic.pdf (accessed 9 April 2010).

15 Language policy in education: additional languages

1 www.gwa.ac.ma

2 www.admais.edu.lb

3 www.dialang.org

4 www.coe.int/lang

16 Language policy in the workplace

1 We would like to thank Lindsay Bell for her help.

2 This example will draw on a research project financed by the Swiss National Research Foundation (principal investigators Alexandre Duchêne and Ingrid Piller) on multilingual practices in the Swiss tourism industry (SNF-NFP56).

17 Language policy and religion

1 This essay is not the place for a discussion of language use in individual prayer, but presumably oral repetitive use of memorized phrases, whether meaningful or not, involves a means of altered consciousness, and should not be summarily dismissed as nonsense.
2 A note on Message Content: this is a question of topic and linked to message form. It is perhaps the component closest to religion, but we exclude it here because its very content demands attention to individual faith systems and the relevance of its 'unique, numinous category', aspects of religion we have deliberately excluded.
3 Personal communication, 2 October 1979.
4 All quotations in this chapter from the Qur'an have been taken from this edition.
5 Aside from Surah 1, the *Fatiha*, its opening seven-verse praise.
6 www.ethnologue.com with link to SIL bibliography.
7 The resistance shows up in the development and implementation stages.

19 Language policies and the Deaf community

1 We wish to acknowledge the expert assistance of Hend Al-Showaier in preparing this section.
2 Wheatley and Pabsch (2010) provide a comprehensive overview of all laws in the European Union and its member states that mention sign languages. The specific national laws are quoted in original languages; English translations and explanatory summaries of the national situations are provided. This valuable resource was published by the European Union of the Deaf and written in close collaboration with all National Associations of the Deaf in Europe.

21 Language management agencies

1 The argument (for example) that standard dialects unfairly crowd out others – equally linguistically valid, after all – on the printed page fails to see (or, at least, to acknowledge) that: (a) a single printed standard is obviously more efficient than any alternative; (b) choosing one variety – any variety – means not choosing others; (c) a levelling of the printed playing-field can help speakers of all varieties, since all – even those whose speech is closest to the printed dialect – must learn the fairly complicated rules that formalize language in print.
2 Robert Hall's (1950) book, *Leave Your Language Alone!* captured the position (or, at least, the academically 'correct' position) adopted by most contemporary linguists. This title can be contrasted with Fishman's (2006a): *Do Not Leave Your Language Alone*. The whole thrust of Fishman's work is based, of course, upon the need for language management, particularly for 'small' or threatened varieties.

3 One is of course reminded here of the later assertion (1784) by Antoine de Rivarol (1753–1801) that the French language is synonymous with clarity (and that English, Italian and other languages are mediums of ambiguity). Less obvious is Vaugelas' contribution to the view that language books needed only to concern themselves with doubtful or difficult matters. His chief aim was to provide guidance in those linguistic areas where the 'best people' were likely to go wrong; he did not mean to provide any sort of systematic grammar or lexicon. In like manner, the first monolingual English dictionary was Robert Cawdrey's *Table Alphabeticall* (1604), whose subtitle promised the understanding of 'hard words' – why, after all, would one bother to list words that everyone knew? It would be another century before the idea of the more 'inclusive' dictionary with which we are familiar today found its first (English) form – in the works of John Kersey (1702) and Nathan Bailey (1721).

4 This hardly captures the whole story of the non-existence of an English academy, of course, a story that is of both intrinsic and comparative interest. I have made some brief reference to it elsewhere (Edwards 1995), and I hope to do it fuller justice in due course.

5 I abstain, of course, from 'purer' linguistics here, from enterprises that are, in any event, more about psychology and epistemology than they are about language – or, at least, enterprises in which language is essentially a window for philosophical enquiry.

6 Some of these latter works are very general indeed: some, for instance, focus upon private language organizations more than officially sanctioned academies; some restrict themselves to 'small' varieties; some treat institutions tangentially to broader discussions of language development, modernisation, and so on. As well, I only mention book-length coverage here; there are of course many articles and chapters relevant to our theme, as well as material on purism and prescriptivism that typically makes reference to institutional actors. Finally, readers will realize that most language institutions now have their own websites – and many of these provide extremely useful historical and descriptive information.

7 Spolsky's accompanying comment, however – that 'there are fewer academies than one might guess' (Spolsky 2009: 259) is perhaps not so accurate (unless, of course, one's guess was very high indeed). If we were to take into account academies that have now passed from the scene, and if we were to include language-centred bodies of varying degrees of size and scope, we wouldn't go far wrong in estimating as many such organizations as there are countries in the world.

8 It is interesting, to say the least, that the title of the Rubin and Jernudd collection is *Can Language be Planned?* – and that, almost forty years later, the final words in what is the most recent overview of the area are 'Can language be managed?' And, if it can, should it be managed? (Spolsky 2009: 261).

9 Social-class matters remain central in the sociology of language. Consider the attention given to non-standard dialects and other manifestations of 'disadvantaged' usage. Consider the fact that the now-discredited theories of *language deficit* were based upon 'deeply entrenched prescriptive ideologies' (Milroy and Milroy 1985a: 152; see also Edwards 1989). Consider the interesting further complication of that 'covert prestige' attached by middle-class speakers to lower-class variants. And consider, by way of broader comparison, how this complexity – in which certain speech forms are simultaneously stigmatized and romanticized – is mirrored in all those social stereotypes built upon perceptions of 'noble savagery'.

10 Milroy and Milroy (1985a: 103) note that 'many intelligent people appreciate and accept the arguments of linguists about the arbitrariness of linguistic signs and the adequacy of non-standard varieties … but even given such tolerance, it is extremely difficult for anyone to calculate the extent to which his [sic] general attitudes to language have been coloured by prevailing prescriptions'. This is accurate, and could usefully be extended by adding that the tolerance and the difficulty cited here often lead, in combination, to what I have called 'modified prescriptivism'.

11 The idea that prescriptivist intervention, while sometimes necessary, should always be kept to a minimum, and should always follow more or less utilitarian lines, may be understood as a specific instance of a broader principle applied to all official intervention. In this sense, it is a reflection of democratic tendencies and, more particularly, of *American* democratic tendencies: although variously attributed to Paine, Jefferson and others – it was obviously repeated by many – the aphorism that the least government is the best government was popularized by Thoreau, who made the observation in the opening line of his essay on 'civil disobedience' (1849: 189). (He did not use the latter term, however, nor did he coin the aphorism – it was the motto of the short-lived *United States Magazine and Democratic Review*.)

22 Literacy and writing reform

1 See www.unesco.org/en/literacy/un-literacy-decade/ (last accessed 13 May 2010).

2 The *International Convention on the Rights of the Child*, adopted in 1989 and ratified by 192 countries, points to access to primary education (viewed as a prerequisite to attain a minimal level of literacy) as a basic human right. This assumes that literacy can be attained through exposure to (at least) five or six years of formal education – an assumption that, unfortunately, is rather difficult to substantiate. See www.unicef.org/crc (last accessed 13 May 2010).

3 Hammond and Freebody (1994: 439) similarly argue that 'some versions of "functional literacy" are inherently classist, deeming some classes to be best served by the limited set of literacy competences, while others, the class from which their teachers are drawn, for example, are capable of and deserving of a more sophisticated literacy education'.
4 Note that here the term 'dialect' is used in order to translate the Italian term *dialetto*, the meaning of which is different from the meaning normally attributed to 'dialect' within an English-speaking context.
5 See www.spellingsociety.org/aboutsss/leaflets/intro.php (last accessed 13 May 2010).
6 See Table 6 on the Ethnologue website at: www.ethnologue.com/ethno_docs/distribution.asp?by=country (last accessed 13 May 2010).
7 For more details, see www.unesco.org/en/literacy/literacy-prizes/winners-2009 (last accessed 13 May 2010), which is also the main source of information on the literacy programmes discussed in this paragraph.
8 See, for example, the Nation Master website (www.statemaster.com/encyclopedia/List-of-countries-by-literacy-rate) or the search.com website (www.search.com/reference/Literacy_rate), based on the United Nations 'Human Development Report' (www.undp.org), the World Bank's 'World Development Indicators' (www.worldbank.org/data) and UNESCO's Institute for Statistics (www.unicef.org/publications).
9 See http://nces.ed.gov/NAAL/estimates/StateEstimates.aspx (last accessed 13 May 2010).
10 See www.abs.gov.au/AUSSTATS/abs@.nsf/mf/4228.0?OpenDocument (last accessed 13 May 2010).

23 Language activism and language policy

1 Ron Unz is a Silicon Valley (California) software entrepreneur and former Republican candidate for governor who earned millions of dollars after developing a financial software program used by the mortgage departments of banks and other lending institutions. In California, Unz provided $752,738 of his own money to the total $1,289,815 raised by English for the Children (California Secretary of State 1998). In Arizona, Unz contributed $186,886, or 81 percent, of the total $229,786 spent to bring the measure to state voters (Combs, in press; Crawford 2000, 2001; Miller 1999).
2 Initially, all but 4 of the 144 of participating nations voted in favour of the Declaration (Australia, Canada, New Zealand and the United States). There were eleven abstentions (Azerbaijan, Bangladesh, Bhutan, Burundi, Colombia, Georgia, Kenya, Nigeria, Russian Federation, Samoa and Ukraine). The UN Permanent Forum on Indigenous Peoples reports that since its adoption, Australia and New Zealand now endorse

the Declaration. Canada has announced it would take steps to endorse the UN Declaration. Similarly, the United States indicated in April 2010 that it would review its position regarding the Declaration (www.un.org/esa/socdev/unpfii/en/declaration.htmlk, retrieved 14 July 2010).

3 Edward Steinman was the lead attorney in the *Lau v. Nichols* case. He describes the prevailing view of inequality at the time, that is, taking children who were different and treating them the same, as 'more subtle, less visible, and equally invidious' (quoted in Tsang 2004: 6).

24 English in language policy and management

1 Most of these accounts derive from the three major journals dedicated to the study of English world-wide: *World Englishes*, *English Today*, and *English World-Wide*. (See e.g. Hamdan and Hatab 2009; Hasanova 2007; Kamwangamalu 2007; Hilgendorf 2007; Seargeant 2005; Ngefac 2008; Fong 2009; Doğançay-Aktuna and Kiziltepe 2005; Taavitsainen and Pahta 2008; Park 2009). These come on top of many well-known book-length publications: Cheshire 1991, Crystal 2003, Graddol 1997.

2 Elites among the indigenous populations in former British colonies acquired English not so much because they were compelled to do so but because they found it socio-economically advantageous. It is necessary to labour this point somewhat because some commentaries (e.g. Phillipson 1992: 111) see the spread of English as an element of colonial education policy. But archival research by Brutt-Griffler (2002) and Evans (2002) among others paints a different picture: far from seeking to spread English, the British colonial authorities strove to limit English language education to a small elite and to promote vernacular language education for the masses – sometimes despite their protests. Their interest lay in profits, raw materials, markets, not language.

3 Joseph (2004a: 28), for example, casts doubt on whether globalization is actually a new phenomenon.

4 The Bologna process is the name given to a set of accords signed by European Ministers of Education. The goal is to create a 'European higher education area' by making academic degree standards more comparable across Europe and thus enhance mobility across countries while making European higher education more attractive to non-Europeans.

5 Yano (2009: 22) reports that in 2002 more than 200 Confucian Institutes were opened world-wide.

6 Gill is here citing a newspaper report of a speech by the then Prime Minster of Malaysia, Dr Mahathir Mohamed.

7 There is no space here to take this further into the philosophical debate on the relation between freewill and determinism. Interested readers may wish to turn to a persuasive account of the 'compatibility' position put forward by Dennett (2003).

8 Oakes (2001: 137), following Deniau (1995), attributes these words to the then British Ambassador to France.

9 Such as the remarks attributed to Sylvest Lohheim, Director of the Norwegian Language Council: 'The future of the mother tongue is not safe. Those who don't know it are not keeping up…' (cited in Linn and Oakes 2007: 14).

10 For instance, academic conferences conducted mainly or wholly in English are not uncommon.

11 Schell writes: '…I celebrate the unstoppable decline in the fraction of the world's web pages that are written in English'. Internet World Stats 2009 (See www.internetworldstats.com/articles/art111.htm) accessed 7/12/09. The same site reports that in 2009 42.6 per cent of internet users were located in Asia as opposed to 24.1 per cent in Europe and 14.6 per cent in North America.

12 ICANN stands for *Internet Corporation for Assigned Names and Numbers*.

13 Local languages can, for instance, enable wider participation in political and civic processes, and, by engaging rural peoples more effectively, help promote more sustainable and relevant development

14 Machin and Van Leeuwen studied eight national versions of the magazine *Cosmopolitan*, all published in the respective national languages and representing different local cultural practices. Despite this variation, there was, they argue, a similarity of 'discourse schema', of linguistic construction of reality. They write (2003: 505): 'This "survival of the fittest" and "winner takes all" approach is the essential message of the discourse schema, its meaning, the way it interprets the social practices of work and the personal relationships it recontextualizes. …it is clearly an approach that suits the interests of the global neo-capitalist order of which Cosmopolitan forms part.'

15 This term also serves, of course, as the title of the well-known journal *World Englishes*.

16 Several scholars (e.g. Taavitsainen and Pahta 2008; Bruthiaux 2003) have suggested that the ongoing spread of English, especially in the expanding circle, threatens to render Kachru's (1985) well-known three circles framework of English in the world obsolete. The three circles in question are an inner circle of native speaking countries (e.g. UK), an outer circle of countries where English is widely used a second language, and an expanding circle where English is a foreign language with few internal functions.

17 In Singapore, for example, one can identify a cline of sub-varieties (see Gupta 1999; Platt, Weber and Ho 1984) ranging from standard English, through educated Singapore English to a contact variety, Colloquial Singapore English (SCE), also known as Singlish. Borrowing from creole studies, some commentators refer to the more educated, the middling and the most informal of these sub-varieties as acrolect, mesolect and basilect respectively.

18 There is, for example, now a free online corpus of English as a lingua franca speech, the Vienna–Oxford International Corpus of English (VOICE) (www.univie.ac.at/voice/page/corpus_availability). This caters to a growing community of scholars interested in investigating the linguistic characteristics of ELF.
19 But see Ammon (2003), who reports that by 1995 English accounted for 87.2 per cent of journal publications in the natural sciences and 82.5 per cent in the social sciences.
20 One reason for universities offering an increased number of English-medium graduate courses is their desire to attract international students and enhance fee income, and to increase academic internationalisation
21 See e.g. The Third European Report on Science and Technology Indicators 2003.
22 This is acknowledged by Salager-Meyer (2008: 129).
23 Ido and Interlingua are the names of other well-known, invented international languages.
24 Because it is based largely on European languages, Esperanto is perhaps not as neutral as it is sometimes presented as being.
25 Speaking at conferences can also be demanding, so in some institutions there may be a need for further training in the use of English in conference presentations.
26 These, of course, are pseudonyms.
27 In a few of these corporations, English is a joint rather than sole corporate language.
28 Loos (2007: 53) refers to this form of interactional management as '*koordinierte alternierende Mehrsprachigkeit*'.
29 Examples would be the notorious Tenerife disaster of 1977; the Cali (Colombia) disaster of 1995 and a mid-air collision near Delhi of 1996 (Tajima 2004).
30 The ICAO stands for International Civil Aviation Organisation.

26 Colonial and post-colonial language policies in Africa

1 But see chapter 14 in this volume.
2 directorates.html1%. C2%A2%. A0% accessed 16 March 2010.
3 http://www.sudanradio.org/, accessed 6 March 2010

27 Indigenous language planning and policy in the Americas

1 The four member states originally voting against the *Declaration* were Australia, Canada, New Zealand, and the US; all of these subsequently approved the document and Colombia has endorsed it as well.

2 Due to space limitations, the Caribbean and Greenland are not addressed in detail, although there are parallels between Greenlandic and closely related Inuit languages discussed in the section on Canada.
3 For more on Indigenous literacies in the Americas, see Francis and Reyhner (2002); Hornberger (1996); Von Gleich (2004).
4 Coronel-Molina and McCarty (2011: 365) note, however, that Indigenous bilingual education in Latin America 'has been alternately proposed and contested since the early twentieth century', including programmes implemented by the Summer Institute of Linguistics that were subsequently adapted by governments. The latter programmes were largely transitional and aimed at linguistic and cultural assimilation.
5 See also Aikman's (1999) ethnographic study of intercultural education and mother tongue literacy among the Arakmbut in the Peruvian Amazon, which reaches a similar conclusion, highlighting the disjuncts between school- and home-based pedagogies.
6 King and Benson (2004: 244) explain that 'Quechua' is used in all countries in which it is spoken except Ecuador, where 'Quichua' is exclusively used.
7 Bolivia is also a nation in which the current president, Juan Evo Morales, is Aymaran, and which has incorporated the *UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples* into national law.
8 Programme for Professional Development in Bilingual Intercultural Education for the Andean Countries (Hornberger and Johnson 2007: 512).
9 On this count, Sachdev *et al.* (2006: 109) report that the reduction in the number of speakers of Aymara and Quechua in Bolivia from 1992 to 2001, especially among young children, was 'equal to the whole previous [census] period…from 1972 to 1992'.
10 For more on the sociolinguistics of Indigenous languages and IBE in South America, see Baldauf and Kaplan (2007a); Godenzzi (2008); King and Hornberger (2004); King and Haboud (2002); Mejía (2004).
11 A trade agreement between the US, Mexico, and Canada, NAFTA was 'widely perceived to encourage social inequality and to bring little benefit to the poor', and was a precipitator for the EZLN takeover (Terborg *et al.* 2007: 121).
12 Gynan (2007: 224) reports eleven Indigenous languages in addition to six Tupí-Guaraní varieties.
13 Although they do not reside in the Americas, Native Hawaiians are US citizens and this section would be incomplete without a discussion of their contributions.
14 Political incorporation into the US system has been different for American Indians, Alaska Natives, and Native Hawaiians, and among American Indian tribes themselves. The sovereignty of some tribes is

recognized by states but not by the federal government; some tribes are not recognized either by states or the federal government. Native Hawaiians, whose internationally recognized sovereign kingdom was illegally overthrown by the US government in 1893 and who were officially incorporated into the US upon Hawaiian statehood in 1959, are still fighting for federal recognition. The experience of Alaska Natives, who include American Indians and Aleut, Inupiat and Yup'ik peoples, is different still. Nonetheless, all Native peoples in the US share a distinct legal–political status that entails a singular 'trust' relationship with the US government (Lomawaima and McCarty 2006; Snipp 2002).

15 The American Indian Movement (AIM) began in the early 1970s as a force for pressuring the federal government to honour its treaty obligations toward Native peoples. In 1972, AIM members marched to Washington, DC, presenting federal officials with a twenty-point manifesto, *The Trail of Broken Treaties*, which called for the restoration of American Indian lands, protection of Indian religious and cultural freedoms, reorganization of the BIA, and improvements in health, housing, economic development and education (Wittstock and Salinas, n.d.).

16 For a sample of these projects, see Burnaby and Reyhner (2002); Cantoni (1996); Hinton and Hale (2001); McCarty and Zepeda (2006); Reyhner *et al*. (1999); Reyhner and Lockard (2009); Romero-Little, Ortiz, McCarty and Chen (2010).

17 The late Esther Martinez (P'oe Tsawa, 'Blue Water') was a revered Tewa (Pueblo) linguist, language teacher, storyteller and activist.

18 These residential schools were not truly 'new'; segregated schooling for Aboriginal children began as early as 1620 with the Récollets, a French branch of the Spanish Franciscans.

19 For a comparative analysis of these language situations in Canada, see a 2009 theme issue of *The Canadian Modern Language Review* on the topic (Volume 66, No. 1).

28 Language policy in the European Union

1 www.europarl.europa.eu/charter/pdf/text_en.pdf

2 www.ec.europa.eu/dgs/translation/whoweare/index_de.htm

3 www.europarl.europa.eu/sides/getDoc.do?language=DE&type=IM-PRESS&reference=20071017FCS11816

4 www.eur-lex.europa.eu/budget/data/D2009_VOL1/DE/nmc-grse-qAP2000182/index.html

5 www.europa.eu/rapid/pressReleasesAction.do?reference=IP/10/452

6 www.diepresse.com/home/politik/eu/548690/index.do?from=gl.home_politik

7 www.eeas.europa.eu/docs/eeas_draft_decision_250310_en.pdf

8 www.conventions.coe.int/Treaty/EN/Treaties/Html/148.htm
9 www.eblul.org/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=260&Itemid=1
10 www.conventions.coe.int
11 www.ec.europa.eu/education/policies/lang/doc/multireport_en.pdf
12 www.europa.eu.int/comm/education/language/label/index.cfm
13 www.dylan-project.org/
14 www.ec.europa.eu/education/policies/lang/key/studies_en.html

29 Language policy management in the former Soviet sphere

1 See *Nezavisimaya Gazeta* www.ng.ru/tag/latinitsa/
2 *Nezavisimaya Gazeta* www.ng.ru/specfile/2001–02–27/14_turkey.html
3 *Nezavisimaya Gazeta* www.ng.ru/regions/2005–01–31/11_tatary.html
4 Milli Mejlis, Информационное издание Милли Меджлиса татарского народа [News publication of Milli Mejlis of Tatar people]. Saturday, 20 December 2008 http://milli-mejlis.blogspot.com/2008/12/blog-post_7708.html (accessed 06.04.10)
5 www.day.kiev.ua/294446/
6 See site of the Ministry of Education of the Russian Federation http://ed.informika.ru/ntp/fp/rus_lang/about/
7 http://sibupk.nsk.su/New/06/Migration/1_2_dvustoronn_akty.htm
8 Закон республики Армения «О языке» [Law on the language of the Republic of Armenia]. At www.concourt.am/hr/armenia/rus/pqbkl5.htm.Закон Азербайджанской республики «О государственном языке в Азербайджанской Республике» [Law of the Azerbaijan republic 'On state language in the Azerbaijan Republic']. At www.medialaw.ru/exussrlaw/l/az/lang.htm.Закон Республики Беларусь «О языках в Республике Беларусь» [Law of the Republic of Belarus on Languages in the Republic of Belarus]. At http://pravo.kulichki.com/zak2007/bz63/dcm63687.htmLaw of the Republic of Kazakhstan on Languages. At www.usefoundation.org/view/7803акон Кыргызской Республики «О государственном языке Кыргызской Республики» [Law on state language of the Kyrgyz Republic]. At www.medialawca.org/document/-4396Law on the Estonian state language. At www_.legaltext.ee/en/andmebaas/ava.asp?m5026Law on the Latvian state language. At http://www_.ttc.lv/New/lv/tulkojumi/E0120.docLaw on the Lithuanian state language. At www3._lrs.lt/pls/inter3/dokpaieska.showdoc_e?p_id=275246Закон Республики Узбекистан «О государственном языке» [Law of Republic of Uzbekistan on state language]. At www.medialaw.ru/exussrlaw/l/uz/lang.htmЗакон Туркменской ССР «О языке» [Law of Turkmen SSR on language]. At www.medialaw.ru/exussrlaw/l/tk/lang.htmЗакон Української РСР «Про мови в Українській РСР» [Law of the Ukrainian SSR On languages in Ukrainian SSR]. At http://zakon.rada.gov.ua/cgi-bin/laws/main.cgi?nreg=8312–11

9 www.cimera.org/files/biling/en/korth_languagerevival.pdf
10 R. Korth, 'The limits of language revival', 2–3. http://www.cimera.org/files/biling/en/korth_languagerevival.pdf
11 'Languages of education in the Russian Federation' paper presented at conference 'Towards a Common European Framework of Reference for Languages of School Education?' organized jointly by the Council of Europe, Language Policy Division, and the Jagiellonian University, Krakow, Poland, April 27–9, www.universitas.com.pl/media/File/Fragmenty/TOWARDS/mart_2–7.pdf
12 *Bairamova, N. 'Без права на ошибку. Еще раз о русском языке в Туркмении'* [Without right for mistake. Once again about the Russian language in Turkmenia]. www.centrasia.ru/newsA.php?st=1180506900 (accessed 06.04.10)
13 Turkmen initiative for human rights. Report 2008. National minorities in Turkmenistan: Education, culture, and social sphere. Vienna www.chrono-tm.org/uploaded/1261322877.pdf
14 http://ed.informika.ru/ntp/fp/rus_lang/about/
15 http://test2.imagine.kz/?nc2andversion=ru
16 http://europa.eu/legislation_summaries/employment_and_social_policy/situation_in_europe/c11336_en.htm
17 See www.nbuv.gov.ua/institutions/ium/index.html
18 See also V. Mikhalchenko, 'Language policy in the Russian Federation', World Congress on Language Policies, April 2002 www.linguapax.org/congres/taller/taller3/Mikhalchenko.html
19 *Berezin, F. 1997. 'Место и роль русского языка в постсоветской России'* [Place and role of the Russian language in post-Soviet Russia]. www.philology.ru/linguistics2/berezin-97.htm
20 Talk by the Minister of Education and Science of the Chechen Republic on the all-Russian conference 'Language and school', Grozny, 25–6 September, 2009
21 *Rossiyskaya Gazeta* www.rg.ru/2008/01/10/reg-kavkaz/yazyk.html
22 G. Petrossian, 1997. 'Bilingualism and language planning in Armenia'. webs.uvigo.es/ssl/actas1997/06/Petrossian.pdf
23 www.mapryal.org/content/языковая-ситуация-в-узбекистане-реальность-и-перспективы
24 www.fundeh.org/about/articles/33/
25 http://news.bbc.co.uk/hi/russian/in_depth/newsid_6929000/6929162.stm

30 Language policy in Asia and the Pacific

1 Some of the structural aspects of this chapter and initial versions of the tables first appeared in Baldauf *et al.* (2008), but with a focus on European languages and East and South East Asia polities. These sections were prepared and written by the first author.

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General index

Aasen, I. 20
Abdalati, H. 340, 344
Abdelhay, A. 526
Abstand languages 69
Académie canadienne-française 429
Académie française 18, 68, 420, 421, 422, 429, 641
Accademia della Crusca 19, 68, 429
accommodation rights 46, 48–50
acquisition planning 29
  adult/community-based language learning 115–16
  language maintenance 112
  language nests 113
  and nationalism 60, 70–2
  school-based revitalization 114–15
  see also education: additional languages; language acquisition
Adams, J. 69, 212
administrative deconcentration 177
Afghanistan 456, 626
Africa 13, 523–43
  Arabization as language policy 536–40
  Chinese language policy 527, 533, 540–2
  colonial language policy 212, 215, 527, 529
  colonialism 207, 213, 523–4
  elite schools' language policies 532–4
  ethnic identity 85
  harmonization 531
  language planning 23, 543
  language policy implementation 534–6
  language use 454
  lingua franca 527, 528, 533
  nation-states 524–5
  non-governmental organizations (NGOs) 525
  post-colonial policy 83, 209, 217, 524–5, 530–1
  script reforms 528
  spread of English 478, 483
  status planning 4, 66
  terminology 525–9
  urban vernaculars 533, 534
  writing of grammars 530–2
African Academy of Languages 217
African Union (AU) 157, 158, 160, 170–1
Ager, D. 91
Aguade, J. 539
Aikman, S. 658
Alaska Federation of Natives 473
Alaska Native Language Commission 473
Albanese, Mr 392
Alderson, J. C. 497
Alexander, N. 209
Algeria 537, 538
Alidou, H. 284
Alisjahbana, S. T. 511
Allen, S. 563, 566
Alliance Française 211, 315, 637
Alpatov, V. M. 21
Alpher, J. 520
American Association of Applied Linguistics 3
American Association of Language Specialists (TAALS) 258–60
American Indian Language Development Institute (AILDI) 472, 561
American Indian Movement 558, 659
American Samoa 629, 630
American Translators Association (ATA) 258
Ammon, U. 492, 494, 657
Ampiah, K. 541
Anderson, B. 64, 68, 522
Angelelli, C. V. 248, 249, 255, 258
Anglophone 525, 527
Angola 165
Annamalai, E. 484, 625
anthropological priority 439
Aprat, T. 423
Arab League 157–8, 159, 169
Arabophone 526
Argentina 251, 550
Armenia 599, 600, 601, 604, 607, 611
Arnold, M. 204
ASEAN (Association of Southeast Asian Nations) 157–8, 159, 168, 170, 644
Ash, A. *et al.* 561
Ashton, C. M. 585
Asia and the Pacific 14, 617–38
  early introduction of English 631–5
  East Asia 620–3

Asia and the Pacific (*cont.*)
English as a subject vs. for communication 619, 636
European language teaching 629
indigenization and objections to English 635–6
language and identity 636
language ecology 618, 635
language policy 619
Pacific Basin 627, 628
resource implications 637
script reform and standardization 620–2, 629
South Asia 625, 626
South East Asia 623–5
teaching of Asian languages 631
territories and possessions 627, 630
Association internationale des interprètes de conférence (AIIC) 258
Atatürk, K. 451–2
Athanassiou, P. 157
attitudes to languages 104, 105, 112, 285
AU *see* African Union
Ausbau languages 69, 92
Australia 102, 177, 459, 628, 654, 657
Austria 584
Austro-Hungarian empire 205, 207
autonomy and liberty 132–3, 140, 143, 144–5
Azerbaijan 654
citizenship legislation 601
corpus planning 594
education policy 604
language legislation 599, 600, 601
language use 611
writing reform 452

Bacon, F. 423
Bahry, S. *et al.* 304
Bailey, R. W. 212
Bakhtin, M. 81
Baldauf, R. B., Jr 120, 265, 430, 432, 550, 553, 635
Baltic states 614
see also Estonia; Latvia; Lithuania
Bamako International Forum on Multilingualism (2009) 218
Bamgbose, A. 478, 490
Bangladesh 625, 626, 632, 654
English 484, 625, 635, 637
Bankston, C. L. 122
Barère de Vieuzac, B. 60
Barron-Hauwaert, S. 353, 354, 355, 357
Barton, D. 440, 460
Basque Country 73, 74, 178, 179, 199, 200
Battiste, M. 546
Baugh, J. 122
Bauman, H.-D. 382
Bear Nicholas, A. 567
Belarus 599
citizenship legislation 601
education policy 604, 606
language legislation 593, 594, 601, 615
language use 610
Belgium
legal interpreting 251, 256
multilingual education 305, 308
regional autonomy 177
territoriality 181, 182, 641
Ben-Rafael, E. *et al.* 235
Ben-Yehuda, E. 516
Bender, S. W. 233, 242
Benesch, S. 403
Benmamam, V. 249
Benson, C. 289, 658
Bentahila, A. 538
Benton, R. A. 360
Bert, M. 101
Bhabha, H. 504
Bhutan 456, 626, 632, 654
Biale, D. 516
Bible
ethnic identity and language in 79
language 336, 337
printing of 67
translation of 67, 204, 347, 455, 547, 639
biculturalism 95
bilingual education 97–8, 113, 114, 289, 302, 316, 358, 558
bilingual family language policy 352, 353–60
culture 358
educational options 357–60
family structure 357
one parent one language policy 354–6
passive bilingualism 355
peer influences 356–7, 358, 363
bilingual intercultural education (EIB)
in Latin America 289, 296, 297, 550, 551, 552, 554, 555, 556, 658
missionaries 348
bilingualism 113
Canada 194, 233–4
children as interpreters 252–3, 255
Finland 189–94
New Zealand 95
Soviet sphere 608–12
United States 229
Wales 114, 199
Billig, M. 63, 70, 71
Bismarck, Otto von 350
Black, R. W. 411
Blackledge, A. *et al.* 82, 408
Blair, H. A. 567
Blommaert, J. *et al.* 27, 77, 402, 406, 413, 486
Boas, F. 82
Boileau-Despréaux, N. 422
Bolinger, D. 434
Bolivia 289, 545, 552, 658
Bolton, K. 490
Bosire, K. 471
Bosnia 74
Boukous, A. 483
Bourdieu, P. 85, 224
Brazil 527–50
Brecht, R. D. *et al.* 264, 265, 266
Breitborde, L. B. 342
Britain *see* United Kingdom
British Council 315, 637
Brittany 98–9, 179
Brock-Utne, B. 443
Brubaker, R. 502
Bruce, M. 393
Brunei Darussalam 623, 624, 632
Bruthiaux, P. 285, 485
Brutt-Griffler, J. 221, 655
Buckskin, J. 471
Bucsa, L. 647

Burkina Faso 218, 456
Byrne, J. 84
Byrnes, H. 311

Caldas, S. J. 354
California Healthcare Interpreting Association (CHIA) 259
California State Board of Education 401
Calvet, L.-J. 206, 213
Cambodia 478, 623, 624, 631, 632
Cameron, D. 224, 436, 537
Cameroon
  Chinese 542
  language of instruction 294
  learning mathematics 295–6
  learning to read 294–5
  localization of European languages 527
Campbell, L. 544, 546
Canada 179
  Académie canadienne-française 429
  aménagement linguistique 640
  bilingualism 194, 233–4
  colonial language policy 211
  decentralization 177
  double immersion schools 306
  language management 420
  Manitoba 195
  multilingual policy 42
  New Brunswick 194, 195, 196
  Ontario 194, 195, 196
  Ottawa 233–4
  Québec 181, 195, 196, 198, 234, 365, 368–72, 420
Canada: indigenous language planning and policy 104, 547, 568, 654, 657
  advances and challenges 567–8
  education 563–5
  First Nations 563, 565
  Inuit 563, 565–7, 568
  Métis 563
  Nunavik and Nunavut 565–7
Canadian Indigenous Language and Literacy Development Institute (CILLDI) 473
Canagarajah, S. 404, 485
Cardinal, L. 198
Caribbean 548, 549
Carpentier, M. 472
CashCash, P. 471
Cassen, B. 641
Castonguay, C. 197, 198
Catalonia 73–4, 178, 179, 199–200
Catherine Wheel model 32
Cawdrey, R. 651
Cenoz, J. 316
Central Asian states 616
  see also Kazakhstan; Kyrgyzstan; Tajikistan; Turkmenistan; Uzbekistan
Centre for the Advanced Studies of African Society (CASAS) 525
Chaver, Y. 516
Chechnya 610
Chévrier, M. 198
Chile 302
China 621
  additional languages 303, 486
  and Africa 540–2
  bilingual education 302
  Confucius Institutes 315, 477, 533, 541–2, 637, 655
  language policy 620
  literacy 450
  writing reform 449–51, 620
Chomsky, N. 433
Christianity
  forms of interaction 345
  missionaries and language management 205, 210–16, 346–50, 530
  see also Bible
Chua, S. K. C. 631
Churchill, W. S. 210, 223
Churchill, Ward 211
Cicourel, A. 325
citizenship 412–16, 443, 601–2
Citron, A. F. 453
civil rights 44, 254–6, 441
classic language planning 21, 22–30
Clayton, T. 478, 623
Clement, V. 452
Clerc, L. 375, 376
CLIL *see* Content and Language Integrated Learning
Clingingsmith, D. 121
co-occurrence 345
Cobarrubias, J. 431
Cobbey, H. 303
code-crossing 84
code-switching 84
collective rights 56
Collier, J. 557
Collier, V. 286, 291–4
Colombia 302, 544, 654, 657
colonial languages 530
colonialism *see* Africa; imperialism and colonialism; missionaries and language management
Combs, M. C. 472
Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFR) 310–11
Commonwealth of Nations 169
communication
  and globalization 224
  instrumentalism 126–9, 142
communicative competence 338
community interpreting *see* interpreting and translation
Confucius Institutes 315, 477, 541–2, 637, 655
Congo 346, 350
constitutivism 125
Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL) 311, 315, 316
Cook Islands 628
Cooper, A. 342
Cooper and Stoler (1992) 529
Cooper, R. L. 28–9, 116, 126, 235–6
Corbeil, J.-C. 640
Coronel-Molina, S. 551, 555, 658
corpus planning 4, 5, 24, 26, 427
  instrumentalism 127
  missionaries 348
  municipal language policy 241
  and nationalism 60, 67–70, 74
  see also grammars in Africa; orthography; script reforms; writing reform
Coulmas, F. 479
Council of Europe 151, 158

Council of Europe (*cont.*)
educational policy 307, 310, 313–15
regional and minority languages 61, 199, 312–13, 588
signed languages 392–4
court interpreting *see* legal interpreting
Crimea 596
critical language policy 85
critical language testing 414
critical literacy 441, 460
Critical Period Hypothesis (CPH) 318, 353
Crowley, T. 108, 433
Crystal, D. 101, 103, 112
cultivation approach 21, 22
cultural capital 339
cultural diversity 40, 58, 136–7, 486–8, 643
cultural goods 131–2
cultural heritage 109
Curdt-Christiansen, X. L. 370, 371
Current Issues in Language Planning (journal) 416, 430
Cyrillic alphabet 20, 452, 593, 595–6
Czech Republic 73, 325, 496
Czechoslovakia: Prague Linguistic School 21

Dardjowidjojo, S. 511
Darwin, J. 207, 210
Das, A. 106
Das Gupta, J. 17, 25
Daud, B. 512, 513
Dauenhauer, N. M. 112, 118, 557
Dauenhauer, R. 112, 118, 557
Daul, J. 161
Davidson, D. 277
Davis, P. M. 286, 348
De Bot, K. *et al.* 88
De Gaulle, C. 223
De la Piedra, M. T. 403
De Nebrija, A. 205
De Swaan, A. 127, 478, 479, 493
De Valera, É. 517
De Varennes, F. 31
Deaf community 11, 374–95
endangered sign languages 109
Gallaudet University 382–6
indigenous signed languages 375
international organizations 390–4
interpreting and translation 254, 259
language acquisition 380
language engineering 375–7, 386–9
learning of signed languages 374
linguistic rights 380
linguistic status of signed languages 380–2
methodical signs 376–7, 379–80
national signed languages 390–1
oralism 377–9
signed languages 374
total communication 379–80
Unified Arabic Sign Language 386–90
defence *see* national security: US language policy
Dekker, D. 298
Delors, J. 580
D'Emilio, L. 285
democracy 134–5, 179, 581
Deng, F. 538
Denison, N. 103
Desloges, P. 375–6
developed national languages 280, 281–2
dialectization 375
dialects 67, 68, 69, 71, 142–5, 639
diaspora studies 400
Diderot, D. 206
digital literacies 409–12
diglossia 90, 344, 536
dignity 135–6, 140, 143
Dion, S. 198
discourse-based management 33–4
Dlamini, S. N. 527
Dobrovsky, J. 19
dominant languages 278
Dorais, L-J. 565–6
Dorian, N. 101, 110, 111, 115, 118, 122, 505, 568
Dua, H. 509
Duchêne, A. 533
Dunbar, R. 195, 196
Dutcher, N. 444
dyadic societies 226–7, 233–4, 236–7

East Asia 620–3
see also China; Hong Kong; Japan; Mongolia; North Korea; South Korea; Taiwan
EBLUL *see* European Bureau for Lesser Used Languages
ecology 4, 5, 30, 109, 121
Economic and Monetary Community of Central Africa 157–8
economic aspects 31
educational language policy 286, 637
free trade and linguistic protectionism 130–2
globalization 476
instrumentalism 129–32, 142
language as ethnic attribute 129
language as human capital 130
language diversity and transaction costs 129
language revitalization 32, 120–2
literacy 444–5, 460
writing reform 452–4
Economic Community of West African States 158
Ecuador 118, 552, 658
education: additional languages 10, 301–19
age and acquisition 317–18
educational policy in Europe 307–15, 476
English and other languages 301–7, 316–17
in gymnasium 305
language of instruction 316–17
minority languages as language of instruction 316–17, 445
multilingual education 304–7, 316
education: medium of instruction 10, 278–300
access, quality and equity 49, 285, 289–90, 483–6, 508
bilingual education 97–8, 316, 358
choices 284–9
(colonial) history 210, 284–5, 286, 484
conclusion 300
cost and cost effectiveness 286, 296
distribution of languages by level 281–2
educational outcomes 286–7, 291–9

first language instruction 93, 94, 97, 278, 298–9, 534
higher education 657
immersion education 94, 113–14, 306, 318, 354, 358, 367
language typology scale 279–81
languages and education 282–4
legal and empirical justifications 289–91
legal rights 288–9
linguistic dislocation 283–4
linguistic diversity 278, 279, 300
linguistic human rights 290–1
minority languages 316–17, 445
persistence into secondary education 297–8
political ideology 287–8
popular advocacy 289
regional national coherence/identity 286
research in the North 291–4
research in the South: learning to read 294–5
research in the South: mathematics 295–6
school-based revitalization 114–15
social and cultural identity 288
technical and economic resources 286
and transnational migration 404–9
see also education: additional languages
Edwards, J. 431
Egypt 524, 536, 537, 542
EIB *see* bilingual intercultural education
Eliot, J. 547
endangered languages 7, 100–23
acquisition planning 112
in the Andes 551–2
causes 103–5
and cultural diversity 136–7
domains of use 117–18, 455
health of languages 106–8
and identity 90, 92, 95–8
language death 100–3, 353
language prestige 112, 116–17
language shift 90, 92, 98–9, 103–5, 121–2
language 'usefulness' 111
linguistic diversity 105–6, 108–11, 119–23
Native American languages 560–1
number of speakers 105, 111–17
structural simplification and linguistic capacity 118–19
supporting policies 111–19
terminology and stance 101–3
see also Reversing Language Shift
English for Heritage Speakers 277
equality 54, 137–8, 142, 143, 492
Eritrea
colonial language policy 527, 540
language of instruction 286, 287
learning to read 294–5
Erling, E. 494
Errington, J. 514
Esch, E. 533
Escobar, A. 349
Esther Martinez Native American Languages Preservation Act (2006) 561
Estonia 73
citizenship legislation 601
education policy 603
language institutions 607
language legislation 599, 600, 601
language planning 23
language use 609
occupational language use 606
Etherington, N. 213
Ethiopia 287, 542
ethnic identity and language policy 7, 79–99
Biblical account 79
cases 92–9
dissolution of colonial empires 83–4
ethnicity 80
ethnolinguistic identity 81
historical perspective 82–6
hybrid identities 84
identity 80
language 81, 110
language as ethnic attribute 20, 129
language maintenance and development 91, 92–4
language revitalization 91, 92, 94–5, 112, 122
language shift 90, 92, 98–9
languages under threat 90, 92, 95–8
patterns of interaction 88, 89
performativity 84
postmodern positions 84–6
principles of ethnic identity 86
theoretical framework 86–8
ethnicity 80
ethnography 4, 5, 338, 417
ethnolinguistic identity 81
ethnolinguistic nationalism 63
ethnolinguistic vitality model 84
Ethnologue 67, 105, 281, 283, 454, 456, 531–2, 546
ethnomethodology 324
Europe
educational policy 307–15, 317, 476
gymnasium 305
multilingual education 305
nation-states 82–3, 139–40, 573–5
national movements 19–20, 82–3, 438
European Bureau for Lesser Used Languages (EBLUL) 199, 201, 588–9
European Central Bank 159, 572, 585
European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages (1992) 288
European Commission 140–1, 158, 307, 572, 580
European Council 572, 581
European Council of Ministers 572, 581
European Court of Justice 159, 572, 580, 585, 586
European Economic Community 572, 579
European External Action Service 585
European Language Portfolio (ELP) 311
European Parliament 572, 580
European Union 138–41
Bologna process 476, 655
demos and *ethnos* 581
educational policy 307, 310, 311
English as lingua franca 582–5
Eurydice network 308–10
historical legacies 573–5
interpreting and translation 580–1, 582
language policy 14, 151, 157, 158, 160–2, 168, 169–70, 182, 223, 570–91
language studies 589–90
linguistic composition and language regimes 575–8

European Union (*cont.*)
literacy and social exclusion 458
minority languages 577–8, 587–9, 590, 600
political structure and language policy goals 571–3
promoting a *lingua franca* 140–1
protecting national languages 139–40
regionalization 177, 647
signed languages 310, 378, 394
working and official languages 575, 576, 578–87
Evans, N. 101, 655
Evelyn, J. 423, 424
Extra, G. 648

family language policy 11, 351–73
bilingualism 352, 353–60
definition 351–2
French Louisiana 365–8, 372
Maori 360–2, 372
mother tongue 351
one parent one language policy 354–6
Quebec 365, 368–72
reasons for policy 352
Russian immigrants in Israel 362–4, 372
Wales 114
fanfiction 411
Fardon, R. 523
Farrell, T. J. 442
Favre de Vaugelas, C. 422, 651
Federal Union of European Nationalities (FUEN) 199, 201
federalism 174
Fehlen, F. 94
Ferguson, C. 3, 22–3, 25
Ferry, J. 60
Fettes, M. 563, 564
Fichte, J. 62, 82
Fiji 627, 628, 632
Finland
Åland Islands 189
language policy 19, 189–94, 482
regional autonomy 177, 181
Fishman, J. A. *et al.* 6, 22–3, 25, 31–2, 80, 81, 82, 83–4, 101, 103, 106, 108, 117, 120, 123, 219, 220, 335, 337, 349, 431, 436–651
Fitzgerald, D. 402
flexible stability of the standard language 22
Florey, M. *et al.* 468–9, 470, 471, 473
Fogle, L. 352, 353
Foncin, P. 211
Fontenot, R. 367
force multipliers 270–2
localization 271
outsourcing 271
reach-back 271–2
sharing 270
Ford Foundation 23, 25
forms of speech 344–5
Foucault, M. 85
Fouron, G. 401
Fowler, H. 433
France 573
Académie française 18, 68, 420, 421, 422, 429, 641
Alliance Française 211, 315, 637
Brittany 98–9, 179
corpus planning 70, 482
imperialism 205, 207, 211, 214
minority languages 61, 588, 639
regional autonomy 177
Revolution 59–62
status planning 60, 70, 482–3
territorialism 176
territories and possessions 627, 630
Francophone/Francophonie 159, 169, 483, 525, 527
free trade and linguistic protectionism 130–2
Freebody, P. 654
Freire, P. 460
French Polynesia 630
Frykenberg, R. E. 215
functional literacy 440–2, 460, 654
Furniss, G. 523

Gadamer, H. G. 133
Gafaranga, J. 417
Galicia 73, 74
Gallaudet, T. H. 375, 376
Gallaudet University 382–6
Gandhi, I. 490
Gandhi, Mahatma 209, 215, 509
Gans, C. 04 132
Garas, N. 277
García, A. 249
García, O. *et al.* 85, 549
Gardener, E. B. 563, 564
Garvin, P. L. 21
Gelb, I. J. 453
Gellner, E. 64, 71
gender issues 112, 444
generation 403
Genesee, F. 318, 369, 371
genres 345–6
Georgia 599, 600, 601, 604, 611, 654
Germany 573
in Europe 584
federal reform 177
Goethe Institute 315, 477
imperialism 205, 207
literacy 443, 459
multilingual education 305
Romantic nationalism 62–3, 82
voting rights 443
Ghosh, N. 502, 507, 508
Giddens, A. 479
Giles, H. 84
Giles, P. 94
Gill, S. K. 478
Gitlin, T. 461
Glick Schiller, N. 400–1, 402
global organizations
approaches 163–8
legal framework 153
practice 155–7
globalization 38, 57, 220, 224
Americanization 486–7
and diffusion of English 210, 218, 220, 475–80
English as threat to cultural diversity 486–8
and language acquisition 76
mobility 476
and transnationalism 74, 75–8
glottophagie 206
Goethe Institute 315, 477

Gomes, A. M. R. 550
González, R. D. *et al.* 464
Goody, J. 437, 438
Görter, D. *et al.* 121, 648
Gould, W. 510
governance 176
governmentality 85
Gowers, E. 433
Graddol, D. *et al.* 212, 303
Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (GIDS) 106
grammars in Africa 530–2
Grammont, M. 354
Gramsci, A. 116, 339, 477
Gray, W. S. 440–2
Greece 177, 589
Grégoire, Abbé H. 59–62, 641n3
Grenoble, L. A. 119, 120
Grin, F. 31, 121, 130
Grinevald, C. 101
Griolet, P. 213
Guam 630
Guatemala
  bilingual intercultural education (EIB) 296, 297
  educational cost effectiveness 286, 296
  indigenous language planning and policy 549, 552, 553
  language of instruction 294, 296
  persistence into secondary education 297–8
Guinea 287
Gukhman, M. M. 430
Gumperz, J. 84
Gunther, W. 117
Gutiérrez, K. D. 403
Gynan, S. N. 554, 658

Haarman and Holman (2001) 482
Habermas, J. 135, 640
Haboud, M. 546
Hadi-Tabassum, S. 534
Hall, R. 422, 436–651
Halliday, M. A. K. *et al.* 220, 489
Halpern, M. 418–19
Hamel, R. E. 546, 550, 553, 555
Hamid, M. O. 637
Hammond, J. 654
Hardt, M. 224
Harklau, L. 406
harmonization 531
Harris, J. R. 363
Harrison, K. D. 109
Harzing, A. W. K. *et al.* 496, 497
Hatcher, L. 452
Haugen, E. 3, 4, 20, 22, 24, 83, 427, 430, 431
Havránek, B. 21
Hawai'i 32, 467, 630
Hayes, C. 63
healthcare interpreting 248–9, 259
hearer/addressee 342–3
Hearne, J. 517
Heath, S. B. 440, 548
hegemony 116
Held (1996) 75
Heller, M. 85, 533
Henry, J. 122
Herberts, K. 192, 194
Herder, J. G. 63, 82, 133
heritage languages 408
Hernàndez, F. X. 199
Heugh, K. *et al.* 216, 287, 302
Highfield, A. R. 548
Hill, J. H. 545
Hill, R. 113, 114
Hindu American Foundation (HAF) 401
Hinton, L. *et al.* 114, 116, 560
history of language policy 3–6, 16–36
  Académie française 18
  classic language planning 22–30
  dissolution of colonial empires 83–4
  European national movements 19–20
  Language Management Theory 33–5, 36
  periodization 18–22
  Soviet Union 20–1
  variation and diversity 30–2
Hobsbawm, E. 64
Hoedemaekers, I. 539
Holborow, M. 478
Holland, L. 567
Holton, G. 118
homogeneous societies 226–33, 241
Hong Kong 620, 621, 622, 632
Hornberger, N. H. 31, 114, 249, 550, 551, 552, 555
Hossein, A. 484
House, J. 260
Howe, J. 69
Howe, S. 203
Hroch, M. 19, 503–4
human capital 130, 138
Human Language Technology (HLT) 270
human rights 150
  see also civil rights; language rights; linguistic human rights
Hybrid State model 176, 177
hybridity 84, 403, 407, 408–9, 524
Hymes, D. 4, 337–8, 340, 341–4, 345

Iceland 482
identity 80, 110, 125, 288, 427–8, 533, 636
  see also ethnic identity and language policy
ideologies 104, 119–20
Illich, I. 205
ILO Convention 169 290
IMIA (Massachusetts Medical Interpreters Association) 259
immersion education 94, 113–14, 306, 318, 354, 358, 367
imperialism and colonialism 8, 203–25
  Africa 207, 213, 523–4
  colonial language policy 83–4, 210
  culture and scientific excellence 208
  Europe: 'national' languages 204–10
  exploitation colonies 480
  language use 203
  linguistic hierarchization 206
  missionaries 205, 210–16, 346–50, 530
  neo-imperial language policies 222–5
  post-colonial – post-imperial? 216–22, 484
  settlement colonies 480
  terminology 203–4
  'the Other' 204, 524
  types of colonization 209
India 626
  additional languages 303
  bilingualism 121

India (*cont.*)
under British Empire 207, 209
colonial language policy 207, 215–16
language policy 23, 174–5, 444, 506, 582, 625
linguistic diversity 454, 506
literacy 443, 454, 647
multilingual education 218, 454, 484
national language revival 505–11, 520
post-colonial policy 217
territorial organisation 174–5
indigenous language planning and policy in the Americas 14, 544–69
Canada 104, 547, 568, 654, 657
demolinguistic and sociohistorical context 545–9
Latin America 548, 549–56
United States 91, 104, 547, 549, 556–62, 654, 657
writing systems 546–7
summary and future directions 568–9
Indonesia 624, 632, 637
language planning 23
linguistic diversity 109, 512
national language revival 511–15, 521
InField (Institute for Field Linguistics and Language Documentation) 471
Initial Teaching Alphabet (ITA) 448
instant messaging (IM) 411
instrumental/non-instrumental rights 46–7
instrumentalist approach to language 8, 124–45, 427–8
arguments – overview 126–38
autonomy and liberty 132–3, 140, 143, 144–5
communication 126–9, 142
cultural diversity and human knowledge 136–7
democracy 134–5
dialects and intralinguistic issues 142–5
dignity 135–6, 140, 143
economic success 129–32
equality 137–8
instrumentalism 125–6
language and the European Union 138–41
nationalism, unity, solidarity 133–4, 143
intellectualization 22
International Court of Justice 153, 154, 165
International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (1966) 290
International Labour Organization (ILO) 154
international languages 280, 281–2, 301
International Monetary Fund (IMF) 154, 155
International Organization for Migration 165
international schools 305
International Telecommunication Union 150, 154
International TESOL 420
Internet 303, 411, 483, 620
Interpreter Interpersonal Role Inventory (IPRI) 258
interpreting and translation 9, 243–61
airports 332
children as interpreters 252–3, 255
civil rights 254–6
Deaf community 254, 259
definitions 243–4
double standards 252–3
education of interpreters and translators 256–8
European Union 580–1, 582
healthcare settings 248–9, 259
ideological factors 251–4
immigrant needs 246–7
interpreted communicative events (ICE) 244–6
interpreters 244–5, 253
legal settings 250–1, 259
police settings 249–50
professionalization of practice 258–61
relay interpretation 581
reverse interpretation 581
service provision 251
shortage of interpreters 247
see also Bible; Islam and Qur'anic Arabic
intralinguistic issues 142–5
intrinsic value of languages 125
Ireland
an Foras Teanga 420
Bord na Gaeilge 420
Foras na Gaelige 185, 420, 647
Gaeltacht 181, 183–9, 518, 519
language management 420
national language revival 104, 517–20
regional autonomy 177
status planning 65
Islam and Qur'anic Arabic 336, 339–46
forms of speech 344–5
genres 345–6
hearer/addressee 342–3
key 344
message form 340–1
norms of interaction 345
purposes–goals and outcomes 343–4
scene 341
setting 341
speaker/addressor 341–2
see also Arabization as language policy
Israel
citizenship 520
Jerusalem 235–6
language camps 116
municipal language policy 234–6, 241
national language revival 515–17
Russian immigrants 362–4, 372
status planning 65
Italy 573
Academia della Crusca 19, 68, 429
in Europe 584
imperialism 205, 207
literacy promotion 446
multilingual education 305
regional autonomy 177

Jacquemet, M. 77, 412
Jakobson, R.O. 21
James, W. 335
Japan 621, 622
English 632, 636
literacy 459
Tokyo language services 227–9, 240, 241
Japan Language Foundation 477
Jeanjean, T. *et al.* 495
Jefferson, T. 69
Jenkins, G. H. 204, 491
Jenkins, J. 489, 490, 491

Jernudd, B. H. 16, 17, 21, 25, 26, 28, 29, 33, 347, 430
Jimmie, M. 563, 564
Johnson, S. 68, 424–5
Jones, D. 433
Jones, M. C. 102
Jordan 26
Joseph, J. 641, 655
Judaism 336, 337, 339, 345
Julliard, J. 641
Jungmann, J. 20

Kachru, B. 489, 656
Kallen, J. 117
Kaplan, R. B. 265, 430, 432, 550, 553, 635
Kawai'ae'a, K. 560
Kazakhstan 599
  citizenship legislation 601
  language institutions 608
  language legislation 594, 595, 601
  language policy 604, 606
  language use 611
  occupational language use 607
Keane, W. 514
Kedourie, E. 82, 431
Kennan, G. 210
Kenya 216, 534, 542, 654
Kerlinger, F. N. 337
Kersey, J. 651
Kesva an Taves Kernewek (Cornish Language Board) 420
key 344
Khaleeva, I. 603
Kik, C. 584
King, K. A. et al. 352, 353, 361, 546, 550, 552, 658
King, M. L., Jr. 462
Kingsley, L. 494, 495
Kininger, C. 408
Kinnock, N. 218, 584
Kipp, D. 463
Kiribati 628
Kirkpatrick, A. 220
Kloss, H. 4, 24, 45–6, 47, 69, 92, 427
Knappert, J. 345
Kofman, E. 415–16
Kohn, H. 63
Kopeliovich, S. 362, 363
Kosonen, K. 286
Kosovo 73, 236–7, 241
Kraemer, R. *et al.* 362
Krauss, M. 101, 103, 106, 107, 108
Kroskrity, P. V. 104, 123
Kulick, D. 108
Kymlicka, W. 46, 54–6, 132, 133, 140, 198, 647
Kyrgyzstan 599
  education policy 604
  language institutions 608
  language legislation 594, 595, 601
  language use 611

Labov, W. 121
Labrie, N. 573
Ladd, P. *et al.* 378, 395
Laitin, D. 582
Lam, W. S. E. 410
Lamb, T. E. 417
Lambert, R. D. 13, 226, 241
Lane, H. 375, 377, 378
Language (journal) 103
language academies 63–4, 535–6, 548, 553
language acquisition 81
  Deaf community 380
  and globalization 76
  and instrumentalism 126
  see also acquisition planning; education: additional languages
language activism 13, 461–74
  activism defined 461
  broadening responsibility 469–71
  community perspectives 466
  language activism defined 461–4, 468–9
  language rights and the law 464–6
  training 471–3
language beliefs 175–6, 338, 426
language conferences 534
language death 100–3, 353
language deficit 653
language determination 347
language development 347
language education policy *see* bilingual education; bilingual intercultural education; education: additional languages; education: medium of instruction; transnationalism, migration and language education policy
language engineering 375–7, 386–9, 639
Language Flagship, The 277
language ideology 338, 426
language implementation 347
language liberties 47–8
language loss *see* language shift
language maintenance 91, 92–4, 112
language management 16, 175–6, 339
  Biblical account 79
  in business 494–7
  language activism 470
  in science 491–4
  terminology 4, 5
  variation within English 491
  see also history of language policy; language management agencies; Language Management Theory; missionaries and language management
language management agencies 12, 418–36
  agency and agencies 425–9
  conclusion 435
  contemporary postures 433–5
  continua of formality 419–21
  historical tensions 422–4
  lexicographer as academy 424–5
  managing tensions 421–4
  prescriptivism and planning 429–32, 435–6, 653
Language Management Theory 33–5, 36
  language management cycle 35
  organized management 33, 34
  simple management 33–4
language nests 113
language obsolescence 102
language planning 3, 4, 16–18, 83
  see also classic language planning; history of language policy; language management; language management agencies
language planning agencies 201–2

language policy
components 79, 175–6, 338, 346
critical language policy 85
terminology 3–5, 639
see also history of language policy
Language Policy (journal) 416
language practice 175–6, 338, 426
Language Problems and Language Planning (journal) 416, 430
language protectionism 130–2
language reclamation 501
language regimes 176
language renewal 501
language revitalization 32, 91, 92, 94–5, 112, 114–15, 120–2, 462, 463, 501, 560–1
language revival 501, 561
see also national language revival movements
language rights 44–549
accommodation rights 46, 48–50
civil and political rights 44
classification 44–7
collective rights 56
culture and identity 52–3
equality 54
fairness 53
instrumental/non-instrumental rights 46–7
language liberties 47–8
and the law 464–6, 469
and literacy 455
official language rights 46, 50
signed languages 380
societal culture 54–6
state neutrality 52
tolerance/promotion-oriented rights 45–6, 47
in United States 464–6
language shamans 434
language shift
causes and implications 103–5
and ethnic identity 90, 92, 98–9
processes and endangerment 103–5
saving languages or speakers? 121–2
language socialization 356, 358, 363, 406, 407
language suppression 377–9
language typology scale 279–81
distribution of languages by level 281–2
Level 1: international languages 280
Level 2: major languages 280
Level 3: developed national languages 280
Level 4: underdeveloped national languages 280
Level 5: underdeveloped sub-national languages 281
Level 6: localized oral languages 281
level of development 280
political/national salience 279
language values *see* instrumentalist approach to language; intrinsic value of languages; primordialism
language variation *see* linguistic diversity
language vitality 106–8
languages 639
languages in contact 180
Lanza, E. 110, 355
Laos 286, 623, 624, 631, 632
Laponce, J. 139, 180
Larson, M. L. 348
Latin America
Andean region 551–2
bilingual intercultural education 289, 296, 297, 550, 551, 552, 554, 555, 556, 658
indigenous language planning and policy 548, 549–56
linguistic imperialism 219
multilingual education 304
Latvia 73, 599
citizenship legislation 601
education policy 603
language institutions 607
language legislation 600, 601
language use 609
occupational language use 606
Lau v. Nichols (1974) 465–6
Le Page, R. 84, 110, 445
League of Arab States *see* Arab League
League of Nations 163
Lee, T. S. 116
legal interpreting 250–1, 259
legal rights 288–9, 464–6, 469
Lenin, V. I. 205
Leopold II of Belgium 350
L'Épée, Abbé de 375–6
Levitt, P. 400–1, 402
Lewis, G. 452
Lewis, M. P. 105
lexicography 424–5
Lifelong Learning Program 307
Lincoln, A. 382
lingua franca 39, 41, 479
in Africa 527, 528, 533
Arabic 527, 528
English 76–8
for Europe 140–1, 582–5
French 206, 210, 483
regional lingua franca 481
for science 493
linguicism 214, 218, 255
linguistic aspects
literacy 445–6
writing reform 447–9
linguistic convergence 41–4
linguistic determinism 125
linguistic diversity 5, 30–2, 278, 279, 300, 639
cultural heritage 109
economic costs and benefits 120–2
and endangered languages 105–6, 108–11
English as threat to 480–3
ethnic identity 110
ideologies and assumptions 119–20
language and ecology 109
language 'usefulness' 111
linguistic human rights 110
policy goals and achievements 119–23
as public good 40–1
a single language? 111
and transaction costs 129
value to linguistic science 108–9, 136–7
linguistic genocide 81, 90, 206, 291
linguistic hierarchization 206
linguistic human rights 30, 31, 110, 137–8, 290–1, 380
linguistic imperialism 213, 214, 219, 224, 524
linguistic landscape 235–6
California 230
Cape Town 239

Jerusalem 235–6
Kosovo 236, 237
municipal language policy 239, 240
Ottawa 234
Quebec 234
Tokyo 228–9
linguistic minorities 67, 246–7, 648
see also interpreting and translating; minority languages
linguistic territoriality principle 139–40, 180
Linn, A. 482, 492, 656
literacy 12, 428, 437
background 437–9
and Bible translation 67, 204
campaigns 455–8
concept and definition 439–42
critical literacy 441, 460
development and promotion 446
economic aspects 444–5, 460
functional literacy 440–2, 460, 654
illiteracy 438, 439, 440, 443
illiteracy in developed countries 458–60
in indigenous languages 291, 546–7
and language rights 455
learning to read in the south 294–5
linguistic aspects 445–6
minority languages 454–5
mother tongue literacy 445
multilingual literacy 444–5
multiliteracies 410, 411
political aspects 442, 460
Roman alphabet 437–8
social aspects 443–4, 458, 460
see also corpus planning; writing reform
literacy events 440
literacy practices 440
Lithuania 73
citizenship legislation 601
education policy 599, 603
language legislation 598–9, 600, 607
language use 609
occupational language use 606
Lo, A. 407
localized oral languages 281–2
Lohheim, S. 656
Lomawaima, K. T. 557
Looby, C. 69
Loos, E. 495
López, L. E. 549, 552, 554, 555, 556
Loughlin, J. 176, 177, 178
Louihiala-Salminen, L. *et al.* 494
Louis, W. R. 215
Lüdi, G. et al. 325
Lukose, R. 400, 401
Lusophone 525, 527
Luther, M. 62, 337, 641
Luxembourg 92–4, 141, 303, 305, 494, 495
multilingual education 304, 305, 308
Lyster, R. 371

Mac Donnacha, J. 285
McArthur, T. 475
McCandlish, L. 230
McCarty, T. L. 91, 555, 557, 559–62, 658
McConnell, G. 492
Machin, D. 487, 656
McLaughlin, D. 116
McMurtry, J. 221
McNamara, T. 412, 413
Maffi, L. 115
Maghreb
Arabization 345, 532, 536, 538
elite schools 532
English 483
ethnolinguistic identity 90
indigenous languages 533
Mahathir Mohamad 655
major languages 280, 281–2
Makoni *et al.* (2010) 533
Makoni, S. *et al.* 85, 527, 530
Malaysia 494, 624
English 478, 632, 636
language planning 23
language policy 623
Malay 512
Maldives 626, 632
Malherbe, F. de 422
Manz, V. 582
Margalit, A. 132, 136
Mariana Islands 630
Marshall Islands 628
Martin, I. P. 212
mass media 117, 487
Massachusetts Medical Interpreters Association (MMIA/IMIA) 259
Mathesius, V. 21
Matthews, J. 115
Mauritius 304
May, S. 94, 95, 113, 114
Mazrui, A. 217
Medicine, B. 557
Mercator network 199, 201
MERCOSUR (*Mercado del Sur*) 156, 158, 160, 170
Meriam, L. et al. 557
message form 340–1
Mexico 95–8, 548, 549, 553
Micronesia, Federated States of 630
migration *see* transnationalism, migration and language education policy
Mill, J. S. 134
Miller, C. 539, 540
Miller, J. R. 563–5
Milroy, J. 418, 433, 537, 653
Milroy, L. 418, 433, 537, 653
minority languages 4, 42, 105
in acquisition planning 71, 112
Council of Europe 312–13
definition 102
European Union 577–8, 587–9, 590, 600
France 61, 588, 639
as language of instruction 316–17, 445
literacy 454–5
status planning 67
see also ethnic identity and language policy; language rights; Reversing Language Shift model
minorization 102, 122
missionaries and language management 205, 210–16, 346–50, 530
MMIA (Massachusetts Medical Interpreters Association) 259
Modern Language Association 420
Modiano, N. 555
Mohanty, A. 217, 285
Mongolia 302, 621, 623, 632
monolingualism 72, 641

Montenegro 73, 74
moribund languages 102
Morocco 536, 538, 539, 542
Morren, R. 296, 297
Morton, H. V. 223
mosaic societies 226–7, 237–40, 241
Moseley, C. 107, 642
mother tongue 351, 445, 454, 534
  see also education: medium of instruction
Mozambique 213, 289, 304
Mufwene, S. 100, 104, 480, 481, 483, 498
Mühlhäuser, P. 627
multiculturalism 37, 358
multilingual education 304–7, 316
  benefits 122
  definition 316
  elite multilingualism 304
  folk multilingualism 304
  medium of instruction 316
multilingualism
  literacy 444–5
  in Soviet sphere 608–12
  in supranational organizations 151, 152, 163, 172–3
multiliteracies 410, 411
multinational corporations 325, 494–7
  see also transnational corporations
municipal language policy 9, 226–42
  within administrative body 233, 238, 240
  bilingualism 233–4
  Cape Town 238–9, 240
  corpus planning 241
  data sources 227
  dyadic/triadic societies 226–7, 233–4, 236–7
  homogeneous societies 226–33, 241
  Israeli cities 234–6, 241
  Kosovo 236–7, 241
  linguistic landscape 228–9, 230, 234, 235–6, 237, 239, 240
  mosaic societies 226–7, 237–40, 241
  oral communication 228, 232, 234, 236, 238, 240
  Ottawa 233–4
  status planning 240–1
  Tokyo 227–9, 240, 241
  Tshwane 239–40, 241
  United States cities and towns 229–33, 240, 241
  written communication 228, 232, 236, 238, 239, 240
Muscati and Rouleau (2008) 197
Myanmar 624, 632
Myers-Scotton, C. 443
Myrdal, G. 25

Nababan, P. W. J. 515
Naidu, S. 541
Naik, C. 215
Nair-Venugopal, S. 494
Nairn, T. 63
Namibia 165
Nandy, A. 208
nation-states 3, 42, 59, 72–3, 639
  Africa 524–5
  education: additional languages 315
  Europe 82–3, 139–40, 573–5
  promotion of national language abroad 204–10, 315, 477
  regionalization 178
  vs. state nations 65
  see also national language revival movements; nationalism
National Association of Judicial Interpreters (NAJIT) 259
National Council on Interpreting in Health Care (NCIHC) 259
national language revival movements 13, 501–22
  India 505–11, 520
  Indonesia 511–15, 521
  Ireland 104, 517–20
  Israel 515–17
  languages and nations 502–5
  survival of nations and national languages? 520–2
  terminology 501–2
National Language Service Corps (NLSC) 270, 271, 277, 649
National Security Education Program 263
National Security Language Initiative 276
national security: US language policy 10, 262–77
  background 263–5
  communications management skills 267
  coordination 272–3
  end state 268–70
  end state scenario 273–5
  force multipliers 270–2
  globalized military workforce model 267–72
  market-driven behaviours 265
  market forces framework for language 265–6
  national level 272–3, 274
  organic linguistic, cultural and regional skills 268
  conclusion 276
National Virtual Translation Center 271, 277
nationalism 6, 59–78
  the academy and language planning 63–4
  acquisition planning 60, 70–2
  corpus planning 60, 67–70, 74
  devolution, secession and independence 73–5
  ethnolinguistic nationalism 63
  Europe 19–20, 82–3, 438
  French Revolution 59–62
  Germany and Romanticism 62–3, 82
  globalization and transnationalism 74, 75–8
  post-national era 72–3
  status planning 64, 73–4
  unity and solidarity 133–4, 143
  see also transnationalism, migration and language education policy
Native American Languages Act (NALA; 1990) 561
native speakers/non-native speakers 405
Nauru 628
Negri, A. 224
Nekula, M. 496
Nekvapil, J. 4, 35, 325, 496
Nelde, P. H. et al. 180
Nepal 218, 625, 626, 632
Netherlands 177, 305, 315, 584
Nettle, D. 103, 468, 469
Network to Promote Linguistic Diversity (NPLD) 201

Neustupny, J. V. 18, 21, 28, 33, 35, 431
New Caledonia 630
New Literacy Studies (NLS) 410
New London Group 410
New Public Management 178
New Zealand 628
  bilingualism 95
  family language policy 360–2, 372
  language revitalization 32, 91, 92, 94–5, 654, 657
Newland, K. 400
Ngugi Wa Thiongo 209, 216
Ní Bhuacháin, K. 420
Nic Shuibhne, N. 420
Nickerson, C. 495
Nicolai, R. 543
Niger 289
Nigeria 217, 542, 654
Niue 628
non-dominant languages 278
non-governmental organizations (NGOs) 525
non-rights-based approaches 39–44
  case for convergence 41–4
  linguistic diversity as public good 40–1
non-standard varieties *see* dialects
Nordic Council 158
norms of interaction 345
North Korea 621, 622
Norway 3, 19, 20, 481, 482, 492
Nunan, D. 631
Nunberg, G. 418
Nyerere, J. 287

Ó Giollagáin, C. et al. 185
Ó Gríobhtha, M. 517
Ó hIfearnáin, T. 119
Ó Laoire, M. 505
Ó Riagáin, D. 186
Oakes, L. 479, 482, 492, 656
Obama, B. 276
Obanya, P. 287
official language rights 46, 50
official languages 4
  European Union 575, 576, 578–87
  supranational organizations 152
Ofsted (Office for Standards in Education) 408
Oliphant, T. 433
Olson, D. R. 454
Omoniyi, T. 217
online management 33–4
ontogenetic priority 439
oralism 377–9
O'Regan, H. 642
Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) 154
Organization internationale de la francophonie *see* Francophonie
Organization of American States (OAS) 158, 171
organized management 33, 34
orthography 442, 447, 448, 451, 453, 528
Ostler, N. 213
the Other 204, 524
Otto, R. 335

Pacific Basin 627, 628
  see also Asia and the Pacific; Australia; Cook Islands; Fiji; Kiribati; Marshall Islands; Nauru; New Zealand; Niue; Palau; Papua New Guinea; Samoa; Solomon Islands; Timor Leste; Tokelau Islands; Tonga; Tuvalu; Vanuatu
Pagano, U. 130
Pakistan 626, 632
Palau 628
Pan-South African Languages Board (PANSALB) 535
Paolillo, J. C. 106
Papua New Guinea 109, 628
Paraguay 554
Patrick, D. 563, 564, 566, 567
Patrinos, H. 286
Patten, A. 46, 52
Paulston, C. B. 347
Pavlenko, A. 82, 84, 414
Payer, L. 261
Pearson, B. Z. et al. 355
Penfield, S. 471
Pennycook, A. 84, 85, 481, 484, 488, 530
performativity 84
Perry, T. 535
Philippines 624
  colonial language policy 212
  language of instruction 294, 298, 299
  language planning 22, 23, 619
  language policy 623
  literacy 457
Phillips, T. 110
Phillipson, R. 172, 210, 477, 486–7
philosophy of language policy 6, 37–58
  globalization 38, 57
  multiculturalism 37
  non-rights-based approaches 39–44
  rights-based approaches 44–549
  standardization 37, 57
  see also instrumentalist approach to language
phylogenetic priority 439
Pilger, J. 210
Pinker, S. 418
Pitman, J. 448
plurilingualism 40–1, 94, 96, 534
Poland 308, 598
police interpreting 249–50
political aspects
  decentralization 177
  and educational language policy 287–8
  globalization 476
  language of instruction 287–8
  language typology scale 279
  literacy 442, 460
  writing reform 74, 451
political regimes 176
political rights 143
Pop, V. 459
Portugal 177
Prague Linguistic School 21
Prah, K. K. 438, 531
Prator, C. 26, 489
Pratt, M. L. 209
prescriptivism *see* language management agencies
prestige planning 112, 116–17
primordialism 125
Project for Alternative Education in South Africa (PRAESA) 525

publishing and globalization 218
see also Bible
purposes–goals and outcomes 343–4

Q-value 127, 478, 479
Quigley, C. 222
Quintilian 422
Quirk, R. 489, 490
Qur'an *see* Islam and Qur'anic Arabic

Rahman, T. 510
Ramanathan, V. 484
Rampton, B. 405
Ranger, T. 64
Rannut, M. 205
Ratnawati, M. A. 521
Rawls, J. 135
Ray, P. S. 430
Raz, J. 132, 136
Real Academia Española 68, 429
regional autonomy 174, 177, 178, 199–202
Basque Country 73, 179, 199, 200
Catalonia 199–200
Wales 179, 199, 200
regional identity 110
regional organizations
instruments and mechanisms 168–71
legal framework 157–62
practice 159–62
Registry of Interpreters for the Deaf, Inc. (RID) 259
religion 11, 335–50
contextual variables 337–9
corpus planning 348
domain of religion 335, 339
Islam and Qur'anic Arabic 336, 339–46
Judaism 336, 337, 339, 345
and language dominance 206
missionaries and language management 205, 210–16, 346–50, 530
sacred languages 336
variables 336
see also Bible
Reversing Language Shift 6, 31–2, 103, 120
Reyes A. 403
Rhodes, C. 222
Rice, F. 23
Ricento, T. 30
Richard, Z. 367
Riches, C. 370
Rippin, A. 345
Rivarol, A. de 206, 651
Rivers, W. 265, 266
Robinson, C. 348–9
Rockefeller Foundation 23
Rockwell, E. 550
Rodney, W. 211, 212
Rogoff, B. 403
Romaine, S. 103, 112, 119, 123, 335, 355, 436–651
Roman alphabet 437–8
for Arabic 528
for Chinese 449–50
Ronjat, J. 354
Roosevelt, F. D. 223
Roosevelt, T. 212
Ross, A. 573
Rubagumya, C. 215, 217, 287
Rubaii-Barrett, N. 232
Rubin, D. L. 441
Rubin, J. *et al.* 16, 25, 26, 27, 29, 347, 430
Rubio-Marin, R. 46
rural development 348–9
Rushdie, S. 444
Russell, P. L. 96
Russian empire 205, 207
Russian Federation 594, 595, 596
citizenship legislation 601
education policy 603
language legislation 597, 598, 599
Rwanda 111, 542

Sachdev, I. *et al.* 552, 563, 658
sacred languages 336
Samoa 628, 654
Sandberg, S. *et al.* 191, 193
Sapir, E. 82
Sapir-Whorf hypothesis 82
Save the Children 290
scene 341
Schieffelin, B. B. *et al.* 120
Schiffman, H. 175, 464
Schmitt, C. 134
science 491–4
Scotland 73, 178
script reforms 14, 442, 449–52, 528, 592, 593, 594–6, 620–2, 629
Sebba, M. 449
second language acquisition *see* acquisition planning; education: additional languages; language acquisition
Seidlhofer, B. 490
self-respect 135–6
Sen, A. 208
setting 341
Shapiro, B. 423
Sherman, T. 35, 325
Shohamy, E. 176, 412, 414, 415, 647
Sichra, I. 554, 555, 556
signed languages *see* Deaf community
SIL International (Summer Institute of Linguistics) 348, 525, 531–2, 639, 658
simple management 33–4
simultaneity 402
Singapore 624, 632
English 490, 635, 656
language teaching 623, 631, 635
Singh, J. 507
Skattum, I. 443
Skutnabb-Kangas, T. *et al.* 81, 90, 289, 291, 302, 486–7
Slavic states 614–15
see also Belarus; Tatarstan; Ukraine
Smith, A. D. 64
Smith-Hefner, N. 514
social aspects
class 433, 653, 654
English and socio-economic inequality 483–6
equality 54, 137–8, 142, 143, 492
literacy 443–4, 458, 460
writing reform 449–51
societal culture 54–6
Société Internationale de Linguistique see SIL International
sociolinguistics 17, 22, 24, 28, 83–4

ecology 4, 5, 30, 109, 121
interactional sociolinguistics 324
surveys 22, 26, 639
sociology of language and religion (SLR) 336, 337, 338
Solomon Islands 628
South Africa
Cape Town 238–9, 240
Chinese 542
Islam 539
language policy 535
languages 530
languages of instruction 285, 535
municipal language policy 237–40
Tshwane 239–40, 241
South Asia 625, 626
see also Afghanistan; Bangladesh; Bhutan; India; Maldives; Nepal; Pakistan; Sri Lanka
South East Asia 23, 623–5
see also Brunei Darussalam; Cambodia; Indonesia; Laos; Malaysia; Myanmar; Philippines; Singapore; Thailand; Vietnam
South Korea 302, 621, 622, 632
Southall, A. 531
Soviet sphere 14, 205, 592–616
acquisition planning 596
background 592–3
Baltic states 614
Central Asian states 616
citizenship legislation 601–2
corpus planning 594–6
education policies 602–6
indigenous languages 654
language institutions 607–8
language legislation 598–601
language policy management 594, 597
language use: bilingualism and multilingualism 608–12
linguistic diversity 106
occupational language use 606–7
scholarly treatment of language policy 612–13
Slavic states 614–15
state languages 598–9
status planning 594
titular language assessment 605–6
Transcaucasian states 615
writing reform 452
Soviet Union 20–1, 452, 592–3
Spain
autonomous regions 73
Cervantes Institute 315
in Europe 584, 586
legal interpreting 256
multilingual education 305
Real Academia Española 68, 429
regional autonomy 177, 178
see also Basque Country; Catalonia
speaker/addressor 341–2
speech acts 338
speech events 338
speech situations 338
Speight, R. M. 346
spelling and spelling reform 442, 447, 448, 451, 453, 528
Spolsky, B. 34, 79, 175–6, 227, 235–6, 335, 338, 342, 345, 346, 347, 363, 364, 425, 426, 429, 467, 470, 475, 505, 515, 558, 559, 652
Spotti, M. 407
Sri Lanka 485, 625, 626
Stalin, J. 205
standard language 142–5
state nations 65
status planning 4, 5, 26, 427
instrumentalism 127–9
linguistic minorities 67
municipal language policy 240–1
and nationalism 60, 64, 73–4
post-colonial states 65–6
Steiner, G. 136
Steiner, H. 131
Steinman, E. 655
Stewart, J. 565
Stewart, W. 4
Stokoe, W. C. 380, 385
Stoyanova, A. 237
Street, B. V. 440, 442
Strubell, M. 32
structural linguistics 17, 21, 23
Sudan
Arabization 536, 537, 538, 539
Chinese 541, 542
colonial policy 524, 526, 527, 528, 534
elite schools 532
post-colonial policy 530, 535
supranational organizations 8, 149–73
contemporary language policies 152–62
external communication/service languages 152, 162–71
global organizations 153, 155–7, 163–8
international language policies 149–52
language approaches 162–71
multilingualism 151, 152, 163, 172–3
official languages 152
regional organizations 157–62, 168–71
working languages 152
Sutherland, W. J. 109
Svendsen, B. A. 110
Sweden 21, 22, 177, 481
Switzerland 42, 181, 581, 641
symbolism 427–8
Szulc, A. 569

Tabataba'i, M. H. 346
Tabouret-Keller, A. 84, 110
Tacitus 203
Taiwan 450, 451, 620, 621, 622, 632
Tajikistan 304, 599, 601, 604, 612
Talleyrand, C-M de 60
Talmy, S. 406
Tanzania 287, 348, 484
Tatarstan 594, 595, 614
Tauli, V. 124, 127
Taylor, C. 52–3, 55, 132, 133
Taylor, F. W. 328
Taylor, I. 451
Taylorization 326, 328–31
Te Puni Kokiri 361
Terborg, R. *et al.* 548, 549
terminology 3–5, 220, 639
territorialism 51, 57, 174–202
Canada 194
Finland 189–94

territorialism (*cont.*)
imposed global inheritance 174
Ireland 183–9
linguistic territoriality principle 139–40, 180
personality and territoriality principles 180–202
recent conceptual developments 175–6
territorial governance 176–80
Tervoort, B. 380
Thailand 288, 294, 623, 624, 632
Thieberger, N. 122
Thomas, G. 434, 436
Thomas, W. 286, 291–4
Thorburn, T. 26
Thoreau, H. D. 653
Thorne, S. L. 411
Thornton, R. 545
Timmis, I. 491
Timor Leste 627, 628, 631
Tokelau Islands 628
tolerance/promotion-oriented rights 45–6, 47
Tollefson, J. W. 27, 85, 483, 484
Tomlinson, J. 487, 488
Tonga 628
Touré, Sekou 287
Transcaucasian states 615
see also Azerbaijan; Georgia
transculturation 411
transidiomatic practices 412
translation *see* interpreting and translation
transnational corporations 476
see also multinational corporations
transnationalism, migration and language education policy 399–417
citizenship and language testing 412–16
concepts 401–4
digital literacies 409–12
generation 401–2, 403
and globalization 74, 75–8
heritage languages 408
hybridity 403, 407, 408–9
immigration procedures 413
language education policy 404–12
and language rights 55
polycentricity 402, 406, 407
refugees 413, 415
simultaneity 402, 410
transnational migration 399–404
conclusions 416–17
transportation 332, 497
triadic societies 226–7, 233–4, 236–7
Trudell, B. 535
Trumper-Hecht, N. S. 235
Tsang, S. L. 655
Tulloch, S. 566
Tunisia 536, 538, 542
Turkey 207, 451–2
Turkmenistan 452, 594, 595, 599, 601, 604, 612
Tuvalu 628

Ukraine 615, 654
citizenship legislation 601
education policy 604, 606
language legislation 593, 598–9, 600, 601, 608
language use 610–11
occupational language use 607
underdeveloped national languages 280, 281–2
underdeveloped sub-national languages 281–2
UNESCO 278
Asia and Pacific region 290
Atlas of World Languages in Danger 107, 642
Education for All (EFA) 289
International Literacy Prize 456–8
language policy 154, 156, 157, 290
Language Vitality and Endangerment Framework 106–7
linguistic diversity 109, 119, 291
Literacy Report 294, 439, 458
Universal Declaration of Linguistic Rights (1996) 288
unilingualism 41–4
United Kingdom
citizenship tests 413
corpus planning 68
globalization of English 210
imperialism 206–8, 209, 210, 212, 214
legal interpreting 256
literacy 451
minority languages 590
multilingual education 305
neo-imperial language policies 222–5
Overseas Development Administration (ODA) 216–17
police interpreting 250
regional autonomy 177
see also British Council; Scotland; Wales
United Nations
Convention on the Rights of People with Disabilities (CRPD) 391–2
Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples 463, 544, 654, 658
International Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide 291
International Convention on the Rights of the Child 290, 653
language policy 152, 153–4, 155–7, 163–5
Literacy Decade 439
Universal Declaration of Human Rights 163, 254, 469
United States
Alaska 473, 562
Amish community 337, 343
bilingualism 229
California 230, 232, 241, 247, 259, 401
citizenship tests 414
colonial language policy 211–12
consolidation 209
corpus planning 69
Dade County, Florida 229
decentralization 177
Department of Defense 267
El Cenizo, Texas 231–2
English-only movement 229–31, 242, 462, 463, 562
ESL programmes 406
French Louisiana 365–8, 372
globalization of English 210, 224
Hawai'i 32, 467, 630
immigrant needs 246–7, 277, 286
interpreting and translation 250, 251, 256, 258–60

language activism 464–6, 467, 473
language rights 464–6
'limited English proficiency' (LEP) 405
literacy 451, 459, 460
Mexican Americans 464
municipal language policy 229–33, 240, 241
neoimperial language policies 222–5
New Jersey 230
No Child Left Behind (NCLB) Act (2001) 562
Oakland, California 232, 240
Pahrump, Nevada 231
status planning 65–6, 641
territories and possessions 627, 630
USAID 216–17, 290
see also national security: US language policy; United States indigenous language planning and policy
United States: indigenous language planning and policy 547, 549, 556–62, 654, 657
advances and challenges 561–2
community-based programmes 115–16, 558–60
education 557–8
endangerment and revitalization 560–1
Hawai'i 32, 467, 630
language activism 467
language shift 91, 104
literacy 557
Navajo 111, 114, 128, 467, 556, 557, 558–60, 562
tribal sovereignty 557, 658
Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity (2001) 290
Universal Postal Union (UPU) 150, 154, 155, 168
University of Cambridge 218, 219
Unz, R. 463, 654
Uzbekistan 594, 599, 601, 612

Vail, L. 85
Van Els, T. 583, 584
Van Leeuwen, T. 487, 656
Van Parijs, P. 39, 44, 136, 138, 139, 140, 493, 583
Vandermeeren, S. 495
Vanuatu 628
Velez, E. 286
Versteegh, K. 539
Vietnam 483, 619, 623, 624, 631, 632, 635
Voluntary Service Overseas (VSO) 486
Vonen, A. M. 381

Wai, D. 539
Waldinger, R. 402
Wales 73
bilingualism 114, 199
finance 178
regional autonomy 179, 199, 200
status planning 179
Welsh Language Board 647
Wallerstein, I. 523
Wallis and Futuna 630
Walsh, J. 175–6, 186, 647
Walter, S. 286, 294, 296, 297, 298
Walters, J. 345
Walton, A. 494
Wang, L-C. 466
Warhol, L. 561
Warraq, Ibn 343
Warriner, D. 402
Washington, G. 212
Watt, W. M. 341
Weber, M. 82
Webster, N. 69, 425
Weinreich, U. 22
Weinstein, B. 29
Welfare States 176
Westerwelle, G 585
Whaley, L. J. 119, 120
Whorf, B. L. 82
Wikipedia 346
Williams and Cooke (2002) 290
Williams, B. T. 179
Williams, C. H. 176, 178, 564
Williams, G. 27, 31, 32, 431
Wilson, W. H. 560
working languages
European Union 575, 576, 578–87
supranational organizations 152
workplace language policy 10, 323–34
flexibility and variability 326, 331–3
globalized new economy 325–7
job performances 331
recruitment processes 329, 332
standardization and variability 326, 327–8
Taylorization 326, 328–31
technology 331
training 330
work, language and the social order 324–5
conclusions 333–4
World Bank 149, 154, 165, 166–8, 173, 216–17, 290, 645
World Federation of the Deaf (WFD) 388–9, 391
World Health Organization 154
World Trade Organization (WTO) 154
Wright, S. 79, 83, 479, 482, 483, 548, 619
writing reform 12, 446–54
concept and definition 442
economic aspects 452–4
linguistic aspects 447–9
orthography 442, 447, 448, 451, 453, 528
political aspects 74, 451
script reforms 14, 442, 449–52, 528, 592, 593, 594–6, 620–2, 629
social aspects 449–51
spell checkers 448
Wyld, H. 433
Wyman, L. *et al.* 562

Yamashita, H. 459
Yano, Y. 655
Yemen 149, 166
Yi, Y. 411
Yokwe, E. M. 538
Youth of European Nationalities 201
Yugoslavia 73, 74, 111
Yun, J. 456, 457, 458

Zepeda, O. 91
Zimbabwe 527, 532, 535, 536, 542
Zipf, G. K. 127, 453

Index of languages

Abaza 597
Adahi (Nepal) 626
Adyghian 597
African American Vernacular English (AAVE) 121
Afrikaans 165, 238–40, 535, 539
Ainu 621
Ajië 630
Albanian 69, 236–7
Algonquian 547
Alsatian 90
Altaic 597
Amazigh 90
American Sign Language (ASL) 375, 378, 380, 382–6
Amharic 287, 540
Anashnabe 472
Angaur 628
Apache 547
Arabic 279
  Arabization in Africa 536–40
  in Asia 626, 647
  culture 208
  diglossia 90, 345, 536
  in Europe 308, 310
  in global organizations 154, 155, 166–8
  as international language 280
  in international schools 305
  on the internet 303
  in Israel 235–6, 515
  Juba Arabic 528, 540
  Judeo-Iraqi Arabic 647
  language academies 535
  as lingua franca 527, 528
  in the Maghreb 345, 532, 536, 538
  Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) 90, 345, 528, 536, 537
  as national language 502
  Qur'anic Arabic 336, 339–46
  in regional organizations 157–8, 159, 160, 169, 170–1
  and spread of Islam 205, 206
  in Sudan 526, 527, 535, 539
  in United States 276
  see also Unified Arabic Sign Language
Arakmbut 658
Aranes 116
Arawakan (Taino) 548, 549
Armenian 599, 604, 607, 611, 647
Arumanian 429
Asháninca (Peru) 281
Assamese 647
Assyrian 604
Asturian 586
Athabaskan languages 547
  see also Navajo
Augul 597
Australian Sign Language 381
Avar 597
Aymara 280, 527–50, 551, 552, 658
Azerbaijani/Azeri 592, 597, 599, 604, 611

Bahasa Indonesia (BI) 159, 306, 512–15, 521, 624, 627, 628
Bambara 280
Bari (Sudan) 540
Bashkirian 597
Basque 69, 578
  attitudes towards 286
  in Europe 308, 577, 586
  as language of instruction 114, 288, 316, 317
  regional autonomy 73, 200
  in regional organizations 646
  in Spain 303
  status planning 74, 178
Belarusian 599, 604, 609, 610, 615
Bengali 279, 280, 408, 508, 626, 647
Berber 90, 538
Bhojpuri (Nepal) 626
Bislama (Vanuatu) 627, 628
Blackfeet 560
Bo (Andaman Islands) 353
Bodo 647
Borana (Kenya) 281
Bosnian 74, 167
Breton 91, 98, 286
Bulgarian 576, 578, 604
Bunong (Cambodia) 281

Burmese 624
Burushaski 647
Buryatian 597

Castilian *see* Spanish
Catalan 578
  attitudes towards 286
  in Europe 308, 577, 586
  as language of instruction 316, 317
  regional autonomy 199–200
  in regional organizations 169, 646
  status planning 73–4, 178
Chamorro 630
Chechen 597, 610
Chemehuevi 467
Cherokee 211, 547, 556, 560
Chin (Myanmar) 624
Chinese
  as additional language 302
  in Africa 527, 533, 540–2
  in Asia 228, 229, 624, 631, 647
  in Canada 370, 373
  Cantonese 621
  Confucius Institutes 315, 477, 533, 541–2, 637, 655
  culture 208
  in Europe 309, 310
  Gan 621
  in global organizations 153–4, 155, 166–8
  globalization 225
  Hakka 621, 622
  Hokkien 624, 635
  in international schools 306
  on the internet 303
  Mandarin 279, 280, 303, 527, 533, 540–2, 621, 622, 624, 635
  Minbei 621
  in Pacific Basin 630
  Putonghua 450, 622
  Teochew 624
  in United States 246, 276
  writing reform 449–51, 620–2
  Wu Chinese 279, 621
  Xiang 621
Choctaw 211, 547
Chong 288
Chuvash 597
Cornish 205, 420, 642
Cree 547, 563
Cree-Montagnais 547
Creole
  Jamaican Creole 280
  in United States 246
Crioulo 284
Croatian 74
Czech 19, 21, 34, 280, 576, 578

Dakota 547
Danish 20, 158, 205, 309, 576, 578, 586
Dargwa 597
Dari 626
Dene 563, 567
Dhivehi (Maldives) 626
Diné 90, 547
Dinka (Sudan) 530, 540
Dogri 647
Dong 303
Dutch 280, 578
  and colonization 206
  in Europe 309, 575, 576, 584
  immigration language tests 413
  in Indonesia 512, 513, 514
  and military conflict 205
  Taalunie 315
  writing reform 447
Dzongkha (Bhutan) 456, 626

Eastern Panjabi 647
Ejagham (Cameroon) 281
Ekegusii (Kenya) 471
Emberá 548
English 279, 475–98, 578
  as additional language 301–7, 318
  in Africa 216, 238–40, 304, 478, 483, 525, 527, 533, 539
  American English 212, 229–31, 242, 425, 448
  in Asia 228–9, 302, 303, 304, 484, 486, 619, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 631–8
  in bilingualism 302
  British Council 315, 637
  in business 494–7
  in Canada 194, 369–71
  circles framework 489, 656
  colonial language policy 213, 215–16, 655
  effects of global English 480–8
  in Europe 140–1, 223, 304, 308, 309, 318, 575, 576, 580, 582–5, 590
  in global organizations 149, 150–1, 153–4, 156, 165, 166–8, 172
  globalization and diffusion 13, 210, 218, 220, 224, 475–80
  for Heritage Speakers 277
  and imperialism 205, 206–8
  in India 175, 207, 208, 215–16, 303, 444, 484, 490, 506–9, 510–11, 520
  influence on ASL 383–4
  Initial Teaching Alphabet (ITA) 448
  as international language 220, 280
  in international schools 305
  on the internet 303
  in Ireland 184, 204, 518, 519
  in Israel 235–6
  language management 423–5, 488–97
  as language of instruction 316–17, 492, 657
  in Latin America 224, 302, 304
  as lingua franca (ELF) 76–8, 141, 211, 212, 382, 479, 489, 490, 582–5, 657
  and military conflict 205
  missionaries and language management 213
  as national language 206, 502
  neo-imperial policies 222–5
  New Englishes 488–9, 490
  orthography 448, 451, 453
  in Pacific Basin 627, 628, 630
  post-colonial policy 216–22
  in regional organizations 157–8, 159, 160–2, 169, 170–1, 644
  in science 491–4
  in Scotland 204
  in SE Asia 457, 478, 490, 514, 521, 635, 656
  Signed English 383
  and socio-economic inequality 483–6
  TEFL 218
  TESOL 218, 420
  as threat to cultural diversity 486–8
  as threat to linguistic diversity 480–3

TOEFL 218
in transportation 497
variation within 491
in Wales 204
World Englishes 488
Erzya 597
Esperanto 493, 657
Estonian 69, 576, 578, 586, 599, 608, 609

Farsi 276, 647
Fijian 627, 628
Filipino 280, 619, 624, 630
Finnish 19, 69, 189–94, 453, 576, 578, 586
Flemish 183
French 578
Académie française 18, 68, 420, 421, 422, 429, 641
acquisition planning 60
as additional language 302, 303, 305, 318
in Africa 217, 218, 304, 456, 525, 527, 533, 538
Alliance Française 211, 315, 637
in Asia 624, 631
in Canada 194, 368–72, 429
colonial language policy 205, 350
corpus planning 60, 70, 482
education 60
in Europe 93, 140–1, 183, 304, 308, 309, 575, 576, 580, 584, 585
family language policy 365–72
in global organizations 150–1, 153–4, 155, 156, 166–8
as international language 280
in international schools 305, 306
on the internet 303
language management 422, 651
as lingua franca 206, 210, 483
and military conflict 205, 211
as national language 206, 210, 502
nationalism 59–62
in Pacific Basin 628, 630
in regional organizations 157–8, 159, 160–2, 169, 170–1
status planning 60, 70, 131, 482–3
in United States 246, 263, 365–8, 372
in Vietnam 483
writing reform 447
French Sign Language 375–6
Frisian 286, 308, 429, 577

Gaelic *see* Irish Gaelic; Scottish Gaelic
Galician 577, 578, 586, 646
Gallego 349
Gallo 91, 92, 98–9
Georgian 599, 604, 605, 607, 611
German 206, 279, 578
as additional language 302, 303, 305
in business 495
in Europe 140–1, 309, 575, 576, 577, 578, 580, 584, 585
in global organizations 155, 168
Goethe Institute 315, 477
as international language 280
in international schools 306
in Kazakhstan 604
Low German 577–8
in Luxembourg 93, 304, 308
and military conflict 205
in regional organizations 158, 160–2
in religious texts 337
in United States 246, 263, 337, 343
writing reform 447, 448
Gilbertese 628
Gondi (India) 508
Gothic 455
Greek 337, 575, 576, 578, 604
Greenlandic 547, 658
Guaraní 160, 170, 171, 304, 548, 550, 552, 554
Gujarati 647
Gurung (Nepal) 626

Hawai'ian 467, 560, 630
Hebrew 65
in Israel 235–6, 364, 505, 515–17, 520
in religious texts 336, 339, 340
schools outside Israel 306
Hindi 279, 626
as developed national language 280
in Fiji 627, 628
in global organizations 167
in India 175, 303, 506, 508, 510, 625
Hiri Motu 628
Hmong 624
Hopi 467, 557
Hungarian 69, 576, 578, 604

Iban 624
Icelandic 164, 482
Illocano (Philippines) 281
Inuinnaqtun 567
Inuktitut 547, 563, 565–7
Irish Gaelic 578
in Europe 575, 576, 586
in Ireland 65, 116, 119, 183–9, 286, 505, 518–20
in regional organizations 157
Iroquoian 547
Italian 280, 578
Accademia della Crusca 19, 68, 429
in Europe 309, 576, 580, 584, 585
in international schools 306
literacy 446
and military conflict 205
orthography 448

Jamaican Creole 280
Japanese 279, 280, 621
in Europe 309, 310
in information for foreigners 228–9
linguistic imperialism 213
literacy 453
in Pacific Basin 628, 630
Javanese 514, 624
Jingpho (Myanmar) 624
Jívaro 548

Kabardian-Chercassian 597, 624
Kadazan 624
Kalmyk 597
Kannada 647
Kaqchikel (Mayan) 552
Karachay-Balkar 597
Karaim 577–8
Karen (Myanmar) 281, 624
Kashmiri 647
Kashub 577–8
Kaurna (Australia) 102, 471
Kayah (Myanmar) 624

Kazakh 592, 599, 606, 611
Khakassian 597
Khmer 164, 624
K'iche' 281, 349, 546, 548, 552
Kinyarwanda 417
Kiranti (Nepal) 626
Kissié 287
Kiswahili 279
  in global organizations 164
  in regional organizations 157, 158, 160, 171
  in Tanzania 287
Koasati 473
Kolami (India) 508
Komi-Permyak 597
Komi-Zyryan 597
Konkani 647
Korean 280, 621
  in China 487
  in international schools 306
  in Japan 228, 229, 621
  in North Korea 622
  writing reform 449
Kosraean 630
Kpele 287
Kumyk 597
Kuna 548
Kurdish 604
Kuujjuarapik 567
Kyrgyz 304, 592, 599, 604, 611

Lakota 547, 557, 597
Lao 286, 624
Latin 302
  Carolingian reforms 447
  influence on English 382
  in religion 337, 339, 342, 343
Latvian 576, 578, 586, 599, 608, 609
Lemko 577–8
Lezgin 597
Lilubuagen (Philippines) 298, 299
Limbu (Nepal) 626
Lingala (Congo) 350
Lithuanian 576, 578, 586, 599, 604, 608, 609
Loma 287
Luanda 165
Luxembourgish 92–4, 303, 304
  in Europe 576, 578, 585

Magar (Nepal) 626
Mahican 547
Maithili 626, 647
Malagasy 280
Malay (Bahasa Melayu)
  in Indonesia 283, 511, 512–15
  in Malaysia 512
  in regional organizations 159
  in SE Asia 624, 635
  in South Africa 539
Malayalam 647
Maliseet 568
Maltese 157, 576, 578, 586
Mam (Mayan) 552
Mandinka 287
Manx 101, 113, 115, 642
Manyika 528
Maori 628
  family policy and government support 360–2, 372
  kohanga reo 32, 94, 113
  language revitalization 91, 92, 94–5, 113, 116, 505
  minority variety 642
Mapuche 569
Marathi 647
Mari Gorny 597
Mari Lugovoy 597
Marshallese 628
Massachusett-Wampanoag *see* Wöpanäak
Mayan languages
  in Guatemala 296, 297–8, 349, 552, 553
  scripts 546–7
  Yucatec Mayan 550
Micmac/Mi'kmaq 547, 568
Miskitu 548
Mixtec 546, 548
Mohave 467
Moldovan 604
Mon (Myanmar) 624
Mongolian 303, 621
Montenegrin 74
Mordvin Moksha 597
Moru (Sudan) 540

Nahuatl 546, 548, 550
Narrunga (Australia) 471
Natick *see* Wöpanäak
Native American languages 211, 560–1
  see also languages by name
Nauruan 628
Navajo 90, 111, 114, 128, 467, 547, 556, 557, 558–60, 562
Ndebele 165, 238, 536
Neitei 647
Nepali 164, 626, 647
New Mexico Pueblos 560
Nez Perce 471
Niuean 628
Nogay 597
Norwegian 20, 24, 158, 430, 481, 482
Norwegian Sign Language 381
Nuba 530
Nuer (Sudan) 530, 540

Occitan 429
Ojibwe 547, 560, 563
Oneyan 287
Oriya 647
Oromiya (Ethiopia) 281
Ossetian 597
Otomí (Ñahñu) 281, 548

Palauan 628
Pashai 456
Pashto 456, 626, 647
Persian 228, 507, 510–11
pidgins 627
Pijin 628
Pocomchí (Guatemala) 281
Pohnpeian 630
Polish 280, 309, 576, 578, 604, 609
Portuguese 279, 578
  in Africa 284, 525, 527, 533
  in Brazil 284, 527–50
  in Cape Verde 284
  colonial language policy 213
  in Europe 309, 576

in global organizations 155, 167, 168, 645
and imperialism 205
as international language 280
in Japan 228
as national language 502
in Pacific Basin 627, 628, 631
in regional organizations 157, 158, 159, 160, 170–1
Pukapukan (Cook Islands) 628
Pulaar 287, 528
Punj 626
P'urhepecha (Mexico) 546, 553, 555

Q'eqchi' (Mayan) 552
Quechua/Quichua 90, 304, 548, 550, 551, 555
bilingual education 551, 555
in Bolivia 552, 555, 658
in Ecuador 552, 658
language management 429
in regional organizations 171
as underdeveloped national language 280
Quiché *see* K'iche'

Rakhine (Myanmar) 624
Romani 429, 577–8
Romanian 167, 576, 578, 604
Russian 279, 280
in Asia 621, 624
in Europe 309
in global organizations 153–4, 155, 166–8
in international schools 306
in Israel 362–4, 372
in Soviet sphere 283, 304, 594, 596, 601, 603, 604, 605, 606, 609–12, 614–15, 616
in the Soviet Union 20, 205, 593
in United States 277
Rutul 597
Ryûkyûan dialects 621

Saami 429
Sami 189
Samoan 628, 629, 630
Sanskrit 206, 208, 336, 343, 647
Santali 647
Scottish Gaelic 204, 577
Sepedi 165
Serbian 74, 236–7
Serbo-Croat 74
Sesotho 165
Setswana 165
see also Tswana
Shan (Myanmar) 624
Sheng (Kenya) 534
Sherpa (Nepal) 626
Shilluk (Sudan) 540
Shona 536
Shuar 118
signed languages
American Sign Language (ASL) 375, 378, 380, 382–6
in the Americas 546
Australian Sign Language 381
in Europe 310, 376, 378, 379, 380, 390, 394
French Sign Language 375–6
Norwegian Sign Language 381
Signed English 383
SimCom 383
Swedish Sign Language 390
Unified Arabic Sign Language 386–90
in United States 375, 376, 378, 379
Sindhi 626, 647
Singhalese 626
Sinhala 626
Siraiki 626
Slovakian 576, 578, 586
Slovenian 576, 578, 586
Sonsorolese 628
Sorbian 577
Soso 287
Sotho 238, 239–40, 280
Spanish (Castilian) 578
as additional language 302, 305
in Argentina 550
in Bolivia 284
Cervantes Institute 315
in Ecuador 552
in Europe 141, 309, 576, 580, 585, 586
in global organizations 153–4, 155, 166–8
in Guatemala 284, 296, 297–8
and imperialism 205
as international language 280
in international schools 306
on the internet 303
in Japan 228
in Latin America 549, 550
linguistic imperialism 219
in Mexico 96, 97–8, 210–16
as national language 502
in Paraguay 554
Real Academia Española 68
in regional organizations 156, 158, 159, 160, 170, 171
in Spain 303
in United States 230, 231–2, 246, 247, 263, 283
Swahili 348
Swati 238
Swazi 530
Swedish 280, 578
in Europe 575, 576
in Finland 181, 189–94, 205
language planning 22, 481
in regional organizations 158
Terminologicentrum 35
Swedish Sign Language 390

Tabassaran 597
Tagalog 165, 246, 619
Tai yu 621
Tajik 304, 599, 604, 612
Tamang (Nepal) 626
Tamil 485, 624, 635, 647
Tatar 577–8, 592, 595, 597, 604
Telugu 647
Tetum 627, 628
Thai 164, 165, 228, 280, 624
Tharu (Nepal) 626
Tibetan 303
Ticuna 548
Tigrinya (Eritrea) 540
Tobian 628
Tok Pisin 627, 628
Tokelauan 628
Tonga (Zimbabwe) 535
Tongan 628
Toposa (Sudan) 540

Totonaco 548
Trukese 630
Tsakhurian 597
Tseltal 90, 92, 95–8, 553
Tshangla (Bhutan) 626
Tsonga 238, 239–40
Tsotsil 90, 92, 95–8, 553
Tswana 238, 239–40
  see also Setswana
Turkish 280
  in Central Asia 304, 604
  in Europe 308, 310
  writing reform 451–2
Turkmen 304, 592, 599, 604
Tuvaluan 628
Tuvin 597
Tuyuca (Colombia) 281

Ubykh 108
Udmurt 597
Ukrainian 599, 604, 606, 610–11, 615
Unified Arabic Sign Language 386–90
Urdu 280, 283, 508, 626, 647
Uyghur 604, 647
Uzbek 592, 599, 604, 612

Venda 238
Vietnamese 246, 624

Wallisian and Futunan 630
Walungge 647
Wamey 287
Wampanoag *see* Wöpanäak
Welsh 91, 114
  attitudes towards 286
  in Europe 308, 577
  as language of instruction 316
  literacy 204
  in regional organizations 646
  terminology 204
Winnebago 547
Wolof 528
Wöpanäak 547, 561

Xhosa 165, 238–9, 530

Yakut 597
Yapese 630
Yezidi 604
Yi (China) 281
Yiddish 22, 32, 515, 516, 577–8
Yup'ik 547, 562

Zande (Sudan) 540
Zapotec 546–7, 548
Zulu 238, 239–40, 530