MIDP COLLOQUIUM 2009

MULTILINGUALISM FROM BELOW

PROCEEDINGS

UNIVERSITY OF ANTWERP

14 SEPTEMBER – 16 SEPTEMBER 2009

Composed by Pol Cuvelier, Reinhild Vandekerckhove and Ann Aerts
Pol Cuvelier, Reinhild Vandekerckhove, Ann Aerts (editors)

Multilingualism from Below, Proceedings MIDP 2009, Antwerp, University of Antwerp

ISBN 9789057281679

Alle rechten voorbehouden. Niets uit deze uitgave mag worden verveelvuldigd, opgeslagen in een geautomatiseerd gegevensbestand, of openbaar gemaakt, in enige vorm of op enige wijze, hetzij elektronisch, mechanisch, door fotokopieën, opnamen of op enige manier, zonder voorafgaandelijke schriftelijke toestemming van de uitgever.

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system or transmitted, in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, or otherwise, without the prior written permission of the publisher.

Uitgave en verspreiding:

LINGUAPOLIS
Universiteit Antwerpen
Prinsstraat 13
2000 Antwerpen
www.linguapolis.eu
# Table of contents

**TABLE OF CONTENTS**

**ORGANIZATION**

**KEYNOTE SPEAKERS**

- Durk Gorter ................................................................. 11
- Sinfree Makoni ............................................................ 13
- Elana Shohamy ............................................................. 15

**PRESENTATIONS**

- Rizwan Ahmad ......................................................... 19
- Felix Banda ................................................................. 21
- Yamina Benmayouf ..................................................... 25
- Anne-Marie Beukes .................................................... 29
- Florence Bonacina ...................................................... 31
- Anne-Sophie Calinon .................................................. 34
- Albino Chavale .......................................................... 36
- Nana Clemensen ....................................................... 38
- Zubeida Desai ............................................................ 40
- Theo du Plessis ........................................................... 42
- Martin Ehala ............................................................... 45
- Vasiliki Georgiou ......................................................... 49
- Kathleen Heugh .......................................................... 52
- Kristine Horner & Jean-Jacques Weber ......................... 55
- Jürgen Jaspers ............................................................. 58
- Chрисmі-Rіndа Kotze ................................................... 61
- Mariana Kriel .............................................................. 63
- Susan Lombaard & Lebohang Mathibela ......................... 66
- Johan Lubbe ............................................................... 69
- Aïssatou Mbodj-Pouye & Cécile Van Den Avenne ............ 71
- Eric Mijts .................................................................. 74
- Johan Moll ................................................................. 77
- Annamarie Mostert ..................................................... 79
- Mwaniki Munene ........................................................ 82
- Cécile Petitjean .......................................................... 87
- Cristophe Portefin ........................................................ 90
- Clare Rigg, Muiris Ó Laoire, Vasiliki Georgiou .................... 92
- Gerald Stell ............................................................... 95
- Kirsten van Camp & Kasper Juffermans ......................... 98
- Anneleen Vanden Boer ............................................... 102
- Vic Webb ................................................................. 105
- Saskia Yperzeele, Pol Cuvelier, Michael Meeuwis & Reinhild Vandekerckhove 108
- Anastassia Zabrodskaja ............................................. 111
Organization

Scientific Committee

Pol Cuvelier (University of Antwerp, Belgium)
Reinhild Vandekerckhove (University of Antwerp, Belgium)
Michael Meeuwis (University of Ghent, Belgium)
Lut Teck (Institute for Higher Education in the Sciences and the Arts, Belgium)
Theodorus du Plessis (University of the Free State, Republic of South Africa)
Victor Webb (University of Pretoria, Republic of South Africa)

Local Organizing Committee

Pol Cuvelier, (University of Antwerp, Belgium)
Reinhild Vandekerckhove (University of Antwerp, Belgium)
Ann Aerts (University of Antwerp - LINGUAPOLIS, Belgium)
KEYNOTE SPEAKERS
Durk Gorter
University of the Basque Country, San Sebastian, Spain

Multilingualism is all around: Perspectives on Landscape Linguistics

Abstract

Applied linguists show a recent interest in linguistic landscape. Innumerable textual signs in public spaces have been photographed and interviews about signs have been taken place in order to analyze the dynamics of multilingual cityscapes. The paper tries to summarize the broad evolving field of studies. It will show some examples of the use of the linguistic landscape as a research tool and as a data source. It further focuses on a number of promising approaches that try to enhance with our understanding of multilingualism, urban spaces and language users.

Short Paper

Numerous research projects and publications indicate a new interest of applied linguists in the use of written texts in urban spaces, especially in bilingual and multilingual settings. The challenge of this paper is to give an overview of current applied linguistic research on the use of language in its written form in the public sphere, mainly in urban landscapes and to sketch the profile of landscape linguistics as an emerging field of studies, as a research tool and as a source of data.

Recent technological developments have made the use of digital cameras ubiquitous. The omnipresence of cameras has tremendously facilitated the ease of recording signage in the linguistic landscape. Nowadays without great difficulty large databases of photographs of signs can be collected. Moreover, other research techniques such as interviews, standard questionnaires and focus group discussions can be used to gather data about signage in the public space. At the same time, the number and variety of language signs has increased substantially. Billboards, posters, electronic flat-panel displays, neon lights, foamboards, name plates, street and traffic signs, shop and product names, commercial signs, advertisements, posters, flyers, wrappers, etc. all these types of language signs abound in certain areas of cities.

The current paper draws on the general assumption that applied linguistics offers potent analytical frameworks to examine and explain the dynamics of multilingual cityscapes, the possibilities to manage the development of a linguistic landscape and related phenomena of language use in urban (and rural) areas. Existing research on linguistic landscape already covers a broad field of innovative empirical and theoretical studies, and deals with issues related to bilingualism, multilingualism, literacy, multimodality, visualisation of languages, contestation of space, mapping diversity, linguistic models, language awareness, language ecology, economic analyses, language policy and management, among others. The paper will deal with a few major approaches related to multilingualism and show some examples of the use of the linguistic landscape as a research tool and as a data source. For instance, historical dimensions can be studied, or issues related to multilingual literacy. Linguistic landscape can also be studied in institutional contexts, such as government buildings, libraries, hospitals or schools. In the case of education, it can be related to issues of second or third language acquisition and language awareness. The 'writings on the wall' and how to use them in an educational context can be of particular interest to educators and to students.
The abundance of signage in the multilingual cityscape also leads to a kind of overuse of signs or an exaggerated prominence of certain types, which could be called ‘linguistic pollution’. In some cities there are political ‘clean up’ reactions to this overabundance of signage. The linguistic landscape can also be used by specific groups as part of the public space to make their presence known. The absence or the presence of certain languages, and thus their speakers, can be meaningful. The linguistic landscape can be a place where linguistic diversity is displayed but also contested. Some language groups are given more access to the linguistic landscape than others. Therefore, the regulation of the linguistic landscape is an important issue, not only in terms of the languages used but also because of the moral, ethical, legal dimensions or the purely physical (size, color, illumination, etc.). The distinction between public and private space can be blurred by the language signs. Language practices can be influenced by language used on the ‘environmental print’. People can have different ways to perceive and value the languages on the signs around them, depending on certain social characteristics. The linguistic landscape can influence their attitudes towards the languages and their preferences about the linguistic decorum of the city.

Overall, the various emerging perspectives in landscape linguistics can deepen our understanding of multilingualism, urban spaces and language users.

**Keywords**

Applied Linguistics, Linguistic Landscape, Multilingualism, Language Policy, Research Methods

**Bio Data**

**Durk Gorter** is now Ikerbasque research professor at the Faculty of Education of the University of the Basque Country in San Sebastian/Donostia, where he does work on multilingualism and minority languages. From 1979 to 2007 he was a researcher in the sociology of language and head of the department of social sciences at the Fryske Akademy in Ljouwert/Leeuwarden, The Netherlands. From 1994 until 2008 he was also part-time full professor at the Universiteit van Amsterdam in the sociolinguistics of Frisian. He has been involved in survey studies of the Frisian language situation and analysis of language policy. He also does comparative work on European minority languages, in particular in education. He has published numerous books and articles and those themes.

**Contact**

d.gorter@ikerbasque.org
Sinfree Makoni  
Pennsylvania State University, Pennsylvania, USA  
Multilingual Semiotic Systems on Wheels and Public English in Africa: a Case for Vague Linguistique

Abstract

I frame my presentation using vague linguistique a plurilanguaging approach using taxi lingua-culture as specific site in which language practices and other semiotic systems are embedded both inside and outside vehicles. There is increasing interest in bottom up approaches to linguistic analysis are to succeed they need to be specific in their description of the sites in which their research is embedded. Taxi lingua-culture are texts in their own right, in which one reads the politics, the specific areas of public concern and implications of processes such as globalization. In light of the above I argue:

(I) that it is not necessarily always to distinguish between a language and language and that it is the act of identities of the drivers which are relevant.

(ii) That the distinctions between monolinguals and multilingualism cannot be easily sustained in taxi-lingual cultures.

Short Paper

Vague linguistique is a plurilanguaging approach whose objective is to capture the dynamic and evolving relationships between English, other indigenous African language users themselves: i.e. an insider or emic perspective. From a vague linguistique perspective there is a sharp dissonance between form and meaning and the signs are not predetermined in advance but are multiple open-ended, fragmented systems. In open-ended, fragmented systems, meanings are not inherent in specific forms but depend upon the speakers’ agency. The data were gathered from inscriptions written on the wooden sides, front and back of unmetered taxis (referred to in Ghana as tro-tros or ‘mammy lorries’) which first appeared in Ghana in 1948. In the early 1950’s and late 1960’s took photographs of mammy lorries on Ghanaian roads and in the lorry dumping compounds referred to as mammy grave yards. They also carried out a series of interviews with the drivers on their motivations for using specific inscriptions, and for the choices of color and font size. A similar method of data collection was used recently in Ghana thus rendering it possible to compare the use of the inscriptions in mid 20th and early 21st century. The 21st century Ghana data was also compared with contemporary South Africa data.

The inscriptions from Ghana in both mid 20th and early 21st centuries reflect the degree to which English/pidgin had, by that time, permeated public life. They provide evidence of the drivers’ engagement in social affairs, often with obfuscate and ambivalent evaluative meanings, and contribute to a taxi-lingua culture which is continued half a century later in South Africa. There are also differences, such as the more oppositional quality of the South African taxi inscriptions, and the more intensely interrelated use in the contemporary data of words, font and color, images, music and driving behaviors.

The inscriptions on the taxis show creativity in the construction of multimodal discourses which can involve the appropriation and subversion of publicly available expressions or the culling of
materials from different media sources, with expressions migrating from one medium to another, and more important the contributions of lowly educated to a development and diversification of semiotics.

**Keywords**

Public Transport, Music, Signs and Inscriptions, Lingua-Cultures

**Bio Data**


**Contact**

sinfreemakoni@hotmail.com
Elana Shohamy
Tel Aviv University, Tel Aviv, Israel

Language Policies: Resistance, Compliance, Costs and Benefits

Short Paper

New frameworks of language policy (LP) have been emerging in the past few years. Accordingly the focus of LP is not only on top-down statements issued by authoritative groups regarding language teaching and use, but there is growing attention to a deeper understanding of various dimensions of LP. Spolsky (2004), for example proposed a framework consisting of three components - ideology, management and practice, believed to 'make up' the LP phenomenon. In my own work (Shohamy, 2006) this framework has been extended by focusing on explicit and implicit policy making as I showed how a set of mechanisms (e.g. policy documents, laws, tests, the public space) are used to mediate between policy and practice. It is via these mechanisms that fierce overt and covert negotiations take place regarding LP as it is usually the case that those in power introduce policies according to various agendas overlooking the will and aspirations of those affected by the policies. This realization has been leading to research which is trying to understand and document what it means to experience and 'live' LPs by those who are forced to comply with the policy demands, their costs and consequence. This refers to what do specific language policies mean in daily interactions of people, in their everyday lives and in functioning in society.

Thus, a number of studies have been documenting various experiences, methods, costs and consequences of top-down policies in terms of rights, personal manifestations, participation, justice, representation as well as academic achievements of students in schools. This is the essence of the talk I am going to present as it focuses on a number of studies that examined the impact, consequences and experiences of top-down LPs on individual people and groups in different contexts. Specifically it is about the LP methods used to implement policies, the impact they bring about and the reactions, focusing also on pockets of resistance to the LPs.

Thus, I will report on a number of studies, conducted in Israel, which provided documentation of these issues. These include a study on the methods used to revive Hebrew in the 30s and the effect of this ideologically driven policy had on individual people and groups; the focus is on the personal cost that people paid for this top-down national ideology. A study of adult immigrants reporting on the cost and price they pay in their daily lives having to switch to a new language and capable of doing it, even in situations when they are speakers of English, being viewed as 'international' and prestigious. A study of Arab University students who report on their reactions to the shift they were forced to make in their university studies to Hebrew as the language of instruction, versus the Arabic they used as an instructional medium in their primary and secondary school studies. A study of the low academic achievements of students from the former USSR and Ethiopia who are forced to take academic tests in Hebrew while they are still not proficient in Hebrew. Finally, the multiple types of attitudes and reactions towards language for citizenship tests and how those who are not proficient in the power language and the discrimination that goes along with the low proficiency level.

The documentation of experiences, costs and consequences will lead to proposals regarding alternatives to existing policies that could enhance greater participation and justice to those who are not highly proficient in the languages which are highly 'valued' in various contexts. Such a direction leads to an invitation to people to take active roles in resisting, contesting, opposing and eventually compromising on more realistic policies which are more inclusive and
instrumental in achieving more equal and just policies which provide better representation and voice.

Bio Data

Dr. Elana Shohamy is a professor of language education at the School of Education, Tel Aviv University where she researches a variety of topics related to language policy in the context of conflicts and co-existence in multilingual societies, focusing on an expanded framework of language policy, language rights and linguistic landscape: Recent publications include: The power of tests: 2001, Longman; Language policy: Hidden agendas and new approaches, 2006, Routledge; Volume 7 Encyclopedia of Language and Education: Language Testing and Assessment (ed. with Nancy Hornberter, Springer, 2008); Linguistic landscape: expanding the scenery, (ed. with Durk Gurter, 2009, Routledge). She is the current editor of the journal Language Policy.

Contact

elana@post.tau.ac.il
PRESENTATIONS
Rizwan Ahmad  
American University of Kuwait, Kuwait City, Kuwait  
Disjoint between the Public and Private: Use of Immigrant Languages in Kuwait

Abstract

Based on empirical data collected in Kuwait, I show the disjoint between government and private institutions in terms of their use of non-official languages in public places. Although, Kuwait is constitutionally a monolingual country with Arabic as its national language, several immigrant languages such as Urdu, Bengali, Malayalam, and Tagalog are widely used by individuals and private businesses in public places. I argue that a study of how individuals and institutions deal with multilingual resources can reveal interesting facts about language planning that are often hidden from the official version.

Short Paper

While multilingualism is widespread in the world, the use of languages in public places is often regulated by explicit legal stipulations or implicit sociolinguistic conventions. In this paper I show that while the governmental institutions in Kuwait do not recognize the use of non-official languages, private businesses and institutions openly embrace them and use them in their day to day operations.

Although Kuwait is monolingual in its native population, with Arabic as its national language, it is multi-ethnic and multilingual in its immigrant population. According to the Public Authority for Civil Information, at the end of 2008, non-Kuwaitis constituted about 69% of Kuwait’s total population of 3.4 million; Kuwaitis constitute only a third of the total population. Although the government of Kuwait does not provide statistics on the number of immigrant population based on their national origin, according the US Department of State, non-Arabs, primarily Asians from countries such as Bangladesh, India, Pakistan, Indonesia, and, the Philippines constitute about 20% of the total population. Therefore, in addition to Arabic, the official language, and English, which has practically emerged as a second official language, a variety of languages such as Urdu, Bengali, Malayalam, and Tagalog are widely used.

Based on an analysis of audio and print data, combined with ethnographic observations, I show that private businesses and institutions such as telephone and money exchange companies use immigrant languages to advertise their products in different forms of the media. Wataniya, which is a leading cell phone service provider, uses Malayalam, Hindi, Urdu, and Tagalog to advertise its products. Another cell phone service provider called Zain makes use of immigrant languages to reach their client. Their automated payment kiosks provide options to do transactions in languages such as Urdu, Farsi, etc. The interactive voice response (IVR) of the Customer Care of Zain offers options to transact in four languages—Arabic, English, Urdu, and Tagalog. Other businesses that use immigrant languages in print include money exchange companies, whose services are widely used by expatriates, such as Kuwait Bahrain Exchange and Oman Exchange advertise their products in Malayalam, Tagalog, Hindi, and Urdu. Similarly, the Kuwait Times, a widely-read English language newspaper publishes supplements in Urdu, Malayalam, and Tagalog. These supplements are inserted inside the main English section of the newspaper.

This widespread use of immigrant languages contrasts sharply with the Arabic-only policy of the government institutions, even in departments where a large number of clients are non-
Arabic speaking Asians. A good example is the Department of Immigration, where all official work is done in Arabic only. Most of its clients are immigrants including non-Arabic speaking South Asians who apply to obtain for visas for their dependents or relatives. It is quite common to see people running around completely confused about the requirements of the application simply because whatever little information is available it is only in Arabic.

Based on my data, I argue that a study of language planning as evidenced by government policies and documents do not always reflect the ground realities. I show that an examination of how private individuals and institutions deal with multilingual resources can reveal interesting facts that are often hidden from the official version. I argue that it is only by combining a top-down and bottom-up approach that we can form an accurate picture of multilingualism in a country.

**Keywords**

Language Planning, Immigrant Languages, Arabic, Urdu, Malayalam, Tagalog, Kuwait

**Bio Data**

**Rizwan Ahmad** is Assistant Professor of English Language and Literature at the American University of Kuwait. After earning an M.A. and M. Phil. in linguistics from the University of Delhi, Rizwan taught English and linguistics at the University of Science and Technology in Yemen for five years before starting his graduate work at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, USA. He received a second M.A. and a Ph.D. in linguistics from the University of Michigan. His main research interests are multilingualism, language ideology, language planning, and sociolinguistics of orthography. His Ph.D. dissertation examines the semiotic complexity of Urdu in India.

**Contact**

American University of Kuwait
P.O. Box 3323
Safat 13034
Kuwait

rahmad@auk.edu.kw
Felix Banda

University of the Western Cape, Bellville, South Africa

Multilingualism in Social Transformation in South Africa: Alternative Multilingual Discourse Practices in Classroom Interaction in Selected Black and Coloured Schools in Cape Town

Abstract

The paper uses classroom interaction data from selected coloured and black schools in Cape Town to explore alternative multilingual discourses that defy prescribed language policy pronouncements on classroom practice. Focus is on the use of codes other than ‘standard’ Afrikaans or English as media of instruction. It is argued that the emergent multilingual discourses are not only counter hegemonic but also ensure increased and broader participation of learners in their own education. In turn, it is argued that the use multiple languages are socially transformative as they defy government’s and monolingual (monoglot) classroom practices typical of formal Western education.

Short Paper

Introduction

Although the South African constitution (Act 108 of 1996) recognizes the socio-economic benefits that can accrue from multilingual citizenship, that is ability to speak more than two languages, the language in education policy is based on a monolingual ideology. Language education conceptualization is based on terminology and descriptions borrowed from monolingual biased contexts of the West (see Banda 2000, Makoni 2005 and Makoni and Meinhof 2004).

The language in education policy (LiEP) (1997) advocates the development and promotion of additive bilingualism through the home language of learners. The National Curriculum Statement (DoE 2002) describes the languages of education as optional additional languages, while the Western Cape Education Department [WCED] (2007) has proposed to promote multilingual proficiency through education in the mother tongue.

The monolingual ideology which perceives language in contact as an autonomous system and belonging to an equally homogenous community is evident in a recent WCED (2007) language policy document on what it calls mother tongue based bilingual education: “the mother tongue is used for learning and an additional language is gradually added and strengthened to the point where it could be the LOLT after a period of say 6 years”. (WCED 2007: 4).

In the contexts of urbanization, multi-ethnic, and the ever transforming multilingual homes and communities of late-modern Africa, the currency of terms such as ‘additive bilingualism’, mother-tongue, home language, additional languages, etc comes under the spotlight. The question is whether these descriptions would be able to account for the (educationally) mobile spaces that South African schools and communities have become after desegregation, as well as the ‘stylization of urban identities, lifestyle spaces and language, and notions of modernity, tradition, urbannity and language contact’ (Stroud 2008).
Objectives
- To explore the impact of language policy on classroom practice in selected black and coloured schools in Cape Town.
- To explore alternative multilingual discourses practices and identities performed by black and coloured learners.
- To explore the extent to which black and coloured learners conform to and resist the (mono)linguistic impositions and (mono)cultural identities prescribed in official policies.

Multilingualism as social practice
Following Martin-Jones (2007) the study takes bilingual education as one in which 2 or more languages are used as media of instruction. Where one language is used as medium of instruction and others are taught as additional language subjects, this still constitutes monolingual education.

The conceptualization is also informed by recent thinking on the notion of multilingualism and interaction in which speakers’ or in this case learners’ spaces of interaction and use of linguistic resources are not bounded by rigid domain boundaries or inflexible hegemonic systems. Heller (2007: 11) argues that ‘the speech of bilinguals goes against the expectation that languages will neatly correspond to separate domains, and stay put where they are meant to stay put.’ Of interest is the notion of multilingualism as social practice (Heller, 2007) in which speakers use the different languages in their repertoire as linguistic resources to perform different identities in different contexts, and for different roles and indexical values (Banda, 2005). In this idiom, the privileged positions enjoyed by particular ‘official’ or standardized languages in particular contexts are notional rather than absolute and static.

Methodological Issues
Data for this study was obtained from 6 black township schools (3 Primary and 3 Secondary schools), and 7 coloured schools (4 Primary and 3 Secondary schools) on the Cape Flats. Following the research design by Cairney & Ruge (2003), the idea is to give an account of the complementing and contrasting language practices of learners and teachers in selected primary and secondary schools focusing on ‘school’ and ‘non school’ language practices in these urban sites. It is assumed that a focus on language practices enables research in language education in multilingual settings to move away from looking at language as if they were autonomous system, to the speakers and the multidimensional interplay of socioeconomic, cultural, political, educational, etc factors that engender and underpin language choices (Heller 2007).

30 semi-structured interviews with principals and teachers were done to go with 5 focus groups each for coloured and black teachers. Classroom observations, audio and video recordings of some of the teaching were conducted, in more than 10 classrooms across the 14 participating schools, covering 8 subjects at the selected schools to capture the use of multilingual strategies, and hence alternative discourses in classroom practice.

The data was collected over 8 months by a team of 6 research assistants, spending between 1 and 3 days a week in the different schools.

Findings
- Official language education policy challenged and mostly ignored.
- English or Afrikaans discourse is localized.
- Monolingual classroom discourse is transformed to a hybrid and multilingual one.
- Teachers and learners use Xhosa, English, standard Afrikaans and Kaapse Afrikaans to negotiate and construct multiple and hybrid identities, as well as to generate discourse that not only challenges, but also gives access to the dominant (English or standard Afrikaans) discourse.
Xhosa and Kaapse discourse and terminology is prominent in what is supposed to be English or standard Afrikaans discourse. The use of hybrid mixed-code is not discounted and is often used a linguistic resource. In black schools it is not uncommon for the teacher to teach in English, while the learners respond in Xhosa. Also, the learner group discussions were done in almost entirely in Xhosa, while the group presentation to the class would be done by one group member in English. The discussion in Xhosa, Kaapse or the hybrid Xhosa-English-Afrikaans code, enables black and coloured learners to discuss the cognitively demanding English or Afrikaans concepts, before they are transformed/interpreted into English or Afrikaans in essays or oral presentations. The transition between Xhosa or Kaapse discourse and English or standard Afrikaans is smooth. Xhosa, Kaapse or hybrid mixed code provide the scaffolding in which technical terms and concepts are framed to enable ease of recall, cognitive processing and access. Using Xhosa, Kaapse, English and hybrid mixed code enables learners access to multilingual literacies, multilingual vocabulary as well as ease of topic contextualization, indexicalisation of socio-learning experiences and effortless access to their own life experiences as urbanites in an increasingly technologized localized globalised village. In essence, thinking and doing multilingualism provides learners the scaffolding to frame technical terms and concepts for easy cognitive processing of information and access to knowledge.

Conclusion
The discourse, policies and models on education in South Africa appear geared for multiple monolingualisms, i.e., accentuating eleven monolingual education systems. In Cape Town this means strengthening three streams of autonomous education systems based on Xhosa, English and Afrikaans. This is unlikely to lead to societal integration through multilingualism proficiency.

Therefore, there is need for bilingual education that takes into account local linguistic diversity, community repertoires and global needs, all of which influence classroom practice in transformative multilingual contexts.

In short, the following conclusions can be drawn:
- Learners use Xhosa, English, Kaapse and Afrikaans and mixed-code to negotiate and construct multiple and hybrid identities as well as to generate alternative discourses.
- There is a tension between classroom teaching premised on a singular standard language and the observed multilingual interactions.
- Learners’ use of multiple languages undermines the hegemonic limitations imposed by the English only and Afrikaans only ideology of classroom practice.
- Multilingual practices undermine the monolingual notion that learning only takes place in the prescribed official language only in a bounded domain.
- Learners’ use of alternative linguistic behaviour challenges the fixed normative and officially ascribed identity positions which in South Africa are that the coloured, black (read Xhosa), Indian, white, etc, are homogenous communities with each group having its own ‘home’ language best suited for education.
- Thus for comprehensive language planning and policy, it is essential to understand the role of multiple languages and how they are used in social transformation in South Africa.

Keywords
Multilingualism, Discourse, Language Policy, Classroom Practice, Cape Town
Bio Data

**Felix Banda** is Professor in the Department of Linguistics, University of the Western Cape. He has wide research interests including negotiation of identities in multicultural and multilingual contexts, and innovative multilingual practices in educational contexts. His publications include: ‘What can we say when the English used has gone so high-tech?’ [with Omondi Oketch], Challenges of Teaching Academic Writing Skills to Students with Limited Exposure to English, Contrasting Discourse Practices and Interaction Strategies Among Urban and Rural Black Students in English Tertiary Education Contexts in South Africa, and Classroom Discourse and Discursive Practices in Higher Education in Tanzania. [with Hashim Mohamed].

Contact

University of the Western Cape  
Modderdam Road  
Bellville  
Cape Town  
7535  
South Africa  

fbanda@uwc.ac.za
Abstract

Il est un phénomène linguistique que l'on observe depuis les années 80 c'est-à-dire deux décennies après la politique linguistique appelée arabisation choisie à l'indépendance de l'Algérie en 1962, qui est celui de la création par les jeunes d'unités lexicales hybrides formées de deux composants, l'un relevant de la langue française, l'autre de la langue arabe mais "dialectale". Comment interpréter cette dynamique lexicale du point de vue linguistique, mais surtout historique, sociologique et même psychologique puisqu'il est impossible de dissocier les pratiques linguistiques du contexte dans lequel elles s'inscrivent obligatoirement.

Short Paper

Il est un phénomène linguistique que l'on observe depuis les années 80 en Algérie qui est celui de la création d'unités lexicales nouvelles hybrides formées de deux composants, l'un relevant de la langue française, l'autre relevant de la langue arabe mais dans sa forme locale, moderne dite "dialectale", phénomène pris en charge par la jeunesse algérienne. Comment interpréter cette dynamique lexicale, du point de vue linguistique d'abord, historique, sociologique, politique et psychologique ensuite puisqu'il est impossible de dissocier les manifestations, les pratiques linguistiques des locuteurs qui les ont réalisées, utilisées, colportées du contexte dans lequel ces locuteurs s'inscrivent obligatoirement.

Un rappel des conditions historiques

Impossible de comprendre le présent sans se référer à l'Histoire. L'histoire de l'Algérie, c'est également la situation linguistique et le lien étroit qu'entretiennent la politique et la linguistique. Rappelons que l'Algérie a été une colonie française entre 1830 et 1962, date de son indépendance, et que la période coloniale a été marquée par des événements qui expliquent en partie les comportements des décideurs algériens et leurs choix linguistiques au lendemain de l'indépendance dont la politique de planification linguistique appelée arabisation qui est un choix politique d'adoption de l'arabe classique comme langue nationale et officielle exclusive, politique d'éradication donc du français de la réalité algérienne et politique de déni de deux langues maternelles des Algériens à savoir l'arabe algérien moderne dit "dialectal" et le berbère.

Sur le plan historique, ce choix était d'abord l'expression d'une continuité et d'une fidélité à un courant de pensée qui puise son contenu et sa source dans le mouvement réformiste algérien et le mouvement de libération nationale. L'indépendance nationale a en outre vu l'arrivée d'un pouvoir composé de clans, héritage de la période qui a précédé cet évènement, à savoir la guerre de libération nationale. Chaque clan défend sa propre vision de l'Algérie, du présent et de l'avenir. Comment réaliser l'Algérie de ses rêves autrement que par la culture c'est-à-dire par la langue en tant que véhicule et support médiatique, pédagogique et idéologique ? Deux clans, deux visions s'opposent en 1962. L'une tournée vers le monde arabe géographique, historique, mythique, lieu de toutes les références traditionnelles, l'autre tournée vers l'Occident, la modernité, la technologie et le développement. L'une s'identifie à la langue arabe mais dans sa forme classique, l'autre à la langue française et éventuellement à l'arabe algérien.
moderne et au berbère. Enfin, le choix de l’arabe classique comme langue nationale et officielle est le choix de la langue du Coran, de l’Islam et ce choix est légitimant. À l’indépendance, le pouvoir revient de droit à ceux qui ont fait la révolution pour libérer le pays du joug colonial et cette légitimité historique est renforcée par une légitimité encore plus incontestable puisqu’il s’agit du sacré. Deux décennies après l’indépendance nationale et ses choix de politique linguistique, dans les années 80 puisque l’émergence des néologismes hybrides correspond à cette période, quelles sont

Les conséquences de la politique d’arabisation

Dès les années 80, une prise de conscience se développe autour de la question linguistique en Algérie et une revendication se précise chaque jour davantage, celle des idiomes locaux et du français. On réalise de plus en plus qu’il y a anomalie à continuer à entretenir l’arabe classique, une langue non parlée et non comprise par la majorité du peuple algérien d’autant que le mythe du panarabisme d’effrite à l’épreuve des événements qui ont secoué et continuent de secouer le monde arabe. Les sentiments de dévalorisation, d’infériorité, d’insécurité et de culpabilité ressentis par les Algériens cèdent de plus en plus le pas à ceux de nostalgie et de revendication de la langue maternelle, en l’occurrence l’arabe algérien et du français.

Cette politique linguistique d’arabisation ne s’est donc pas faite sans résistance ni difficulté. Résistance d’abord des francophones menacés directement dans leur existence, résistance des partisans du berbère avec la naissance d’un mouvement appelé "Printemps berbère", résistance globale avec les émeutes du 05 octobre 1988 mais aussi et surtout résistance d’une génération, celle des jeunes Algériens nés au lendemain de l’indépendance et ayant fait les frais de cette politique. La jeunesse algérienne a eu à subir ce choix linguistique dans l’enseignement d’abord, fait en arabe classique dès 1966 avec un encadrement recruté parmi des Moyen-orientaux peu qualifiés, une langue et une méthode d’enseignement archaïque basées sur un apprentissage par cœur et non le développement du sens critique, un programme d’enseignement largement orienté vers une dimension religieuse, morale et même idéologique. Dans une telle situation de reconversion linguistique, on relève dès les années 1970 que l’enfant scolarisé accumule d’année en année des retards considérables dus au fait qu’il emmagasine très peu du vocabulaire archaïque et à peine utile qui on le gave. Cette jeunesse subit alors un taux d’échec record, une grande déperdition scolaire dans un contexte politique, économique et social national difficile. En effet, cette jeunesse subit une situation économique et sociale marquée dans les années 80 par une forte augmentation démographique (la population triple et 75% de cette population est composée de jeunes de moins de 30 ans), un fort déplacement rural vers les villes. Cette jeunesse est confrontée aussi à l’exclusion, à la marginalisation, au chômage, aux problèmes du logement, du transport, de l’accès aux soins et aux injustices sociales. C’est une jeunesse qui a fait les frais du socialisme à l’algérienne, de l’arabisation et des maladies de gestion. Le malaise grandissant de cette jeunesse débouche le 5 octobre 1988 dans les émeutes d’Alger et 1988 devient une date charnière puisque cette explosion populaire et juvénile a permis une brèche dans le système politique adopté à l’indépendance et que 1988 correspond à l’émergence et à la prolifération du phénomène linguistique des néologismes hybrides arabo-français créés, utilisés, colportés précisément par cette même jeunesse. Coincidence des deux manifestations, politique et linguistique ou s’agit-il de deux facettes complémentaires de la même réalité, du même malaise social, de la même revendication, de la part des mêmes acteurs à savoir la jeunesse algérienne ? Car, à défaut de moyens d’expression organisés, institutionnels, à défaut de volonté politique de lui donner la parole, cette jeunesse se tourne vers les deux uniques moyens qui lui restent à savoir :

- la violence des émeutes de la rue et
- la violence verbale à travers les néologismes hybrides car ces créations lexicales sont composées systématiquement d’un élément relevant de la langue arabe mais algérienne moderne dite dialectale à l’exclusion de l’arabe classique et d’un composant relevant du français. La dimension militante, de résistance aux choix officiels de
manière générale et aux choix linguistiques en particulier n'échappera donc à personne. Créer, utiliser, colporter des néologismes hybrides arabo-français n'est rien d'autre que:

- adopter volontairement, librement, la langue française longtemps dénigrée et décriée par le discours officiel
- adopter volontairement, clairement et librement l'arabe algérien et exclure l'arabe classique
- faire cohabiter les deux langues arabe algérienne moderne et française

Aux considérations historiques, sociales et politiques, s'ajoutent des considérations psychologiques et identitaires. Relevons que les néologismes hybrides arabo-français ont la particularité d'être duels dans leurs compositions. Cette dualité linguistique est à mettre en relation avec une autre dualité qui concerne l'ensemble de la communauté algérienne, à savoir la coexistence de deux langues, de deux cultures, de leurs valeurs respectives de référence et du comportement psychologique (psychotique ?) des locuteurs algériens. Balancement, ambivalence, indétermination, sont les traits qui caractérisent la situation psychologique des locuteurs algériens en général et des jeunes Algériens en particulier depuis l'indépendance. Quelle(s) réponse(s), quelle(s) stratégie(s) sont développées alors par la communauté algérienne et par les jeunes en particulier, pour concilier la tradition et la modernité véhiculés respectivement par l'arabe et le français ?

La réponse à ces diverses sollicitations apportée par la jeunesse algérienne à travers les néologismes hybrides c'est l'hybridation volontaire pour remplacer l'ambivalence imposée et contraignante, la pluralité pour rejeter le monolithisme.

Si traditionnellement on reconnaît aux néologismes la fonction première de dénomination, dans notre situation c'est la fonction militante qui l'emporte sur le reste. En effet, 95% des néologismes hybrides arabo-français sont un prétexte, une occasion fabriquée pour s'imposer en tant qu'acteurs de la réalité algérienne par la prise de parole, par la confection d'une parole, d'une langue nouvelle et par la remise en cause de la parole, de la norme linguistique officielle. En témoignent les unités hybrides dérivées, composées d'un radical arabe et d'un suffixe –iste qui représentent 38% de notre corpus. Ce suffixe –iste qui se greffe habituellement en langue française sur un nom désignant une philosophie, une tendance, un courant, se greffe sur n'importe quel mot de la langue arabe. Non seulement le suffixe –iste n'apporte pas d'information sémantique supplémentaire mais pire que cela, il est l'expression d'une certaine gratuité très significative bien entendu. Comment interpréter cette pratique et ce comportement que l'on trouve dans plus de 90% des néologismes hybrides ? Comment expliquer et interpréter l'emploi d'une technique lorsque cette dernière n'est ni nécessaire ni justifiée ? Le sens à retenir de la démarche est celui de la gratuité, de la liberté que l'on prend avec les langues arabe et française, comme pour traduire l'insolence, le dérangement, l'affrontement, la polémique, la subversion et enfin de compte le militantisme.

En conclusion
On ne peut manquer de relever que face à la politique de reconversion linguistique choisie par le pouvoir en 1962 s'organise une résistance subtile qui ne dit pas son nom mais qui n'en est pas moins résistance.

**Keywords**

Algérie, arabisation, néologismes hybrides arabo-français

**Bio Data**

**Yamina Benmayouf** est actuellement enseignante-chercheur à l'Université de Constantine où elle est en charge des enseignements de linguistique. Elle est titulaire d'un doctorat de 3e

Contact

Université Mentouri
Constantine, Algérie
Cité du 20 août 55
BP. 233
CONSTANTINE
Algérie

chafiayaminabenmayouf@yahoo.fr
Anne-Marie Beukes
University of Johannesburg, Auckland Park, South Africa

'Multilingualism from Below' at the University of Johannesburg

Abstract

The University of Johannesburg (UJ) was established in 2005 after a merger process in accordance with the Minister of Education's proposals to transform and restructure the higher education system. Becoming an African university that reflects and accommodates the cultural and linguistic diversity of its clients is one of the new university's objectives. To this end, the university designated four languages as "primary languages" for academic, administrative, communication and marketing purposes. The UJ is committed to promoting the use of the designated languages for teaching, learning and assessment "while recognizing the importance of the use of the first language".

As far as implementation is concerned, the status quo which preceded the merger has been maintained in practice: English is currently the only language of learning, teaching and administration on all UJ's campuses, with the exception of the Auckland Park Kingsway (former Rand Afrikaans University) campus where English and Afrikaans (the latter to an increasingly lesser extent) are used as languages of learning and teaching and for administrative purposes. This paper will explore students on the Auckland Park Kingsway campus' views and experience of UJ's language policy and the implementation thereof. The research is based on the assumption that students' opinions and perceptions may give an indication of the success of UJ's language policy and planning initiatives. The paper will report on research regarding the impact of students' opinion on the use of the designated languages and the values attached to or associated with these languages.

Short Paper

During the period 2002 to 2004 higher education in South Africa was subjected to a process of radical restructuring in terms of a rationalisation programme prescribed in government’s National Plan for Higher Education in South Africa (2001). Through a series of mergers and incorporations of existing higher education institutions 36 universities and technikons were reduced to 22 higher education institutions. This rationalisation process changed the landscape of higher education resulting in a rapid change in demographics and hence language practices at these institutions. English and Afrikaans historically dominated higher education; African languages were not used as languages of learning and teaching (LOLT) in any significant way. However, with the publication of government’s Language Policy for Higher Education in 2002 higher education was challenged to respond to linguistic diversity in a concrete way by developing “a multilingual environment in which all our languages are developed as academic/scientific languages” (DoE, 2002: 5).

The University of Johannesburg (UJ) was established in 2005 as a “comprehensive university” following a complicated merger process involving another university as well as a technikon. This new university aims at becoming an African university that reflects and accommodates the cultural and linguistic diversity of its clients. To this end, its Draft Language Policy designates four languages as "primary languages for academic, administrative, communication and marketing purposes” (UJ, 2006: 2). In a key policy provision UJ commits itself to provide “teaching, learning and assessment in isiZulu, English, Afrikaans and Sesotho sa leboa
progressively and insofar as it is reasonably practicable to do so, taking the existing position as the point of departure”. The practicability clause is, however, qualified by the proviso that there must be a “reasonable demand for teaching, learning and assessment in a particular language, determined by means of the language preference exercised from time to time by students” (UJ, 2006: 2).

As far as implementation of UJ’s language policy is concerned, the status quo which preceded the merger has been maintained in practice: English is currently the only language of learning, teaching and administration on all UJ’s campuses, with the exception of the Auckland Park Kingsway campus (former Rand Afrikaans University) where English and Afrikaans (the latter to an increasingly lesser extent) are used as languages of learning and teaching and for administrative purposes.

Students' opinions and perceptions regarding language practices at academic institutions are arguably crucial from a language management perspective. Success in language policy matters at these institutions either has to be congruent with the views of their clients, or those who have negative views about the acceptability of policy need to be persuaded to the contrary, or the causes of their disagreement need to be eliminated. This paper therefore explores students and staff on the Auckland Park Kingsway campus’ everyday language practices and their discursive perceptions and interpretations of the linguistic realities related to ‘living’ UJ’s language policy. The paper reports on research regarding the impact of students' and staff's views on the use of the designated languages and the values attached to or associated with these languages.

References


Bio Data

Anne-Marie Beukes heads the Department of Linguistics and Literary Theory at the University of Johannesburg where she teaches Sociolinguistics, Language Planning and Translation Studies. She also headed the South African government’s Language Planning section in the Department of Arts and Culture during the first decade of democracy.

Contact

University of Johannesburg
Department of Linguistics and Literary Theory
PO BOX 524
Auckland Park
South Africa
ambeukes@uj.ac.za
Florence Bonacina  
University of Edinburgh, Edinburgh, United Kingdom  


Abstract  
This paper contributes to the issue of agency in policymaking in multilingual educational contexts. While previous studies (e.g. Skilton-Sylvester, 2003; Ramanathan, 2005) recognise the agentive role of teachers in the management of multilingual interactions, this paper argues that classroom interactants share agency by negotiating the institutional identities of 'teacher' and 'pupil'. Based on a Membership Categorisation Analysis (Sacks 1972, 1995a-b; Schegloff 2007) of interactions audio-recorded in one of France's induction classrooms for newcomers, the discussion shows that, in the "practiced policy" (Spolsky, 2004; Shohamy, 2006), children become agents in the management of multilingualism when performing 'teacher-hood' (i.e. teacher-like interactional practices).

Short Paper  
Studies on Language in Education Policies have recently emphasised teachers' agency in the interpretation and appropriation of top-down language policies (e.g. Skilton-Sylvester, 2003; Ramanathan, 2005). Although these studies have paved the way to the acknowledgment of 'agency from below' in the management of multilingual classrooms, they all display a similar shortcoming. Namely, the institutional roles of 'teacher' and 'pupil' are treated as fixed identities and are assumed to be enacted as cast by the educational institution. The role of 'teacher' is assumed to be enacted by the adult and the role of 'pupils' by children. Thus teachers' agency in policymaking is systematically associated with adults' agency. However, the present paper argues that the role of 'teacher' can also be enacted in talk-in-interaction by children who, as a corollary, become agents in the management of multilingualism in their classroom.

In order to overcome the presupposition that the role of 'teacher' is systematically and solely filled by the adult, one needs to treat the identity 'teacher' not as a label associated to a specific individual but rather as a performance, that is, a way of 'doing being' the teacher (Richards, 2006). I propose, therefore, the term 'teacher-hood' to refer to interactional practices bound to 'doing being' the teacher. In light of a Membership Categorisation Analysis (MCA; see mainly Sacks, 1972, 1992), I see institutional identities as being constructed in interaction and "grounded in the conduct of the parties, not in the beliefs of the writer" (Schegloff, 2007: 476). In a similar vein, I see the "practiced policy" (Spolsky, 2004; Shohamy, 2006) of a classroom as being the policy people actually orient to in interaction.

The discussion is based on a corpus of interactions audio-recorded (in the 2008 winter and spring terms) in one of France’s induction classrooms for newcomers. These classrooms are multilingual educational contexts since newcomers have little French, if any at all, and speak at least one other language than French. Even though official texts do not regulate the use of languages co-present in these classrooms (M.E.N., 2002), induction classrooms are situated in a monolingual educational system (Code de l’Education, 2008) and in a society where a strong French monolingual ideology prevails (e.g. Ager, 1999). Against the backdrop of this monolingual ideology, observation of the data shows that in the "practiced policy" (Spolsky,
2004; Shohamy, 2006) at the level of the classroom, participants negotiate ‘teacher’ and ‘pupil’ identities as a strategy for attending to classroom problems by using languages other than French. Insofar as language preference (competence-related in this case) is a membership categorisation device (e.g. Gafaranga, 2001; Torras and Gafaranga, 2002), French is bound to teacher-hood and other languages bound to pupil-hood. More precisely, my data shows that teacher-hood confers authority to the language of the person ‘doing being’ the teacher. Negotiating teacher-hood is, therefore, a way to license the use of the languages co-available in the induction classroom.

Three types of teacher-hood negotiations are noted in my data: 1) sharing teacher-hood, 2) switching teacher-hood, and 3) constructing teacher-hood. By ‘sharing teacher-hood’ I refer to interactional sequences where the adult asks a child to perform an activity bound to teacher-hood, namely providing expertise. By ‘switching teacher-hood’ I refer to interactional sequences where the adult is ‘doing being’ the pupil vis-à-vis the child who, in turn, takes on teacher-hood. In these two types of sequences, teacher-hood is accomplished in French but the language of the child taking on teacher-hood is licensed. Lastly, by ‘constructing teacher-hood’ I refer to interactional sequences where children construct a teacher-pupil relationship in small groups where the adult is absent. There, a child acts ‘doing being’ the teacher in French or in his first language.

In summary, the negotiation of teacher-hood is one interactional site where the practiced language policy of using languages other than French is enacted. Findings show that the medium of interaction is the language of whoever is ‘doing being’ the teacher. Thus, teacher-hood can be accomplished monolingually in French, bilingually in French and a child’s L1, or monolingually in a child’s L1. As Kasper notes, “social members exert agency by ascribing, describing, or engaging in category-bound activities” (2009: 8). In a similar way, when accomplishing teacher-hood whether partially or wholly, children become agent in the interactional management of multilingualism in their classroom.

References

Code de l’Education, 2008, Article L 121-3: II

Keywords

Language in Education Policy, Multilingualism, Agency, Classroom Interaction, Membership Categorization Analysis.

Bio Data

Florence Bonacina is a Ph.D. candidate at the University of Edinburgh (Scotland U.K.), in the department of Linguistics and English Language. Her research interests include language policy in educational contexts, multilingualism and conversation analysis. Her Ph.D. project investigates the language policy in France’s educational programmes for newcomers and is funded by the Economic and Social Research Council (E.S.R.C., U.K.). Forthcoming publication: “Ideologies and the issue of access in multilingual school ethnography: a French example”, in M. Martin-Jones and S. Gardner, (Eds.), Multilingualism, Discourse and Ethnography, Routledge.

Contact

The University of Edinburgh
Linguistics and English Language
Dugald Stewart Building
3 Charles Street
EH89EAD
Edinburgh
United Kingdom

florence@ling.ed.ac.uk
Anne-Sophie Calinon
Université de Franche-Comté, Besançon, France
Université de Montréal, Montréal, Canada

Mesures linguistiques de la politique d'intégration au Québec: regards critiques des immigrants

Abstract

La politique linguistique du Québec s’est fixée pour objectif d’augmenter les fonctions imparties au français, jusque-là assumées par l’anglais, pour ainsi former une société pluriculturelle mais unie derrière une langue commune, le français. Une formation linguistique en français est offerte aux immigrants par le Gouvernement et fait partie des mesures linguistiques de la politique d’intégration. Cette communication va présenter les représentations des immigrants sur les différents facteurs linguistiques et sociolinguistiques qui interviennent dans le processus d’intégration dans lequel ils s’inscrivent et leurs regards critiques sur ces mesures qui les orientent vers la communauté francophone et les détournent de la communauté anglophone.

Short Paper

Depuis 30 ans, la politique linguistique du Québec s'est fixée pour objectifs d'augmenter les fonctions imparties au français, jusque-là assumées par l'anglais pour ainsi former une société pluriculturelle mais unie derrière une langue commune, le français.

Certaines mesures de cette politique concernent directement la population issue de l'immigration, en augmentation et principalement installée à Montréal, où co-existent les deux communautés linguistiques majoritaires. Une formation linguistique en français est offerte aux immigrants par le Gouvernement et fait partie des mesures linguistiques de la politique d’intégration. Cette mesure cherche à influencer leur intégration linguistique et, par extension, leur intégration sociale, aussi bien au niveau individuel – connaissance utilitaire d’une langue véhiculaire – que sociétal – maintien de la cohésion sociale grâce à l’outil linguistique.

Dans un premier temps, cette initiative reçoit des évaluations positives de la part des bénéficiaires car elle symbolise la volonté du Québec de prendre en charge l’intégration de ses immigrants. Cependant, après avoir été confrontés au contexte sociolinguistique montréalais, les immigrants prennent conscience de l’enjeu linguistico-politique présent dans leur francisation.

Notre étude repose sur un corpus d’entretiens, effectués en 2006, avec 110 immigrants au Québec terminant la formation linguistique gouvernementale. L’intégration des immigrants est le plus souvent appréhendée sous un angle politique et concerne la sphère publique : il s’agit d’évaluer l’impact de l’immigration dans la société d’installation. Grâce à ces entretiens, nous avons recueilli les représentations des immigrants sur les différents facteurs linguistiques et sociolinguistiques qui interviennent dans le processus d’intégration dans lequel ils s’inscrivent. Nous avons donc choisi d’étudier le processus d’intégration et d’intégration linguistique, selon une approche interne, qui concerne la sphère privée des individus : leurs sentiments, leurs impressions concernant leur situation dans le processus qui suit leur arrivée dans le nouvel environnement social, économique, culturel et linguistique dans lequel ils immigrent.

Les facteurs d’intégration, tels qu’ils sont perçus par les immigrants, ne sont pas une donnée
absolue mais se basent sur des représentations qui sont « le résultat d’une (re)construction de la réalité sociale effectuée par le migrant au travers de son comportement quotidien et la signification qu’il lui attribue au moyen du discours » (Pietro 1995 : 173). Un des facteurs d’intégration à la communauté francophone est l’assurance que le français tient des fonctions indispensables l’insertion économique et sociale dans la société montréalaise. Si pour les immigrants anglophones, les mesures d’intégration linguistique à la communauté francophone, sont, la plupart du temps, perçues comme une contrainte qui ne correspond pas forcément à la réalité sociolinguistique de la ville, les immigrants non-anglophones, ont exprimé leur reconnaissance et leur sentiment d’être accueillis par des initiatives politiques, telles que l’accès à la formation linguistique, à la gratuité des cours et aux allocations financières perçues pour les suivre.

Cependant, d’une manière générale, les témoins sont conscients que les cours de francisation n’ont pas comme unique objectif de faciliter leur intégration mais qu’il existe un grand enjeu derrière leur francisation, c’est-à-dire celui d’augmenter le nombre de francophones dans la province en les détournant de la communauté anglophone. Comme les mesures politiques les y conduisent, les immigrants deviennent locuteurs du français. Quel impact cela a-t-il au niveau identitaire et social ? Quelles sont les influences d’être nouvellement locuteur du français dans un contexte multilingue sur les contacts sociaux, et donc sur l’intégration linguistique, dans sa définition extensive ?

**Keywords**

Intégration, immigration, formation linguistique

**Bio Data**


**Contact**

Université de Franche-Comté  
48 rue des Granges  
25 000 BESANÇON  
France

Université de Montréal  
2900 boulevard Édouard-Montpetit  
MONTRÉAL  
QC H3T 1J4  
Canada

annes0.calinon@gmail.com
Albino Chavale

Université Pédagogique de Maputo, Maputo, Mozambique

La politique linguistique du Mozambique: progrès et défis

Abstract

Après une longue période d’un vide constitutionnel en ce qui concerne les langues bantu, un virage s’est opéré dans les années 90 dans la politique linguistique du Mozambique. Ce virage s’est concrétisé par l’adoption d’une Constitution qui, pour la première fois, non seulement reconnaît les langues bantu mais surtout « les valorise et promeut leur utilisation croissante comme des langues véhiculaires1... ». C’est dans ce contexte qu’elles ont été introduites dans l’enseignement en 2003. La reconnaissance et l’introduction des langues bantu dans l’enseignement ne sont que l’iceberg d’un travail acharné fait en amont pour infléchir l’actuelle dynamique sociolinguistique au Mozambique.

Malheureusement, ces efforts n’ont pas provoqué un changement dans l’utilisation des langues bantu. En réalité, la grande majorité des Mozambicains reste indifférente voire opposée à l’introduction des langues bantu dans l’enseignement. L’exemple le plus notoire et récent est, sans doute, le manque de candidats pour la rentrée 2009, pour les cours de Licence et maîtrise en langues bantu à l’Université Eduardo Mondlane2, où 22.400 étudiants ont concouru pour les 43 000 places disponibles. Cet exemple est une preuve, parmi d’autres, d’un fossé entre la politique linguistique dessinée par les décideurs et locuteurs concernés. Après avoir présenté les contours de la politique linguistique du Mozambique nous présenterons et analyserons certaines réactions des locuteurs à son égard. Enfin, nous présenterons quelques propositions pour dépasser les obstacles actuels.

Short Paper

Comme bon nombre de pays africains, le Mozambique la langue de l’ancienne puissance colonisatrice -le portugais- est devenue, pour de raisons diverses, la langue officielle. Cette option politique ne va pas sans poser quelques problèmes sociaux. C’est pour atténuer ces problèmes qu’après une longue période d’un vide constitutionnel en ce qui concerne les langues bantu, un virage s’est opéré dans les années 90 dans la politique linguistique du Mozambique. Ce virage s’est concrétisé par l’adoption d’une Constitution qui, pour la première fois, non seulement reconnaît les langues bantu mais surtout « valorise et promeut leur utilisation croissante comme des langues véhiculaires3... ». C’est dans ce contexte qu’elles ont été introduites dans l’enseignement en 2003. La reconnaissance et l’introduction des langues bantu dans l’enseignement ne sont que l’iceberg d’un travail acharné fait en amont pour infléchir l’actuelle dynamique sociolinguistique au Mozambique.

Malheureusement, ces efforts n’ont pas provoqué un changement dans l’utilisation des langues bantu. En réalité, la grande majorité des Mozambicains reste indifférente voire opposée à

1 Article 5 de la Constitution.
2 La plus ancienne du Pays.
3 Article 5 de la Constitution.
l’introduction des langues bantu dans l’enseignement. L’exemple le plus notoire et récent est, sans doute, le manque de candidats pour la rentrée 2009, pour les cours de Licence et maîtrise en langues bantu à l’Université Eduardo Mondlane où, paradoxalement pour les autres formations, 22.400 étudiants ont concouru pour les 4.3000 places disponibles. Cet exemple est une preuve, parmi d’autres, d’un fossé entre la politique linguistique dessinée par les décideurs et locuteurs concernés.

Cet “échec” est selon nous dû au fait que d’une part, le travail d’aménagement linguistique a été globalement focalisé sur le statut c’est-à-dire sur les aspects juridiques et peu sur le corpus c’est-à-dire sur les questions pratiques des langues en question et que d’autre part, il n’a concerné qu’un secteur : celui de l’éducation.

Après avoir présenté les contours de la politique linguistique du Mozambique nous présenterons et analyserons certaines réactions des locuteurs à son égard. Enfin, nous présenterons quelques propositions pour dépasser les obstacles actuels. Nous pensons que pour infléchir la tendance sociolinguistique actuelle, il faut une articulation multisectorielle.

References


Keywords

Politique linguistique, aménagement linguistique, Mozambique, enseignement bilingue.

Contact

Université Pédagogique de Maputo
Praça 25 de Junho, 257
C.P. 257
MAPUTO
Mozambique

achavale@up.ac.mz

4 La plus ancienne du Pays.
Abstract

Like in many other postcolonial developing countries, modern Zambia’s ‘linguistic challenge’ appears very tangibly in the field of education, namely on the level of communication between teachers and learners – both parts struggling to adapt to nationally formulated curricula and examination plans predominantly in the national Zambian language, English. This paper demonstrates how a small sample of teachers at a township government school, followed closely through hours and weeks of teaching, maneuver in a contested educational, discursive, and linguistic space, often seeking creative solutions to meet the demands of both learners and their wider institutional frame.

Short Paper

With an estimated (although contested) demographical make-up of 77 different cultural and linguistic groups, seven regional languages, and the post-independence implementation of English as the sole national language, modern Zambia incarnates the ‘postcolonial multilingual condition’ even more than most other developing countries. In the field of education, Zambia’s ‘linguistic challenge’ appears very tangibly, namely on the level of communication between teachers and learners, both parts struggling to adapt to nationally formulated curricula and examination plans. This paper demonstrates how a small sample of Zambian teachers at a township government school, followed closely through hours and weeks of teaching, maneuver in a contested educational, linguistic, and discursive space, often seeking creative solutions to meet the demands of both learners and their wider institutional frame.

After more than thirty years of English as the exclusive official medium of school instruction, and continuously devastating student levels of literacy and other educational foundations assumed to have at least some relation to this, the 1996 Zambian educational policy opened towards giving ‘all pupils…. an opportunity to learn initial basic skills of reading and writing in a local language; whereas English will remain as the official medium of instruction’ (Educating Our Future 1996:39). An ambitious reading program, introducing ‘culturally sensitive’ story-books, spelling kits, textbooks and lesson charts in both English and each of the seven regional languages in the early school grades, was launched in the early 2000s through the British development agency, DFID. Although the exterior funding has since ceased – and alas, much of the initial enthusiasm – the reading program has today become part of the national curriculum.

Although many teachers assent to this advance of familiar languages of instruction in early schooling, they (and many linguists and educationalists with them) express doubts of the longterm validity and sustainability of such rather separated educational/linguistic programs, when what is needed seems to be much more thorough reforms regarding language in education and society overall. At the present moment, however, Zambian public school teachers of literacy and language continously try to equip learners for national exams.
predominantly based on written ‘Standard English’, emphasising grammatical competency and ‘verbal correctness’ – rather than a profound acquisition and reflection of communicative skills relevant to the learners’ immediate and potential future environments.

Teachers – who often share the socioeconomic and cultural background of their learners – are in many cases strikingly aware of the discrepancies between official curricular requirements and learners’ immediate classroom needs and prerequisites, not to mention their wider educational needs in a challenging and increasingly fluctuating social life-environment. Especially in rural areas, like the one investigated in this study, teachers on all grade levels will thus often be observed shifting between ‘official’ and ‘unofficial’ classroom discourses, mixing both the actual languages and ‘speech genres’ in order to reach learners. Given the dire working conditions for the great majority of Zambian school teachers – over-filled classrooms, inconsistent student attendance, underequipped library and staff facilities, negligible paychecks and few advancement possibilities, just to mention a few – such teacher creativity and insight, which could serve as major benefits to the Zambian school system, are most often reduced to rather desperate communicative strategies, aiming solely at equipping learners with a few core curricular concepts well enough to get through exams.

Keywords

Bilingualism, Primary Education, Teaching, Classroom Discourse

Bio Data

Nana Clemensen is a Ph.D. Fellow with background in linguistics and sociology, working with educationally related issues of language, social stratification, discourse and post-colonialism.

Contact

Nana Clemensen, Ph.D. Fellow
The Danish School of Education
University of Aarhus
Department of Education
Tuborgvej 164
2400 Copenhagen NV

nacl@dpu.dk
Zubeida Desai
University of the Western Cape, Bellville, South Africa

Laissez-faire Approaches to Language in Education Policy do not Work in South Africa

Abstract

The proposition I make in this paper is that unless language in education policy decisions are top-down in South Africa, the legacies of the past will continue in the form of mainly English-medium instruction, despite progressive policies encouraging mother tongue education. My starting premise is that the key to African language development is mother tongue education. Only when languages are used in high domains such as education will they develop fully. I conclude by interrogating notions of multilingualism currently in vogue and question whether linguistic practices from ‘below’ can change power dynamics in unequal societies such as in South Africa.

Short Paper

The title of this symposium, ‘Multilingualism from below’, can lend itself to many different interpretations, despite the description provided by the organisers. In this paper I start off by outlining how the concept of ‘multilingualism from below’ has been propagated in particular contexts resulting in particular interpretations and consequences. Though I caution against binary approaches, I argue that a ‘bottom-up’ approach can result in governments and departments of education abdicating their responsibility in promoting and developing non-hegemonic languages, thus maintaining official monolingualism, or at best, official bilingualism. I also argue that in a global context citizens need not only access to a language of wider currency but also proficiency in such a language. Too often the debate around mother tongue education has been posed as a binary: mother tongue education or English education. In South Africa today, pupils at schools need to master both disciplinary knowledge in a language they are competent in and English as a language of communication and education. What policies and practices can facilitate such mastery?

My entry point into this debate is as a teacher, an educator who is concerned about promoting pupils’ epistemological access to learning and knowledge, as opposed to their institutional access – a concern that is very real in post-apartheid South Africa where historically ‘white’ institutions are now open to ‘black’ students. It is in this context that I make a proposition which is likely to be controversial. The essence of the proposition is that unless language in education policy decisions are top-down in South Africa, the legacies of the past will continue in the form of mainly English medium instruction, despite progressive policies which encourage the use of mother tongue education. My starting premise is that the key to African language development is mother tongue education. It is only when languages are used in high domains such as education that they will develop fully. For this to happen on a large scale, there has to be some state intervention or planning from the top.

Using initiatives launched by the Western Cape Education Department (WCED) as the backdrop for this paper, I proceed to illustrate systematically how not much has changed in schools serving the poor in the Western Cape, and South Africa as a whole. In 2006, the WCED produced a Draft Language Transformation Plan which set itself certain targets such as
extending mother tongue education to at least the end of Grade 6 and encouraging communicative competence in the three official languages of the Western Cape (Afrikaans, English and Xhosa). The Plan was not adopted but started as a pilot at 16 schools - without the necessary resources. It is no surprise therefore that dismally low literacy rates are still the order of the day. Decentralising decision-making to the school level has led to the status quo remaining: very few schools opt to extend Xhosa, the local African language, as a medium beyond Grade 3. And those that do complain about the lack of textbooks in Xhosa as publishers are not prepared to produce materials in Xhosa if there is not a sufficient demand.

I conclude my paper by interrogating notions of multilingualism currently in vogue and question whether linguistic practices from 'below' can change power dynamics in unequal societies such as in South Africa. Finally, I offer some suggestions to address the medium of instruction impasse.

Keywords
Laissez-faire Approaches, Language in Education Policy, South Africa, Mother Tongue Education

Bio Data
Zubeida Desai is currently the Dean of Education at UWC. Her main area of research is in the field of language in education policy and planning. She currently runs two projects in the Faculty: one on mother tongue education called LOITASA, funded by Norway and the other on conversation analysis funded by the Netherlands. She served on the Pan South African Language Board from 1996-2001 and on various national and provincial panels and committees in an advisory capacity on language and education. She has published widely on language and education issues.

Contact
Education Faculty
University of the Western Cape (UWC)
Private Bag X17
Bellville 7535
South Africa
zdesai@uwc.ac.za
Theo du Plessis

University of the Free State, Bloemfontein, South Africa

Language Planning from Below – the Case of the Xhariep District of the Free State Province

Abstract

Hierdie referaat ondersoek aspekte rondom taalbeplanning van benede soos wat dit realiseer in die Xhariep-distrik van die Provinsie Vrystaat. Die ondersoek word gedoen teen die agtergrond van verskillende benaderings tot sogenaamde “language planning from below”, hetsy as “demokratiese taalbeplanning” (Alexander), “gemeenskapsgebaseerde taalbeplanning” (Bamgbose) of “nie-owerheidsbeplanning” (Kaplan & Baldauf). Daar sal geargumenteer word dat laasgenoemde benadering die beste perspektief bied op taalbeplanningaksies van benede in die meertalige Xhariep-distrik. Die ondersoek word gebaseer op die ontleding van etnografiese data oor die ontblooiing van ’n nuwe taalbeleid in die gebied na 1994 wat gedurende 2008 en 2009 onder sleutelpersone in die gebied versamel is. In die ontleding sal klem gelê word op strategieë wat die betrokke sprekers aangeneem het om met die nuwe taalbeleidsrealiteit na 1994 om te gaan en ’n “eie” beleid daar te stel.

Short Paper

This paper investigates aspects relating to language planning from below, as effectuated in the Xhariep District of the Free State Province.

The Xhariep District is the largest district municipality of the Free State Province, covering 34 131 km² or 26% of the total land surface of this province (Xhariep District Municipality, 2008). The Xhariep is comprised of three municipalities, namely Letsemeng, Kopanong and Mohokare, and contains a total of 17 towns. The headquarters are in Trompsburg, which falls within the Kopanong Municipality. The Xhariep District borders on two other provinces, namely the Northern Cape in the south-west and the Eastern Cape in the south-east. On the eastern side, the district is bordered by Lesotho. Given the large surface area of the region, the 135 249 residents are sparsely distributed (3,96 persons per km²).

Table 1 indicates that the Xhariep District is a multilingual area, with Afrikaans (37,1%) and Sotho (37,1%) as the two predominant home languages, followed by Xhosa (19,9%) as the third most prevalent home language. Tswana is a prominent home language in the Letsemeng Municipality, an area that adjoins the Northern Cape.
The draft language policy of the Xhariep partly acknowledges this demographic distribution of the languages in the area. In terms of this policy, Afrikaans and Sotho are two of the official languages of the Xhariep District Municipality. However, English, which is the home language of less than 1% of the Xhariep population, is recognised as the third official language of the Municipality. The policy typifies these languages as “municipal languages”. However, provision is also made for the use of Xhosa and Tswana for administrative purposes; and these are typified as the so-called “administrative languages” (Xhariep District Municipality, 2003).

The language policy of the Xhariep regulates the use of the concerned languages in proceedings and transactions of the municipal council, in official documentation, notices, identification signs and communication (on an internal basis, as well as with the public and with other institutions). In addition, provision is made for “language facilitation services” – without any definition of what is meant by this term, however. Proficiency in the three municipal languages is required; and free language courses are offered in this regard. Furthermore, the policy also makes provision for “affirmative action” with regard to the marginalised languages; and a knowledge of the municipal languages is a stipulated requirement for promotion. In conclusion, the policy also contains possible punitive measures relating to the fulfillment of the policy provisions, the establishment of a language committee for monitoring, and the objective of implementing the policy within five years (Xhariep District Municipality, 2003). A striking feature of the policy is that a multilingual dispensation is envisaged, and that the use of only one official language is ruled out.

Language planning from below is a field which has not as yet been investigated to any great extent. However, it is, in fact, an area of enquiry which could yield new perspectives regarding the way in which ordinary people deal with multilingualism and, more specifically, the management thereof. The investigation is carried out against the background of different approaches to so-called “language planning from below”, or language planning “from the ground up”, whether in the form of “community-based language planning” (Kozelka 1984 – in Bamgbose, 2000, p. 114 ff.; Kamwendo, 2005, p. 163), “democratic language planning” (Webb 1991 – in Bamgbose, 2000, p. 114; Alexander, 1992); or “non-governmental planning” (Kaplan, R.B. & Baldauf, R.B., 1997, p. 196 ff.). All three approaches have a bearing on language-related decision-making that does not occur on a “macro-level”, or which is not necessarily even carried through to the “macro-level”. The first approach emphasises “self-empowering” decision-making; the second, participatory decision-making; and the third, organisation-based decision-making – in other words, different elements of what is loosely typified as “language planning from below” (thus, “bottom-up language planning”). All three approaches are also partially related to the new interest in micro-level language planning (Christ, 2006), or language planning within the local context (Liddicoat, A.J. & Baldauf, R.B. (Eds), 2008). However, the most important link in this regard lies in what Liddicoat and Baldauf (2008, p. 5) refer to as “the most micro-level of language planning”. A focus on localised language planning should thus differentiate between driven language planning at local level and localised language planning which occurs in tandem with macro-level language planning (and which may thereby comprise an outcome thereof), in other words, the micro-

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Letsemeng</th>
<th>Kopanong</th>
<th>Mohokare</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Afrikaans</td>
<td>28256</td>
<td>18136</td>
<td>3768</td>
<td>50160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>289</td>
<td>362</td>
<td>214</td>
<td>865</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xhosa</td>
<td>4597</td>
<td>12693</td>
<td>9567</td>
<td>26857</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sotho</td>
<td>5427</td>
<td>22433</td>
<td>22288</td>
<td>50148</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tswana</td>
<td>4136</td>
<td>1890</td>
<td>220</td>
<td>6246</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>279</td>
<td>430</td>
<td>264</td>
<td>973</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>42984</td>
<td>55944</td>
<td>36321</td>
<td>135249</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1: Home language spread in the Xhariep District (Statistics South Africa, 2008)
implementation of macro-policy (Baldauf, 2008, p. 26), on the one hand, and language planning that is initiated at local level, and does not necessarily come directly into play in macro-level language planning, on the other. In view thereof, this study links up with the current tendency to move away from investigations into language planning at macro-level – the field of research which has thus far dominated the literature on language planning.

The investigation that comprises the focus of the report makes an analysis of micro-language planning in the Xhariep District at community level, by considering the language-related problems and needs of the community, and taking note of the kind of intervention that exists at community level in order to deal with these problems. In the process, the following aspects, *inter alia*, are also considered: the determinants of language planning that can be identified; the role-players who are involved; as well as the processes, activities and outcomes of language planning. The investigation is based on an analysis of ethnographical data concerning the deployment of a new language policy in the area since 1994. These data were mainly collected in a part of the Kopanong Municipality during 2008 and 2009.

**Keywords**

Language Policy, Language Planning From Below, Xhariep District, 1994, Official Languages

**Bio Data**


**Contact**

Unit for Language Management
University of the Free State
Bloemfontein
9300
Republic of South Africa

dplesslt.hum@ufs.ac.za
Paradox of the Estonian Language Policy

Abstract

Although Estonia is biethnic, the main groups being Estonians (69%) and Russians (26%), Estonian is the only official language in Estonia. While the official language policy rhetoric has been a hard line one, its practical implementation has been markedly flexible; and de facto, Estonia is largely bilingual. However, the opinions of the two ethnic groups diverge very sharply whether Russian should be the second official language, indicating that the issue is politically more sensitive than the linguistic practices would suggest. Those in both ethnic groups that adhere to monolingual practices are more radical than those who use both languages.

Short Paper

During the last seven centuries, Estonia has been a multilingual country. Although the contact language constellation has changed several times during this period, the presence of three local languages has been a durable pattern. In this polyglossic situation, Estonian used to be the low variety until 1918, when Estonia gained its political independence for two decades. After WWII, Estonian lost its status again as Russian was the dominant language during the Soviet period. The collapse of the Soviet Union changed the situation once more as Estonian became the only official language of the republic.

As in 1991, the Russian speaking population was largely monolingual while the Estonian majority was bilingual in Estonian and Russian, the Estonian language policy has been aimed towards establishing Estonian as the vehicle of public communication. By now, Estonian and Russian are known by the majority of the country’s population. English has become the most widely spoken foreign language, and the knowledge of Finnish is also common in capital Tallinn and the Northern Estonia. In 2003, the self reported language knowledge of the Estonian population is presented in Table 1 (Vihalemm, Masso and Vihalemm 2004):
Currently, Estonia is a dominantly biethnic country, the main groups being Estonians (69%) and Russians (26%). By distribution of Estonians and Russian speakers, Estonia could be divided to five linguistic environments: 1) rural areas (1-10% of Russian speakers); 2) towns and settlements (10-20% Russian speakers); 3) West Tallinn (30-50%); 4) Harju county and Lasnamäe (50-70%); 5) East Estonian cities (80-100%).

Although the official language policy of Estonia could be characterized as a hard line one, its practical implementation has been markedly flexible: several deadlines postponed, transitions made as gradual as possible etc. Furthermore, the market forces have motivated the businesses to accommodate towards the linguistic preferences of the customers much more than would be expected on the basis of the dominant language policy rhetoric. As a consequence, not only Russian, but also English and to a lesser extent, Finnish are used in public sphere besides Estonian.

Even if the official language policy has not managed to establish Estonian as the only language acceptable in the public domain, it has had a large effect on the language practices. To illustrate the wide internal diversity in language practices in Estonia, the results of a large scale (N= 998) survey of language usage in everyday situations is presented below.

The questionnaire consisted of 10 questions pertaining to language usage in different everyday situations. For the clarity of exposition, only four of them are represented here: 1) language usage with family members; 2) friends; 3) colleagues; and 4) service people in shops and offices. Each question allowed indicating language choice in a 7 point Likert scale ranging from exclusively in Estonian, to exclusively in Russian. The Table 2 presents the percentages of those that use exclusively their first language in these four domains. The data are presented separately for each Estonian language environment, E denoting Estonians and R Russians.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Linguistic environment</th>
<th>Family</th>
<th>Friends</th>
<th>Colleagues</th>
<th>Services</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>E</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>E</td>
<td>R</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Towns</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Tin</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H and L</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East Est</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2. Percentages of respondents using exclusively their first language in four communication situations.
As the table reveals, the linguistic environment determines the language choice of the respondents to a large extent. The Spearman rank correlation between linguistic environment and language choice was strong for both Russian speakers (rho=.623, p<.000) as well as for Estonians (rho=.447, p<.000). This means that despite the official language policy, the language usage pattern follows closely the linguistic composition of the area.

As Estonia is de facto largely bilingual, the question arises whether the official language policy should be changed to match the situation. However, here the opinions of the two ethnic groups diverge very sharply:

**Statement: Russian should be the second official language in Estonia**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>agree completely</th>
<th>agree</th>
<th>rather agree</th>
<th>rather disagree</th>
<th>disagree</th>
<th>disagree completely</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Estonians</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>537</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russians</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>457</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3. Agreement with the statement about Russian as official language in Estonia (%).

The contrast between language practices and opinions about language policy indicate that the latter is mainly a political issue not linguistic. And as the divide is so sharp on the ethnic boundary, the official language policy has a potential for inducing tension notwithstanding whether it will be changed or not.

There is another paradoxical property of this situation. The agreement with the statement that Russian should be official language in Estonia is moderately correlated with both the linguistic environment and the language choice pattern. For Russians, the higher is the percentage of Russian speakers in the area, the higher is the agreement rate with the statement (rho=.287, p<.000). Also, the more Estonian is used in everyday communication, the lower is the agreement rate with the statement (r=.351, p<.000).

For Estonians, linguistic environment has no effect, but there is a fairly strong correlation with the language usage pattern: the more Russian is used, the lower is the disagreement rate with the statement that Russian should be the second official language in Estonia (r=.456, p<.000).

A paradoxical situation is revealed here: for those who have more contact with the other ethnic group and use more the language of the other group, the issue of the Russian as official language has lesser importance. As the population becomes more bilingual due to the interaction of official language policy and the globalized language market forces, the state language issue will lose its salience and becomes less of a point of tension.

**References**


**Bio Data**

**Martin Ehala** (PhD, University of Cambridge 1996) was affiliated to the Tallinn University as a professor of general and applied linguistics for the last 10 years. From 2008, he is working at the University of Tartu as a senior researcher and a professor of literacy and applied
linguistics. He has published on the structure and contact induced changes in Estonian and teaching literacy in Estonian schools. For the last five years, his research aspirations have shifted towards language maintenance. He is interested in modelling the effect of social psychological factors on language and identity shift.

**Contact**

University of Tartu  
Ülikooli 18  
Tartu 50900  
Estonia  

ehalam@ut.ee
Abstract

Based on the analysis of a specific language debate in Cyprus, this paper examines processes of interaction between what is planned from above and how it is interpreted and responded from below. Specifically, starting from the idea that language policy and planning is a discourse on language and society (Blommaert, 1996), the principal aim here is twofold: first, to point to potential implications when language planning is not in pace with changing sociolinguistic realities, and second, to argue the importance of the argumentation used to publicly justify policy and, potentially, of its linguistic form.

Short Paper

This paper presents some of the key insights provided by the analysis of a public language debate in Cyprus. The debate was triggered when a number of individuals and groups, with varying degrees of expertise and interests, refused to endorse the standardisation of the orthography of place names and the argumentation through which it was supported. This debate was the first occasion when the non-official, non-standardised and dialectal status of the Cypriot Greek variety became problematic and the object of heated public discussion, bringing to the surface what until that moment may have been individual acts of resistance and alternative, but subordinate, ways of interpreting the language situation in Cyprus.

In this paper I argue that the language planning effort in this case did not measure up against the changing sociolinguistic reality, as the standardisation committee disregarded or rejected changes in current practices and pluralist language ideologies that have been gaining ground, both in the academia and in lay perceptions. The ideology of the standard language, which underpinned the decision-making and argumentation that justified the end-product, was the dominant conceptual frame for action for the most part of the last century, heavily influenced by 18th and 19th-century ideas that gave rise to linguistic nationalism. However, changing socio-economic and political arrangements (principally the establishment of a Cypriot state) together with sociolinguistic studies on the Greek language, which succeeded traditional dialectology and philology, brought new ideas with regard to the study and value of regional and social varieties, and pleaded not only for tolerance, but also active support for linguistic diversity.

In this paper I also argue that the argumentation that the standardisation committee developed to support its decisions, together with its negative connotations for the value of the dialect, played a major role in the way the standardisation project was perceived and responded to. In fact, the analysis of protest letters and articles in daily newspapers shows that it is mainly this argumentation that attracted criticism and not the actual changes in the spelling of names. Furthermore, this particular debate suggests that the great scepticism and scorn that the standardisation was greeted with during its implementation stage, can be attributed also to the 'form of the message', i.e. the use of the obsolete variety katharevousa by the architect of the project in a number of newspaper texts, correspondence letters and...
speeches. This debate illustrates clearly the ways in which the social, economic, political and/or moral values that language varieties and forms are invested with can have implications for their users, in this case can impact negatively on the broader acceptance of a language planning project.

This paper suggests that current linguistic and other developments and practices as well as lay ideas and assumptions about language (and identity) need to be taken into consideration in the process of language planning, because they can affect its outcomes. In the case of the standardisation of place names in Cyprus, such grassroots ideas and practices were largely ignored and lay persons were excluded from decision-making on the basis of their lack of linguistic expertise. Such a priori exclusion, together with lack of information, can lead to the language planning project being experienced by individuals and groups as an imposition and a sign of authoritarianism. Moreover, it becomes clear that in order to increase the possibilities of success, language planners need to ‘sell’ their project to the affected groups, an idea already suggested by Kaplan and Baldauf (1997) and Johnson (2005).

This paper is based on a corpus of newspaper articles taken from the period of the peak of the debate in the press (mid 1990s) and on other documents related to the standardisation and the debate. It is also informed by interviews with key participants on either side of the debate. Starting from the idea that language policy and planning is a discourse on language and society (Blommaert, 1996), the study is in line with recent shifts in LPP that challenge the standard accounts, in which lay people are seen merely either as the passive receivers of policies or as vague resisters (Ball, 1997; Shohamy, 2006; Stevenson & Carl, forthcoming). In the analysis of the data I have drawn extensively from the existing body of work on language ideologies (e.g. Blommaert, 1999; Jaffe, 1999; Schieffelin et al 1998), since the multiple and changing use(s) of and values attached to language varieties is a crucial issue, as is the agency of individual actors and groups. I have combined such insights and concepts with principles and tools from Critical Discourse Analysis (Blackledge, 2005; Fairclough, 2003; Reisigl & Wodak, 2001), which provides a systematic framework for the closer analysis of textual material.

References


Keywords

Authority, Language Debate, Language Ideologies, Language Indexicalities, Discursive Strategies

Bio Data

Vasiliki Georgiou is a Post-doctoral Research Fellow at the Institute of Technology Tralee, Ireland. She has just finished her PhD at the University of Southampton on language ideologies and language policy and planning in Cyprus and is now working on a research project which investigates the formation of the 2003 Official Languages Act in Ireland and the process of its implementation in local public service organisations. Her research interests include language policy and planning, the politics of language and identity, language ideologies, and language in the media.

Contact

Institute of Technology Tralee
North Campus
Dromtacker
Tralee - Co.
Kerry
Ireland

Vasiliki.Georgiou@staff.ittralee.ie
Kathleen Heugh
Research Centre for Languages and Cultures - University of South Australia, Magill, Australia

When a School Principal Does not Believe in the Impossible: from Multilingual Explorations to System-wide Assessment

Abstract

The attempt of a school principal to implement the South African language education policy (DoE 1997) while both provincial and national departments of education focused their attention on a curriculum at odds with the language policy, is traced in this paper. The principal encountered what Bourdieu (1991), Pennycook (2002) and others identify as post-colonial habitus, in this case, a post-colonial ‘bilingual habitus’ in which the administrative apparatus appeared too unwieldy to change. Nevertheless, through his own determination, experiments which he initiated found their way into an experimental system-wide study of mathematics and languages in the Western Cape Province in 2006.

Short Paper

In 2004, an inner city Cape Town school principal, impatient after a seven year delay in the implementation of the South African multilingual education policy, decided to explore multilingual teaching and assessment in Zonnebloem Nest Senior Secondary School. This complex school, currently with students from diverse South African and other African settings, has a fascinating history.

The school was originally established in 1858 by the Anglican Church for the sons of African chiefs and has had a chequered history of three generations of teacher training: for different ethno-linguistic groups of teachers prior to 1989. It reverted to being a school in the early 1990s, first as a multicultural independent school and later as a regular school of the Western Cape Department of Education in 1998. It is geographically located on the side of Table Mountain where a multi-ethnic community of people with diverse languages (mainly Afrikaans, Portuguese and English) and modest working class families have lived for several generations.

This paper presents an ethnographic and historiographic analysis of an experimental process and determination of one person which subsequently informed the development of new system-wide assessment of the mathematics and language (i.e. medium of instruction) skills of Grade 8 students in the Western Cape Province in 2006. In 2005, the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) was appointed as the agency responsible for designing the instruments to assess the language and mathematics skills of Grade 8 students by the Western Cape Education Department (WCED). For the previous fifteen years, all system-wide assessment of students from Grade 4 onwards had been conducted in Afrikaans and English except in the case of languages as subjects. The HSRC persuaded the WCED, in the interests of linguistic equity as well as obligations to fulfill the spirit of the language education policy and the country’s constitution, that the language instrument should have three versions: Xhosa, Afrikaans and English. Secondly, the HSRC persuaded the WCED that the Xhosa language needed to be accommodated in the mathematics instrument. Xhosa is the second most widely used home language in the province, yet Xhosa-speaking students have been obliged to take their mathematics examinations in English since the late 1970s.
South African education happens to exhibit the lowest levels of achievement in international studies of mathematics and science and it has been argued by this author, amongst others (e.g. Desai 2006, Plüddemann et al 2004), that one of the reasons for this is the mismatch between language of use and language of education, and that this mismatch is particularly noticeable in highly abstract and decontextualised subjects, such as mathematics. It was this particular dimension of the instrument design which was informed by the experiments in mathematics teaching and assessment at Zonnebloem College. The data which has emerged from this study demonstrates that students from all language backgrounds draw positive value from being exposed to translations in mathematics examinations, and that there is a significant difference in achievement when items with no translation are compared with responses to items with translation. The experiment therefore may have valuable implications for linguistic diversity and more equitable assessment of students in the school system in South Africa (Heugh et al 2007). The instrument design furthermore introduces new considerations for ‘construct validity’ (Messick 1996) and these may contribute to the debates about both reliability and validity of assessment in other linguistically diverse parts of the world.

The lead researcher for the assessment project had also been tracking the initiatives at Zonnebloem School and facilitating limited technical and language planning support from the beginning of 2004. In particular, she had facilitated, via a research intern, assistance to the school principal in regards to the translation of mathematical terminology and a limited number of mathematics examination items into Xhosa during 2005. It was this process which informed the development of language accommodation in the mathematics instrument and through it, valuable information for assessment in diverse settings has become evident.

There is an exploration of agency, triangulation and dialectical relationships amongst the school principal, the department of education and the researcher who simultaneously tracked the school initiatives and developed benchmarked multilingual assessment instruments, in this paper. The privileged position of a researcher simultaneously investigating classroom level procedures and system-wide assessment offers new insights into the ‘post-colonial performativity’ (Pennycook 2002) of monolingual (or, in the South African case, a particular version of bilingual) ‘habitus’ (Bourdieu 1991). Despite a commitment at decision-making level to accommodate linguistic diversity, this commitment did not travel down through the administrative system and the study threw into relief a number of points of inflexibility and challenges for further change in assessment procedures. At another level, the refusal of one person to accept the inertia of government draws attention to creative spaces within civil society in which change might slip the sticky constraints and apparatus of power. The paper includes a brief digression into some of the other creative and linguistically diverse spaces opened up at Zonnebloem Nest Senior School. This paper is therefore about sustainable diversity and possibilities which arise from not accepting ‘no’ and the inevitability of the impossible.

References


Bio Data

**Kathleen Heugh** is a language teacher, teacher-trainer and researcher. She researches linguistic diversity in education policy and planning, focusing on developing countries (mainly in sub-Saharan Africa, but also in the Russian Federation and India). She has led large-scale evaluations of literacy and language programmes in South Africa. She has also led system-wide evaluations of language policy in other African countries, e.g. for the United Nations Development Programme; and participated in multi-country studies, e.g. for the UNESCO Institute of Education. She is currently a partner in the European Commission’s Network of Excellence, Sustainable Diversity, and is based in Australia.

Contact

Research Centre for Languages and Cultures  
School of International Studies  
University of South Australia  
St Bernards Road  
Magill SA 5072  
Australia

Kathleen.heugh@unisa.edu.au
Kristine Horner* & Jean-Jacques Weber**

* University of Leeds, Leeds, United Kingdom  
** University of Luxembourg, Walferdange, Luxembourg

Orwellian Doublethink in Luxembourghish and European Language-in-Education Policies: Top-down and Bottom-up Perspectives

Abstract

This paper examines how national language-in-education policies in European Union member-states have been influenced by EU policies, and how an identical cluster of keywords – which includes in particular diversity, social cohesion and integration – emerges from and informs language-in-education policies both in Luxembourg and other European countries. It will be shown how these keywords frequently refer, in the spirit of Orwellian doublethink, to something very different from, or even the opposite of, what they are usually taken to mean. The analysis of official documents will be combined with an analysis of interview data with luso-descendant and other transnational students in Luxembourg.

Short Paper

George Orwell’s Nineteen Eighty-Four has almost become part of the European collective unconscious. Who does not remember the oppressive system of Big Brother, of Newspeak and doublethink? Or the slogans of the Party: War is Peace, Freedom is Slavery, Ignorance is Strength? Or the names of the Ministries: the Ministry of Truth, which produced propaganda and falsehoods; the Ministry of Peace, which dealt with war; the Ministry of Plenty, which dealt with scarcity; and the notorious Ministry of Love, the headquarters of the Thought Police? Or we may remember Winston Smith’s example of how individuals deliberately forgot that 2+2=4 and firmly believed that 2+2=5, in a true act of doublethink.

While Orwell’s Nineteen Eighty-Four is now set in our past, it still has relevance for our present and future. In this paper, for instance, we look at language-in-education policies in European Union (EU) member-states and argue that these policies are informed by a cluster of keywords which frequently refer, in the spirit of Orwellian doublethink, to something very different from, or even the opposite of, what they are usually taken to mean. We show how ‘social cohesion’, ‘diversity’ and ‘integration’ are often used to advocate ideologies of homogeneism and segregation. Within such a restrictive ideological framework, the overarching goal of bi- or multilingual education, which should be plural, inclusive and primarily concerned with educational equity (e.g. García 2009: 5-6), is ignored or even betrayed in practice.

‘Monoglossic’ policies of multilingualism (del Valle 2000) and the ‘dogma of homogeneism’ (Blommaert and Verschueren 1998) have been discussed in numerous publications. In a penetrating analysis, Blackledge (2005) reveals how the seemingly liberal documents of British policy-making on language, immigration and citizenship thinly veil an illiberal discourse in their underlying assumptions and hidden ideologies, and their effects on the social practices of human beings. This is what Shohamy (2008) refers to as the ‘costs’ of language policy for social actors. In the present paper, we build upon these studies by adopting a form of Raymond Williams’ keyword analysis, exploring the ways in which certain policy documents are informed by a small number of keywords whose crucial meanings, as Williams (1976/1988: 24) points out, ‘have been shaped by a dominant class’. Muehlmann (2007: 15) also relies on
keyword analysis in his discussion of the discourses of diversity and endangerment and argues as follows:

Focusing on a keyword provides a window into the workings of a larger discourse and tracing its trajectory offers a means of making sense of situated interests within shifting relations of power.

Thus keywords are ‘sites at which the meaning of social experience is negotiated and contested’ but at the same time where ‘contestations and negotiations are erased’ (Muehlmann 2007: 23). This is what he calls the ‘hegemonic mechanism of keywords’, which works via ‘the representation of an apparently globalized, common interest’ (Muehlmann 2007: 23).

In our analysis, we show how language-in-education policies in EU member-states have been influenced by EU policies, and how an identical cluster of keywords – which includes in particular diversity, social cohesion, integration – emerges from and informs language-in-education policies both in Luxembourg and other European countries. To bring out the full intertextuality of this process – what Blackledge (2005) refers to as ‘chains of discourse’ – we consider not only policy documents produced by or on behalf of the Luxembourgish Ministry of Education, but also international documents about Luxembourg (by the Council of Europe and the OECD), EU policy documents (by Eurydice and the Committee of Ministers) and documents from other EU member-states including France, the UK and Ireland. Moreover, the analysis of official documents will be combined with an analysis of interview data with luso-descendant and other transnational students in Luxembourg in an attempt to understand whether or to what extent these students experience the state education system as a hegemonic and disempowering one, and to explore both the possibilities and the limits of their agency.

References


Keywords

Luxembourg, European Union, Language-in-Education policy, Diversity, Social Cohesion, Integration
Bio Data

**Kristine Horner** is Lecturer in German and Sociolinguistics in the School of Modern Languages and Cultures at the University of Leeds. She completed her education in the US (BA, Lasalle; MA, University of Maryland at College Park; PhD, SUNY Buffalo). Her teaching interests are in the areas of sociolinguistics, language policy and globalization. She has published on language ideologies and language politics in Luxembourg and is currently writing a monograph on language testing and the discourses of endangerment, integration and citizenship (Mouton de Gruyter, forthcoming).

**Jean-Jacques Weber** is Professor of English and Education at the University of Luxembourg. He graduated at the University of Lancaster, and has a PhD in English from the University of Leuven (Belgium). His main research and teaching interests are discourse analysis, and the study of language and education in multilingual and multicultural contexts. Recent publications include *Multilingualism, Education and Change* (Peter Lang, 2009) and ‘The language situation in Luxembourg’ (monograph co-authored with K. Horner, *Current Issues in Language Planning*, 2008).

Contact

**Kristine Horner**
Department of German
University of Leeds
LS2 9JT Leeds
UK

k.horner@leeds.ac.uk

**Jean-Jacques Weber**
Deptartment of English and Education
University of Luxembourg
BP 2, L-7201 Walferdange
Luxembourg

jean-jacques.weber@uni.lu
Jürgen Jaspers

University of Antwerp, Antwerp, Belgium

Stylising Up, Down and All Around. Appropriating Linguistic Hierarchies in a Multi-ethnic School Context

Abstract

In the past century, Flanders, the Dutch-speaking north of Belgium, has seen an enormous investment in the dissemination of Standard Dutch (SD). This investment was certainly not without its results, but SD-policy now increasingly faces signs of substandardised speech which also tiptoes into those domains where SD used to be regarded as uncontested, such as in the school.

That even schools do not escape substandardisation is cause for concern and leads to calls for renewed efforts in favour of SD. These calls are aggravated by the astronomical school failure rates of ethnic minority students which Flemish authorities hold can only be prevented in the future via a radical Dutch monolingualism and a ‘sink or swim’ submersion at the earliest possible moment.

On the basis of ethnographic data on linguistic practices at a secondary school in Antwerp, Belgium, I will indicate how a group of ethnic minority students (mostly of Moroccan descent) received Standard Dutch policy and playfully stylised varieties up and down the linguistic hierarchy created by this standard variety. In linking their linguistic practices to a more general social practice of ‘making out’ and ‘messing about’ in class, I will show that their playful behaviour demonstrates an awareness of socio-linguistic stratification and that on several occasions it exemplified a critical interruption to the reproduction of social structure. At other times, however, these same students were caricaturing all speakers they considered ‘below’ them, in this way happily reproducing the existing linguistic hierarchy for their own micro-political profit in the classroom.

Short Paper

In the past century, Flanders, the Dutch-speaking north of Belgium, has seen an enormous investment in the dissemination of Standard Dutch (SD). This investment was certainly not without its results: the formal register in Belgian Dutch has undeniably converged with the North-Netherlandic model. SD has, however, never managed to break through to the informal level of colloquial speech. Moreover, SD-policy now increasingly faces signs of substandardised speech also tiptoeing into those domains where SD used to be regarded as uncontested, such as in the school.

That even schools do not escape substandardisation is cause for concern and leads to calls for renewed efforts in favour of SD. These calls are aggravated by the astronomical school failure rates of ethnic minority students: only 5 out of 100 students in Flemish higher education have an ethnic minority background; of these 5, no less than 4 fail in their first university year; moreover, about 50 % of ethnic minority pupils do not earn a secondary school degree.

Appalled by these devastating numbers, in recent year Flemish educationalists have focused on beating ethnic minority school failure, which they hold can only be most effectively prevented in the future via a radical Dutch monolingualism and a ‘sink or swim’ submersion at
the earliest possible moment: "only by guiding each pupil to a correct and rich skill in the
standard language will education be able to guarantee that opportunities in society do not
depend on social origin, but on the extent to which somebody’s talents have been developed”,
such is the official policy line. Unsurprisingly in this climate, suggestions of bilingually
organised education are snubbed or are viewed as ill-considered and leading to a state of
‘zero-lingualism’, that is, to a situation where pupils would underachieve in both languages.

Naturally, there are many reasons to doubt that this radical focus on SD will be able to change
present school failure rates significantly. Not least, the fact that SD has always been the sole
linguistic policy in Flemish education, which has obviously not been able to preclude current
failure rates. Several authors have also formulated serious criticism on total submersion
programmes (see, e.g., Cummins, 2000). Relevant for my purposes however, is that
ethnographic data I collected at a secondary school in Antwerp (Belgium) around the turn of
the century – so, just a couple of years before this recent radicalization of monolingual policy
in education – demonstrate similar orientations to this idea of zero-lingualism, or at least to
incompetence in Dutch.

More in particular, my data indicate that all students largely accepted SD-policy and
competently style-shifted between formal and less formal varieties, in keeping with the general
advice that SD be used on formal occasions. But a group of ethnic minority students (mostly of
Moroccan descent) also playfully stylised varieties up and down the linguistic hierarchy created
by this standard variety. That is, they produced ‘stylisations’ or exceptional, unexpected and
spectacular acts of styling designed to attract attention and invite others to decipher the
special effect they create in the situation-on-hand (Coupland, 2007; Rampton 2006). In linking
these stylisations to a more general social practice of ‘making out’ and ‘messing about’ in
class, I will show that their playful behaviour demonstrates an awareness of socio-linguistic
stratification, and that on several occasions it exemplified a critical interruption to the
reproduction of social and linguistic hierarchies. At other times, however, these same students
were caricaturing the linguistic proficiency of all speakers they considered ‘below’ them, in this
way happily reproducing the existing linguistic hierarchy, since this helped them to consolidate
their discursive dominance in the classroom.

References


Keywords

Standard Language, Stylisation, Adolescents, School, Ethnic Minorities

Bio Data

Jürgen Jaspers holds a Postdoctoral Fellowship from the Research Foundation Flanders and
teaches at the University of Antwerp, Belgium. He researches language variation in connection
to school, ideology, standardisation and society.
Contact

University of Antwerp
Prinsstraat 13
2000 Antwerp
Belgium

jurgen.jaspers@ua.ac.be
Chrismi-Rinda Kotze
University of the Free State, Bloemfontein, South Africa

The Linguistic Landscape of South Africa after 1994: A Case Study of Philippolis

Abstract

This study is situated in the framework of linguistic landscape (LL) studies, a recent field in sociolinguistics. The LL, as part of the (continuously contested) public space, is shaped by both top-down and bottom-up actors. As such it is indexical of both the official and de facto language policies, as well as of socio-political and economic changes and the power dynamics within a certain community.

A complete inventory was drawn up of the signage in the three ethnically divided neighbourhoods. The analysis mainly aimed at determining how and to what degree the greater socio-political transformation after 1994 is reflected in the linguistic landscape.

Short Paper

Linguistic landscape (LL) studies, a recent development in sociolinguistics, more specifically in language planning, investigate the presence of languages in the public sphere. The analysis of data is dependent on the scope of the specific research initiative; although most studies take into account the contributions of top-down and bottom-up actors. The value of LL studies lies in that the absence or presence, and characteristics of usage, of different languages reveals both the official and de facto language policies, the power dynamics operative between and within communities as well as between the public and the authorities.

Thus far few studies have been undertaken of the South African LL. Also, LL studies tend to focus on urban areas; however, the rural areas have much to offer. Philippolis is a rural town in the southern Free State Province and, as in the rest of the district; the dominant languages are Afrikaans, English, Sesotho and isiXhosa. Except for English, which is taught at school, most children use the above-mentioned as first languages. Due to the free interaction especially among the black and the coloured population, there is a high degree of societal multilingualism.

Philippolis is considered a historic town for two reasons. Firstly, being the oldest town in the area, it played a central role in the early history of the Free State province. It is also the axis of several ethnic migrations, from early Khoisan presence, a dominant Griqua presence at a later stage and currently, as is happening nation-wide, housing foreigners from the rest of Africa, the Middle East and Asia. Even though it is a small town, it reflects developments on larger scale and contains linguistic evidence from different regimes. The three ethnically-divided neighbourhoods are remnant of the previous regime’s policy of separate housing and development. As such the town can be considered a sociolinguistic archaeological site.

The top-down actors shaping the LL in Philippolis are mainly government departments and agencies. Commerce and private individuals (home-based signs) mainly constitute the bottom-up agents. It is especially the latter that reveal differences and similarities between the three neighbourhoods, which are cultural-ethnically as well as economically divided.
The status of and attitudes towards language(s) on different levels are reflected in the linguistic landscape, as the choice thereof is influenced by the symbolic and mythological functions of the linguistic landscape rather than the informative function. Choice of language is an important point of comparison, both between bottom-up and top-down agents, as well as amongst the three bottom-up sectors. Due to the negative association of Afrikaans with the apartheid era, the use of English is emphasised in government sectors. However, Afrikaans has a very strong grass-roots level presence in that area, as is reflected in private signage. The position of African languages in formal usage is neglected in general in South Africa, and this is also reflected in this rural town’s linguistic landscape. Another linguistic issue receiving nation-wide attention is the growing presence of English to the detriment of other languages. In Philippolis, as in the rest of the country, the top-down signage is dominantly English, and it is also encroaching on the private sphere, especially in the domain of commerce. In this way the linguistic landscape of Philippolis illustrates discrepancy between the official and the de facto language policy, as well as the power structures and dynamics between the different cultural and economic groups.

Every single sign in the three ethnically divided neighbourhoods were captured by means of digital photograph. The data were categorised according to bottom-up and top-down sources and the predominance of the languages displayed was determined by means of a coding scheme. The analysis aimed at determining how and to what degree the greater socio-political transformation after 1994 is reflected in the linguistic landscape; and what the attitudes of the different groups are to the changes.

**Keywords**

Linguistic Landscape, Language Policy, Language Planning, Xhariep District, 1994, Public Arena

**Bio Data**

**Chrismi-Rinda Kotze** commenced her studies (B.A. Language Studies) at the University of the Free State (UFS), Bloemfontein in 2004. She completed B.A. Hons. (Linguistics) in 2007 and commenced with M.A. (Linguistics) in 2009, also at UFS. Currently she is busy completing her M.A. thesis, while employed at the Unit for Language Management (UFS) since 2005, first as a student assistant and currently as a research assistant.

**Contact**

Unit for Language Management  
University of the Free State  
Bloemfontein  
9300  
Republic of South Africa

kotzecr.hum@ufs.ac.za
Mariana Kriel
University of the Free State, Bloemfontein, South Africa

The Elusiveness of Coherence and Inclusivity: On the Structural and Ideological Renovation of the Post-Nationalist (?) Movement for Afrikaans

Abstract

Outside parliament, the story of Afrikaner nationalism is largely a story of language activists establishing so-called taal- en kultuurorganisasies whose objectives typically were to preserve the identity of the Afrikaner nation and to protect its interests. Of these organisations, all the major ones outlived apartheid, albeit in reinvented form, and in the post-apartheid era their ranks have been augmented by a significant number of newcomers. While some organisations – old and new – continue to define the in-group as Afrikaners, others promote the idea of an inclusive Afrikaans community by in-defining all speakers of Afrikaans – black and white – as Afrikaanses. In this paper I compare the philosophies/ideologies of the various organisations, arguing that part of the contemporary movement for the promotion of Afrikaans in South Africa is a minority nationalist movement.

Short Paper

Despite all the contextual differences, the emergence of Afrikaner nationalism at the turn of the nineteenth century is comparable to the rise of the smaller nationalisms of Europe: it began as concern on the part of members of a non-dominant ethnic group (a group under exogenous rule) about the perceived inferior status of their language, culture and history (Hroch 1985; 1996).

In the Afrikaner case, concern translated into organised language and cultural activism so swiftly that, by the late 1920s, “the cause of Afrikaner culture was hampered by the coexistence of a plethora of cultural organizations with different goals and often conflicting ideologies” (Moodie 1975:107; emphasis added). This was the view of one such an organisation, the secret Afrikaner Broederbond [Afrikaner League of Brothers – AB, est. 1918], and it was in an attempt to enhance coherence (and to gain control) that the leadership of the Bond established the Federasie van Afrikaanse Kultuurvereniginge [Federation of Afrikaans Cultural Associations – FAK] as its major front organisation in 1929.

The FAK, with which virtually every mainstream Afrikaans/Afrikaner organisation was affiliated between 1929 and the end of apartheid, was not AB's only "cultural" child: as part of its swan-song the Broederbond created the Stigting vir Afrikaans [Foundation for Afrikaans – SVA] in 1991 (to the dismay of progressive commentators). Early in the post-apartheid era, however, both children left the home: the FAK was abandoned by the parent organisation, at least financially, while the SVA was transformed into the coloured-/brown-/black-led Stigting vir Bemagtiging deur Afrikaans [Foundation for Empowerment through Afrikaans – SBA].

The argument in this paper is that the “new” FAK and the SBA represent two diverging streams in the contemporary movement for the protection and promotion of Afrikaans. Considering also other organisations (old and new, though not extreme right-wing ones), I compare definitions of the in-group and underlying ideologies.
Traditionally, the raison d’être of Afrikaanse taal- en kultuurorganisasies [Afrikaans language and culture organisations] was to preserve the identity of the Afrikaner nation and to protect its (material and so-called spiritual) interests. Organisations such as the FAK, AfriForum and Praag, as I demonstrate in this paper, continue to define the in-group as Afrikaners (now called a “cultural-historical community” rather than a “nation/volk”) and their programme is still, essentially, a nationalist one. To qualify as nationalism, it is argued, an ideology need not be informed by the conventional nationalist principle according to which the political and the national unit should be congruent (Gellner 1983:1). As an alternative, the principle that the national unit should be “collectively and freely institutionally expressed” (O’Leary 1998:40) is proposed as the core ideology of nationalism.

The Afrikaner project differs substantially from that of the SBA which is aimed primarily at the educational and economic empowerment of the historically disadvantaged speakers of Afrikaans. Here, and to a lesser extent in the Afrikaanse Taal- en Kultuurvereniging [Afrikaans Language and Culture Association – ATKV], the focus of organised language activism has shifted from identity to interests, and language has become the sole criterion for inclusion in the in-group (that is, the group whose interests are promoted).

All this suggests that the recently established Afrikaanse Taalraad which represents 40 Afrikaans/Afrikaner organisations with a combined membership of 450 000 individuals (including all the above-mentioned organisations with the exception of Praag) does not signal the achievement of organisational and ideological coherence in the Afrikaans language movement.

References


Keywords

Afrikaans, Language Movement, Language Activism, Language Organisations, Nationalism

Bio Data

Mariana Kriel is a lecturer/researcher in the Unit for Language Management at the University of the Free State. She previously taught linguistics at the University of Port Elizabeth (now the Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University). She has a MA from the University of Pretoria and is currently completing a PhD in Government at the London School of Economics and Politics Science.
Contact

Unit for Language Management
University of the Free State
PO Box 339
Bloemfontein
9300
South Africa

KrielM.hum@ufs.ac.za
Susan Lombaard & Lebohang Mathibela
University of the Free State, Bloemfontein, South Africa

From Language Aide to Community Interpreter – A Case Study in the Xhariep District Municipality, Province of the Free State

Abstract

Service delivery is central to South Africa’s government’s mantra of “a better life for all”. Inextricably related to effective service delivery is multilingual service delivery. Section 6(3)(b) of the Constitution of South Africa 1996 makes provision for municipalities to take into account the language usage and preferences of their residents. The paper reports on this dynamic in the Xhariep District Municipality in the Province of the Free State by focusing on the training needs of language aides and the challenges they face with specific reference to interpreter training. To be discussed is also the process of developing appropriate learning and teaching material in the context of the specific challenges that have been identified.

Short Paper

Introduction

Since the advent of democracy in South Africa in 1994, service delivery has been the cornerstone of government’s mantra of "a better life for all". Consequently, municipalities in South Africa should render services to the people in the language they understand best. The three Local Municipalities, namely Kopanong, Letsemeng, and Mohokare, that resort under the Xhariep District Municipality in the Province of the Free State make use of language aides to facilitate communication between members of the community and the officials of these municipalities. These aides play an important role since they are a bridge between the members of the community and the officials. The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, Section 6(4) provides that “all official languages must enjoy parity of esteem and must be treated equitably”. Resulting from this constitutional provision, one would expect a variety of languages to be at play at public offices and government departments especially since 11 languages have been declared official in the constitution.

Background

The Department of Afro-Asiatic Studies, Sign Language and Language Practice, in collaboration with the Unit for Language Management, identified the need to involve the language aides of the Xhariep District in the MIDP. This was done in fulfilment of Project Deliverables as espoused in the MIDP IV MoA for the period 2008 to 2010. These project deliverables are the following:

- building capacity in interpreting for future utilisation in the province by training a number of interpreters at the University of the Free State;
- educating potential government clients on the utilisation of professionally trained interpreters;
- promoting the interpreter service within government circle; and
- conducting research in the Xhariep District of the Free State with a view to the implementation and promotion of the Free State Provincial Language Policy by investigating multilingualism from below.
The languages mostly used in the Xhariep district are Afrikaans, Setswana, Sesotho, isiXhosa, and English. Occasionally, other languages such as isiZulu, Sesotho sa Leboa and Tshivenda, a language spoken in the far north South Africa will feature. This was the case with the workshop training of the language aides. One of them hailed from Venda and according to the information he provided, he was the only Tshivenda-speaking language aide at the Kopanong Local Municipality. During his entire employment period as a community development worker, he has come across one person speaking his language. Since Xhariep is not a metropolis, it is more difficult to source professional interpreters to fulfil the role than is the case with bigger cities like Bloemfontein, where the proceedings of the council are interpreted simultaneously by well-trained interpreters.

Services are offered by language aides
The language aides offer an array of services. These include among others, interpreting, translating, and proofreading. Though the challenge is the non-formal training received by these language aides, they provide the much-needed service with dedication at institutions such as the post office, police station, and the traffic department. Much of the interpreting happens when the officials of the Municipality address local residents on issues affecting them. The language aides then accompany these officials to such meetings. One language aide painfully explained the ordeal she had gone through interpreting for an alleged rapist who was detained. This is a much-required, voluntary service and yet she has received no training to deal with the emotions one encounters in a situation. As a result of the involvement of the language aides in the community, a workshop was organized to orientate them to interpreting. Subsequent to the workshop, it became clear that the challenge still remained: ‘the service these language aides provide is invaluable and yet there is no formal training’.

An overview of the needs identified
The needs identified are twofold: First the needs related to training and, second, the needs related to finances:

Training
The basic need uncovered is that of formal training. With formal training, the language aides will be able to effectively perform their duties, empowered to do so. To this effect, the Department of Afro-Asiatic Studies, Sign Language and Language Practice at the University of the Free State has designed a certificate course that bears credits to recognise the invaluable contribution made by the language aides. Once they have met the entry requirements of the course, registered, and successfully completed their certificate, the language aides will be rewarded with a certificate. Apart from being recognised officially as interpreters, we believe it will contribute to the emancipation of the previously marginalised languages, a constitutional mandate of developing previously marginalised languages. The challenge, however, is that most of the language aides, on the one hand, do not possess matric or grade-12 certificates which allow them to enrol for further higher education and on the other, they have quite some experience when it comes to the provision of services. The challenging question is how to close the gap, how to get them on board without matric while at the same time not throwing away their experience.

Finances
Finances are a major challenge. The workshops were organised over a two-day period. In just two days, it almost impossible to give in-depth training of any kind, let alone interpreter training. It is envisaged that, in future these workshops will culminate in a fully-fledged training programme which the language aides will attend over an extended period of time. For this to happen much more funding is required.
Who attended the workshop?
Municipalities that resort under the Xhariep District Municipality sent representatives to the workshop presentations. Specifically, the people who attended included among them the municipal workers, Community Development Workers and Community Development Practitioners. A total of 27 employees attended in comparison with the first workshop where only 16 all-male community workers attended. It is perhaps important to note that the Community Development Workers and Community Development Practitioners are not social workers; rather, they assist social workers in their professional tasks.

Development of appropriate learning and teaching material
The point of departure in developing the appropriate learning material will be to design an English module suited for purposes of municipal language aides. This module will incorporate as its contents aspects such as vocabulary, verbs, and tenses and terminology. The other module will focus on interpreting, giving the learners full exposure to liaison interpreting.

Keywords
Language Aides, Service Delivery, Interpreter Training

Bio Data

Lebohang Mathibela is a lecturer in interpreting and is involved in the training of interpreters for the Department of Justice and Constitutional Development in South Africa and the training of interpreters for MIDP. He has also been involved in the training of interpreters for the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, the Parliament, and Provincial Legislatures.

Susan Lombaard is also involved in the training of interpreters for the Department of Justice. She is a Sign Language interpreter and has written extensively on the subject. She is also involved in the MIDP.

Contact
Department of Afro-Asiatic Studies
Sign Language and Language Practice
P.O. Box 339
Bloemfontein
9300
South Africa

mathibelaLZ.Hum@ufs.ac.za
lombasc.HUM@ufs.ac.za
Johan Lubbe
Universiteit van die Vrystaat, Bloemfontein, Suid-Afrika

Wedersydse Beïnvloeding in die Periode 1976 tot 1983 van Top-down en Bottom-up Optredes op Taalbeleid en Taalbeplanning

Abstract

Gebeure wat hom tussen 1976 en 1983 in Suid-Afrika afgespeel het, toon enersyds aan dat taalbeplanning in die algemeen, en taalbeplanning vir die onderwys in besonder, ideologies nie neutraal is nie, en andersyds dat daar 'n wisselwerking tussen amptelike (top-down) en burgerlike (bottom-up) optredes in die vasstelling van 'n taalbeleid vir die onderwys is. Die Soweto-opstand in 1976 was 'n bottom-up-reaksie op 'n top-down-beleid. Hierdie bottom-up-optrede het op sy beurt sowel; top-down- as bottom-up-gevolge gehad. Die druk wat deur bottom-up-optredes uitgeoefen is, het nie meertaligheid in die onderwys tot gevolg gehad nie, dog juis die bevordering van eentaligheid.

Die beleidsaanpassing en -verandering in die onderwys sal veral aan die hand van beriggewing in die gedrukte media nagegaan word.

Short Paper

Daar word uitgegaan vanaf die volgende twee hipoteses:

i) Taalbeplanning in die algemeen, en taalbeplanning vir die onderwys in besonder, is ideologies nie neutraal nie;

ii) In die vasstelling van 'n taalbeleid vir die onderwys is 'n wisselwerking tussen amptelike (top-down) en burgerlike (bottom-up) optredes verkieslik.


Die top-down beleidsaanpassings en -veranderinge sal veral aan die hand van koerantberigte nagegaan word, terwyl die bottom-up voorstelle, omdat die organisasies meestal verbode was en dus nie oor gerapporteer is nie, veral aan die hand van bronnestudie beskryf word.
Die gebeure tussen 1976 en 1983 toon dat veral die swart taalgebruikers beslis nie "passiewe ontvangers" was van amptelike taalbesluite nie, en deur hulle optrede druk uitgeoefen het om die beleid te wysig. Hierdie druk het egter tot gevolg gehad dat nie multitaligheid nie, dog juis eentaligheid in die onderwys bevorder is.

**Keywords**

Taalbeplanning, taalbeleid, medium van onderwys, moedertaalonderwys, ideologie, gedrukte media

**Bio Data**

**Hendrik Johannes Lubbe**, Eenheid vir Taalbestuur, Universiteit van die Vrystaat, Bloemfontein, Suid-Afrika, behaal die D.Litt. in 1970 aan die Universiteit van die Vrystaat. Nadoktorale navorsing aan die Instituut A.W. de Groot voor Algemene Taalwetenschap van die Rijksuniversiteit in Utrecht, Nederland. Professor en hoof van die Departement Algemene Taalwetenskap, Universiteit van die Vrystaat. Verskeie internasionale kongresse bygewoon in Poznan (Pole), Pavia (Italië), Amsterdam (Nederland), Bloomington, Indiana (VSA), New York (VSA), Madison, Wisconsin (VSA), Antwerpen (België), Galway (Ierland) en Lissabon (Portugal).

**Contact**

Eenheid vir Taalbestuur
Universiteit van die Vrystaat
Bloemfontein
9300
Republiek van Suid-Afrika

whitevm.hum@ufs.ac.za
Aïssatou Mbodj-Pouye* & Cécile Van Den Avenne**

* École Des Hautes Études et Sciences Sociales, Paris, France
** École Normale Supérieure, Lyon, France

Language Use in Grassroots Literacy Practices. Code-switching in Dream Narratives Sent to a Local Radio in Mopti, Mali

Abstract

This paper deals with dream narratives sent to a local radio in Mopti (Mali) for interpretation during a live broadcast. This writing practice involves two processes of translation: from a language of oral communication (Bamanan, Fula, Songhoy) to a written language, mainly French, the official language; from French to Bamanan, the main language the broadcast runs in, with references to an Islamic corpus of texts in Arabic. The linguistic analysis of the corpus, backed upon a broader ethnographic approach, will highlight the sense of the discursive situation of the writers who take into account this whole process of translation.

Short Paper

This paper deals with a specific kind of written material, letters sent to the presenter of a local radio in Mopti (a half-size town of Northern Mali) for a live broadcast called "Sugon kènè" ("Sweet Dreams"). These letters are read on the air by the presenter, who will further give an interpretation, following the Islamic tradition of interpretation of dreams. This writing practice involves two processes of translation: from a local language of oral communication and experience (Bamanan, Fula, Songhoy) to a written language, mainly French, the official language and usual written language; on the air, from this written language to Bamanan, the main language the broadcast runs in.

The dreams' interpretation involves another process of translation as the interpreter uses a "clé des songes" written in Arabic and translates into Arabic the words pointed as relevant in the letters in order to get the symbolic meaning associated with those words. This specific process of translation, which is part of the interpretation, may be taken into account by the dreamers who are aware of the importance of using the “right words” to tell their dreams in order to be given an accurate interpretation of them.

We have collected approximately 200 letters, during an ethnographic field-work relying on observations and interviews. For this paper, we will focus on the linguistic analysis of the corpus, backed upon this wider ethnographic approach. We draw from works in linguistic anthropology which have stressed the richness of “grassroots literacy” - a label first used by Fabian (1990) and recently elaborated by Blommaert to describe a “wide variety of “non-elite” forms of writing” (Blommaert, 2008).

We will devote our paper to an investigation of code-switching in these texts written mostly in French, with borrowings and interferences towards Bamanan or towards Arabic. The code-switching phenomena betray a sense of the discursive situation, as dreamers take into account the whole process of translation in which their practice is embedded. These practices offer a more complex view on the sociolinguistic situation of present Mali than usual accounts of this diglossic context.
Multilingual literacies is an emergent field of research (Durgunoğlu & Verhoeven, 1998; Martin-Jones & Jones, 2000), but little studies really tackle with the materiality of writings involving different languages. As pointed out by Mark Sebba (2005, 2006), there is no independent theoretical framework for the phenomena of written language mixing; all linguistic research has drawn on theoretical framework originally developed for spoken code-switching research. Sebba argues that the notion of “written code-switching” needs to be interpreted much more broadly than looking for pattern in writing which correspond to the kind of switching identified in conversation.

Taking into account the specificity of our corpus, we will focus on the meta-linguistic activity and discursive reflexivity revealed by the use of code-switching in those written materials. We will pay a special attention to the graphic devices used by the writers to index those phenomena. Drawing from the seminal work of Authier-Revuz (1997) on the heterogeneity of discourse, we will try to construct an interpretative framework to describe code-switching phenomena in grassroots texts.

References


Keywords

Literacy, Writing Practices, Code-Switching, Mali (West Africa), Bamanan (Mande Language), Radio, Multilingualism, ‘Grassroots Literacies’

Bio Data

Aïssatou Mboj-Pouye studied philosophy and social sciences at the Ecole Normale Supérieure (Paris), and Bamanan at the Institut des Langues Nationales et Orientales. She completed her PhD in Sociology and anthropology in March 2007 at the University of Lyon 2, based on an ethnographic approach to literacies in the cotton-growing region of Mali. Her work combines a study of the paths to literacy with a thorough account of writing practices, through the analysis of multilingual vernacular texts. She works currently as a Research and teaching assistant in Anthropology at the Centre d'Etudes Africaines (EHESS, Paris).
Cécile Van den Avenne studied at the Ecole Normale Supérieure- Fontenay Saint-Cloud and at the University of Sorbonne. She obtained a master degree in classics and passed an agrégation of grammar in 1994. Then she turned to language sciences and completed a first degree in Bamanan (INALCO). Her PhD in sociolinguistics (1999) focuses on the issue of language in life stories by Malian migrants (see her book Changer de vie, changer de langues. Paroles de migrants entre le Mali et Marseille, Paris, L’Harmattan, 2004). She is Associate Professor in linguistics at the Ecole Normale Supérieure Lettres et Sciences Humaines (Lyon).

Contact

Aïssatou Mbodj-Pouye
Centre d’études Africaines
EHESS
96, bd Raspail
75006 PARIS
France
mbodj@free.fr

Cécile Van den Avenne
ICAR
Ecole Normale Superieure
15 parvis René Descartes
B.P. 7000
69000 LYON
France
cecile.vandenavenne@free.fr
Eric Mijts
University of Aruba, Oranjestad, Aruba

The Functionality of Language Testing for Naturalisation Procedures in Multilingual Societies, from the Point of View of the Applicant

Abstract

In this contribution I would like to focus on how and why language tests are implemented in naturalization procedures in multilingual societies and what these language tests mean for the applicants. In the Kingdom of the Netherlands, of which the Netherlands Antilles and Aruba form part, a new law intends to double this display of willingness to integrate of those who want to obtain the Dutch nationality in the Dutch-Caribbean, by requiring tests for two languages. This new development forces applicants not only to learn two languages up to the A2 level of the CEFR, but also, in the case of Aruba, Bonaire and Curaçao to learn two internationally minor languages in an environment that is dominated by English and Spanish influences due to economical and social developments. The motivation for the applicants is low, the facilities to learn these languages are scarce and the effects on integration are dubious.

Short Paper

The functionality of language testing for naturalisation procedures in multilingual societies, from the point of view of the applicant.

In order to obtain the nationality of a nation, an applicant often has to provide proof of integration in society or of the ability and willingness to integrate in that society. In many cases, a language test is part of this proof. The policies with regards to these procedures and requirements vary wildly. In this contribution I would like to focus on how and why language tests are implemented in testing applicants for citizenship in the multilingual society of Aruba and the Netherlands Antilles and what consequences the language testing policy has for the applicants.

Many multilingual nations, e.g. South Africa, focus on proficiency in one of the nation's languages as proof of the fact that an applicant is willing to integrate in that nation. In the Kingdom of the Netherlands, of which the multilingual Netherlands Antilles and Aruba form part, a new law intends to double this display of willingness to integrate of those who want to obtain the Dutch nationality in the Dutch-Caribbean islands Aruba, Bonaire and Curaçao, by requiring tests for two languages: Dutch and Papiamento, and in Sint Maarten, Saba and Sint Eustatius for Dutch and English. According to the explanatory statement of the Dutch government (31813 (R 1873)) the reason for this requirement is that a proper integration in the society of the Dutch Antilles and Aruba can only be achieved by implementing the double language requirements.

This new development forces applicants not only to learn two languages up to the A2 level of the Common European Framework of Reference, but also, in the case of Aruba, Bonaire and Curaçao to learn two internationally minor languages in an environment that is dominated by English and Spanish influences due to economical and social developments. The motivation for
these applicants is low, the facilities to learn these languages are scarce and the net outcome in terms of integration are dubious (cf. Bjornson 2007).

Although the implementation of a double language test might seem to be inspired by the idea of integration, the possible side-effects appear to point in the opposite direction: the amount of effort an applicant for citizenship has to invest in learning two languages, the disputable added value of mastering two languages at the waystage level, the absence of facilities to learn these languages and the fact that many citizens in Aruba or Curacao are able to integrate very well without knowledge of either Papiamento or Dutch indicate that the goal of this new policy could very well not be to integrate people in society but to exclude these applicants from Dutch citizenship (de Groot & Mijts 2009). A new gatekeeping device is installed – in reaction to the growth of ethnic diversity and internal ethnic tensions - to marginalize those who have language proficiencies which are different from the majority. This is not a linguistic issue alone. The legislation keeps out those who either refuse, or are unable, to abide by the rules of the dominant group (Mc Namara & Shohamy 2008, Blackledge 2005).

The amount of effort a learner has to invest is very difficult to measure. Both the characteristics of the learner as the characteristics of the target language influence the investment by the learner. According to the figures of the Dutch Immigration and Naturalization service only 40% of language learners pass the A2 test of Dutch as a foreign language after 600 hours of study. (de Groot en Mijts 2009)

A strong argument against such a testing policy – in point of fact: against any language testing policy - is the fact that candidates for citizenship will be inclined to learn the language(s) that will benefit them in their socio-economic development in society (Myers-Scotton, 1982, Kostakopoulou 2003). In order to integrate in society these people will invest time in a language (Grin 1996, Grin 2006, Lang 1986) that will have a positive influence on their professional career, in many cases this will be not be Papiamento or Dutch, but English. The choice for English is quite logical: the majority of the Aruban labour force works in the tourism, trade and transport industries in which the dominant language is English (Mijts 2008, Cuvelier & Mijts, in preparation). Globalization reinforces this dominance of English in the media, education, on billboards etc. To give just one example: although Papiamento and Dutch are the official languages in Aruba, all signposts in and around the airport of Aruba are in English and Spanish.

Apparently, the Dutch government and policymakers are of the opinion that language skills are the only way of integration. The governments of other multilingual countries do not share this opinion: in countries like Belgium (three official languages), Switzerland (four official languages) and Ireland (two official languages) no language test is required for citizenship. In Canada (two official languages), the UK (three official languages), Finland (two official languages) and South Africa (eleven official languages) only one language is tested. Nowhere in the world, a double language test is required for citizenship.

Based upon the previous arguments, the requirement for applicants for the Dutch nationality in the Netherlands Antilles and Aruba of participating in a double language test will be a demotivating experience that may well have the opposite effect than the effect desired by policy makers: instead of being motivated to integrate in society, the applicants may start of with a strong sense of being excluded from society from the onset.

References


CBS Aruba: "The people of Aruba, Continuity and Change", Aruba, 2002

Keywords
Language Testing, Citizenship, Multilingual Societies, Exclusion

Bio Data

Eric Mijts works as a lecturer Dutch/Legal Skills at the Faculty of Law of the University of Aruba. His main fields of interest are multilingualism, language and law, debate and argumentation theory.
He studied Dutch and English at the University of Antwerp. Currently he is working on a PhD-project with the working title ‘The Construction of Perception in Language Policy Planning’

Contact

University of Aruba
Irausquinplein 4
Oranjestad
Aruba

eric.mijts@ua.aw
eric_mijts@hotmail.com
Johan Moll

University of the Free State, Bloemfontein, South Africa

Academic Excellence versus Cultural Sensitivity: Black and White Student’s Perceptions and Experiences of Cultural and Lingual Policies on a South African University Campus

Abstract

The feeling of anxiety experienced on account of language policy is analysed, based on an investigation of the cultural and language problematique between black and white English, Afrikaans and Sotho speaking students. Perceptions and misunderstandings among black and white students are analysed: language and race favouritism; diversity versus transformation; perceptions of white superiority; xenophobia; white versus black cultural preferences, etc. Resolutions are suggested through the conviction that a university is a place for the advancement of learning and academic standards through the medium of the language best suited for that purpose. Vestiges of racism are held up as the bad apple that contaminates and keeps corrupting the whole.

Short Paper

The above proposal falls within the ambit of one of the key questions posed for the conference, namely: ‘how are language policies experienced by language users?’. The feeling of anxiety and misappreciation experienced on account of the language policy followed and applied by the university of the Free State is analysed, based on an investigation (at the request of the university authorities) of the cultural and language problematique between black and white English, Afrikaans and Sotho speaking (mainly pre-graduate) students. A wide ranging questionnaire was completed by 500 students and many interviews conducted (including insights gained after visits to various Australian universities). The cultural and language experiences, frustration and tension in classes and in hostels on the campus (a formerly almost exclusively white, conservative Afrikaans (campus) are exposed. The viewpoints and voiciferous political actions of the generally more conservative white students, versus the more radical and politically more passive black students, come to the fore. Important perceptions, misunderstandings and true grievances among students are analysed. Language and race favouritism, diversity versus transformation, perceptions of white superiority, xenophobia, white versus black preferences, etc. The pivotal question posed by blacks of why they are willing to accept a single language of instruction – English – while Afrikaans students rigidly demand their own language,

Lastly, I suggest resolutions from a humanistic viewpoint and the hobbesian conviction that “the first use of languages is not to communicate with others, but to be more accurate in one’s own view of thinking” leading the cartesian dictum that the best way to prevent false beliefs from contaminating the rest, is to reject all beliefs and accept the un-Afrikaans realisation that the university is not a place for the celebration of cultures, but for the advancement of learning and high academic standards through the medium of the language best suited for that purpose. The vestiges of racism are held up as the bad apple that contaminates and keeps corrupting the whole.
Keywords

Campus Language Policy, Cultural and Language Problematique, Black and White, English Afrikaans Sesotho Speakers, Classroom and Hotel Tensions, Conservative Afrikaans Students, Radical Black Students, Language and Race Favouritism, Diversity versus Transformation, Perceptions of White Supremacy, Cultural Preferences, Single Language Instruction, True Definition of a University, English as Preferred Language

Bio Data

Johannes Cornelis Moll started lecturing in the Department of History at the University of the Free State in 1962 and achieved his D. Phil. in 1968. He acted as dean of the Faculty of Humanities from 1982 to 1987. On return of his posting as cultural attaché for South Africa in Britain, he became head of the Department of History at the same university. After retiring in 1997, he was contracted as research associate at the Unit for Language Management (UFS) and the Department of History (North West University).

Contact

Unit for Language Management
University of the Free State
Bloemfontein
9300
South Africa

molljc.hum@ufs.ac.za
Annmarie Mostert

University of the Free State, Bloemfontein, South Africa

Multilingualism from Below: Responses of Free State Primary Schools with Diverse Multilingual Learning and Teaching Contexts to the South African National Language-in-Education Policy

Abstract

Firstly, the paper aims to explore the interaction between the macro, meso and micro levels of language-in-education policy and planning. A baseline survey conducted in six Free State primary schools in March 2007 examines if, and how schools translate additive multilingualism into their own language management and usage practices. Secondly, the paper discusses active participation in overt, micro-level language policy and planning as examples of subalternity that involves agency. Thirdly, the paper invites reflection on the usefulness and relevance of the language policy and planning strategies designed to empower language users, thus, to shape pragmatic patterns of multilingualism from below.

Short Paper

The implementation of additive multilingualism presents many challenges to language managers and users at school level. School management teams and teachers seek to interpret the national language-in-education policy (cf. DoE, 1997) by asking the following pragmatic question: “How can the principles of additive multilingualism become useful and relevant to our learning and teaching context?” That is, if these school communities have asked this question.

The Culture of Learning Association conducted a baseline survey to establish the level of policy development and interpretation in six Free State schools with diverse multi-lingual contexts. The Department of Education of Flanders funded the survey as part of the Free State Language of Learning and Teaching (FS LoLT) project. Relevant officials from the Free State Department of Education, researchers from the University of the Free State and the Central University of Technology participated in this baseline survey. The research team interviewed 20 school management team members, 6 Grade 3 and 6 grade 4 teachers. They also observed a total of 238 learners in the sampled Grade 3 and 4 classrooms. A total of 162 learners were SeSotho speaking, 67 were Afrikaans speaking and 9 were IsiXhosa speaking.

The FS LoLT Baseline Report (Mostert et al., 2007:10) indicated that school management teams and teachers had a poor knowledge of the national language-in-education policy. Moreover, the findings of the baseline survey in the Grade 3 and 4 classrooms in particular and in the six schools in general served as a framework for the development of interactive workshop guidelines (cf. SHC R&D, 2008). Their purpose was to facilitate the interpretation of the national and provincial language-in-education policy at school level. In addition, the guidelines promoted information sharing and active participation in the review and formulation of school language policies.

The paper explores examples of how schools responded to the challenge of developing language policies that applied the principles of additive multilingualism. A critical analysis of these examples examines the role, status and image of languages as determined by their
usefulness and relevance to learners, teachers, parents and school managers. It continues to explore the complexities of multilingualism in language management and use (Cuvelier, 2007:xvi). It discusses, for example, the role of teachers as language managers in the development of learners’ informal or playground language and their academic literacy (Cummins, 1996:56). It also considers whether teachers were able to apply the principles of additive multilingualism to their own learning and teaching contexts as “they are the ones, ultimately, who formulate and monitor school (including playground) language policy” (Adendorff, 1996:402).

The paper concludes with a reflection on best practices in the analysed examples of schools’ responses to the principles of additive multilingualism. Stake (2005:460) comments that the “utility of a case research to practitioners and policy makers is in its extension of experience”. Drawing on their own experience, language planners and experts might reflect on best practices that promote multilingualism in language-in-education policy and planning in school communities.

References


Keywords


Bio Data

Annamarie Mostert researched the following: the role of formal instruction in SLA within the communicative approach (Dissertation for Masters’ Degree in applied linguistics, 1994); language management in 4 deep-rural primary schools in the Free State, 2002–4); language management in 6 Free State primary schools with diverse language scenarios (2007 to date); language programme evaluation of English as LoLT (PhD Thesis, 2008). I coordinated:
instrument-design measuring Grade 3 learners’ literacy skills in the Monitoring of Learner Achievement study for the Sub-Saharan Region in Harare (1999); the standardisation, contextualisation and translation of Grade 3 systemic evaluation instruments for South Africa (2000).

Contact

Culture of Learning Association trading as Sacred Heart College Research and Development Unit
Free State Programmes
Bloemfontein
9300
RSA

amshcrnd@iafrica.com
Mwaniki Munene

University of the Free State, Bloemfontein, South Africa

Mixed Approach to Multilingual Language Policy Implementation: Insights from Local Government Sphere in South Africa

Abstract

The paper reports insights gained facilitating multilingual policy implementation at local government sphere in South Africa and which mitigate for a mixed approach to multilingual language policy implementation. The approach involves designing multilingual language policy formulation and implementation processes through close cooperation between national and/or provincial government(s) and municipalities within the context of co-operative government. After a framework of cooperation is established, the approach entails focusing multilingual policy implementation initiatives on selected municipalities at a time, where multilingual policy implementation interventions are modelled, tested, perfected and implemented. These interventions are then replicated horizontally into other municipalities where they are implemented and further refined.

Short Paper

Introduction and Background

Multilingual language policy implementation as an aspect of public policy implementation is problematic. Contributory to this problematic is the fact that generally multilingual language policies are subject to the constraints that are attendant to public policy implementation. However, as with other public policies, there is a perpetual search of approaches that can facilitate implementation of multilingual policies. The paper shares insights on multilingual policy implementation at the local government sphere in South Africa gained by the author while managing two projects, namely The Language Management for Local Government in the Free State Province and Deepening Community Participation and Empowerment through Multilingualism in Local Government.

South Africa has a near perfect legislative and policy framework for multilingual policy implementation. The near perfect legislative and policy framework comprises of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (Act 108 of 1996); the Pan South African Language Board Act (Act 59 of 1995); the White Paper on Transforming Public Service Delivery (Batho Pele White Paper of 1997); the Promotion of Access to Information Act (Act 2 of 2000); the Promotion of Administrative Justice Act (Act 3 of 2000); the Local Government Municipal Systems Act (Act 32 of 2000); the National Language Policy Framework (2002); the implementation Plan: National Language Policy Framework (2003) and the Guidelines for Implementing Multilingualism in Local Government 2008 – 2011 (2008). The term near perfect is used because one critical piece of legislation that could have made the South African multilingual legislative and policy scenario perfect, namely the South African Language Act is yet to be legislated and is pending before parliament in the form of the South African Languages Bill (2003). However, even with this near perfect legislative and policy framework, actual implementation of multilingual language policies at grassroots level in South Africa remains problematic.
That this is the case is hardly surprising. The democratic changes and gains in South Africa over the last one and half decades have, to a greater extent, overshadowed one disturbing fact – that the South African public sector still resonates with and is to a larger extent structured around the centrist planning theories and practices that were dominant in the 1970s and 1980s (Cheema and Rondinelli 1983). Notably though, the last fifteen years have been marked by a conscious effort by government at decentralisation as evidenced by the Provincial Growth and Development Strategies (PGDS) and Integrated Development Planning (IDP) processes. However, this decentralisation of policy formulation and adoption is not supported by requisite capacity to implement policies at decentralised nodal points.

The centralised nature of development planning that still resonates within the South African public sector and the decentralisation policy initiatives therefore mitigate for a mixed approach to public policy formulation and implementation, multilingual language policies included.

**Mixed Approach to Multilingual Language Policy Implementation**

The approach entails designing multilingual language policy implementation efforts through close and concerted efforts between the national government and municipalities in some instances and between provincial government and municipalities in other instances. In both instances, the advantages of multilingual language policy implementation are communicated to all stakeholders in a dialogical manner which allows them to shape planned interventions in terms of nature, timing and resource requirements. The various processes involved in the mixed approach to multilingual language policy implementation include:

*Dialogical intervention strategies* (Romm 2001) which seek to mediate different people’s perceptions of “the situation” and options for appropriate conduct are fundamental in the mixed approach to multilingual language policy implementation. They provide the framework within which the national government and/or the provincial government engage with municipalities, so as to secure buy-in from the parties involved in multilingual language policy implementation. Dialogical intervention strategies are ongoing discourses in the entire of the multilingual language policy implementation process.

*Development communication* (Coetzee 2001) that entails the deployment of methodologies and tools specifically designed to spread information and contribute to behaviour change. In multilingual language policy implementation, development communication enables actors to isolate and focus on individual and contextual factors that impact on the behaviour change needed to support multilingual policy implementation. Development communication, like dialogical intervention strategies permeate all processes of multilingual language policy implementation.

*Language surveys that are ward based* are critical in multilingual language policy implementation, especially when the focus of implementation is a municipality. Such language survey provides data on language prevalence per ward and can be designed to also include data on language attitudes. Experience indicates that multilingual language policy implementation stands a better chance of success if language policy formulation, planning and subsequent implementation is premised on ward based language surveys so as to scientifically establish language prevalence and attitudes from a micro level.

*Municipality linguistic skills Audit* that seeks to help the management of a municipality to identify the strengths and weaknesses of the municipality in terms of communication in different languages within its jurisdiction is another critical component of the mixed approach. A linguistic skills audit serves to clearly map nature of skills available for multilingual policy implementation. Depending on the results of the audit, interventions are then designed to acquire skills where they are non-existent and development of skills where there are deficiencies.
Multilingual language policy drafting, debate and adoption should be the next logical process after the processes discussed above have been undertaken. The language policy should be in all the languages that it will seek to proclaim as official languages of the municipality so as to facilitate comment and debate by citizens. The resultant language policy could be adopted as a by-law of the municipality.

Mainstreaming multilingual language policy into integrated development planning (IDP) processes. Development planning and management within the local government sphere in South Africa occurs within the framework of IDP. It is a process by which planning efforts of different spheres and sectors of government and other institutions are co-ordinated at local government level (Geyer 2006). Mainstreaming of multilingual policy into IDP is critical for a variety of reasons: it enables the integration of multilingualism into all development planning and management decisions for the period under review; it focuses the role of multilingualism in the development efforts of a municipality as a facilitator of other programmes and projects; it ensures a yearly review of the implementation of multilingualism in a municipality, as a component of the IDP process, as per statutory requirements; due to the participatory nature of the IDP process, mainstreaming multilingualism into IDP ensures that on a yearly basis, citizens are afforded a platform to comment on the state of multilingual policy implementation in the municipality; and it ensures that there is budgeting for the implementation of multilingual language policies because all programmes and projects captured under the IDP must be budgeted for.

Staffing, training and development is another critical component of the mixed approach to multilingual language policy implementation. Mwaniki (2004) identifies two categories of human resources required for successful implementation of multilingual language policies namely managerial language specialists and technical language specialists. Managerial language specialists provide the managerial direction and oversight required for successful implementation whereas technical language specialists handle technical aspects of implementation such as interpreting, translation, documentation and editing. Provisions must be made for training and development. Staffing, training and development for multilingual language policy implementation should be based on municipality linguistic skills audit.

Evaluation and development of a regime of best practices is another component of the mixed approach. Evaluation seeks to determine the success of implementation which involves coordination for an optimal mix of situational variables aimed at delivering and sustaining results. Results from the evaluation process should feedback into the implementation process. The aim is to ultimately develop and perfect a regime of optimal best practices for multilingual language policy implementation.

Replication is critical in the mixed approach to multilingual policy implementation. The regime of best practices modelled, tested and perfected in one municipality can be replicated in another municipality. Replication should be on the basis of scientific data deriving from language surveys and linguistic audits because a possibility that each municipality has unique situational realities is real. However, these unique situational realities should be identified and aligned with the implementation process through the processes of dialogical intervention strategies and development communication.

Conclusion

The mixed approach proposed in the current paper consolidates insights drawn from several years of working with municipalities in South Africa on processes of formulating and implementing multilingual language policies. It is important to note that the role played by the national government and/or provincial government(s) in the mixed approach is critical because many municipalities lack capacity to design and implement multilingual language policies on their own. In the approach the national and/or provincial government plays a catalytic role. However, municipalities remain viable units for multilingual language policy formulation and
implementation because they provide a simpler and limited-scope arena for actualising and managing constitutional, legislative and policy precepts with regard to multilingualism in South Africa. The mixed approach to multilingual policy implementation seeks to utilise the managerial and resource wherewithal of national and/or provincial government(s) while incorporating the advantages of decentralised development planning at municipality level.

References


Keywords


Bio Data

Munene Mwaniki was born in Kenya 36 years ago. He is Kenyan and South African educated. He holds a B.Ed (Arts) (Honours) (1995) and an M.Phil in Linguistics (1999) degrees from Moi University, Kenya. He also holds an MPA (2004) and a Ph.D. in Linguistics (2005) from the University of the Free State. He taught English, Linguistics and Communication Studies at Moi University (2005 – 2007). He has done international consultancy for the EU and SA
Government in the area of Language Management (2008). He is currently a Senior Lecturer/Researcher at the Unit for Language Management, University of the Free State. His research interests are in Language Management, Politics of Language, Public Policy and Philosophy of Social Science.

Contact

Unit for Language Management
University of the Free State
PO Box 339
Bloemfontein
9300
Republic of South Africa

mwanikimm.hum@ufs.ac.za
Cécile Petitjean

Université de Provence, Aix-en-Provence, France

De l'influence des représentations linguistiques sur les politiques linguistiques (et inversement)

Abstract

Les représentations linguistiques renvoient à des connaissances socialement élaborées participant à la gestion des comportements linguistiques et à la construction d'une réalité sociale partagée. Elles constituent ainsi des rouages primordiaux des dynamiques sociales et linguistiques. Il s'agit donc de mieux comprendre la nature des interrelations pouvant exister entre ces ressources, qui forcent les communautés les élabore, et les politiques linguistiques, qui tendent à intervenir sur les configurations sociolinguistiques résultant de l'actualisation de ces ressources représentationnelles. Quel est donc le rôle des représentations dans la définition et l'efficience d'une politique linguistique ? Inversement, les politiques linguistiques peuvent-elles influer sur les configurations représentationnelles élaborées par les acteurs sociaux ? Il s'agira donc d'éclairer les liens pouvant exister entre une gestion par le haut de l'espace linguistique et son (re)modelage par en bas.

Short Paper

Domaine majeur de la sociolinguistique, la question des politiques linguistiques (PL) demeure trop souvent rattachée aux pratiques, alors même que les représentations linguistiques (RL) y tiennent un rôle non négligeable. En effet, les RL correspondent à des connaissances socialement élaborées et partagées, se rapportant à l'objet langue. Elles disposent d'une visée pratique : elles participent à la gestion des comportements linguistiques, et concourent à la construction d'une réalité linguistique commune à un ensemble social. Enfin, les RL ont partie liée avec la gestion sociale de l'étangéité : parce qu'elles rendent compte de ce qui fait qu'un ensemble d'individus se reconnaît comme composant une même communauté, elles permettent de définir et de pérenniser les frontières distinguant les catégories de l'Ego et de l'Alter. Il est donc cohérent de leur attribuer une fonction, que ce soit dans la définition d'une politique ou dans la façon dont celle-ci se confronte aux choix spontanés des acteurs sociaux.

Quel peut être le rôle des RL dans la conception, l'application et la réception d'une PL ? Inversement, de quelle influence dispose une PL dans la dynamique des savoirs sociaux partagés ? Ces problématiques, outre le fait qu'elles tendent à renforcer la compréhension de certaines dynamiques sociales et linguistiques, participent pleinement aux questionnements propres à l'efficience et à l'équité des politiques linguistiques présentes et futures.

Afin d'évaluer la nature des interrelations pouvant exister entre les RL et les PL, nous avons réalisé des enquêtes en Suisse et en France. Ces états connaissent tous deux des situations plurilingues, mais leurs gestions politiques de celles-ci présentent de nombreuses différences : la France a toujours privilégié une démarche d'unification linguistique, tandis que la Suisse a quant à elle bâti au fil de son histoire une configuration politique reposant sur l'officialisation de la diversité linguistique. Si, dans chacune de ces communautés, les représentations relatives au plurilinguisme présentent des différences de formes et de contenus, est-il envisageable d’en rendre compte en déterminant le degré d’influence mutuelle entre représentation et politique ? En d’autres termes, nous nous intéressons à deux groupes
appartenant à une même communauté, à savoir la francophonie, présentant certaines similitudes quant à leurs environnements linguistiques respectifs (français langue officielle de leur territoire, hétérogénéité linguistique de leur espace) et une différence prégnante quant à la gestion politique de leurs caractéristiques écologiques (reconnaissance officielle de l’hétérogénéité linguistique en Suisse, absence de reconnaissance officielle en France). Il s’agit donc d’observer en premier lieu si ces deux entités sociales construisent des représentations identiques ou différentes des composants de leurs environnements sociolinguistiques. Si des variations représentationnelles apparaissent entre les deux terrains observés, il sera dès lors envisageable de disposer d’une fenêtre d’observation sur la nature du lien existant entre, d’une part, la façon dont les acteurs construisent et gèrent leur réalité sociale et linguistique, et, d’autre part, la manière dont les politiques agissent sur ces mêmes réalités.

Nous exposeron tout d’abord la démarche interdisciplinaire que nous avons privilégiée afin de proposer une définition précise de la notion de RL. Nous verrons ainsi de quelles manières le cadre théorique défini en psychologie sociale permet d’éclairer la notion de RL en sociolinguistique et, inversement, de quelles façons notre point de vue linguistique apporte certains enrichissements à la perspective psychosociale des représentations. Nous détaillerons ensuite la démarche méthodologique que nous avons élaborée afin de pouvoir observer une réalité représentationnelle qui demeure impalpable et protéiforme. Nous présenterons le corpus en résultat, qui est composé des enregistrements de vingt entretiens semi-directifs réalisés à Marseille, en France, et Lausanne, en Suisse. Nous nous appuierons enfin sur des extraits de notre corpus pour tenter d’apporter certains éclaircissements quant à la forme et au contenu des RL élaborées par nos informateurs, avant de considérer les interconnexions potentielles entre celles-ci et la gestion politique des langues telle que définie par chacune des communautés observées. Nous tenterons ce faisant d’associer une approche micro, fondée sur des analyses fines des données de notre corpus, à une approche plus macro, reposant sur la prise en compte des facteurs sociaux sous-tendant la logique des activités discursives co-construites par nos informateurs. Grâce à ce cheminement théorique et méthodologique, nous espérons éclairer la nature des influences conjointes et mutuelles pouvant émailler les relations entre représentations et politiques linguistiques, problématique qui constitue une interface idéale entre ce qui est politiquement défini par le haut et ce qui est socialement intégré par en bas.

References


**Keywords**

Sociolinguistique, representations linguistiques, politiques linguistiques, plurilinguisme

**Bio Data**

Cécile Petitjean est Doctorante au laboratoire Parole et Langage (Université de Provence, France) et au Centre de Linguistique Appliquée (Université de Neuchâtel, Suisse) ; Assistante temporaire d’enseignement et de recherche au département de Linguistique et de Phonétique Générales de l’Université de Provence ; Collaboratrice scientifique à l’Institut de Linguistique Francaise de l’Université de Neuchâtel.

**Contact**

Laboratoire Parole et Langage
5 av Pasteur
13100 AIX-EN-PROVENCE
France
petitjean_cecile@hotmail.com
Cristophe Portefin
Institut National des Langues et Civilisations Orientales, Paris, France

Le Français Compétence Professionnelle: quand la politique linguistique rentre dans le code du travail

Abstract

En France, depuis 2004, la formation de français peut être prise en charge par la Formation Professionnelle Continue. Grâce à cette loi, tous les salariés, quelles que soient leurs origines, peuvent apprendre – renforcer la langue française. Cette politique répond aux besoins d’une population de migrants employés dans de nombreuses branches professionnelles. Au travers d’une enquête réalisée auprès de différents stagiaires de « la propreté et du service » en formation, nous confronterons l’analyse de leurs réponses et représentations face à une politique linguistique française oscillant entre reconnaissance de la diversité linguistique et idéalisation de la langue nationale.

Short Paper

En France, depuis la loi du 4 mai 2004 relative à la formation professionnelle et au dialogue social, la formation de français peut être prise en charge dans le cadre de la Formation Professionnelle Continue (FPC). En effet, le Code du Travail français précise que : « Les actions de lutte contre l’illettrisme et en faveur de l’apprentissage de la langue française font partie de la formation professionnelle tout au long de la vie »\(^1\). Grâce à cette loi, tous les salariés, quelles que soient leurs origines, peuvent prétendre à un apprentissage et/ou renforcement de leurs besoins en français. Cette politique répond à une réalité sociolinguistique où les besoins linguistiques sont importants auprès d’une population de migrants travaillant, en général, sur des postes de bas niveaux de qualification dans de nombreuses branches professionnelles. Ainsi (mêmes si certaines branches professionnelles l’avaient anticipé avant 2004) plusieurs d’entre elles mettent en place des formations de ce type : Écrits professionnels (Propreté et Services), Maîtrise des Savoirs Fondamentaux (Industries agro-alimentaires), Lutte contre l’illettrisme (Travail temporaire), Maîtrise des savoirs de base (Economie sociale), Formation générale professionnelle de base (Bâtiments et travaux publics) par exemple. Dans le cadre de cette communication, nous nous intéressons plus particulièrement à la « formation aux écrits professionnels » mise en place depuis une dizaine d’années par l’OPCA\(^2\) FAF Propreté de la branche professionnelle de « la propreté et du service ». Au travers d’une enquête semi-directive réalisée auprès de différents stagiaires d’origines variées et appartenant à différentes entreprises, stagiaires plus ou moins avancés dans cette formation de 250 heures, nous avons analysés comment ils perçoivent leur « formation aux écrits professionnels », comment ils la situent dans leurs parcours socioprofessionnels. Dépassant le stricto sensu cadre professionnel, nous avons poursuivi notre enquête auprès d’eux relativement à la politique linguistique française en cours, politique de plus en plus axée sur la langue professionnelle au travers de l’immigration professionnelle et l’intégration professionnelle. L’analyse de leurs réponses et représentations face à la « formation aux écrits professionnels » et la politique linguistique française donne des résultats contrastés : alors que ces derniers vivent en France et ont besoin du français pour vivre en France (comprenant parfaitement que le français est indispensable pour vivre en France et s’y intégrer), ils évoluent dans des environnements

\(^1\) Article L6111-2 du Code du Travail.
\(^2\) Organisme Paritaire Collecteur Agréé. Il s’agit en quelque sorte de la banque formation de la branche.
professionnels plus ou moins communauteaires dans lesquels la pratique de plusieurs langues serait un plus. Alors qu’ils sont grandement satisfaits de la formation relativement à leur travail, plusieurs d’entre eux regrettent le côté trop professionnel de la formation face à leurs besoins quotidiens qui dépassent, de loin, le travail. Installés depuis peu ou depuis des décennies en France, presque tous ressentent des difficultés à y vivre, notamment d’un point de vue économique : certains d’entre eux imaginant le retour au pays ou l’émigration dans un autre pays. Ceux qui sont le plus en difficulté face à la lecture et l’écriture regrettent la lenteur de leur progression et souhaiteraient que la formation soit beaucoup plus longue et intensive. Très peu d’entre eux prennent position face à la politique linguistique française en cours, ce que nous pouvons expliquer par leur méconnaissance et par le peu de débats français sur ce sujet pourtant symbolique d’une orientation politique inscrite dans un mouvement européen beaucoup plus large. En conclusion, nous pouvons constater que les stagiaires, bien qu’inscrits dans des formations destinées à des personnes maîtrisant peu ou pas le français et de bas niveaux de qualification, perçoivent les enjeux plus larges de ces formations directement liées à la politique réformiste engagée en France ces dernières années : réforme de la formation professionnelle, de l’immigration, de la politique linguistique, de la politique économique, etc. Les questions que les stagiaires soulevent nous questionnent également : comment former en français, voire alphabétiser, des adultes en milieu professionnel dans un temps imparti, en réussissant à répondre à la demande de l’entreprise et aux besoins des salariés ? Dans le cadre d’une formation linguistique dépendant des orientations politiques françaises et européennes indubitablement ancrées dans la mondialisation de l’économie et des échanges, pourquoi et comment former, comment répondre au mieux aux aspirations socioprofessionnelles des personnes de bas niveaux de qualification en mobilité ?

**Keywords**

Code du travail, France, politique linguistique, Français Langue Professionnelle (FLP), Français Compétence Professionnelle (FCP), Formation Professionnelle Continue (FPC), Formation pour adultes.

**Bio Data**

Christophe Portefin, formateur de FLE, spécialisé en Français Langue/Compétence Professionnelle (FLP/FCP), est coordinateur pédagogique du FLP/FCP et savoirs fondamentaux au sein d’Astrolabe Formation (Seine Saint-Denis, France). Il participe à l’équipe de recherche PLIDAM JE 2502 (INALCO) dirigée par G.ZARATE et est inscrit en doctorat à Paris 3 sous la co-direction de D.MOORE et G.ZARATE. Ses domaines de recherche sont la sociolinguistique, le Français Langue/Compétence Professionnelle FLP/FCP, l’écolinguistique et les langues minoritaires.

**Contact**

INALCO Équipe PLIDAM JE2502
2, rue de Lille
75343 PARIS cedex 07
France

christophe.portefin@laposte.net
Clare Rigg, Muiris Ó Laoire, Vasiliki Georgiou

Institute of Technology, Tralee, Ireland


Abstract

This paper draws from a study of Ireland’s Official Languages Act (2003) as a specific policy domain that uses Ball’s (1997) concept of policy trajectory as a framework. Combining insights from policy discourse and institutional theory to investigate the process of policy implementation within local public service organisations, the study starts from a perspective of the policy process itself as peopled, dynamic and discursive. It explores how actors draw from competing discourses to affect implementation of national government policy within frontline health, education and local government services, influencing how the policy text is translated and implemented at local level.

Short Paper

This paper presents the approach and early findings of a study into the question: The Policy Practice Gap – what light can insights combined from policy discourse and new institutionalism shed on implementation of central government policy by local public service bodies: case study of the Irish Official Languages Act (2003)

The policy process is a frequent source of frustration for many of those involved, firstly when operationalisation diverts from policy-makers’ intended course and secondly, because so many societal problems seem unresolved despite the efforts of policy-makers. Until recently, a rational planning model of decision-making has prevailed, assuming a linear sequence of stages from problem identification to implementation, and also presuming that agency was only present at the centre. From this perspective, implementation is perceived as an administrative process (Fischer, 2003), devoid of values (Hajer, 2003), interests or emotion (Wagenaar and Cook, 2003) or agency. People are considered only as either those who have policy done to them or as shadowy resistors (Ball, 1997).

The study takes Ireland’s Official Languages Act (2003) as a specific policy domain, using Ball’s (1997) concept of policy trajectory as a framework. We take a view of the policy process itself as peopled, dynamic and discursive, following Fischer assessment of policy as ‘crafted argument’ made through debates, argument and rhetoric, where the reality for policy implementers is that in ‘confronting messy issues involving diverse populations with multiple and conflicting interests, they have to learn to balance the technical and the political components of the assignment’ (Fischer 2007:226). Critical discourse analysis and institutional theory (Maguire, 2004; Maguire & Hardy, 2006) are drawn from to investigate the process of policy implementation within selected case study frontline public service organisations in health, education and local government. We use the concept of institutional entrepreneurship as an idea ‘that reintroduces agency, interests and power into institutional analyses of organizations’ (Garud, et al. 2007:957), which focuses our attention on the ‘activities of actors

---

1 This project is funded by a grant from the IRCHSS (Irish Research Council for Humanities and Social Sciences) Research Development Initiative
who have an interest in particular institutional arrangements and who leverage resources to create new institutions or to transform existing ones’ Maguire et al (2004:657). A key element of such resources is the discursive strategies they employ. As Phillips et al (2004) argue, institutional entrepreneurship can be seen mainly as a discursive strategy whereby institutional entrepreneurs generate discourse and texts aimed at affecting the processes of social constructions that underlie institutions.

Informed by this conceptual background, our study objectives are to:

i. explore how actors draw from competing discourses to affect implementation of national government policy within local services
ii. elucidate the policy trajectory of the OLA
iii. identify the organisational and individual influences on how the policy text is translated and implemented at local level
iv. contribute to understanding of institutional change
v. elucidate implications for policy implementation

Methodologically we draw from the policy discourse work of Fischer (2003), Hajer (2003) and Maguire and Hardy (2006), and employ Broadfoot et al’s (2004) modification of critical discourse analysis. We are interested in the discursive resources and spaces actors use, as well as how they select and arrange from diverse discourses to legitimate their decisions and actions to effect implementation of national government policy within local services. At the early stage of the study this diversity includes a value for money discourse and three predominant discourses identified by O’ Reilly (2001) prevailing in relation to advocacy of the Irish language: a national language discourse (Ireland should take pride in its national language which is a source of identity); a cultural discourse (Irish has inherent value in its beauty, history, songs and literature) and a language rights discourse (Irish speakers have a human right to official recognition of the language). Two phases of the policy trajectory are explored, firstly, the process of policy text production within central government and secondly, implementation within local service delivery organisations. Methods combine semi-structured interviews, text analysis, and observation of key events, such as council meetings.

References

O’Reilly, C. 2001 Language, Ethnicity and the State Vol.1 Minority Language sin the European Union Hampshire: Palgrave

**Keywords**

Policy Trajectory, Discourse, Critical Discourse Analysis, Institutional Entrepreneur, Irish Language

**Bio Data**

Dr **Clare Rigg**, Senior Lecturer, research areas include organisation studies, public policy and leadership, critical discourse analysis.

Dr **Muiris Ó Laoire**, Senior Lecturer, research areas include in language policy and planning; Irish language and multilingualism

Dr **Vasiliki Georgiou**, Post-doctoral Research Fellow, research areas include sociolinguistics, language policy, discourse analysis, the politics of language and identity, language in the media, media discourse

**Contact**

Institute of Technology
Dromtacker
Tralee
County Kerry
Ireland

clare.rigg@staff.ittralee.ie
00353 (0)66 719 1934
Gerald Stell

Vrije Universiteit Brussel, Brussels, Belgium

Afrikaans Norms of Spoken Usage and the Feasibility of Re-standardizing Prescriptive Standard Afrikaans

Abstract

Afrikaans is, from a South African perspective, a fully-fledged standard language, supported by a vast prescriptive literature. Widespread monolingual Afrikaans education during the Apartheid era provided scope for standardization of Afrikaans spoken usage towards the idealized, prescriptive form of Standard Afrikaans. There are indications, however, that total convergence between Afrikaans spoken usage and prescriptive Standard Afrikaans has been constantly thwarted by both English influence and ethnic cleavages within the Afrikaans speech community. This is what motivated calls in the 1980s for a reformulation of the definition of prescriptive Standard Afrikaans and its rules, so that norms of Afrikaans ‘general usage’ may be used as guidelines rather than ideal constructs heavily based on Standard Dutch. Unfortunately, South African scholars have been at pains to determine what exactly those ‘norms of general usage’ amount to, and where they should be located. For example, a question that has been raised is whether such norms ought to be sought in the Rand region on economic rather than demographic grounds, or in the Cape region on demographic rather than economic grounds.

This contribution aims at giving new impetus to this debate on the basis of a geographically and ethnically representative corpus of spoken Afrikaans. The observable trends of convergence and divergence between varieties and their respective positions versus prescriptive Standard Afrikaans will form the data against which options for re-standardizing prescriptive Standard Afrikaans will be tested, as among other things ‘ethnic neutralization’, ‘regionalization’ or the maintenance of a statu quo.

Short Paper

In traditional historiography, Afrikaans tends to be presented as a direct descendant of Cape Dutch. Yet it should be emphasized that Afrikaans is a recent concept, an ideologized construct that was designed by White activists in conscious opposition to both Dutch and English in order to serve the political purpose of unifying Cape Dutch speaking Whites.

Cape Dutch was in fact a continuum, highly variable across ethnic boundaries, social classes and regions. Feature selection, operated in the name of Abstand from Dutch and English, as well as White unity, led to the formation of a syncretic standard derived from different registers and regions. The tendency to draw on Standard Dutch to fend off English influence was systematized from the time of the official recognition of Afrikaans in 1925. The ‘Netherlandicization’ of the Afrikaans standard ensured that it could not be representative of the real speech norms of a large part of the Cape Dutch speaking population. Standard Afrikaans was nonetheless able to diffuse to different degrees across the Afrikaans speech community as a result of monolingual education policies under the Apartheid.

In the wake of social unrest in South Africa, pressure for reforming Standard Afrikaans arose from the late 1970s. It was generally agreed that the traditional normative criteria had to give
way to ‘norms of general usage’. There nowadays seems to be a consensus that those ‘norms of general usage’ amount to the actual usage, both formal and informal, of most educated native speakers (Vandenberg 2000). As regards the geographic location of these norms, suggestions to identify it with the speech varieties of the Western Cape, on the ground that the majority of native Afrikaans speakers (mainly Coloureds) are to be found there, were brushed aside on the grounds that the economic centre of the Afrikaans speech community is Gauteng (cpr. van Rensburg 1991, Ponelis 1998, Webb 1998). This amounts to saying that the norm should be determined by White usage. A couple of years have passed since the topic of reforming Standard Afrikaans was discussed, and it may be useful to reconsider the issue against the background of recent sociolinguistic developments.

Nowadays, Afrikaans-speakers have retained only a measure of economic power in Gauteng. Afrikaans speaking institutions previously seated there, as the former Afrikaans universities, have either been radically scaled down or disappeared. Does it then make sense to keep Gauteng as the point of reference for Standard Afrikaans? There is little scope for finding answers to this question if no account is taken of where the norm of general usage is perceived to be by Afrikaans speakers themselves. It is argued here that those perceptions can be identified in evolution trends in informal spoken Afrikaans.

An ethnically and geographically representative corpus of informal spoken Afrikaans comprising roughly 500.000 words has been collected into samples involving three distinct age cohorts in both South Africa and Namibia. Out of these samples, four are White (Western Cape, Gauteng, Northern Rural, Namibia), and three are Coloured (Western Cape, Northern Cape, Namibia). A range of morphosyntactic variables was tested across all seven samples with a view of determining whether ethnic and geographic varieties of Afrikaans are converging, and, if they do, in which direction.

It turns out that White samples are converging irrespective of geographic location, and are closest to the prescriptive Afrikaans standard. Coloured samples, on the other hand, are marked by regional oppositions, and seem to be converging only selectively with White samples. On this basis, several options may be considered for the reform of Standard Afrikaans, some of which are:

i. a broad geographic base for the Afrikaans standard, systematically favouring convergent features, whether or not they conform to the current prescriptive standard.

ii. a narrow regional base for the Afrikaans standard, restricted to the western part of the country, where Afrikaans speakers constitute the population’s majority and are mostly Coloured.

iii. a pan-regional standard where variants are allowed to coexist on a footing of equality.

iv. a restandardization scheme on the basis of changes in White varieties on the grounds that White Afrikaans speakers everywhere form the economically most advantaged section of the Afrikaans speech community.

v. the maintenance of a statu quo, with the Standard Dutch reference in the current prescriptive standard to be cultivated as a means to neutralize tensions surrounding ethnic representativity.

Choosing one of these options over the others may imply making a choice between making Standard Afrikaans an ethnically representative standard closer to real usage, and keeping it as an ethnically unrepresentative standard with a close connexion to the Dutch-speaking world. In view of the failed experiments with standardizing Ebonics for didactic purposes in the U.S., questions may be raised as to the viability of ‘over-valorizing’ Coloured varieties of Afrikaans to the extent of including them in the prescriptive standard. The other solution of keeping Standard Dutch, presented as an ethnically neutral background reference rather than as a sort of ‘Hoog Afrikaans’ cultivated only by Whites, would then make more sense, in the interest of affording Afrikaans speakers a place in a wider language community. Even if one of the two options is adopted, much scope for reform will remain. Norms of general usage still
need to be defined for the sake of regulating those few areas of Afrikaans grammar in which free variation is allowed, or on which conflicting stances are taken by reference sources. It is not clear at this stage which of the different options will be eventually chosen. What is clear, however, is that the compilation of a central reference source for Afrikaans morphosyntax will require a representative stance to be taken with regard to these options.

References


Keywords

Sociolinguistics, Standardization, Afrikaans

Bio Data

In 2008, Gerald Stell defended doctoral dissertation on convergence and divergence between informal Afrikaans varieties. Currently he is a Research Fellow at the V.U.B and an Associate Researcher at the ESRC Centre for Research on Bilingualism (Bangor, UK) and working on interethninc accommodation in speech, historical linguistics, code-switching and syntactic variation. Current research projects are located in the Free State, Namibia and Luxembourg.

Contact

V.U.B./F.W.O.
rue Omer Lepreux 23
1081 Koekelberg
België

gstell@vub.ac.be
Kirsten van Camp* & Kasper Juffermans**

* Dept of African Languages and Cultures, Ghent University, Belgium
** Dept of Language and Culture Studies, Tilburg University, The Netherlands

Postcolonial Ideologies of Language in Education: Teachers and Parents on English and Local Language(s) in The Gambia

Abstract

This paper offers an analysis of ideologies of language-in-education (LiE) in The Gambia (West Africa). The data presented here consist of a transcribed group discussion involving teachers, parents, local politicians and an interpreter. This approach is proposed to pose an answer to the discourses of educationalists and policy makers that largely disregard local viewpoints on LiE. In taking vernacular voices seriously and mobilising them to guide our understanding of local ecologies of language, we attempt to ‘disinvent’ the Euro-colonial construction of local languages from below and imagine a more African perspective on ‘local languaging’.

Short Paper

As a British postcolony, English occupies a prominent position in Gambian public life. It is the language of parliament, higher courts of law, the written media, the linguistic landscape, tourism industry, and the eight o’clock news on TV. It is also the official medium of instruction in schools from nursery to university level.1 It is not, however, the language most heard on streets, markets, school playgrounds, in minibuses, people’s compounds, or the rice fields. These more informal domains are occupied by Gambia’s nine or so local languages (LLs): the Atlantic languages Wolof, Fula, Serer, Jola and Manjago, the Mande languages Mandinka–Bambara and Serahule, and the Creole Aku. The Gambia has two linguae francae: Mandinka and Wolof.2

Against this background of multilingualism, this paper offers an analysis of ideologies of language-in-education (LiE). Makoni and Trudell (2009) argue that we need to include African perspectives on linguistic diversity. We understand this call not as a message to non-African sociolinguists to stop writing about Africa, but as an invitation to theorise about LiE in ways that are locally relevant and that take locally grounded views of language seriously.

In order to give audience to local voices in the Gambian debate on the medium of instruction, we have organised a metalinguistic writing contest in a rural lower basic school (Juffermans 2007) and, some years later, in the same school, a focus group discussion with teachers, parents, local politicians and an interpreter. The discussion, in English, Mandinka and Jola, was digitally recorded (approx. 90 min.) and transcribed with glosses for the sections in Mandinka (approx. 50 pp.) (Van Camp 2009). The data presented here consist of transcribed excerpts from the beginning of the discussion. We argue that it is useful not to dismiss vernacular

---

1 Initial steps have been taken to implement local language learning in early childhood education and the first three years of basic education. In reality, however, English remains the commonly accepted medium of instruction at all levels.

2 No statistics are available for language use, but the statistics for ethnic groups are: Mandinka 36%, Fula 22%, Wolof 15%, Jola 11%, Serahule 3%, Serer 2%, Bambara 1%, Aku <1% (Housing and Population Census 2003). Linguae francae in The Gambia are Mandinka (mostly in the rural areas on the south bank, but also in large areas of the north bank) and Wolof (mostly in the urban west of the country, including Banjul and Serrekunda, and parts of the north bank).
voices on LLs and LiE as misled folk beliefs, but to take them seriously and let them guide our understanding of local ecologies of language.

The district chief, who does not await the first question to start talking, advances two key principles: the importance of learning English and the importance of learning the LL very well.

**Excerpt 1: 00:11 – 00:21**

3. Ki (x [my question x)
4. Ch [wo len mu ... Angalais kaŋo karaŋ (2.0)
   → it is that, learning the English language
   kaatu diyaakuja fo ntelu sii duniyaa ñookaŋ
   → because willy-nilly, we will have to sit together in the world
5. I hm
6. Ch bari ñna kaŋo
   → but our language
   fo na ñente karaŋ la beteke (1.8)
   → we have to try to learn this very well

The interpreter, who has an ambiguous role here as he both translates what the district chief and parents have said in Mandinka and voices his own opinions, repeats the points made by the chief:

**Excerpt 2: 01:29 – 01:59**

44. I so the English langua[ge]
45. Px [(x]
x ((quiet))xx[x]
46. I [s]hould be t-spo should be taught in the schools but the local language should be taught in the schools ((loud) very well)
47. Ki o[k]
48. I [so] that whatever they are meeting they should meet in the local language so that everybody will hear
49. Ki ok
50. I you know the English language is our official language .. we cannot we cannot deviate it we cannot leave it out we have to be taught it has to be taught in the schools
51. Ki ((quiet) uhum)
52. I you see? but you know since (foreign) so that if we travel to your countries ..
53. Ki yes
54. I to the overseas we can be able to speak English language but our language should be spoken in the (Eng) in the in the Gambia here ... it is our own language

The interviewer follows the argument put forward in line 50 and brings up the possibility of using different LLs officially:

**Excerpt 3: 02:01 – 02:23**

57. Ki do you think it is possible to use the local language as an official language, like different local languages
58. I uhum
59. Ki as in official languages?
60. I a ya ko foon say a a a b-a b-a be possible la le baŋ a moo fiŋ kaŋo waa ke na office langu-uh office kaŋo ti ..
   → she asked me if it is possible if black people's language can be our official language
   komen jaŋ na Angalais kaŋo fole fo xxx x hehe

---

3 Ki: interviewer (Van Camp), Ch: district chief, I: interpreter, Px: unidentified participants.
like here we can speak English

61. Ch  [a fa, a fa. a-afa x] possible x

→ tell her, tell her, tell her (x) possible (x)

62. I  ha,[ok ((chuckles))

63. Px  [yes]

64. I  he said yes, it’s possible ((laughs))

65. Ch  it’s possible [(x x x xx)]

A rather crucial misunderstanding in the discussion, that becomes clear at a critical re-reading of the transcripts as intercultural communication, is the interviewer’s and interviewees’ different conceptualisation of LLs. The interviewer’s ‘different local languages’ of line 57 is translated by the interpreter in line 60 as moo fiŋ kaŋo ‘black people’s language’. The researcher’s perspective or the Western-academic discourse on LiE conceptualises LLs in plural form, as the sum of a number of distinct languages. Languages here are understood as enumerable, separable, nameable entities. The interviewees’ perspective or the local discourse on LiE conceptualises LL in singular as a generic term for the whole communicative-linguistic practices and manners of black people (cf. Collins 1998).

Throughout the discussion, local actors indicate to be in support of a greater role for LLs in Gambian schools, but refuse to separate moo fiŋ kaŋo into nameable languages. They wish to keep aloof from deciding beforehand what specific LL should be included in and excluded from use in the classroom. In doing so, they make a collective statement against compartmentalising multilingualism (Creese 2008). Introducing LL(s) in Gambian schools, they suggest, should be done without formally determining which ones are legitimate to use in particular schools.

To conclude, we would like to address the question posed by Makoni and Mashiri (2007): Do we need a construct of language for language planning in Africa? On the basis of our fieldwork and in connection to the data presented here, our answer would be that it is indeed useful to clarify what we mean by language – what else is being planned? Yet, languages should not be constructed as thing-like, countable, separable entities in a one-to-one relation with ethnicity. The construct of language in discussing linguistic diversity and language planning in Africa should be fluid, flexible, non-compartmentalised, verb-like ('languaging') and freed from Euro-colonial inventions.

References


Note also that ‘official language’ (line 57) is translated as office kaŋo ‘office language’ (line 60).

Keywords

Medium of Instruction, Local Languages, Intercultural Communication, Vernacular Voices, Interpreter, West Africa

Bio Data

Kirsten Van Camp is an Africanist and sociolinguist who graduated from Ghent University (Belgium) in 2009 with a dissertation on ideologies of language and education in postcolonial Gambia. Since 2007 Kirsten has spent 5 months in The Gambia for sociolinguistic research as well as for volunteer work in a centre for emancipating education, where she has given intercultural training to Belgian exchange students. She is currently at the beginning of a new master in Governance and Development at the Institute of Development Policy and Management at the University of Antwerp.

Kasper Juffermans is a sociolinguist and Africanist who graduated from Ghent University (Belgium) in 2006. He is presently pursuing doctoral research on multilingualism and literacy at the Department of Language and Culture Studies at Tilburg University (Netherlands). Between 2004 and 2009 Kasper has carried out an aggregate of 13 months of ethnographic fieldwork on various aspects of language in Gambian society, including literacy instruction, language ideologies, vernacular literacy practices and the linguistic landscape. The working title of his dissertation is Repertoires and regimes of literacy: A sociolinguistic ethnography of semiotic products and practices in urban and rural Gambia.

Contact

Kirsten van Camp
Dept of African Languages and Cultures
Ghent University
Rozier 44
9000 Ghent
Belgium

kirstenvancamp@gmail.com

Kasper Juffermans
Dept of Language and Culture Studies
Tilburg University
PO Box 90153
5000 LE Tilburg
The Netherlands

kasper.juffermans@gmail.com
Anneleen Vanden Boer
Vrije Universiteit Brussel, Brussels, Belgium

A bottom-up Approach to the German Minorities Policy in Belgium

Abstract

I investigate whether the Belgian German minorities policy 'from above' meshes with the experiences of the language user 'from below'. I examine which interaction between citizens and the state can be useful to counterbalance certain needs created by the current German minorities policy.

The data are drawn from a survey that is the biggest in its kind so far. I asked (non-)German speaking citizens to evaluate the minority policy and to characterize its (side-)effects.

Based on the collected data I conclude that the German minorities policy is not sufficiently supported by the Belgian language planning concerning German.

Short Paper

Introduction
Belgium is a federal state with three national languages: Dutch, French and German. The Belgian language policy is based on the principle of territorialism\(^1\) (Clement, 2002). Each language is tied to a well-defined territory, where that language is the only official one used by the authorities. However, this principle is not so strictly adhered to when it concerns the language rights for the German speaking Belgians, the recognized national autochthonous language minority. In the entire German speaking territory French speaking citizens are free to use their mother tongue. (Kern, 1999:182).

In my paper I investigate whether the language policy 'from above' meshes with the experiences of the language user 'from below'. I interviewed German speaking and non-German speaking citizens and asked them to evaluate the minority policy and to characterize its desired and undesired (side-)effects. These data shed new light on the evolution of language rights for the German speaking minority in a changing Belgian reality.

Method
The data are drawn from a survey conducted in September and October 2008. German (GB) and non-German speaking Belgians (NGB), sampled proportionally by sex and age, answered questions about the Belgian federal model, the language policy for GB, the perception of GB and the position of the German language in Belgium. The respondents were divided into three samples:
- NGB living in the Dutch-speaking area (Flanders), in the French-speaking area (Wallonia) and in the bilingual area Brussels-capital (Dutch and French);
- GB living in Malmédy and Waimes, two communities belonging to the French speaking area;
- GB living in the nine communities of the German speaking area.

\(^1\) The situation in Brussels is based on the personality principle. Each inhabitant can choose between Dutch or French.
With 1040 valid questionnaires this is the biggest survey in its kind so far. The quantitative data have been complemented with data from written comments by the respondents and interviews with citizens and politicians.

Results
In the Belgian language policy the German speaking community is treated parallel to the Dutch and French speaking communities. This resulted in excellent minority rights, but in practice it proved hard to fully respect them (Thomas, 2006). As a result, complaints about violations of the language rights of GB are regularly reported (Thomas, 2006:63). Often these complaints relate to the acute lack of German speaking civil servants (Van Santen, 2007-07-06). This situation is not likely to improve, because the familiarity with the German language outside the German speaking community is very low and the number of German students dropped dramatically in the last two decades. (Duhamel, 2008: 33-34).

In general the recognition of language rights for GB is judged positively by the NGB. They also tend to interpret these language rights rather generously. On the other hand, the acceptance observed in the population does not seem to reflect to situation in the field. The GB are not very satisfied with the application of the language policy.

In addition, it turns out that the generous interpretation of language rights by NGB and therefore their tolerance concerning GB is directly correlated with their level of knowledge of German. Therefore, the decreasing knowledge of German might affect attitudes towards minority language rights. This evolution can be observed already in the opinion of younger generations of NGB.

Parallel to this evolution among NGs, the satisfaction of GB concerning their language rights is decreasing. The discontent with the application of the language policy is directly correlated with the level of command of the other national languages (Dutch and French) and the level of education. Both of these factors are significantly present in the younger generations of the GB.

Conclusions
The current evolutions, i.e. a decrease in tolerance towards the German speaking minority and an increased dissatisfaction in the minority population can result in a divergence between the NGB and the GB in the next generation. Efforts should be made to improve the language command of German among NGB. Language planning with regard to German in Belgium should support the formulated German minorities policy; otherwise this policy will turn out to be impracticable in the long run.

---

2 Only 56% of Dutch speaking Belgians has a sufficient to very good knowledge of German. Among French speaking Belgians this percentage even drops to 17,3%!
3 Between 76,7% and 81,3% answers ‘yes’ or ‘rather yes’ to the question whether they approve language rights for GB. The percentage depends on the political level where the language rights apply (local, regional or national level).
4 Between 65,5% and 75,8% answers ‘spontaneous use of German’ or ‘use of German after oral request’ to the question ‘how a public service should react to a GB’. The percentage depends on the administrative level where the language rights apply (local, regional or national level).
5 At regional level 38,5% (Malmédy area) / 42,1% (German speaking area) is (rather) satisfied with the application of the language policy. At national level this is 32,3% (Malmédy area) / 56,5% (German speaking area).
6 ρ=0.040 (local level); ρ=0.016 (national level); ρ=0.165 (regional level; not significant).
7 The reaction of the younger NGB-generation to the political recognition of GB, the perception of GB and the recognition of language rights for GB is significantly more negative than that of the older generation.
8 ρ=0.000 (German speaking area); in the Malmédy area the same tendency is shown, but not significantly.
9 Significantly in the German speaking area.
References

Van Santen T., 2007-07-06, Interview with Theo Van Santen, staff member of the permanent commission for language supervision, Brussels.

Keywords

Language Contact, Language Conflict, Language Minorities, Language Policy, German Speaking Minority in Belgium

Bio Data

Anneleen Vanden Boer was born in Lommel (B) in 1981. She completed her studies in ‘General linguistics and translation studies' and 'Conference Interpreting’ at the Lessius Hogeschool in Antwerp in 2005. In 2006 she started working on her PhD ‘Multilingualism in language contact areas: evolutions in German speaking Belgium’ at the Research Centre on Multilingualism (Catholic University Brussels) with Prof. Dr. Nelde. Since 2007 her research is supported by Prof. Dr. Vandenwyngaerd and Prof. Dr. Vandenbussche. Her research is situated in the domain of contact linguistics and sociolinguistics, with particular attention to language minorities and language policy in Belgium.

Contact

German Philology
Hogeschool-Universiteit Brussels / Vrije Universiteit Brussels
Affiliated researcher - Institute on Migration and Minorities Related Crossroads (K.U.L.)
Koningsstraat 336
1030 Brussels
Belgium

anneleen.vandenboer@hubrussel.be
Vic Webb

University of Pretoria, Pretoria, South Africa

Multilingualism from Below. Really? In South Africa?

Abstract

Beginning with a list of the views expressed in the MIDP call for papers regarding the bottom/up nature of language political change, the paper points out that linguistic transformation also occurs in a top/down fashion, and sets out to discuss the relationship between these two directions of change with reference to aspects of the language political history of South Africa.

After listing both successful and unsuccessful cases of bottom/up and top/down change, it looks at the factors (forces) determining public language behaviour in South Africa: globalisation, a market-driven economy, the seeming insistence of public authorities for centralised political and social control and the dominance of the elite. It asks, then, in light of the increasingly monolingual character of South Africa, what the impact of the views expressed in the MIDP call for papers is in effecting multilingualism.

Short Paper

In their call for papers for the MIDP symposium, the organisers make the following (slightly rephrased) statements:

i. That language users are not ‘passive receivers’ of linguistic decisions taken at the highest levels of state organization
ii. That they never submissively ‘implement’ language policies, but appropriate them and then steer them in novel, unforeseen directions
iii. That their role in the implementation of language policy occurs through their everyday language practices and their discursive perceptions and interpretations of linguistic realities
iv. That these dialectic processes of interaction between what is designed from above and how it is responded to from below give shape to societies’ overall patterns of multilingualism
v. That subalternity involves, rather than excludes, agency.

The views expressed in these statements obviously have validity: language users do have a role in the construction of the language political character of a (national) community, and language political change does take place "from below", bottom/up. However, the situation may not be quite as straightforward as these statements seem to suggest.

Firstly, there are several aspects about which the statements are not clear enough, and which need greater attention. These include:

• Who are “the language users”? In what “format” do they operate in establishing new linguistic realities? How do language users act as agents of language political change?
• In what way do they “appropriate (language policies) and steer them in novel, unforeseen directions”?
From a linguistic transformation perspective, what, exactly, is meant by language users’ “everyday language practices and discursive perceptions and interpretations of linguistic realities” and by the concept “dialectic processes of interaction”? What are the variables that interact to co-determine language users’ behaviour? Is it only the “dialectic processes of interaction between (policies and language practices that) give shape to societies’ overall patterns of multilingualism” or are there other factors that “guide” or “lead” language users to “oppose” the “linguistic decisions taken at the highest levels of state organization”?

Secondly, it is generally accepted that language political change / linguistic transformation is (also) a top/down process (through the implementation of language policies by government agency). In order to develop a theory of language political change, it is thus clearly necessary to establish the relationship between bottom/up change and top/down change more precisely.

The aim of the paper is to contribute towards obtaining greater clarity about the issues listed in the questions above as well as the relationship between top/down and bottom/up language political change by considering aspects of the language political history of the Afrikaans community and the language behaviour of South Africans in post-1994 South Africa (in particular regarding the language-in-education practices).

In the context of these language political realities, an overview will first be given of the bottom/up and top/down processes that were “successful” and those that were “unsuccessful” in changing language policy practices in the public domain. Secondly, the factors (forces) operative as part of these processes will be considered, for example: the need for expressing social identity, the struggle against discrimination, marginalisation and exclusion, the need to have access to opportunities, the need to establish control, the need to promote sectional interests and the need to impose particular norms, attitudes and patterns of behaviour.

Following the overview of processes and factors operating in language political change in South Africa, the issues listed in the symposium organisers’ call for papers will be briefly considered: To what degree were “language users” role-players in the country’s language political processes (and how)? Did they “appropriate” language “policies” and “steer” them in “unforeseen” directions? Did they act as subalterns and give shape to their societies’ overall language political character? Given the power of globalisation, the adoption of a market-driven economy, the insistence of the government on centralised political and social control, did “language users” really have free choices about their language political behaviour? Also considered, from the point of view of the South African language political history, will be the relationship between top/down and bottom/up language political processes: What are the conditions applicable in each case? What happens if the two types of forces oppose one another? Will bottom/up language political processes be effective in the context of strong top/down pressure?

In conclusion, the role of language planning scholars will be considered:

The language political shape of South Africa, whether through bottom/up or top/down processes, is that of public monolingualism. Neither approach has produced a multilingual reality, despite the national ideals described in the constitution. This language political reality functions, demonstrably, against the interests of the people of the country, and contributes towards diminishing their right of free choice (e.g. of LIEP), their educational development and their participation in the economic and political life of their country, and, thus, contributes towards their continued exclusion, marginalisation and discrimination. How should language...
planning scholars respond to this dilemma? May they be activists? Or should they remain “dispassionate scholars”, as Edwards (in press) suggests?

**Keywords**

Language Politics, Linguistic Transformation, Bottom/up and Top/down Processes, Language Policies, Language Political Factors, Agency in Linguistic Transformation

**Bio Data**

**Vic Webb**, retired professor from the University of Pretoria, taught linguistics at various South African universities. After obtaining his doctorate on *Die beskrywing van fleksie in die transformasioneel-generatiewe grammatika*, he “converted” to Labovian variation linguistics and, from 1991, to the politics of language. He has been involved in several research programmes, such as Languages in Contact and Conflict in Africa (LiCCA) (with René Dirven, emeritus, Duisburg, Germany) and Language, educational effectiveness and economic outcomes (Le3o) (with François Grin, University of Geneva, Switzerland). He is currently engaged in the project The role of African languages in education (with Michel Lafon, CNRS/Llacan and Ifas, France). In addition to many contributions in academic journals and scholarly books, he is the author of *Language in South Africa. The role of language in national transformation, reconstruction and development* (2002, John Benjamins) and, as editor with Kembo-Sure, Kenya: *African Voices. An introduction to the languages and linguistics of Africa*. (2000, Oxford University Press). He is director of *CentRePoL* (Centre for research in the politics of language, University of Pretoria), and is a member of the MIDP advisory panel.

**Contact**

University of Pretoria  
Pretoria  
0002  
South Africa  

vic.webb@up.ac.za
Saskia Yperzeele*, Pol Cuvelier**, Michael Meeuwis* & Reinhild Vandekerckhove**

* University of Ghent, Ghent, Belgium  
** University of Antwerp, Antwerp, Belgium

Multilingualism and Language Attitudes in the Xhariep District: the Case of Kopanong

Abstract

This paper aims to explain, in terms of language attitudes and ideologies, the relative effectiveness of official multilingualism in the Xhariep district as opposed to other regions in South Africa. We focus on attitudes both towards the multilingual practice as such and towards individual languages, language varieties, or hybrid speech forms. The data are drawn from interviews and observations made in July-August 2008 in Kopanong Local Municipality. Special attention is devoted to possible discrepancies between explicitly and implicitly formulated attitudes.

Short Paper

Introduction

Compared to other regions in South Africa, multiple language use in public service delivery in the Xhariep district appears to be quite “effective”. This means that, safe noteworthy exceptions, multilingualism seldom leads to open forms of dissatisfaction or to problematically conveyed meaning.

Our intention in this paper is to describe the overall situation and to propose explanations in terms of language attitudes. Our underlying assumption is that language attitudes co-shape and “support” patterns of multilingualism. We focus on attitudes both towards the multilingual practice as such and towards individual languages. The data are drawn from interviews and observations made in July-August 2008 in Kopanong Local Municipality.

Multilingual effectiveness

In terms of situational language choices, spoken public encounters in Kopanong are not simply shaped by prescriptions imposed from above but also display self-regulation from the bottom up. The prescriptions require public workers to linguistically accommodate to the client, which is indeed often the case (the two languages most frequently accommodated to are Afrikaans and Sesotho). Accommodation is not possible when the linguistic repertoire of the public worker is too limited. Four solution types, each manifesting the self-regulative practices from below, are attested: accommodation by the client, the use of interpreter services, code-switching, and linguistic divergence (each party speaking his or her own language).

On the level of written service delivery, official communication is less unproblematic. Correspondence from various government levels is almost invariably in English. The same applies to forms to be filled out at service delivery points, although sometimes versions in Afrikaans are available, too. A large part of the population, and especially the elderly, are (totally or functionally) illiterate in English.

Written police declarations are another source of communicative problems. Citizens can orally make their declaration in their own language, but the police officer needs to write it down in
English or Afrikaans. Due to an officer’s imperfect mastering of either of these two languages, the declarer’s intended meaning may be deformed.

**Language attitudes**

**Towards Afrikaans**
White speakers of Afrikaans worry about English gradually taking over several of its lingua franca functions. On an affective basis, they appreciate the identity value of Afrikaans. On the one hand, they recognize the black community’s competence in Afrikaans, and in doing so include all Kopanong residents in a homogeneous ‘Afrikaans’ identity. But on the other hand, they do not necessarily include ethnic or linguistic others in the identity associated with the variety of Afrikaans they use as native speakers. Coloureds and Whites also associate Afrikaans indexically with Kopanong’s economy.

Although non-native speakers of Afrikaans agree with some of these evaluations, their attitudes towards Afrikaans are not invariably positive. They focus more on their multilingual identity than on positive attitudes as a reason for using Afrikaans.

**Towards English**
Especially white, elderly native speakers of Afrikaans regard this language as a threat. Negative attitudes are mostly expressed implicitly and through mitigation strategies (such as referring to lack of proficiency, or attributing the attitude to others). They often identify English as lacking an integrative value in the Kopanong region. Their negative attitude towards English is sometimes expressed metonymically, blaming the speakers of English (rather than the language) for having negative attitudes towards Afrikaans.

Non-native speakers of Afrikaans are aware of the absence of integrative values of English, but stress its instrumental values, such as its qualities as a vehicle for upward social mobility and its international importance.

**Towards Sesotho**
Only few white people in Kopanong have command of Sesotho; most have negative attitudes towards it. This is often conveyed by means of an attitudinal transfer to other white people. Necessity to learn the language is denied on the basis of the black community’s competence of Afrikaans.

Coloureds can be characterised as possessing no negative or positive attitudes towards Sesotho (attitudinal void).

Native speakers of Sesotho appreciate the language for its integrative functions by focusing on the large demographic numbers of native Sesotho speakers in Kopanong, the competence some (few) whites and coloureds have of the language, and its legal recognition.

There is a group of Setswana-speakers who consider Sesotho to be not only dominant but also dominating with regard to other African languages.

**Towards isiXhosa**
Native speakers of isiXhosa also use demographic arguments to emphasize the local importance of their first language.

Speakers of other African languages underline the duality between ‘deep isiXhosa’, associated with isiXhosa of the Eastern Cape, and ‘isiXhosa from Kopanong’, a variety easier to learn by non-native speakers. This dichotomy contrasts with the racial (black) homogeneity the younger generation in Kopanong focuses on.
The white community seems to be rather indifferent with regard to isiXhosa. The language is not considered to be a threat to the dominant position of Afrikaans.

Towards Setswana
The existence of Setswana, representing 3% in Kopanong, is being neglected by many. This attitudinal void is considered by some a threat to a separate Tswana identity: “That’s one of our problems, that makes that the Tswana language don’t [sic] even exist. We’re not even here.”

Towards multilingualism
The black community holds positive attitudes towards multiple language use. The white community appreciates the multilingual proficiency of the black community as it forms the basis for the maintenance of the Afrikaans domination in Kopanong. Attitudes towards code-switching and code-mixing are mainly divided along generational, rather than ethnic or racial, lines. Younger people, especially blacks, frequently use (intra-sentential) code-switching and code-mixing. This generation associates itself with a hybrid multilingual identity based on race or region, rather than with a ‘pure’ linguistic form. Elderly people identify themselves more on an ethnic basis, which they associate with ‘pure’ language without interferences.

Conclusions
Accommodation, mainly towards Afrikaans, which is Kopanong’s local lingua franca, as a problem-solving strategy appears to be established through the black community’s positive attitudes towards their own multilingual identity, combined with the strong identity claim speakers of Afrikaans make in relation to their language.

Keywords
South Africa, Language Attitudes, Multilingualism, Service Delivery

Bio Data

All of the authors are involved in the MIDP IV project on ‘Multilingualism from below’. Both prof. dr. Pol Cuvelier and prof. dr. Reinhild Vandekerckhove are lecturers of Dutch linguistics and (interactional) sociolinguistics at the University of Antwerp. Prof. dr. Michael Meeuwis teaches African languages and linguistics at the University of Ghent. Drs. Saskia Yperzeele has recently completed an MA degree in African languages and cultures at the same university.

Contact

University of Antwerp
Prinsstraat 13
B - 2000 Antwerp
Belgium

reinhild.vandekerckhove@ua.ac.be
Anastassia Zabrodskaja
Tallinn University, Tallinn, Estonia

Linguistic Landscape in Post-Soviet Estonia: Multilingualism from Below

Abstract

My paper analyzes a corpus of multilingual signs collected since 1998 in bilingual Tallinn, the predominantly Russian-speaking North East, and the Estonian-speaking Southern Estonia. Although Russian speakers constitute approximately 1/3 of the total population, according to Language Act (1995), language of information (public signs) is Estonian, “a regional variety or translation ... may be added to the Estonian text of public information, however, the text in the Estonian language ... must not be less visible than its translation or the regional variety“.
Regardless, my study reveals various patterns of multilingual speech on multilingual signs as well as compromise, in-between forms, new creations such as script-switching or -mixing.

Short Paper

As Gorter (2006: 1) notices, “language is all around us in textual form”. The purpose of this paper is to discuss written multilingualism in the linguistic landscape (LL) of nowadays Estonia. Using the term ‘LL’ I subscribe to the definition given by Landry and Bourhis (1997: 25): “The language of public road signs, advertising billboards, street names, place names, commercial shop signs, and public signs on government buildings combines to form the LL of a given territory, region, or urban agglomeration.” My paper analyzes a corpus of pictures of multilingual signs consisting of advertisements in local Russian-language newspapers and on streets, labels in the market places, bank and shop windows, inside shops, restaurants, street signs, and other advertising material collected by me and my students since 1998 (digitally recorded since 2006). For me, one sign is one unit of analysis.

Backhaus (2007: 1) states that the city is a place of language contact and Gorter (2006: 2) claims that the number of linguistic tokens is especially high in shopping areas in cities. Thus, Gorter concludes, the LL could also be freely named a ‘linguistic cityscape’. The same term could be theoretically applied for my study sources because only urban environment was chosen as an object for data collection. The database is divided into three sub-corpora, according to the three linguistic environments: Tallinn, the bilingual capital of Estonia, where Russian-speakers constitute slightly less than a half of the population, the predominantly Russian-speaking North East, and the predominantly Estonian-speaking Southern Estonia (see Table 1). Tallinn as a capital and an attractive tourist centre has a larger number of possibilities for multilingual communication than rest two areas.
Estonia is a country with a population of 1.3 million people. Although ethnic Russians constituted 25.7% from the total population in Estonia in 2000, Estonian has been the single official language since the restoration of independence in 1991, while Russian does not even have the status of a language of a national minority. The linguistic rights of local Russian-speakers are the challenge currently faced by Estonia in balancing the needs of the majority and minority populations. Russian-speakers are descendants of Soviet-time newcomers in Estonia who considered this country as their own territory. As Western approaches to linguistic minority rights cannot be applied wholesale to post-Soviet Estonia, special adaptations are needed to current theories of minority rights (see Ehala 2008).

In the corpus, Estonian, Russian, English, Finnish and French are combined on multilingual signs. With regard to multilingual signs, § 23 (1) of the Language Act (1995) says that language of information (as public signs, signposts, announcements, notices and advertisements) is Estonian; and according to § 23 (2), “a regional variety or translation ... may be added to the Estonian text of public information, however, the text in the Estonian language shall have precedence and must not be less visible than the regional variety or translation into a foreign language”. Such language policy works in Tartu, where Russian functions as a tourist language. As the data show, these requirements are not always fulfilled by LL actors, especially when using Russian on private signs or advertisements in the northeastern part of Estonia (see Figure 1 where ГЕРКУЛЕС ‘oat flakes’ is written only in Russian). While Russian is present on 92% of (bilingual) North-Eastern sample, 73% of Southern items do not contain Russian at all. In the latter, information is given in monolingual Estonian or in Estonian with some translations into English and Russian.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Bilingual environment</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tallinn</td>
<td>52%</td>
<td>43%</td>
<td>400 375</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Russian-speaking environment</strong> (Ida-Virumaa, North East)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Narva</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>95%</td>
<td>70 000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sillamäe</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>93%</td>
<td>17 200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kohtla-Järve</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>79%</td>
<td>47 700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jõhvi</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>67%</td>
<td>12 100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Estonian-speaking environment</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tartu</td>
<td>80%</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>86 875</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pärnu</td>
<td>80%</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>45 500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Viljandi</td>
<td>91%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>17 845</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1 Three linguistic environments = three sub-corpora (figures are approximate)
Phrases/words written in three or four languages can be recognized (as on Figure 2: Est allahindlus, Fin ale, Eng sale, Rus скидка). If to touch upon distinctive features of particular images, then one should pay attention to the orthography and graphic representation of
languages on multilingual signs. Sometimes it is the combination of two languages or Latin and Cyrillic alphabets or even compromise forms and new creations via which the appreciation of Russian or Estonian could be signalled (see Figure 2, МОЕЛÕИКЕЛЭ < Est NOM moelõige ‘fashion cut’, ALL moelõikele ‘literally to the fashion cut’).

Some formulas in mixing Russian and Estonian on signs were found where LL actors create a compromise form that is a combination of both languages, demonstrating that they have some idea about them.

i. various instances of script-switching:
   - Estonian stems + Estonian inflectional morphology transliterated with Cyrillic characters;
   - Estonian stems + Russian inflectional morphology transliterated with Latin characters;
   - Russian stems + Estonian inflectional morphology transliterated in Estonian;

ii. various instances of script-mixing (i.e., the combined use of Cyrillic and Latin characters in a single word);

iii. compromise orthography:
   - Russian lexical items transliterated with Latin characters according to the rules of Estonian spelling;
   - Estonian lexical items reproduced in the Estonian original orthography in a Russian-language sign;
   - Russian lexical items reproduced in the Russian original orthography in an Estonian-language sign;
   - Estonian lexical items transliterated into Russian in a Russian-language sign;
   - border-line cases (in-between realisations).

To conclude, Estonian shop-keepers balance between the strict requirements of the Language Act and the real multilingual language preferences of Estonians and Estonia’s Russians. This happens because the shop-keepers need to satisfy both parts of the Estonian community. On the one hand, shop owners try not to lose Estonians’ interest with using too much Russian on advertisements but on the other hand, they also wish to attract attention of local Russians towards their goods. Thus, regardless language policy promoting Estonian as a single official language, “multilingualism from below” is widely practiced on Estonian public signs by laypeople.

References


Keywords

Linguistic Landscape, Language Policy, Multilingualism, Written Orthography
Bio Data

Anastassia Zabrodskaia received her MA in Estonian Philology from Tallinn University in 2005. She is a fourth-year PhD student in linguistics at Tallinn University. She has taught Linguistics, Cross-Cultural Communication and related courses in Tallinn University and Narva College of Tartu University. Her scholarly interests comprise language contact, dynamics and change in Estonia and ethnolinguistic vitality. This research was supported by Project EKKM09-85 "Vene-eesti ja inglise-eesti koodivahetuse ja koodikopeerimise korpuse koostamine ja haldamine" [Russian-Estonian and English-Estonian code-switching and code-copying corpora creation and management]. Participation in the conference was supported by European Social Fund’s Doctoral Studies and Internationalisation Programme DoRa.

Contact

Tallinn University
Narva road 27
10120 Tallinn
Estonia

anastassia.zabrodskaia@gmail.com